

wildness and classicism are always in relation to each other
Michael Asti-Rose

University of Alberta

Back to the Garden:
*Territory and Exchange in Western Canadian
Folk Music Festivals*

by

Michael B. MacDonald

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Music

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Fall 2010

Edmonton, Alberta

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Examining Committee

Dr. Federico Spinetti, Department of Music

Dr. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, Department of Music

Dr. David Gramit, Department of Music

Dr. Mary Ingraham, Department of Music

Dr. Rob Shields, Department of Sociology

Dr. Thomas Turino, Department of Music, University of Illinois

Abstract

Since the end of the American Folk Revival, in the late 1960s, folk festivals have undergone a dramatic change. Concurrently, folk music was transformed through capital from its origins as national folkloric music to a successful popular music genre. As professional folk music emerged during the late 1950s and 1960s many young people began to get involved. This involvement, often in the promotion of community oriented folk music events, set the stage for the development of independent community folk music clubs and festivals. These two trends (folk music as cultural commodity and folk music as community expression) flowed through one another sweeping away nationalist folk music and leaving an open space.

During the 1970s, political and social changes were occurring across North America. The emergence of what Michael Foucault called biopolitics began to change how young people related to the idea of folk music and to the general field of political action. At the same time, organized leftwing political groups, many of which developed out of early 20th century political movements, broke down or splintered into many smaller groups. Some disenchanted political activists turned towards cultural programming as an outlet for their political desire. Along side this, American draft dodgers and Canadian back-to-the-landers moved, from the south and the east, into the Canadian west. Out of this diverse social energy developed urban and rural folk music festivals.

Until now folk music festivals in western Canada have not been systematically surveyed nor has their operation been theorized as a mode of creative production. This work develops a historically grounded approach to folk music as a

means of social production and challenges the idea that folk music is only a music genre.

I conclude, using a theoretical approach developed by Deleuze and Guattari, that contemporary folk music festivals make use of social capital to establish a folk music assemblage. This assemblage provides an alternative, non-centralized, and increasingly global alternative for the flow of music capital. Folk music is no longer a style of music but a mode of doing business in music that is socially oriented and politically and economically potent.

Acknowledgements

Writing a dissertation is a long and often solitary process. I have spent a great deal of time alone with my computer and a stack of books. But ethnographic research and manuscript editing are very social processes that demand a great deal from everyone involved. This is why an acknowledgement page is important. I need to thank everyone who gave of his and her time during the research and sat down with me for an interview. I was honoured that you took the time to share your stories, histories, successes and fears with me.

A special thank you must go to Mitch Podolak. Without your criticism (and support), political education, and stories around the kitchen-table, this project would not be as rich as it has become. Thank you for opening your home and fridge to me! I would also like to thank all of the festival staffs whom have supported this project over the last four years. Opening the gates of your festivals, and often accepting Claire and I into your family circles, was a great honour. Finally, to Dugg Simpson an early supporter of this project, without your exciting conversations, belief in me, and introductions to your peers this project would have never begun. I hope that the generosity and community that I experienced with you comes out in the writing of this work.

To Dr. Federico Spinetti, my advisor, you were there every step of the way from our first tentative meetings in your office to the placement of the final punctuation. Your support, encouragement, and direction are always unerring. I hope that I have been able to find the balance between critical interrogation and humanity that you have inspired. I was also very fortunate to have two renowned scholars, Dr. Regula Qureshi and Dr. David Gramit, as members of my committee. Your insight and helpful advice was always practical, thoughtful, and constructive. I have learned a great deal about being a scholar from you. During this process I was also fortunate to work with Dr. Mary Ingraham. Your good humour, willingness to give straightforward advice and your encouragement was needed and appreciated. Thanks as well to Dr. Rob Shields and Dr. Thomas Turino for being my external examiners. You were both real with me during the Defense, and the challenge really helped the work mature. I have been in the fortunate and enviable position to have a great committee, with world-class scholars, who are also wonderful, caring and supportive people. You have all had a great impact on my personal and scholarly life.

Finally, without the support of my parents, Barry and Anita MacDonald, this work would not have happened. Our journey was sometimes a long one, but I have completed a dissertation BECAUSE of you. Your love, support, and encouragement have made me who I am.

Claire, my wife, it is incredible what we have accomplished. You were there for every word, the development of every question, the recording of every interview, drove every kilometer, slept in tents for three years (sometimes dodging bears!) and you still love me. If this work has a heart it is because of you.

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INTRODUCTION: BACK TO THE GARDEN

“You will not be a man until you learn how to play a Stan Rogers song”

In my late teens I was playing guitar at a party with some friends. We were singing a wide variety of music, country songs, pop songs, and some traditional Cape Breton songs. One of my cousins asked for a Stan Rogers song. I admitted I did not know how to play any. He shrugged and we continued playing material we knew. Later that night as we were leaving he took me aside and said very seriously, “You will not be a man until you learn a Stan Rogers song”. We were both rather drunk and he was being overly dramatic. Perhaps because of his intensity the moment stayed with me.

I did take him seriously and began to discover Stan Rogers, an Ontario born singer-songwriter with a maritime heritage who began a professional career in the 1970s that was cut short when he was killed in a plane related accident in 1983. Rogers’ early music was built upon his connection to the east coast of Canada. It was sometimes imagined and romantic when he sang about historical subjects and sometimes dark when he explored economic themes. Being able to sing the songs of Stan Rogers was a type of currency for a young maritimer in the early 1990s.

On a university sponsored VIA Rail trip to Montreal QC. a few of us led a rendition of the “Mary Ellen Carter”, a Rogers song, in the bar car. Two of the young men in the car with us were returning from Halifax to Montreal and told us about a small pub in Montreal called McLean’s. It was owned by two guys from Cape Breton and they gave us instructions. In conspiratorial tones they suggested we walk up to the bouncer and say very sternly, “I’ve been told you have Keith’s here”.

In the mid-1990s Alexander Keith's beer was brewed in Halifax, Nova Scotia and because of provincial trade barriers was not served in the rest of Canada. So asking for a Keith's was a type of signal that when added to our regional accents would tell the bouncer that we were from the Maritimes. We followed these instruction and the bouncer brought us in the bar, emptied a table for us and called the owners to join us. We were welcomed with open arms and the owner wanted to get us a few pitchers of beer but only if we were able to sing Barrett's Privateers, a shanty that Rogers had written in the old style. We immediately ripped into the first line, " Oh the year was 1778. I wish I was in Sherbrooke now!" and continued to sing all nine verses of the song with increased intensity until the last quiet verse, "So here I lay in my twenty-third year. I wish I was in Sherbrooke now. It's been six years since I sailed away and I just made Halifax yesterday" at which point everyone returns with even greater intensity and spilled beer to, "God damn them all, I was told we'd cruise the seas for American gold. We'd fire no guns and shed no tears. I'm a broken man on a Halifax peer. The last of Barrett's privateers". The last line rang through the bar, which by now was focused on contributing to the song. We were joined by at least twenty other singers who in shanty style would jump in on the chorus parts. We shared the verses between us and, as is traditional, sang improvised harmony throughout accompanied by the pounding of fists on counter tops. Dripping with sweat and beer we were greeted by hugs and more beer and spent the rest of the night sharing songs in both English and French.

A few years later I was in a touring band traveling through western Canada and the Midwest of America. We played country music in small industrial towns. The audiences would often include a high number of migrant workers living "out west".

People would often joke that some industrial Alberta town was the largest town in Newfoundland. In these towns we would pull out all of the maritime party songs for the last set. These shows would always end with Barrett's Privateers.

When this band broke up I settled in Ottawa and continued playing music and also began working at a store called the Ottawa Folklore Centre (OFC). The centre was started in the 1970s as one of a number of folklore centres modeled on *the* Folklore Centre in Greenwich Village, founded during the folk revival. In the 70s there were folklore centres like this in Halifax, Montréal, Ottawa, Toronto, and Vancouver. But by the 2000's only the Halifax and Ottawa ones remained. The founder of the Toronto store worked part time in the Ottawa store and once when on a business trip to Vancouver I had lunch with the founders of the Montreal and Vancouver stores. It was interesting how the owners knew each other or at least knew of each other. The folklore centre was not a franchise but something much more organic. It was a community-oriented store that worked to support the local folk music scene. In the folk music scene these stores were very popular and touring acts would also drop by on their way through town. When I was on the road we would always arrange our Ottawa schedule to make time for an afternoon at the folklore centre. It was a great honour to get a job there. It was also during this time that I discovered ethnomusicology and was considering going to York University for my MA. But I was also discovering the folk music industry in Canada and decided that I should spend a year learning about it.

Five years later I began to study ethnomusicology. In the time between my first desire to study ethnomusicology and finally doing so my perspective had changed quite a bit. In the intermediate years I had managed the folklore centre for four years,

run workshops at the Ottawa Blues Festival, worked as a booking agent, started a labour choir, run a folk song choir, and directed a very successful gospel music choir. I had participated in countless traditional music sessions, learned to sing shape-note and claw hammer banjo, and played with great traditional musicians from all over Canada and the eastern United States. I had become professionally involved in the folk music industry, first as a promoter, booking agent, and artist manager, and then on the technical side as a sound technician and technical director. I met Claire, my future wife, at a booking agent course at the 2004 North American Folk Song and Dance Alliance conference in San Diego. We met a second time at the Juno Awards in Edmonton, Alberta, when I was there representing a blues artists who was nominated for an award. After some time Claire, who also had worked in the industry in Vancouver, moved to Ottawa and we worked together doing technical work in Winnipeg, Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, and New York City. We ran the technical requirements for the Ontario Council of Folk Festivals yearly conference and worked for Martin Guitar in Montreal at another Folk Alliance conference the following month. By then I had already begun my study of folk music, and on the 1.5 hour drive back to Ottawa from Montreal we talked about the folk music industry. Claire and I had a long discussion about what is counted as folk music and what is not. We discussed how organized the Ontario Council of Folk Festivals is but how powerful the big festivals “out west” are. We discussed how well documented folk music traditions are in eastern North America and how fuzzy they are in western North America. There is no clear picture, from anyone’s perspective, what is and has been going on in western Canada.

Claire and I discussed the Pacific coast scenes that she worked with, the small towns, small clubs, and small festivals that everyone in the scene seemed to know about. We also discussed our recent experiences and recent connections with small presenters from western Canada, who were using their own money to travel to the large conferences to hire musicians. Many of these promoters were running volunteer organizations and were not being paid for any of their work, at least not monetarily. The more we discussed the more we began to realize that sound technicians and performers were often the only people paid. Most of the infrastructure that kept this increasingly large organization together was run by volunteer labour. We knew from being in the industry that the entire industry had developed out of folk music festivals many of which had begun in the 1970s both in the western United States and in Central and Western Canada. But beyond that we knew nothing else. We decided that this would be a great subject to study.

As luck would have it we befriended the founder of the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival at the same time. I had known him professionally for a couple of years but we had not developed any real relationship. I met him first when I was a booking agent at my second or third Ontario Council of Folk Festivals conferences. He introduced himself and I told him who I was and then he pressured me into signing up for a two years subscription of *Penguin Eggs*, a brand new folk music magazine out of Edmonton. I signed up for the subscription because he gave me no other choice even though I had very little money. He was very persuasive and laughed about the fact that as a booking agent I was the enemy. We would chat from time to time over the next few years until I was hired by a national union to run the labour music performances at their national convention in Winnipeg. The artistic director of the

Ottawa Folk Festival and I went to Winnipeg for two weeks to organize and put on this gala event. This is when I really got to know Mitch Podolak. During this time we spent nearly every evening at Mitch's place, often sitting in the kitchen playing banjos and talking about music. I told Mitch my story about my cousin pressuring me into singing a Stan Rogers song and about all of my Stan Rogers stories. Mitch then told me his.

Not long after Stan began writing songs he and Mitch met. Mitch had just started the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival and immediately hired the young Rogers to play at his festival. The performance was, according to Mitch, magical. It was so important to Mitch that other people hear this music that Mitch started Barn Swallow records to commercially release Rogers' first recording. Mitch was, and continues to be, instrumental in the promotion of folk musicians like Rogers. After hearing this story I felt that I had, in a way, come full circle. I asked Mitch if I could write my MA thesis about the years that led up to the founding of the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival. After some explaining about why I wanted to again be an enemy (Mitch has a deep prejudice against ethnomusicologists¹) he consented.

After I finished my MA thesis I sent it to Mitch and held my breath. He read it and after some time called me and said, "Well half of it is really good and the other half is total horse shit". I laughed and said, "At least half of it is good so that's a good start". I had already decided that the study of the Winnipeg Folk Festival would be the first step in a larger project to describe western Canadian folk music festivals.

¹ Mitch told me a story about how in the early 1970s had attended a Smithsonian event where a "white coated" doctor poked an old miner to have him sing. Mitch took great offense at working people being exhibited in this way. He has held it against the discipline ever since.

Mitch had an issue with my approach to the festival. He was concerned that I was taking power away from the individuals that roll up their sleeves to create things and giving over that power to some other force. Mitch argued that it is not some greater thing that propels people to do things all the time. Nationalism, regionalism, ethnicity, tradition are all parts of why people do things but ultimately it is “that thing” that happens when people do things together that allows all of these other concepts to exist. He felt that I did not “get it”. He urged me to do some more thinking about why people do what they do and what they get out of it.

YOU'VE LOST YOUR OWN TRADITIONS

In the winter and spring of 2005 I was fortunate to work on a multi-sited ethnographic study of aboriginal dance traditions in Canada. Over the course of four months I was able to travel from Cape Breton Island Nova Scotia to Campbell River Vancouver Island. I conducted a total of 11 interviews with aboriginal dancers engaged in a variety of traditions. At the very first interview of the project I was fortunate to speak with Joel Denny, an important elder and keeper of Mi'qmaq dance traditions in Eskasoni, Cape Breton. What began as an evening length interview turned into a three-day discussion. Towards the end of our time together he directed the conversation away from dance traditions and onto the research project itself. He argued that while he understood the spirit behind the project he felt that it was misdirected. He argued that aboriginal people have nothing to teach white people. He further argued that instead of spending time collecting the traditions of other people we should turn some of our energy onto ourselves. He claimed that much would be solved and many questions would be answered if I understood my traditions. He argued that I would not be in his kitchen asking these questions if I

understood them. He urged me to begin to search for my own traditions and, he insisted, when I understood them I would understand his. That is precisely what I decided to do.

LOOKING FOR TRADITIONS... FINDING LONGING

I became increasingly intrigued with the idea of folk music and what it represented, especially how folk music and folk musicians were treated in literature. I looked at plenty of pictures of old-time fiddlers and all of them looked a lot like my grandfather and older relatives. When I was growing up my father would often take me out to visit the old timers in their backwoods places. I have plenty of fond memories of small homes, out-houses, Gaelic accents, and very strong cheese and black tea. My grandfather's family had left the rural community in the 1940s and moved into one of the industrial towns to take work in the coalmines. He did that until he retired. He played fiddle his whole life and many fiddlers passed through the house. But in Cape Breton this was not unusual. Many people played music.

The images of the folk musicians in the books were silent. There were photos but often there were no recordings of them playing. Like my grandfather all that was left of their music was in the tunes that my father whistled when he got angry. I could appreciate the loss that the collectors felt when they traveled the countryside trying to collect tunes and trying to find old players who played in the traditional style. When Cape Breton fiddling became so popular in the 1990s and more and more youth were listening to a few fiddlers and trying to sound like them I realized that something very interesting was happening. Cape Breton fiddling was emerging. When I was young there was no such thing as a *Cape Breton fiddler* but lots of fiddlers in Cape Breton. My neighbor played differently than my grandfather and they both

played differently than the guys in the next town and even more differently than the guys in the next county. But they would all get together and share tunes. My distant relatives would drop by and play tunes with my grandfather. There may have been small style communities but these were always connected together by a few players who traveled and shared tunes. I have also been told that many of the old players used to transcribe tunes and mail them to other players around the island that could read music. They would in turn play the tunes which would be picked up by other players who only learned by ear. Style communities, geographical communities, ethnic communities, language communities, religious communities, industrial communities, and bureaucratic communities all divided Cape Breton into different arrangements of space. But when the idea of Cape Breton fiddling began to emerge it started to hide all of that complexity. Suddenly there was a Cape Breton style of piano accompaniment and a Cape Breton style of fiddling and a Cape Breton tune literature. The complex map of divisions that I had established in my mind was covered over by this powerful notion of a singular Cape Breton. In less than a generation young players learned to play like one or two famous fiddlers and began to ignore the style of their “amateur” neighbor. Powerful organizations have developed in recent years to promote Cape Breton music. The founding of the Celtic Colours International festival in 1997 and the establishment of museum projects likely all stem from the cultural preservation work that the Nova Scotia Gaelic College has been doing for decades. In 2005 the “Great Big Fiddle” was unveiled on the waterfront in Sydney, Cape Breton’s only city. A fifty-foot fiddle was built to greet the cruise ships as they arrived in Cape Breton. The entire island was incorporated in that fiddle.

Many celebrated the erection of the fiddle but for me I could not help but feel that something had been lost. The loss was not the innocence of the culture at all nor was it a loss of isolation, nor did my concern stem from the culture I came from being used to sell tour packages. But I suppose my sense of loss came from all of these things. My heritage was based on my experiences of being in community. It was a mix of industrial history, isolation, hardship, family, and music. It came from the experience of connection that I shared with others who knew Stan Rogers tunes or could play fiddle tunes. That feeling that we had when we recognized “that thing”, that experience of commonality in one another. When Cape Breton was reduced to a performance for tourist dollars I felt that my living heritage was taken away and replaced with a simplified and harmless symbol that would not offend tourists or make them uncomfortable. Maybe I was just upset that I could no longer use a part of my heritage as a secret code to get into a club in Montreal. But I suppose there was something else as well in the new image of Cape Breton music that troubled me. The pictures of the old men playing fiddle never showed the coal dirt in their fingers. It is impossible to capture the sound of an old miner’s wheeze from the coal dust that lines his lungs or the crushed limbs, broken backs, and broken spirits that the songs help soothe. The messy reality of living and participating in community was replaced by a symbol. But the symbol would never really satisfy their need for community, at least not for long.

FINDING LOSS AND MAKING A SYMBOL OF IT

I began to think about loss, and thanks to the inexplicable way the mind works I remembered one sunny spring afternoon when I was still living in Cape Breton and still in high school. I had been in the record store that afternoon, a Sam the Record

Man, and had found a Joni Mitchell tape. It was *Ladies of the Canyon* (1970 Reprise) and it was beautiful. I had heard of Joni Mitchell before and knew that she was important but really did not know any of her songs. The tape was discounted and I had enough money so I purchased it. I really cannot say what happened next. I walked back to my car and put in the tape and then just kept driving. I do not remember anything particularly nor do I think I was going anywhere in particular. I had a full tank of gas and a new tape and enough money to buy a coffee. So I drove to a coffee shop in St. Peters, which was an hour away just to enjoy the drive and the music. I just kept driving and listening to this magical album. I remember hearing “Woodstock” the first time and there was something about her longing that hit me hard. I did not know at the time that Mitchell had not gone to “Woodstock” because her manager at the time convinced her to take a gig on a TV show instead. She missed Woodstock. There was something in that song that spoke of deep and painful loss. Maybe the connection to my heritage and to the song Woodstock developed on that drive. On the way back with my coffee I drove past the gravel road that leads up to the back woods community and the village where my grandfather was born. Maybe hearing Joni Mitchell sing about something she missed connected to my feelings of missing the rural Gaelic community that I saw only briefly as a child. Perhaps it is because we both missed the full and complex experience that lies forever on the other side of a symbol. Perhaps this is what I missed when I was studying the Winnipeg Folk Festival the first time. I was too interested in the festival as a symbol and was not interested enough in the real and often messy work that goes on behind the scenes, behind the symbol. Maybe the symbols of my Gaelic heritage are like ornamental plants that decorate a garden but do not grow fruit.

Joni Mitchell sang, “We’ve got to get ourselves back to the garden.” The Garden that Mitchell recalls is a primitive and progressive utopia. The garden is also the outdoor music festival. Which garden was Mitchell suggesting we should return to? Was it the “pure” but invented gardens of Arcadia, monastic ornamental gardens, Roman vegetable gardens? Or did she have a different garden in mind? Was she thinking about the garden as a site that is connected to colonialism and empire and coffee, sugar, cotton, chocolate, and rubber? Perhaps the garden that Mitchell imagined was the romantic landscape garden that was a curious mix of control and wildness. Or perhaps it was not the garden at all that Mitchell was talking about but the gardener. The garden is not a naturally occurring place it is a construction. The garden is the manifestation of a gardener’s hard work. It is a constructed place built as a place for people to gather, to meet, to meander, to dream, to rendezvous, and to transform.

Gardens have historically been places where people experiment with ways of manipulating the physical world according to their philosophical beliefs. I think this is the sense that Mitchell chose her garden metaphor. Because Gardens are places where we gather and experiment with forms of political and social orders. Gardens are entangled with the virtual, as Rob Shields has pointed out: “Thought takes us beyond the present moment of the actual, not only to abstract ideas but to general problematics, to the historical and to the realm of principle, all of which are virtual” (Shields 2003, 32). The virtual is powerful because it refers to principles and ideals. The virtual garden, like the virtual festival, suggests arrangements in space. Gilles Deleuze, following Henri Bergson, engaged with the virtual in a similar way: “it is he (Bergson) who develops the notion of the *virtual* to its highest degree and bases a

whole philosophy of memory and life on it” (Deleuze 1988, 43). The garden is an experiment for the senses, sensuously pleasing and life affirming, a place of memory, and also of virtue. It is necessary to note that the virtual, for Deleuze and Bergson, is not an ethics in the Hegelian sense, which implies the *spirit*, but is “actualized, in the course of being actualized, it is inseparable from the movement of its actualization” (Deleuze 1988, 42). The process of actualization is connected to Deleuze’s larger ontological project, as an attempt to “think of the real as a process” (Boundas 2005, 191). And as a process, the garden and the gardener are made by the other; it is a Deleuzian fold: “for the fold announces that the inside is nothing more than a fold of the outside”(O’Sullivan 2005, 103).

The importance of Woodstock has never been questioned. It was the defining moment of what has been called retrospectively “the Woodstock generation”. As a symbol it has continued to live on and inspire many other festivals and events, it has become much more than a historical event, it has become a *virtual* event; Woodstock is a virtue, in the sense that virtual and virtue are connected. Shields has pointed out that virtue is still present in the virtual, and is an ideal form that informs action: “[V]irtue is the conformity of a life and conduct with principles of morality; voluntary observance of the recognized moral laws or standards of right conduct (Shields 2003, 3). He argued that the virtual is real but not actual (ibid.,25-44) and suggested that

[w]e may awake from a dream that seems so real, so ‘lived’ that for a moment we confuse it with an actual experience. It may even inspire us to action—to achieve our dreams. While we may recognize the difference between actual and these imagined or recollected events, the richness and power of such experiences make them important to us and highly valued in many cultures. (Shields 2003, 25)

Mitchell does just this by connecting the virtual Woodstock with the virtual garden, and thereby making both images richer. The garden, as a simulation of other gardens and festivals, as a simulation of Woodstock (not always directly but often not far from the minds of many participants), suggests an entanglement with the virtual. Shields, thinking more about digital simulations than physical ones, wrote:

Simulations offer virtual environments – clearly they are “something” but there is no materiality there. This has puzzled theorists used to thinking in the either-or terms of the material-idealist division which, like a flute with only one note, offers only notes and rests: the materially existing or the abstract, non-existing. Although its name may be unfamiliar the virtual will be shown to be a category with which people are comfortable. (Shields 2003, 38)

It was a remarkable feat that 400,000 people gathered for three days and successfully lived together with no politics, no order, and no obvious governmental hierarchy. This is the connection to the garden that Mitchell was making in Woodstock. Woodstock is a symbol of wild social exchanges and semi-spontaneous community. The symbol of Woodstock hides two interlocking groups which make up the real life of the event. The wild hippies that ran around in the mud, dropped acid, made love and who had babies in public and the business people, artists, engineers, first aid, and general organizers that created the initial outline and attempted to contain the new village of Woodstock. Woodstock is the symbol of the hippie festival and has become the symbol of the folk and the new garden.

It does not really matter that Woodstock has nothing to do with the long history of folk music and folk music festivals. Woodstock became *the* festival garden, it is the symbol of people making culture together, it is the symbol of wild community, it is the assertion of a non-corporate identity, and it represents the place, rightly or wrongly, from which contemporary festival culture emerged. In this dissertation I explore what is behind the idea of the festival and the act of getting

“back to the garden”. I will argue that festivals in western Canada are a community garden that is constructed by the community, for the community. These festivals allow folk musicians to trade their skill through a network that has emerged from a festival movement that owes something to the feeling of loss of community and need for something more than just a symbol. The festivals in western Canada are an example of what happens when communities replace their ornamental gardens with urban vegetable gardens. The garden and the gardener are transformed.

HOW TO DESTROY A GARDEN

The garden can no longer be permitted to function as a metaphor for the innocence of nature. It can no longer be ignored that it is a construction designed to hide the traces of its fabrication. The garden, as it has been shown (Buczacki 2007, Harrison 2008, Owen 2004), is the act of tearing apart the earth to create a new nature according to the plans of the architect or garden engineer. The garden is not nature, but an aestheticized construction, which required the destruction of an existing ecosystem only to replace it with a model ecosystem. For much of human history the garden was used to produce food and medicine. By the 18th century the garden had taken on a new and more abstract role. The notable gardens of the period, especially the gardens at Versailles, no longer functioned to produce food, they were instead symbolic playgrounds. The rolling hills and abandoned grottos of the romantic garden, Marie Antoinette’s miniature peasant houses and few sheep, replaced the images of farmers struggling to survive and peasants struggling for food. These two approaches to the garden are laid upon the other so that to say garden is to enter into confusion. I am going to attempt to bring this confusion to an end. To do so however requires that I tear down those little houses and pull down the grotto

rock by rock. In this dissertation I will pull back the fabricated garden as if it were merely a richly decorated backdrop propped up by social architecture. I will do this by using a machine capable of tearing up gardens and useful to break down the fences used to keep local flora and fauna under control. This is a dissertation about gardens, folk music gardens, and the people who have built them, the strategies used to construct them, and new approaches that have developed in recent years.

To provide a text about folk music gardens I have to dismantle them. My interest is to dig into and then dissect the conceptual ground upon which this garden is built. Dissection may seem like an odd choice of words since it is such a terrible and violent image. I will show however that in order to come to terms with a concept like “the folk” its body must be dissected. The dissection is not violence for the sake of it but in the interest of providing a basis for a renewed discourse on folk music and folk practice. I prefer to see this dissection as a form of composting. My intention is to deconstruct concepts in folk music studies and use them as fertilizer for a new approach. In creating this compost I am doing something quite new. I am not reinterpreting concepts that others have provided, I am creating new concepts and new words. This undertaking requires that I take old words and defamiliarize them, break them down to compost, and give them new meanings and to reclaim them.

METHODOLOGY

I will treat western Canada as a series of festival-garden plots. Like any garden plot it is a piece of land that has a variety of connections with the land that surrounds it. But gardens only exist where there are gardeners to tend to them. So

this is also a study of festival gardeners who actively created their festival-gardens across western Canada.

This study makes a contribution to post-folk revival literature by being the first study of its kind on the network of folk music festivals in western Canada. There have been a few articles on individual festivals (Greenhill 1995, 1999, 2001; Macaulay 1995; MacDonald 2009) but nothing that looks at the industry of folk music in western Canada as a whole.

In this work I am interested in exploring folk music in contemporary western Canadian life. I am not interested, however, in re-opening the great “what-is-folk” debate, as this has become, for reasons I will explore in the first chapter, a territorial battle that I wish to avoid. Instead, I will point out that contemporary folk music is a method of doing music business. My interest in folk music is not *folk music* as a commodity, but as a means or process of production. I am not the first to suggest that folk music could be defined by extra-musical characteristics. Charles Seeger, in an article written during the American Folk Revival of the 1960s, suggested that we consider *folkness* (Seeger 1977). But my approach to folk music is somewhat different than Seeger’s, which will become clearer after Seeger’s folkness has been briefly explored.

Charles Seeger defined folkness as:

A concept referent to a property of cultural structures and functions whose weight increases in direct proportion to the decrease in logic and increase in pure, mystical belief, which is close to saying: the less something is pinned down to the factual and to objective reality and the more to the valual and to subjective reality, the more it partakes of the nature of folkness. (Seeger 1977, 339)

Seeger constructed folkness and non-folkness as complements. For Seeger, everyone is a member of the folk whether they know it or not. He argued that the United

States is divided into two groups. The first is the large group of people who do not recognize themselves as folk, because the folk often do not recognize itself as such. The second is a small group of people who sees itself separate from the folk, but are actually according to Seeger, also folk (Seeger 1977, 343). As much as I like the thrust behind his thinking, I am uncomfortable with an all-encompassing idea of folkness. If there is anything special about the concept, which I will argue there is, then it should not be robbed of its descriptive power by opening up the definition so widely as to make it relatively meaningless.

Seeger argued that Folkness and non-folkness are constructed upon a continuum and are interconnected. This part of Seeger's argument I quite agree with. It is, however, when Seeger conflates non-folkness with logic that the bias against rural life, which I will discuss in more detail in chapter one, begins to quietly creep into his argument. Seeger suggested that moving towards folkness means becoming less logical. Logic becomes synonymous with urban and perhaps, by extension, modern, while folkness means less logical, less modern, and rural.

I will argue, alternatively, that folk is a type of performative social mode integral to social relationships either in the city or country. Seeger argued that folkness is related to modernity, at least in-so-far as the words *logic* and *modernity*, can be said to be interchangeable. I am not certain, however, if these terms are equivalents, and Seeger does not clarify his intent in this regard. But, as I will illustrate in chapter one, there is a long history of equating the folk with a space outside of modernity. My approach to folk music, while similar in that I am interested in extra-musical content, differs in that I treat folkness as an integrated aspect of modern, or even perhaps, postmodern life.

My discussion of the folk will differ from other folk music scholarship in that I will not consider issues of authenticity, which, as I will illustrate in chapter one, have been of particular interest to folk scholars for many years. Issues of authenticity continue to play a role in folk music discourse and, since the American Folk Music Revival, this separation between *true* folk music and its supposed opposite, *revivalist* folk music, has been explored. Michael Scully illustrates this trend and has recently argued that:

If the concept of an enclaved folk has meaning, then traditional performers are members of that folk and their singing is neither a commercial enterprise nor the dedicated pursuit of a hobby revolving around organizations and scheduled events. It is, instead, a more-or-less unself-conscious part of daily life. Folksinging, as I suggested at the outset, accompanies ordinary activity, whether that be work, worship, mourning, or nonprofessional community entertainment. Since people do not use academic terminology to label their own lives, many whom revivalists treasure, as “true” folksingers do not consider themselves members of the folk—whatever that may be—and they do not think of their songs as folk songs. Revivalists by contrast, tend to be self-conscious folk song interpreters, not genuine, tradition-based folksingers” (Scully 2008, 8-9).

Instead of exploring the authentic in folk music I will suggest an alternative approach. I will argue that folk music is a performance of a type of contemporary community. Folk music is not separate from daily life, is not essentially rural, and does not ignore material interests. The folk music I am interested in is not the same subject that folk revival scholars, like Scully, have described. While Scully suggests that folk music has “slipped from public discourse,” to become something that “borders on the cliquish” (Scully 2008, 16) my work suggests that, on the contrary, folk music is currently more popular and less cliquish than it was at the height of the American Folk Music Revival.

Scully, while admitting this proliferation “It remains true...that there are more folk festivals today than at the great boom’s commercial peak (1962-65)” (Scully

2008, 17) does not directly deal with the implications of his observation in regards to folk music festivals. But, of course, this was not his interest. Building upon his insight, I will illustrate that contemporary folk music no longer works on older commercial music industry models, the way it still did at the height of the American Folk Music Revival. The contemporary folk music industry represents a new model of music economy. To show the uniqueness of this model I will first provide an extended exploration of the development of the music industry and the impact that this development had on music making culture. I will also show that the growth of folk festivals, since the end of the folk revival, is connected to a larger social change which represents a new period of the industrialization of music culture.

Music industries have material histories, which inform economic models and musical outcomes. The Western Art Music model emerged simultaneously with the early stages of capitalism. The popular music industry emerged with the development of late, technologically oriented, capitalism. Scully points out that the study of “this ongoing, never-ending revival reveals a great deal about Americans’ eternal fascination with their past, their continuing desire for a sense of community, and their fierce—if sometimes hidden—resistance to cultural standardization” (Scully 2008, 19). But it also represents a great deal more.

Scully, and it seems many others who study folk music culture, have not taken “resistance to cultural standardization” nearly far enough, especially with regards to its role in the formation of material process in the folk music industry. Folk music studies have been slow to embrace philosophical and sociological observations that have emerged since the late 1970s. It is also true that folk music has rarely, if ever, been theorized through Michel Foucault’s biopower lens. I intend to bring just such

poststructuralist theory to the study of folk music because, as I will show, folk music offers a rich opportunity to ground theory in social practice. Foucault's biopower discourse is important in this regard as it has informed much contemporary cultural studies directly and indirectly.

Foucault has argued that biopower is:

The set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power, or, in other words, how, starting from the eighteenth century, modern Western societies took on board the fundamental biological fact that human beings are a species. (Foucault 2007, 1)

Foucault argued that the development of biopower emerged in the twin changes that took place in western society of the 18th century; the emergence of "population," and the emergence of capitalism. Both events helped to establish, and then maintain, the creation of the state, as nation, and the citizen, as subject of the state. This is a significant period of social change, as Foucault elaborated: "The population as a political subject, as a new collective subject absolutely foreign to the juridical and political thought of earlier centuries is appearing here in its complexity" (Foucault 2007, 42). The organization of the state, he argued, is about harnessing discipline, and through this, consolidating space and providing security. The collection of folk songs, as I will show, is part of this consolidation, and functions at the level of a security of identity. But as Foucault illustrated, the other side of security is control. The establishment of the identity of the state, and the identity of the people of the state, required that the songs of the people, used to elaborate their rural identity, became policed by the nation under the title of liberalism and neo-liberalism (Foucault 2008, 317). The state of the 18th century developed an interest in the bodily life of its subjects and attempted to "rationalize the problems posed to governmental

practice by phenomena characteristics of a set of living beings forming a population” (Foucault 2008, 317). This is biopolitics.

I will address some of these issues in regards to the historical and contemporary organization of folk music. In the first chapter I will illustrate how the territory of folk music is constructed. In the second and third chapters I will deal with issues of biopower and biopolitics through the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze. I will illustrate how folk music, and the folk, gets swept up into the organizing politics of the state and the market. In the third chapter, I challenge the totalizing picture presented in the second chapter, and argue that human creativity, back to the body as a site of politics (biopower), can be seen to constitute a form of community outside of structured political space.

WHY NOT NATIONALISM?

Foucault was clearly interested in the workings of the state. His discourses in the Collège De France lectures, which deal with governmentality, do so only to illustrate the emergence of biopower and biopolitics. He is required to discuss the state, it seems, in order to illustrate the influence that liberal philosophy has had on the organization and policing of populations. My research differs in this regard. I am interested in issues of power and governmentality, broadly defined, but in this research my quarry is not the state. Instead, my interest is the biopower and biopolitics of local creative cultures in western Canada. I will not, therefore, be looking at local community with the intention of saying anything about the governmentality of Canada. I wish to take to heart Bergson’s warning that Deleuze recalls: “[I]t is the solution that counts, but the problem always has the solution it deserves, in terms of the way in which it is stated” (Deleuze 1988, 16). As Bergson

and Deleuze have illustrated a question posed about the nation and folk music, will produce an answer about nation and folk music. So I will ask a different question, one that does not seek to explain folk festivals as a byproduct of a cultural or political nation.

WESTERN CANADA BUT NOT REGIONALISM

In some ways it is easy to understand why the west did not factor into the Canadian national imagination. Western Canada was a blank spot on North American maps prior to 1905. Western Canada was a frontier but without the mythos of the American frontier. There were no adventurous cowboys running through the Canadian prairie imagination. There were First Nations, scarlet-jacketed RCMP officers, train tracks, homesteads, and the Hudson Bay Company. The west was an exciting place where things were happening, but exactly what that was, from an eastern point of view, was uncertain. The west, with its vast and wild terrain, was the place that absorbed adventurous travelers. For the entire history of Canada there are stories of people disappearing into the west. Fur trappers and traders quite often lived two lives, one life in the urban east and another in the Wild West. The Métis nations of the prairies stand as living testament to these stories.

The Métis highlight something particular and important for the methodology of this study. Western Canada is a place where, in historical time, official maps have only recently been drawn. The territory of western Canada is a social and cultural mystery. It is a place where people can get lost or lose themselves. It is also a place with a history of combining old models in new ways, far from the pressures of official policy, people are free to shape themselves, their customs, and their land in

ways that work for them. John Ralston Saul suggested recently, maybe too grandly, “We are a métis civilization”(Saul 2008, 3).

There is much to be learned from the strategies that have been developed in the west. We live in a society which has tended towards spectatorship over direct cultural participation (Ivey 2008; Putnam 2000, 2002; Putnam 2003). This transition is not, on its own, necessarily negative but it may have a price. An increasing amount of expressive culture is being locked away by corporations (Boyle 2008; Feld 1994; Ivey 2008; Lessig 2004) and the practice of making culture is being replaced by consuming culture. Bill Ivey, former director of the National Endowment for the Arts, suggests that government policy needs to be put in place to counter this trend. I will suggest another way. The acts of making non-corporate community culture and consuming culture as a spectator are not two points on a continuum. I will show in my discussion of western Canadian folk music festivals that in the west a new middle approach has been developed. Perhaps it was possible to develop this approach in a place that is far from the ever-watchful eyes of both government and industry. In the west where there is so much space, so few people, and so little infrastructure, maybe here it was possible, or required, to experiment with contemporary culture.

In the process of arguing for a third-way approach to culture, I will construct a map of the folk music festival assemblage that has emerged in western Canada. But I urge the reader to constantly be aware of the edges of my constructed map. Some of those edges coincide with national and provincial borders and some do not. In Gillian Mitchell’s important discussion of the development of Canadian folk music after the American folk revival, she situates the discourse in national terms. She described the development of Canadian centenary projects and the impact that these

had on the development of Canadian folk music. She suggests that in the early 1970s Canadian folk musicians begin representing Canada. But she also admits to tension here when quoting Stan Rogers: “[F]olk musicians like me are spreading Canadian culture throughout the world and giving people outside the country an idea of what this country is. The funny thing is that we’re doing it almost completely on our own, but we’re doing it better than any number of government-sponsored projects” (Mitchell 2007, 157).

Nationalism and regionalism play some role in the development of arts initiatives through provincial cultural policy and federal arts funding, but in many ways, as I will discuss, and as Stan Rogers reminded us, governmentality plays a limited role. The main actors in western Canada are often community minded individuals who through design or chance have organized folk music festivals. Often these festivals emerged when local people took it upon themselves to organize local cultural events. This free market approach to cultural programming has a definite conservative flavour. This is not surprising, as it is well known in Canada that “out west” conservative values are the norm. As I am writing this, in 2010, there is only one federal NDP member in a sea of conservatives in Alberta. The west has long been the conservative base of support in Canadian politics and it is a conservativeness that praised a do-it-yourself approach to life.

Conservatism must then be considered, if only momentarily, as an important aspect of western Canadian life. Growing up and working in eastern and then central Canada provides me with a particular point of view. “Go west young man,” was a slogan that has long been quoted to young men and women growing up on the Canadian east coast. Song’s like John Allen Cameron’s “Heading to Halifax”, Stan

Rogers' "North West Passage", and Ian and Sylvia Tyson's "Four Strong Winds" all tell a tale of travel, or economic dislocation, which flows east to west. The west has been a destination for adventure, for a new life, and for opportunity. But, as I will illustrate later, it has also been a place of escape. The west offers a new world where people can come and remake themselves, and in some senses, really contribute to building a new world. I will not be arguing that there is a particularly western way of undertaking a task but instead will argue that local communities, situated in the Canadian west, have developed a variety of approaches and associations which have, in some cases, become highly successful and influential far beyond their local or even regional communities.

FINDING THE EDGES OF MY MAP

My map has weaknesses. I have arbitrarily not included northern communities in my map because of a lack of time and resources. I was not able to include the Dawson City Music Festival, the Frostbite Music Festival, nor the Folk on the Rocks Music Festival in the Northwest Territories. Like Shangri-La or Brigadoon the festival appears and disappears in such a short time that it is difficult to pin down, to chart out, and to describe. Time and distance were issues that had to be considered in mapping out the festivals in western Canada. Over three years there are only so many weekends available during festival season which generally runs from late June to late August.

I wanted to have an equal representation of rural and urban festivals in western Canada. Routing, dates, and the willingness of the festival to be included in the research project limited the choice of the festivals. I began by choosing the largest and most influential urban festivals in western Canada. Then I looked at which

weekends were still available and added rural festivals that fit in the routing. Some changes were made between the different summer field periods because of information gathered from informants during the previous research year. The goal of the selection was to end up with a cross section of representative festivals from which I could generate defensible generalizations (see appendix 1).

MUSIC BUT NOT MUSICIANS

A further clarification is required before I begin this discourse on contemporary western folk music festivals; I am not going to be focusing on musicians. You will not find interviews with musicians who performed at these festivals, nor a discussion of any formal stage performances. A full study of folk festivals in western Canada would obviously include all of the folk festivals, professional musicians, and trade organizations. However, a dissertation comes with constraints. I recognize that this study is ambitious and outside the scope of a single work of this kind, therefore, I have chosen to focus on deconstructing the infrastructure of folk festivals in western Canada, and leaving the role that musicians play for another work. Although musicians are part and parcel of festivals, and no one would imagine a folk festival without live professional musicians, they do not participate in the yearly building, organization and maintenance of any local festival.

Local community groups hire musicians after the festival has been organized. For large festivals musicians apply in large numbers to perform at these festivals. Festival staffs, from these large festivals, hire sought-after performers by engaging with their agents. Smaller festivals often avoid this aspect of the music industry and tend to hire local or regional performers who are often not represented by professional arts agencies. Also, musicians, as short-term contractors, spend very

little time on any festival site. Touring musicians will often only arrive in time for sound check, and leave the festival site following their performance. At large camping festivals, musicians are brought in from local hotels for their performances. If they stay on the festival site, one would most likely find them in the performer-only area. At small camping festivals musicians camp with volunteers who are often themselves musicians. There is not a clear distinction between who is hired and who are not, as many people engage in informal music making around the site. In these instances the border between professional and amateur is often very blurry and part of what makes these festivals unique.

I am interested in the individuals and communities who organize together to build and run music festivals. The mounting of a festival requires an enormous amount of organization and production, along with an interest in promoting a certain genre of music. These festivals are all organized to promote folk and roots music. They were not mandated to do this by any government body or social institution. The festivals have declared, as not-for-profit community groups, to become promoters of a specific genre and to engage, at different levels, with the assemblage that is roughly termed the music industry. I am interested to explore the process behind this declaration and the industrial and social impacts that flow from it.

I am, however, talking about music. I am speaking about the production and social life of music. Folk music appears to be more social than musical. Folk music, for the entire history of folk festivals in western Canada is beyond a single genre. But there is something that holds many of these artists together that is both extra-musical and musical at the same time. It is my hypothesis that it is the way folk music festivals work, and the business models they have developed, and the social aims of

these models, that provides the link that allows different musical styles to be programmed together, like Michael Franti and Utah Phillips, as folk. A folk festival is much more than the presentation of musical performances on a stage, although music performance is certainly part of it. I will argue that folk music is a process of production, a social process, and that folk music festivals open a window into this socially oriented—folk—mode of production.

It is also interesting to note that music at folk music festivals has not changed very much from the 1970s to today. A few words must be said about these musical styles so that a sense of the cultural setting of western Canadian folk music festivals can be gained before we move away from the music and musicians.

Comparing the Winnipeg and Vancouver folk music festival lineups from 1974 to 2006 is quite informative. As I will explain throughout the dissertation, the decisions to hire musicians to play folk festivals is made, usually, by a professional artistic director (AD). The AD is, in my experience, usually the professional administrator most in the public eye, and enjoys both the most adulation and the most criticism. The festival, in order to be successful, must have a lineup capable of inspiring attendance. It is, therefore, a reasonable guess to assume that festival lineups would be organized to satisfy the expectations of long-term attendees with a mix of familiar and new performers. It would also be a reasonable assumption that festivals would attempt to capitalize on new trends in folk music and, perhaps, stretch the definition of folk music to fit contemporary style. It turns out that these assumptions are supported by a review of the official lineups over the 32 years I have surveyed. But what is surprising is how little the lineups changed over that period of time. In the very first year of the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival Mimi Farina, and

Mike Seeger played alongside Canadians Bruce Cockburn, Enoch Kent, Oscar Brand, and Alan Mills. By 1978 the WFF lineup showed the breadth of artist-booking that would define western Canadian festivals. American artists Honeyboy Edwards, Elizabeth Cotton, John Hammond, the New Lost City Ramblers, and Ewan McColl and Peggy Seeger played along side Bai Konte (Gambia – Kora), Tony Bird (Malawi), Sukay (Ecuador-Peru, Bolivia and northern Chile – Quicha and Aymara indigenous culture), De Danann (Ireland), and Les Danseurs de la Riviere Rouge (Canada). In Vancouver, which began the same year many artists who had play at the first WFF were hired: John Allen Cameron (NS), Bruce Cockburn (Ont), Andy Cohen (USA), John Hammond (USA), Stan Rogers (Can), Mimi Farina (USA), and Mike Seeger (USA). Utah Phillips (USA), who would attend more than any other artists in the festivals history attended for the first time, along with Leon Bibb. Jon Bartlett and Rika Ruebsaat, long time Canadian Society for Tradition Music members, performed along with folklorist and song collector Phil Thomas, who was honoured for his life work collecting the folk songs of BC at the 2006 VFF shortly before his death.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the festivals developed similarly. Both increased the variety of countries represented but sustained the same mix of blues, old time (American), singer songwriter, maritime (NS and Nfld mainly), and what had become world music. At the 1992 WFF a few more popular music groups were added, such as the Barenaked Ladies, but many common folk music festival performers continued to be included: Willie P. Bennett (Ont), Greg Brown (USA), Ani DiFranco (USA), Stephen Fearing (Ont), Les Danseurs de la Riviere Rouge, Sue Foley (Ont), Connie Kaldor (Ont), James Keelaghan (MN), Loreena McKennitt

(Ont), Moxy Fruvous (Ont), The Oyster Band (UK), Jim Post (USA), John Renbourn (UK), Rumillajta (Andean folk), Quarteto de Guitarras de Coimbra (Portugal), Quetzalcoatl (Latin America), Peggy Seeger and Irene Scott (USA), Sukay, Sweet Honey in the Rock (USA), Tuva Ensemble (Mongolia).

It was during this time (1990s) that the Vancouver Folk Music Festival (VFF) began to be recognized as more world music oriented. This is understandable given the lineup at the time: Lillian Allen & Revolutionary Tea Party (Ont), Anoosh (QC), Attila the Stockbroker (UK), Joey Ayala and Bagong Lumad (Phillipines), Iva Bittova with Pavel Fajt (Czech), Boukman Eksperyans (Haiti), Caravan (Thailand), Candie & Guy Carawan (USA), Seleshe Damessae (Ethiopia/Vermont), Fatala (Guinea), Stephen Fearing (Ont), Celso Machado (BC), Loreena McKennitt (Ont), Shingoose (MN), Paul Ubana Jones (New Zealand).

By the mid 2000s, however, the number of world music acts performing at both the WFF and VFF had declined. The reasons for this change will require more research to discuss conclusively but it may be suggested here that the development of European markets, the increasing expense of airfare, and the increased difficulty, post 9-11, to obtain travel visas for musicians, have all played a limiting role.

It is also worth noting that at the 2006 festival season Utah Phillips, Bruce Cockburn, and the New Lost City Ramblers were all still playing the festivals. After 32 years of festival programming there were still singer-songwriters, world music performers, Appalachian groups, traditional European musicians from western and Eastern Europe, and maritime Canadian musicians. More recently (2009-2010), contemporary performers like Feist crossed over from the folk festival scene to the mainstream pop music market in the same way Cockburn did decades earlier. Moxy

Fruvous performer Jian Ghomeshi, now the host of CBC's most popular show *Q*, hosted the mainstage at the WFF. Loreena McKennitt closed the WFF after many years of not performing. Each year new performers and groups are introduced to growing festival audiences, but after 36 years of programming, the changes that have occurred have been relatively minor. And since these changes have been so minor it is my premise that it is not primarily the music that is responsible for the growth of the folk festival scene in western Canada. Musicians are, unquestionably, of central importance but their role has been privileged in much music discourse, and this is something I hope this study will redress. The work that the individuals and groups do to organize and run these festivals, the attention that they pay to the types of relationships that are established, may have much more to say about folk music in western Canada than any musical characteristic that might be shared amongst the musicians I have listed above. But to characterize such large organizations, which have little in the way of official connections, requires a special methodological focus.

A PHILOSOPHICAL METHODOLOGY

I will borrow machines (Deleuze 1983) from Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari who constructed conceptual tools useful for dissecting and mapping. Using these tools I will illustrate that the garden of the folk is, to use a language I borrow from Deleuze, a machine. I will illustrate that a garden is a special type of conceptual machinery constructed by humans to feed off of and add to human energy. A machine for Deleuze is both a mechanical and an abstract thing and both exist by connecting and processing flows of energy. Deleuze's ontological project was an attempt to "think of the real as a process" (Boundas 2005, 191).

Deleuze really stretches the idea of a machine far past what is usually accepted. It is rather poetic that a philosopher interested in challenging modernity would choose to use the very image of modernity to do so. Deleuze would likely insist that the machine, the steel and factory bound processor of nature, is not the first machine. The first machine is the earth; a great singular machine which produced all of the necessary requirements for life. The earth does not work alone though and relies on the sun, gravity, and its overall place in the universe. The earth is part of an assemblage just as the stomach is part of the digestive system, and the bee part of a plant's reproductive system. My definition for a machine, inspired by Deleuze, is the process which hooks onto and breaks a flow of energy. D+G argued, "Any given social formation restricts or structures movements or flows. They claim that these flows are not just the flows of money and commodities familiar to economists, but can be seen at a variety of levels" (Roffe 2005, 35). The machine is the process that restricts and structures these flows. Deleuze understands flow in relation to desire "that supports the conception of life as material flows" (Ross 2005, 63). Deleuze's system attempts to approach social production as the meeting place for Freud and Marx, and sees no difference between material or psychic production, in fact argues that they are connected. D+G call this Schizoanalysis, a method that emerges from mixing Freud with Marx so as to include libidinal factors into "explanations of social structure and development" (Holland 2005, 236) desire as material, and material as history.

The concept of desiring-production prevents desire from being understood in terms of 'lack': desiring-production actually produces what we take to be reality through the investment of psychical energy (libido), just as social-production produces what we take to be reality through the investment of corporeal energy (labour-power)" (Holland 2005, 65)

It becomes clear therefore that everything is a machine and everything is made by machinic processes. The metal machines of the modern factory are conceptually the same as the stomach, the mouth, the fibers on the bee that allow it to become an extension of the reproductive processes of flowers. These machines, whether they are physical machines, territorial machines, abstract machines, or desire machines all work by connecting and using flows that exist in the world. These machines are all nested within one another in an infinitely complex assemblage that is biological, territorial, social, and conceptual life. They are multiplicities that Deleuze builds from his work on Bergson. Multiplicities enter Bergson's work through G.B.R Riemann, a physicist and mathematician (Deleuze 1988, 39) and become a fundamental element of Deleuze's thought and his work later with Guattari.

I am interested in dissecting the garden to begin to identify the machines that are part of the folk music assemblage. In this dissertation I will use some of the tools that Deleuze provides to illustrate the machines and the flows that these machines are drawing from. The first step in this dissection is to take apart and identify the parts that make up folk music. I will illustrate that a single all encompassing definition for folk music is impossible as there is no single folk music but a variety of territories that each claim the image of the folk for itself. Each of the folk assemblages has its own garden constructed in its own way. These conceptual gardens overlap with one another, inform one another, and all have the same name. So before I can identify which garden I wish to get back to I have to take the folk gardens apart. To accomplish this task I must dissect the concept of the folk to illustrate that the word *folke* obscures that it is an assemblage, strata of layers of earth, or garden plots, that make the folk a concept that has no plural but is never singular.

I have chosen to use the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari because of the conceptual tools they have developed to open up complex concepts like the folk. The Body without Organs (BwO) is a useful concept to understand the folk. The term comes from the poetry of Antonin Artaud, but was not developed into a fully defined concept. The concept first emerged in *The Logic of Sense* and was explored more fully, with Guattari, in *Anit-Oedipus* and *A Thousand Plateaus*: “The BwO is proposed as a means of escaping what Deleuze and Guattari perceive as the shortcomings of traditional (Freudian, Lacanian) psychoanalysis. Rather than arguing that desire is based on Oedipal lack, they claim desire is a productive-machine” (Message 2005, 32).

The BwO can be a monstrous concept, a conceptual dead and empty shell. It can also be a glorious specter, a spirit, a ghost, and a beautiful and pure ideal. I prefer to use both of these images together and hold the complexity of their dissimilarity in one space. The BwO is both a beautiful ideal and a monster. There are many examples of this duality in the 20th century committed in the name of another related BwO, nationalism. There is a magic to acknowledging the existence of the BwO because it allows one to separate the concept from what the concept claims to be. Anderson illustrated quite effectively that the nation is “imagined” (Anderson 1983). Deleuze goes beyond the simply imagined to dissect the machines which work to produce the concepts, the territories, the desires which are all complicit in the creation and fulfillment of the BwO.

CHAPTER OUTLINE: ONE, TWO, AND THREE

The BwO of the folk, as I will illustrate in chapter one, is used as a guiding image for all those who participate in the construction of a territory. The BwO of the

folk therefore is different for each folk assemblage and while all are called by the same name the images are often not at all similar. Confusing the conceptual nature of the folk for a real people is not an accident. The BwO is a special type of concept that, once developed, hides the fact that it is only a concept. Just as the nation hides the fact that it is a territorial abstraction, the folk as well is a conceptual territory projected upon some groups and voluntarily accepted by others for themselves to support their own political goals. The creation and continuation of the BwO, like all conceptual and physical life, requires energy; the concept must be fed. The process by which these territories, which all fit together within an assemblage, become and remain established is the target of this dissertation.

In chapter two my target moves beyond the territory of the folk to explore the festival in western Canada in two different ways. Interviews that I have collected during the course of this research will be drawn from directly. I have not chosen to interview folk musicians who work at folk festivals in western Canada. Instead I have chosen to focus on the volunteers, festival workers, production crews, directors, and spectators that have established and maintain their festivals. The interviews are complemented by participant observation that I have undertaken from 2007-2009 at twelve festivals in western Canada.

My observations and my previous personal and professional history with the folk music industry, of which the festivals are part, weave together with my reading of D+G. I have chosen not to keep these threads apart, as I believe that woven together they create a conceptual and descriptive model. I am, of course, interested in providing a description of folk festivals in western Canada. But I am attempting to create a map of these festivals that moves beyond concepts. I have attempted to

create a map that approaches reality as closely as I can; a virtual model of a walk through the garden of the folk.

In chapter three I introduce an approach to social experience that I have called the carnival. I have attempted to explore Bakhtin's influential concept of the carnivalesque in a new light. Instead of keeping the festival and the carnival as two separate events I have taken these words and created new definitions. In chapter two I argue that the festival is a structure that is instituted and maintained by an elite and in three I define the carnival as the spontaneous social expression of community. I explore these two concepts through interviews and participant observation, but the carnival was suggested first in literature and in an inarticulate experience which I describe in detail.

There is one final methodological concept that needs to be introduced and that is the rhizome. The rhizome is a type of plant that is both a plant and a root system. Unlike a tree, or a flower, which has a single root, stem, and flower/leaves the rhizome has no beginning and no end. It is a system that moves horizontally underground and at points of connection or nodes establishes roots and a stem. On the surface of the ground one would see a field of flowers but under the soil all of the individual flowers are all attached by a single root system. This concept has had a significant influence on my thinking and has informed my methodology. The image of the rhizome is evident from the first lines of the introduction. My autobiographical opening was intended to illustrate how social nodes were formed on the Stan Rogers line. At each geographical point I established roots that formed my thinking about place, community, and self. I did not just learn a Stan Rogers' song, learning them formed me, and my future was shaped, in some small ways, and

in some large ways. I became bound, or bound myself, to a root system which would have a much more significant impact on me than I could have known. Each time I experienced the creation of a node I felt its significance and it was this personal experience that also helped to form the methodology that I would eventually employ here.

RHIZOME ETHNOGRAPHY

I employed a reflexive ethnographic method as discussed by Clifford and Marcus (Clifford 1986) for the purposes of producing an ethnography of the western Canadian folk festivals. The first section of this dissertation is a historical and philosophical discussion of the development of folk music and the folk music industry in which western Canadian folk festivals define their membership. The historical material provides the context for the ethnographic material was collected during the research period (2007-2009).

The ethnographic section will expand beyond Clifford and Marcus' methodology by following Marcus' 1995 call for a modernist approach (Marcus 1995). George Marcus points out that in ethnography there is already a "cinematic imagination at work in contemporary experiments in ethnographic writing"(Marcus 1995, 35). Recent experiments suggest to Marcus that a modernist ethnography is immanent. He sketches out what this may look like and suggests that we must begin by

1) Problematising the spatial – a break with the trope of settled community in realist ethnography. 2) Problematising the temporal. A break with the trope of history in realist ethnography. 3) Problematising perspective/voice. 4) The dialogic appropriation of concepts and narrative devices. 5) Bifocality. This involves effacing the distance of "otherness", a distance that has been so important in constituting the ethnographic gaze. 6) Critical juxtapositions and contemplation of alternative possibilities. (Marcus 1995, 42-3)

These six dictates of modernist ethnography take from cinema, if we follow Marcus, more of what ethnography has already borrowed. Engaging with twelve festivals across a fairly vast body of land and treating them, as a single differentiated and complex ethnographic experience, will produce rhizome ethnography. Marcus suggests that the multi-sited ethnography offers certain advantages over single-sited ethnographic method as “This mobile ethnography takes unexpected trajectories in tracing a cultural formation across and within multiple sites of activity that destabilize the distinction, for example, between lifeworld and system, by which much ethnography has been conceived” (Marcus 1995, 80). He suggests that one of the benefits of a multi-sited approach is that “Cultural logics so much sought after in anthropology are always multiply produced, and any ethnographic account of these logics finds that they are at least partly constituted within sites of the so-called system (i.e., modern interlocking institutions of media, markets, states, industries, universities—the worlds of elites, experts, and middle classes)” (Marcus 1995, 81). The multi-sited approach allows them to construct a map of a system of relations between subjects that allows for subjects to remain independent but to also be enmeshed within a system that is historically, industrially, and geographically larger than any of the single agents is entirely aware. The system is also a network that requires traveling through it to notice that it is a network with agents who quietly profit from its existence. From any single point the network is not obvious. But once the ethnographer has entered into the flow of circulation and has become nomadic, sketching a picture of the system becomes possible: “History is always written from the sedentary point of view and in the name of a unitary State apparatus, at least a possible one, even when the topic is nomads. What is lacking is a Nomadology, the

opposite of a history” (Deleuze 1987, 23). An important aspect of this approach is the feelings of connection that would not be obvious without the opportunity to share it with people who also share in the experience of circulation. It is generally referred to as being “on the road”. Like the filmic “road movie” the experience gained is of a certain impression of the world from a nomadic point of view.

A further reflexive device supplemented the fieldwork. I had built a website (www.westfolk.ca) which served as a place to post experiences and interview excerpts and early conceptual thinking on the project. It allowed members of the communities I visited an opportunity to follow along with my thinking and to make comments that I utilized in the writing of the word. The existence of this site was advertised on business cards that I handed out to all research informants. The site was also advertised through the mailing lists of participating festivals. By maximizing Web 2.0 technology I had created a research environment that allowed information to travel back and forth between me and anyone interested in getting involved. This flow of information provided an environment which problematised the ethnographic gaze and made the research work more performative, in the sense that I put myself, and my thinking, on the line. This approach attempted to realize what Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari proposed when they wrote:

There is no longer a tripartite division between a field of reality (the world) and a field of representation (the book) and a field of subjectivity (the author). Rather, an assemblage establishes connections between certain multiplicities drawn from each of these orders, so that a book has no sequel nor the world as its object nor one or several authors as its subject. In short, we think that one cannot write sufficiently in the name of an outside. The outside has no image, no signification, no subjectivity. The book as assemblage with the outside, against the book as image of the world. A rhizome-book, not a dichotomous, pivotal, or fascicular book. (Deleuze 1987, 23)

The outcome of the multi-sited ethnographic perspective is a type of map that moves beyond the single dimension of the topographical. This map is to be replaced with a multi-layered map of social groupings that exchange with one another across geographical space. This arguably postmodern sociology suggests that “The building block of human social life are not to be found in abstract categories applied to the analysis of social life, but in the multiplicity of social groupings that we all participate in, knowingly or not, through the course of our everyday lives” (Cova 2007, 4). To assist with this mapping process I have embraced a philosophical approach drawn from Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, authors that Marcus himself has claimed inspired multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995, 86): the rhizome.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

This study of folk music festivals in western Canada will make a contribution to the folk music literature on three fronts. The application of the assemblage and machine concepts, developed from Deleuze and Guattari and adapted to the study of folk music, will provide much needed clarity to an otherwise murky concept. Secondly, I will provide a multi-layered historical narrative which will situate folk music within the economic structures set out in the development of art music and popular music. Finally, I will illustrate, using the folk music festivals in western Canada as my sample, how contemporary folk music festivals utilize a community oriented approach to economics and how this approach emerged entwined with folk music aesthetics.

The economic question will be framed within social capital literature and will attempt to answer a question that Robert Putnam has posed recently:

While many important forms of social capital have declined, newer ways of connecting with friends and neighbors-- including volunteering and joining small

groups-- have emerged. Moreover, the decline that has afflicted such traditional manifestations of civic involvement as membership in voluntary associations, voting, and taking part in electoral politics has been concentrated most heavily among the socially and economically marginalized, not among the more privileged segments of the middle class. These differential rates of decline, together with the fact that nearly all forms of social capital (old and new) remain heavily slanted toward the privileged rather than the marginalized, raise, in my view, an important normative question: Can social capital in the United States be developed in ways that do a better job of bridging the privileged and the marginalized than appears to be the case at present? (Putnam 2002, 67)

I will argue that what is taking place at folk music festival suggests a new and productive way to develop social capital. The development of aesthetic communities is where large-scale social capital can be developed. As I will show in my research it is community aesthetics, or the work that the gardener undertakes when at work in the garden, that contributes to the increases in social capital. I will argue that folk music festivals in western Canada have a positive impact on the communities in which they operate because they aid in the development of social capital which spills out into other areas of community life.

WHY NOT RITUAL?

It is important to articulate clearly and in advance that I am not going to discuss the festival as a ritual. I am making this clarification because so often festival gets incorporated in ritual literature. This is quite natural as a large number of festivals around the world play an important role in spiritual and religious life. The carnival has also played an important role in ritual literature because of the temporary “ritual inversion” of the status quo for which it allows (Bell 1997, 120). Ritual is often described as a type of social rite enacted for the maintenance of social health (Bell 1997, 39). This has been most profoundly argued by Victor Turner in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Turner 1969), where he argues that a dialectic between order and social disorder (antistructure) which he calls *communitas* establishes

healthy community. He further argues that “the ritual provides tangible and compelling personal experiences of the rightness and naturalness of the group’s moral values”(Bell 1997, 41).

Turner’s approach separates the cultural field (symbolic) from the social field and explores the symbolic negotiations that happen in ritual. This proves to be an issue for me as it limits the types of exchanges to the symbolic. Instead of focusing on individuals engaged in social exchanges for the creation of affective groups, ritual exchange serves another purpose. Exchange in ritual theory is often an offering to a divine being or a sacrifice (Bell 1997, 108-14). If all members of the social group I am studying shared the same symbolic language then these negotiations might work as Turner suggested. But what happens in complex communities with no obviously shared symbolic structure upon which to exchange? If across the social field there are not overtly shared cultural symbols then another form of exchange must be present. I will argue that cultural forms emerge from the social field of interaction. Instead of exploring how this occurs in relation to ritual I will instead suggest that social interactions and exchange produce an aesthetic order for the creation of different types of “machines” for social order. Each of the machines participates, in a non-dialectical way, in the creation of social space. Implicit in this co-creation is what Rob Shields, in his discussion of Michel Maffesoli, called a, “Dionysian quality of the transcendent warmth of the collectivity (*divin social*)” (Shields 1996, x). It is precisely the creation of an impression of divinity that is immanent in the social (immanent transcendence) that suggests to me that ritual theory should not be dismissed out of hand. But there are, I feel, too many issues which first need to be

dealt with before an exploration of the ritualization of the divine social may be possible.

The second reason I will not be utilizing Turner's approach is simpler. Turner's dialectic between structure and anti-structure was not proved out in my research. Instead I will argue for a more complex understanding of social structure. Turner wrote of *communitas*, "For me, *communitas* emerges where social structure is not" (Turner 1969, 126). Instead in chapter two and three I define two different forms of structure that are always implicating each other in the creation of social groups. I do not allow for any structure-less space in the sense that Turner's system requires.

CHAPTER OUTLINE: FOUR, FIVE, AND SIX

Instead of explaining a ritual I will map a garden. My garden, like all gardens, is a creation. It is an abstraction and a simulation of another folk garden. But this garden is different than many that came before it. This new garden of the folk is part of a larger social change that is informed by environmental and political ideas that have, like political pollen, floated upon the breeze until hitting fertile soil, or like the roots of the rhizome, grown underground until they reached another root to then create a node. Chapter four and five describe how these new nodes have formed and have impacted the folk BwO and folk festivals in western Canada. I will employ the assemblage theory approach that I introduce in the first chapter to illustrate how folk festivals are constructed and how exchanges between these territories allow the festival to function and to simultaneously define folk music and folk festivals. I introduce social capital theory to help define the currency that flows across and through the social spaces. I will conclude with the suggestion that it is time to

reexamine global cultural capital exchange and our notion of the relationship between cultural industries and community development. I will point out that somewhere between the private sector and the public sector folk music festivals have developed a place of their own built upon participation and a new definition of the folk which, as I point out in Chapter Six, is currently developing. I attempt to do this by engaging in a nomadic form of ethnography which blends the twelve different festivals or fourteen events into one complex map.

CHAPTER ONE: A MAP OF NINE FOLK MUSIC ASSEMBLAGES

Introduction

The folk and folk music are complex and often confusing ideas. It is important to develop a way to clearly articulate what one is referring to when using the term folk or folk music. Folk and folk music do not suffer from a lack of definitions but maybe from the opposite, an overwhelming number of definitions and claims. The folk and their music are conceptual territories, so before I can discuss folk music in western Canada I have to unpack these various territories. A performer or scholar of folk music moves through these conceptual territories, often chasing conceptual ghosts. Images of the folk populate the mind and sometimes these images are dressed like Civil War re-enactors, lumberjacks, Elizabethan songsters, protest singers, sharecroppers, European villagers, Celtic bards, or like Dylan being Woody Guthrie. Each of these images of the folk musician is tied to other conceptual baggage which taken together can be understood as a folk music assemblage. Before I begin a detailed discussion of each of the folk music assemblages, separate from one another, an overview will help orient the following discussion and illustrate the rhizomatic nature of folk music.

CHASING FOLK MUSIC AFTER THE “REVIVAL”

Folk music performances in western Canada are no longer predominantly a celebration of nationalism. But folk music has never only been about nationalism. Even before Herder helped to capture rural music to characterize the nation, like a naturalist with a butterfly, local musicians had been busy in local economies. Rural musicians struggled with their own form of enclosure as the business of music kept pace with the expansion of industry. The music culture of rural people was beginning

to be called folk music and enclosed for the production of nationalism. Scholars and song collectors published the music of rural people to protect it from the pressures of development. Not until recording technology developed to a significant degree did rural musicians have access to the music industry. But that window, which opened tentatively in the late 1920s, was closed again by the depression of the 1930s. In the early 1960s rural musicians again received a modicum of interest. Their images and musical styles were “revived”--rural musicians were probably unaware that their music had perished--and their musical styles were swept up in the great American folk revival. Folk music began to slip out from under the heavy responsibility of speaking for a nation. Instead it was Bob Dylan who became the voice for a generation, at least for a few years. The industrial music economy had successfully but unintentionally replaced much, but not all, of the earlier folkloric notions of folk music. The American folk music revival was still, after all, *American*.

Folk music in the so-called American folk revival was much more than American and much more than folk music. Folk music was a collection of what Rosenberg termed named-systems revivals,² Appalachian, old time, country blues, Gaelic, Celtic, Irish, Scottish, English, Eastern European, and ballad singing. But this revival was likely not so much a revival as a change in the attitude of young Americans. Instead of shirking their parent’s music for pop, soul, or rock and roll the way their parents had, some young people in the revival embraced the music of their grandparents or even great grandparents. It is likely that many of these young people were inspired by the authenticity of the roots of popular music just as earlier folk

²This is a term Neil V. Rosenberg (1993) uses to refer to specific revival forms which all contribute to American folk music.

musicians were constructed to be authentically the voice of the nation. The American folk revival was not, in the main, the revival of a politically oriented romantic nationalism but something quite different. It was the creation of a new approach to the folk and to folk music. To appreciate the intricacies of this new approach requires situating it within the larger field of folk music and folk music scholarship.

The folk revival was not an American invention nor did it only occur in America. The American folk revival was another instance of the establishment of the concept of folk music as an aspect of nationalism. What was unique about the American folk revival was the incorporation of these elements into the developing popular music industry. This aspect of the American folk revival had an impact on Canadian culture as well, through both urban scenes and music festivals. The Yorkville neighborhood of Toronto was considered by all accounts³ Greenwich Village north. In America the Newport Folk Music Festival (1959) and its Canadian equivalent the Mariposa Folk Music Festival (1961) became important institutions. The most successful performers in the Yorkville scene who performed at these festivals were incorporated by the American industry.

The other aspect of the revival was not a revival at all but an innovation on the idea of folk music. Urban professional singer-songwriter performers like Bob Dylan emulated and then re-cast the political image of Woody Guthrie and other politically and socially progressive musician-activists for mass consumption. Along with the activist performers of the 1930s rural musicians who had attempted a career

³ For a detailed discussion of this relationship please see “Folk Music and the Community in ‘The Village’: Greenwich Village and Yorkville in the 1960s” (Mitchell 2007, 111-34).

in the newly developing music industry were being rediscovered. Old recordings which had collected dust for decades were being “rediscovered”, which Greil Marcus has characterized as, the discovery of “the old weird America”(Marcus 1998, 87). Rural music styles that were packaged as exotic hillbilly music and race music in the 1920s, were reimagined in the 1960s, as the founding documents of rock and roll. Hillbilly music, race music, and even some cowboy music was all collected under the umbrella of folk music as the roots of popular music, or simply roots music. Folk music, as I will show, had become characterized as a useful tool for nationalism, for organized union resistance, as an avenue for personal expression, and as a means to create community. Each of these different approaches that had developed in America were added to an already existing number of folk music assemblages.

The American folk revival or the great folk scare, as it is now called by many folkies, abruptly ended when Dylan walked on the Newport Folk Festival stage in 1965 with an electric guitar. The impact of this symbolic gesture still resonates within popular culture. In a recent film⁴ reference the Dylan character lets loose upon an unsuspecting festival audience with automatic weapons. Dylan’s symbolic rejection and shedding of his Woody Guthrie persona for the image of a leather jacket wearing pop star seems to have been a traumatic blow to folk revival. Dylan along with major label interests moved to the next musical trend. But many of the small volunteer run folk music clubs continued to exist. Many people continued to be involved with folk music. Perhaps this is due in part to the high levels of fan participation that was expected from folk music fans, called folk-niks or folkies. Folkie communities

⁴ *I’m Not There* (Haynes 2007) is a fictional/documentary film about aspects of Bob Dylan’s personal, professional, and creative life.

developed to support named systems revivals and independent singer-songwriters far away from the bright lights of mainstream media. Over time this particular and homespun approach to music business grew into something more than anyone expected.

Since the founding of the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival (WFF) in 1974 many western communities have followed suit and created not-for-profit community organizations to run a local folk music festival. These festivals can generally be grouped into city folk festivals and rural festivals. But there is much more behind this distinction than is immediately apparent. City festivals in many cases were based upon the WFF volunteer model. Many rural festivals on the other hand are a creative outgrowth of the 1970 and 1980 back-to-the-land movement that compelled young, educated and urban youth to leave their home cities to settle in rural, northern western communities.

Since the 1970s folk music festivals have developed in size, sophistication, influence, and economic maturity. But the festivals in western Canada did not develop alone. By 1989 an international network of folk music festivals and associate industry organized to form the North American Folk Music and Dance Alliance or Folk Alliance (FA). These organizations emerged out of the industrial debris of the folk revival and the community oriented impulse of the hippie movement, the arts and crafts movement, the back-to-the-land movement, and political orientation of some Trotskyists.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ASSEMBLAGE THEORY

The French philosopher Gilles Deleuze, later working with psychoanalyst Felix Guattari, developed a conceptual approach to the world based upon exchange

relationships between territories. The territory can be understood both as a geographical and a temporal space. When a geographical space is meaningfully organized with internal and exterior relations a territory has emerged. Deleuze and Guattari (D+G) argue that the same is true of concepts: when a concept forms internal consistencies and a network of relationships with the outside then the concept is established as a territory. A territory, geographical or conceptual, emerges for “all productive processes as they become actualized in the world” (Fulsang 2006, 2). D+G add a third type of territory to their theoretical work, individual and group identity. Internal consistencies and external relations analogous to conceptual and territorial formations establish these human territories.

Every concept, territory, and individual, according to D+G, is an assemblage (Deleuze 1987, 80, 85, 88, 242, 257-60, 306). An assemblage is a unique concept because it is a single entity made up of other entities. So the assemblage exists as two things at once. It is a concept, a territory, and an individual and it is also a collection of other concepts brought together to produce something else at another scale (ibid.,503). D+G use an example from geology to make this point more clear. Assemblages come into being as territorialization; individuals, individual relationships and families are primary territorialities.

D+G are not as interested in what things mean but in how they work: “The order itself has no intrinsic meaning, but once in place it acquires a meaning. Like sedimentary rock caught in the grips of the earth itself, this content is transformed into a stable and functional form which is then actualized in everyday life, producing new sets of contents” (Buchanan 2004, 7). Creating a diagram of an assemblage allows for an inquiry into how an assemblage works and what kinds of forces are at

work to hold it together. A description of these forces of cohesion opens a window into what an assemblage *means*. The following example will make this clearer.

A rock is a single entity. But rock is also a collection of smaller particles that were pressed into form. To understand a rock means to understand the forces that create sedimentary drainage, sedimentary collection, and the forces which press these separate sediments together. The layers of rock which make up the earth are a useful metaphor for assemblages. Each of these layers, which can be called a stratum, has a stratum above and below. These strata transfer pressure onto the stratum in question. The exterior stratum of rock that covers the earth is put under a variety of pressures. Rain, the sun, humans and other animals, as well as tectonic shifts all impact the surface layer, breaking it apart. The strata are always under one of two forms of pressure. Either the strata is being pressed together--territorialization--broken apart--deterritorialization--or put back together reterritorialization (Deleuze 1987, 508-10).

But rocks are not always formed of only one consistent mineral. Sometimes there are seams of different materials that run through the rock. In this case material runs through strata from top to bottom. In this sense there is a communication of minerals from one stratum to the next. In this case rainwater may seep down into the earth and bring other minerals from the surface sedimentary layer to a layer deep inside the body of the earth. This is also true of social strata. Social territories, like strata, stack up and form conceptual assemblages with seams which allow for social movement up or down the assemblage to each of the stratum. The assemblage is like nested Russian dolls that fit one inside the next. But these dolls are porous and allow materials to flow between them from stratum to stratum.

It can get complex and confusing moving back and forth between the assemblage as *the single thing* and the assemblage as *the collection of things*. D+G provide some guidance in this regard. They suggest that an assemblage can be discussed as either a molar or as a collection of molecules (Deleuze 1983, 283).

The molar is a single conceptual or physical territory. The molar can be as large as the universe or as small as an atom. The molecular on the other hand is a collection of smaller territories that are held together to produce the molar. This process can be repeated. Going inside one of the molar at the molecular level will reveal yet another molecular level. Manuel DeLanda has called this molar – molecular approach to the production of territories -- Assemblage Theory (DeLanda 2006). Assemblage theory suggests that all territories geographical, physical, or conceptual are always part of larger and smaller territories (DeLanda 2006, 3). This also applies to people: “The smallest scale comprises a population of individual persons, but the subjectivity of each of these persons must itself be conceived as an assemblage of sub-personal components” (DeLanda 2006, 253).

For Deleuze everything is process (Deleuze 1962/1983, 20-30). Everything is in the process of becoming assembled or disassembled. Territories are created, maintained, and broken apart at all times. There is no stability or stasis and no balance in their work (Deleuze 1990, 5, 91-92). An assemblage is a collection of territories that are held together by their internal workings and represent a cohesive system on the outside. But once inside at the molecular level the illusion of cohesiveness melts away to reveal a complex network of negotiations where the results allow for the continuation or change of the workings of the territory. Every

territory, once inside, is a complex system established through internal negotiation and exchange.

Assemblage theory has much to offer the study of folk music. Approaching folk music as an assemblage with a molecular structure allows a researcher to sketch out the different conceptual and social territories that musicians navigate. Before going any further with assemblage theory I will put it to use to show its value. In the following example a musician moves into different assemblages each with different rules and expectations. He is forced to navigate his exchange with other people within the rules of exchange agreed upon by members of the territory. In some instances he is able to negotiate with agents because they exist at the same strata of social power. But in other cases he is at the mercy of agents who represent a higher⁵ stratum of social power within the assemblage.

AN EXAMPLE OF TERRITORIAL NEGOTIATION: DOCK BOGGS

Dock Boggs was born on February 7th 1898 the tenth child of a musical family. Boggs began to work in a Norton, Virginia coal mine at age twelve. In 1927 “two men from New York and a guy from Kentucky named Carter” (Boggs 1965) set up shop at the Norton Hotel. Word got around that these three men were representing the Brunswick recording company from New York City. They had arrived in town to audition “mountain talent” for their label. According to Boggs’ recollections they “tried out” about 50 or 70 men. Boggs heard about the audition from a friend who convinced him to take part. But Boggs had no banjo. The friend suggested he go to McLure’s, a local music store, and ask to borrow a banjo. Boggs,

⁵ I have chosen to use higher and lower because the idea of being high as “out of reach” is useful in this case. But I do not use higher in the sense of more morally correct as in “the high ground”.

banjo in hand, arrived at the ballroom of the hotel and sat amongst the other local performers. He waited his turn and played a few songs for the label representatives. Not long later he was contacted and was informed of his success. He was soon on his way to New York to “cut a record”. He recorded 12 songs for Brunswick and could have recorded more, Boggs recalled, but because of “domestic troubles” he stopped recording and went back to work at the local mine.

In his early 1960s Folkways Records retrospective interview with Mike Seeger, Boggs made it clear that the idea of recording his music was an alien concept at the time but one that quickly began to make sense given the associated rewards. Boggs said, “I never thought about ever playing commercially or playing to record music for phonograph companies or nothing like that until I got the opportunity” (Boggs 1965, track two). Later in the interview Dock described the music that he chose to play:

I learned it from a man from Tennessee I don't know ah...Crawford...Homer Crawford...and he played the old way of playing...They asked me to play another one and I started to play the Down South Blues a song that I learned. I had learned some of it off of a phonograph record back a year before this and it was played on the piano but I played it on the banjo I played it and put a verse or two which I made myself and I played a bit and they marked good on that. They came around with the paper and signed me up to make a phonograph record and three weeks after that I was on my way to New York City. (ibid.)

Boggs presents himself to Seeger as the country musician that just stumbled into a hotel ballroom with a borrowed banjo and whisky breath, and competed with already regionally established professional musicians. Boggs was savvy enough to acknowledge what the “judges” were looking for and to respond in kind. He presented himself in the interview as being unprepared and not even having a banjo but also says that he interpreted a song from a record a year before and rewrote it for banjo and added verses. It is reasonable to speculate that he already had a banjo, a

phonograph player, the records, and the interest and developed skill to produce original versions of older songs. It is also unlikely that the notion of recording had not crossed his mind. It is more likely in keeping with the domestic troubles that abruptly ended his career that he underwent social pressures at home with his wife and from his religiously oriented community. It is likely that he was pressured out of contemplating a career in the music industry. He would not let that opportunity pass twice.

The second opportunity for Boggs to record came in 1963 when Mike Seeger arrived on his front step with his wife and children. Seeger had first heard about Boggs from an aluminum recording that his parents Charles and Ruth Crawford Seeger had made in the 1930s. Charles and Ruth were first introduced to the music of Dock Boggs at “Tom Benton’s apartment in New York City in about 1932”(Seeger 1989, 19). Seeger wrote that “my father told me later that this recording, made only about 5 years earlier, helped him and my mother realize that, contrary to then-current musicological opinion, there really was a living American folk music” (ibid). The Seeger’s made a copy of the recording that the young Mike listened to as a child. Two of Boggs’ early recordings were included on the highly influential *Anthology of American Folk Music* compiled by visual experimental artist Harry Smith and released by Folkways Records of New York City in 1952. In the early 1960s Seeger formed a very successful folk revival group called the New Lost City Ramblers, which sparked the southern string band revival in America. While Seeger was touring with the Ramblers a number of revivalists, who were inspired by early recordings, decided that they would attempt to find some of these early performers.

Seeger heard from a fellow revivalist that had met a cousin of Dock Boggs who claimed that Dock lived in one of the mining communities in eastern Kentucky. Seeger traveled down to Kentucky and began to ask around for Boggs. He soon began to find people who were familiar with him and his playing style. Seeger remembered, “We stopped in downtown Neon, a coal mining town, and asked our way. Yes, they knew Dock, and our conversation quickly went beyond geographic directions to discussion of his music style...This musicological discussion on the streets of Neon indicates the depth of importance and understanding of music in Eastern Kentucky”(Seeger 1989, 20).

In the town of Norton Virginia, where Seeger heard Boggs might be living, and at Seeger’s wife suggestion, he looked in the phone book for Dock Boggs. Much to his surprise he found the listing and Boggs. Seeger recalled, “I expressed admiration of his music but I know from later talks with him he wasn’t sure what I was up to. Someone had recently come for a visit looking for songs to sing and, he expected, to copyright” (ibid.). Later that evening Seeger began to make recordings with Boggs and soon after contacted the Newport Folk Festival and Folkways records. Both organizations were very keen on working with the newly found Dock Boggs.

NEGOTIATING TERRITORIES: THE POLITICS OF EXCHANGE

Boggs was a musically expressive person who moved between territories, as they were available. Making a record changed the way he thought about music. In some senses his musical skills were not personal. They were connected to his family musical traditions and the traditions of the community in which he developed. He had become aware of the implications of transforming his musical skills into a

commodity, a transformation that he underwent but not completely of his own accord. Boggs' and many other southern musicians had become a natural resource for the fledgling music industry. But it would be incorrect to suggest that this was a new concept. This form of resource extraction had already been underway for the previous two centuries. What was new this time is the method of extraction, the audio recording.

Before 1927 folk music extraction was literary and material culture extraction. Antiquarians, folklorists, musicologists, and ballad collectors, mined the countryside for old songs. The songs were collected and published in authoritative texts or sold by the sheet on the street corner. These songs were argued over, debated, played, archived, rewritten, used in theatre plays, and sometimes their themes were incorporated into orchestral works. Before 1927 the melodies of folk songs were collected or taken from those who made them and the local communities who kept them in circulation. The invention of sound recording technology allowed the sounds to be spirited away on shellac or vinyl where previously only the lyrics and the representation of the melody (notation) could have been. But this description, while generally accurate, gives the impression that nothing ever went back the other way. It is incorrect to assume that the mining of human expressiveness ended there. The purpose of mining musical culture is to convert it into a commodity and sell it. After the musical culture was monetized it was traded in the marketplace. It is certain that Dock Boggs' recordings were purchased by members of his community and that Boggs early recordings were already inspired by earlier popular music recordings.

If Boggs could have escaped his social world he might have attempted to make a living as a musician. But that was not an option. Boggs was living within a

community whose social rules he accepted. Boggs gave up a professional music career as part of the negotiation with other members of the community.

The tension that comes to the surface in the Dock Boggs example is that of territory. When Boggs signed that contract with the record label he entered into a different relationship and into a different territory with different rules. Boggs temporarily, as a community musician and as a recording artist, existed in two different territories.

The first two songs Boggs recorded were taken from three different territories. The first song he learned from a friend. He picked the song up within a face-to-face social community. The first verses of the second song he learned from record, the popular music territory, and the final verses he made himself, his own creative territory. Boggs was engaged in a number of different territories, a multiplicity.

But Boggs also became part of other territories. He was a living example of the folk for Charles and Ruth Crawford Seeger. Because of this, the indirect impact that Boggs had on the study of folk music is vast. Boggs' early recording played some modest role in influencing Charles Seeger towards ethnomusicology. The sound of Boggs voice and banjo was incorporated into Mike Seeger's image of what American folk music was. The rural music of Virginia was deterritorialized and reterritorialized as American folk music in both an academic sense through Charles Seeger and a folk revival sense through Mike Seeger. It is likely that Seeger incorporated the image of the "banjo picker with that rough, wild voice"(Seeger 1989, 20) into his own persona and through him into his recordings. Boggs thus existed in and contributed to the establishment a variety of territories. The characterization of these folk music territories emerges from the exchanges that occur within them. The folk territory

that has Boggs as a contributor is going to be different from one that does not. The folk territory that accepts audio recordings is going to be different than one that does not. This characterization suggests another process. Just as Seeger incorporated the rough and wild image of *Dock Boggs as the folk* so too are territories characterized by a type of ideal image that D+G call the BwO.

A NEW CONCEPT FOR THE FOLK: BODY WITHOUT ORGANS

The term folk has a history of discourses which all set out to describe the folk in some way. All of these discourses share a fundamental belief that the folk concept represents something concrete. A group organizes around a shared and negotiated image of the folk. This image works like a conceptual mascot which helps members of an assemblage negotiate their relationships with each other. This concept D+G call the BwO. Each assemblage that organizes around the idea of the folk has its own conceptual construction of what the folk ultimately is, its own competing BwO of the folk. Groups territorialize, deterritorialize, and reterritorialize based on the negotiations that occur on a variety of levels around the conceptually and then physically constructed representation of the folk and folk music. Ultimately, the BwO of the folk is the measure by which all of the physical and affective representations of the folk are evaluated. Again, it is quite clear how complex this system of negotiations can be. Everyone exchanges their own sketches based on their own BwO of the folk that they have developed from other attempted representations. But this is precisely what occurs. The folk is not a people that can be seen and represented it is a concept and only ever exists as a concept. But it is a concept that has proven to have immense social power. Individuals and nations have shaped themselves in their image of the folk. So it is not enough to say it is only a

concept and therefore let us stop arguing what or who the folk is. It is important to come to terms with how this concept works so effectively as a mechanism for social organization.

The BwO is effective as a concept because it provides an ideal type, “You never reach the body without organs, you can’t reach it, you are forever attaining it, it is a limit”(Deleuze 1987, 150). Part of the power of the BwO is that it appears to be a social reality and not a social construct. The BwO has an impact on the way members of the group relate to one another. The exchanges that happen inside the territory are shaped by the way members of the territory relate their exchanges to the BwO of the assemblage. Members of a folk music assemblage will evaluate their exchanges based on the folk BwO. If the folk assemblage is organized around old ballads then the older ballads have more value in exchange. If the folk assemblage is based upon community participation then skilled community facilitators have the opportunity to develop a great deal of influence in the assemblage.

The BwO is a special type of social concept that once created hides the fact that it itself is a creation (Deleuze 1983, 11). The BwO is in part *a priori* as it exists prior to one’s experience with it but it also emerges from it as a product of group development. The BwO of the folk is learned by potential members of an assemblage through the process of recognizing the distinct characteristics and point of view which group members share. When the decision has been made to join a group and members of the group respond to the performative request, then the negotiation process of becoming acculturated to the norms of the group begins. This process will likely involve ways of speaking and dressing and will potentially include ways of thinking and being in the world. This is the transformation, as I will discuss

throughout the dissertation, which culminates in the acknowledgement of folkie or hippie status in the folk festival assemblage.

The remainder of this chapter will make use of the Deleuzian tools that I have developed to dissect the folk music assemblage. I will show that behind the concept of the folk lies a dense collection of molecular territories that each have a BwO. None of the territories within the folk music assemblage currently have a name. I will call each of these territories by the main player who has, or whose work has, informed the construction of the folk BwO employed within that assemblage. Each of the territories within the folk music assemblage is itself an assemblage of people, actions (exchanges), and ideas. My mapping of folk music territories is going to proceed in a chronological order but is not a periodization. I have chosen to describe the assemblages which have impacted folk music and my study of folk music in western Canada and introduce them in the order they have developed.

The names I give to each of the territories that make up the folk music assemblage will sometimes use the name of a historical individual. But I am not providing a historical account of that individual. Instead I am using the idea of that person as a type of icon or idol for the territory that has been built around them. At other times I will be describing a territory built around an object and will approach the object in the same way I have approach the individual. When I move from one territory to another there will be periods of overlap where one territory is connected to the next. These are obvious instances of relationships, which may always exist between related assemblages. The assemblage is a stratum where layers of territory press against other layers of territory. It may be useful to conceive of the assemblage of folk music as a bag of marbles where individual marbles press up against other

marbles. This image is useful because like marbles the territories once established do not tend to disappear.

The first assemblage I will discuss does not dissolve into the second, instead each assemblage is another marble in an ever-growing bag. At the conclusion of the chapter I will have described the folk music assemblage, an assemblage of assemblages, as completely as it is required for my discussion of folk music festivals in western Canada. But the folk music assemblage that I will be mapping is not meant to be exhaustive. On the contrary, this chapter is only a first step in a much larger mapping project to which others may contribute.

FOLK TERRITORY I: HERDER INVENTS THE FOLK

In the mid-eighteenth century Johann Gottfried Herder influentially characterized folk music as the creative expression of, “a folk whose aesthetic creativity sprang from nature” (Bohlman 1988, xix). The folk were geographically and culturally bounded communities whose shared identity and musical culture were interchangeable. Entire communities used the same words, had the same dialect, and the same manner of musical expression. Folk music was, like language and symbol, a means of community solidarity for members of the community and a method of identification or labeling by outsiders. This labeling methodology developed out of the German scholarship of *Sprachinseln* or speech islands which influenced the development of *Kulturkreislehre* or culture circles (Bohlman 1988, 58). It is a short leap to connect folk music, language, culture and then ethnicity. If the music of culture circles was folk music then it was also all of these other things as well. Early folk music scholarship, which would have a lasting influence, used folk music as a

means of describing and labeling cultural, geographical, and ethnically distinct groups. But the early description of folk music did not include class.

To think about a group of people by economic class was a later development, “which culminated in the first part of the nineteenth century. It was an essentially unintended and unanticipated effect of a struggle to restore social institutions guaranteeing group status and individual security” (Bauman 1982, 4). The development of class has a direct bearing on the second sense of the folk as pre-industrial. Individuals and communities in pre-industrial society turned to parishes and locally developed institutions for their status and position in society. The development of modern capitalist industrialization caused “the failure of the parish or the guild to deliver according to the time-sanctioned expectations and took the bottom out of the entire mode of life” (Bauman 1982, 5). The social infrastructure of the culture island was undermined by the shifting power of industrial society. The sense of loss that developed out of this process was attributed to the folk. It was no longer just a term to designate a culture circle but also a term to designate a lost culture.

Throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century philosophers, economists, and politicians were thinking about these people and these groups in different ways. Adam Smith established a theory of social development in his Four-Stage Theory of Development from his 1762 lectures on jurisprudence. He claimed that humans pass through Age of Hunters, then Shepherds, then Agriculture, then Commerce. Members of Herder’s folk communities became people who were behind the times and in the way of progress. Folk music was attributed to rural, pre-

industrial, culturally and ethnically bound people who were now also outside of contemporary history. They were culture groups that time forgot.

Rousseau suggested in the *Social Contract* that society is based upon structures that are beyond our historical reach, “The philosophers, who have examined the foundations of society, have, every one of them, perceived the necessity of tracing it back to a state of nature, but not one of them has ever arrived there” (Rousseau 1762/2003, 2). He was not deterred. He had already decided that social structure must be a “natural” expression of nature, “What people, then, is a fit subject for legislation? One which already bound by some unity of origin, interest, or convention, has never yet felt the real yoke of law; one that has neither customs nor superstitions deeply ingrained” (ibid., 33). He established a sensible if not overly simple formula for the making of social order in the *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, “Those who heretofore wandered through the woods, by taking to a more settled way of life, gradually flock together, coalesce into several separate bodies, and at length form in every country distinct nations, united in character and manners, not by any laws or regulations, but by a uniform manner of life, a sameness of provisions, and the common influence of the climate” (Rousseau 1910/2004, 31). With some derision Voltaire responded to Rousseau’s clear preference for the natural world in a letter, “One longs, in reading your book, to walk on all fours. But as I have lost the habit for more than sixty years, I feel unhappily the impossibility of resuming it” (ibid., vi).

The connection between nature and the “natural” social order was well established in the late 18th century. But with it a sense of loss, the same sense of inability that Rousseau lamented, was echoed by Herder in 1767, “Our bucolic poets

and singers of nature therefore cannot pluck the flowers of these plants; even if we had German names, they would not be familiar enough, they would not have enough poetic dignity, for our poems are no longer written for shepherds but for city-dwelling Muses, our language is limited to the language of book” (Herder 2002, 33).

The Jacobite Uprising of 1745, the American War of Independence in 1775, the French Revolution of 1789, and the Napoleonic Wars which followed, changed the political and social shape of much of the modern world. Herder’s philosophy echoes hopefulness even in a period plagued by wars. The power structures were changing and the people, once considered the great rabble, were now coming into power. There was something in the air, a certain spirit of change. Herder wrote in 1792, “What spirit is, my friend, cannot be described, drawn, painted-but it can be felt, it expresses itself through thoughts, movements, through striving, force, and effect” (Herder 2002, 361).

Herder saw the settlement of Europe as conflict and oppression. He believed that “the common event which founded Europe was, from the fifth to the tenth or thirteenth century, the settlement of savage or barbaric people in this part of the world, their political organization, and their so-called conversion” (ibid, 362). Society was founded upon the organization of nomadic, wild, and barbaric people brought together and “civilized”. The church formed the basic order of law and subjected the populations to its rule. There was absolutely no concept yet of a popular local voice.

Herder began to see, in the revolution, a great change coming, “Europe perish! Has it not caused itself and the world trouble for long enough? Not for long enough conducted senseless wars for the sake of religion or family succession? Do not all parts of the world drip with the blood of those whom it killed, with the sweat

of those whom it tortured as slaves?” (Herder 2002, 365). Herder believed, or hoped, that “Regents will themselves become enlightened enough to acknowledge the stupidity in this, and to prefer to rule over a number of industrious citizens rather than over an army of mutually murdering animals...So let me believe, my friend, that the mad, raging system of conquest is not the basic constitution of Europe, or at least need not be so, and also will not be so for ever” (ibid., 365). In Herder’s writings we find optimism in human potential. What is most significant about Herder, especially for our purposes, is his articulation of this optimism in a political image of the people he called *the folk*.

The study of folk song began in Germany with the publication of Herder’s two-volume work *Volkslieder* (1778,1779). Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm’s famous collections of folktales followed in 1812. Herder’s work focused on what the *volk* produced and who they were. In his view they were peasants and rural artisans who could be grouped by ethnicity and locality: “For Herder and for many subsequent writers on such subjects ... the culture of the Folk, their tales and music and crafts, encapsulated the natural ‘cultural core’ before it was complicated (and perhaps corrupted) by society” (McKay 1994, 11). For Herder, like Rousseau before him, the folk were imagined to be the peasantry, but not as a negative and dangerous primitive in need of culture but as the natural and organic culture of the nation--organic because their culture actually grew out of the earth upon which the nation was constructed. This connection between national identity and the organic folk sparked the imagination of many.

Brought about in part by waves of revolution the center of power shifted from, “the distant horizon into the very centre of daily life”(Bauman 1982, 41). The

king on the “distant horizon” extracted surplus from “his” people. Under this system as long as the flow of production successfully maintained the households of the king there was little interest in the popular culture of peasant. But after this great social transformation popular culture began to be of interest to authorities. The peasant is no longer free to pursue interests outside of the production a surplus. Power is no longer maintained by the production of a surplus of material goods; it is maintained by the organization and surveillance of people. Popular culture ceases to be anonymous and the newly developing state has a stake in all aspects of culture. Bauman argued “the emergent power could be maintained only by a dense web of interlocking authorities in constant communication with the subject and in a physical proximity to the subject which permitted a perpetual surveillance of, possibly, the totality of his life process”(Bauman 1982, 41). This aspect of the development of concept of the folk is often overlooked and under appreciated and drawing this out more now will allow for a point of connection much later in the dissertation.

The folk may represent something more than just a lost time undermined by capitalism. The folk begin to represent a freedom from governmental influence and a return to a wild life free from social surveillance. The institutionalization of social surveillance, which set the stage for the development of capitalism, was a totalizing experience:

Families and sexual functions of the body are deployed in a new role; churches becomes teachers of business virtue, hard work and abstemiousness – and if old churches fail to hammer the lesson home, sects or dissident churches emerge to do the job; workhouses and poorhouses join forces in instilling the habit of continuous, repetitive, routine effort; idiosyncrasy and, indeed, any non-rhythmical, erratic behaviour is stigmatized, criminalized, medicalised or psychiatrised; individualized training by apprenticeship or personal service is replaced with a uniform system of education aimed at instilling universal skills and, above all, universal discipline – through, among other means culling the individual *qua* individual from the guidance

and authority of his group of origin and subjecting him to an external source of authority superior to this group and free from its control. (Bauman 1982, 41)

City oriented characterizations described rural life as not only out of place, out of the city, but out of time, out of modernity. City populations were modern and commercial but the backward country folk were outside of the contemporary and therefore moral society. The folk needed to be saved and controlled. In effect they were characterized as being shielded from the impact of modernity and carried the last remnants of the true arts of the nation. But as such they also represented a social wildness that was being preached against on Sunday and legislated against on Monday and enforced against on Tuesday. Churches and schools were organized to bring help to those poor, backward, and lazy rural people. The folk began to be constructed as both the creative soul of the modern nation, as well as the backward poor in need of developmental salvation. The *concept* of the people needed to be saved but not the people themselves. The actual people represented a resource for government and industry alike. Capitalism and nationalism grew out of this social transformation.

The Herder assemblage would have a lasting influence on folk music scholarship. The practices that developed within this assemblage would be used for nationalist purposes in various parts of Europe later to be exported around the world. Cultural ministries developed to support the development of national music and in many cases supported regional music competitions which, in some instances, have continued to the present day in form if not content. Music collections also functioned as a type of defense against empire. As Katie Trumpener pointed out, “Bartók’s primary interest was in collecting Hungarian village music, which he saw as

an ancient national patrimony, a potentially revitalizing cultural force, and a site of resistance to the cosmopolitanizing force of the Austro-Hungarian Empire”(Trumpener 2000, 404). Bartók established his evaluations upon a supposed racial and linguistic “purity” (Schneider 2006, 188-9) which true Hungarians possessed and which distanced them from gypsies and other “foreign trash”(Trumpener 2000, 412). As an example of the mobility of the Herder assemblage Bartók was invited to Turkey in 1935 to aid in the establishment of Turkish identity through the collection of Turkish songs. It was an opportunity for Bartók to “pursue his interests in the connections between ‘old Turkish music’”(Stokes 1992, 37). Bartók made extensive and important recordings and transcriptions, which have had a long-standing influence on music scholarship in Turkey, for good or ill. He established a methodology of representative song selection, which he considered “objective” transcription. This process is still in use today in Turkish archives⁶ (Stokes 1992, 38).

FOLK TERRITORY II: THE BALLAD ASSEMBLAGE

The folk song style of primary concern for early collectors was the ballad. The ballad was characterized as being popular and of rural and anonymous origin and therefore excluded anything produced in a city or by an author (Nettl 1965, 54). The ballad was championed as the authentic folk song. Any songs that were produced by authors for sale to the general public were given the name broadside. While on the surface both are lyrical and rhyming songs that were printed and sold for singing purposes they did not garner equal respect. The ballad was long considered the true voice of the folk while the broadside was considered a cheap imitation, which only

⁶ For more information on the development of Turkish folk music see (Basgoz 1972; Degirmenci 2006; Stokes 1992; Tekelioglu 1996, 2001).

existed as a product. Broadsides were not 'authentic' folk music because it was not collected from the folk. They were printed and published by songwriters and sold on street corners. Ballads were collected by song collectors from the countryside and published in academic and learned collections. The tension between the ballad and the broadside created long-standing divisions. Hierarchies were established and were given the power to reward certain forms of songs as authentic (Bohlman 2004, 117). Professional folk music scholars had more power than amateur folk music enthusiasts, professional folk music interpreters over amateur performers, and folk music for education over folk music for enjoyment.

The early collectors of ballads were interested in the ballad as a literary text, "a fossil to be explained only in the light of historical evidence or by analogy with the verse of primitive peoples" (Wilgus 1971, 5). Joseph Ritson and Thomas Percy engaged in lively debates after the latter published his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* in 1765. Focused on editorial integrity this debate would characterize many such academic battles until the end of the nineteenth century. Collectors of the period tended towards proving or disproving the authenticity of source material. The following long quotation provides a sense of the type of academic battles that began to rage:

In the essay "On the Ancient English Metrical Romances," in the first edition of the *Reliques*, Percy quoted the stanza from "Sir Thomas." Then in his catalogue he identified all the romances except Blandamoure, but added: "As for *Blandamoure*, no Romance with this titled has been discovered"....So read the first two editions. Thomas Warton borrowed the passage in the *History*, without acknowledgment...But when Tyrwhitt's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* appeared in 1775, the reading was given as "Pleindamour" instead rather spoiling Percy's identification...Now Ritson was familiar with Cottonian version of *Lybeaus Disconus*, and he readily discovered that the word did not occur there either. In his attack upon Warton (*Observations on the History of English Poetry* [1782]) he had identified the borrowing from Percy and had even implied a disbelief in the very existence of the folio manuscript itself.

(Dennis 1931, 233)

While this may seem like minutia there is much more happening than is obvious. These early debates in folk scholarship do more than settle disputes about which version of a song is more or less legitimate. The debate is an attempt to satisfy the question at hand but it is also, and more importantly, a power struggle within a community. Authenticity, in this assemblage, becomes a social commodity these community members quest after and absorb into themselves. Proving authenticity generates authority and power within a community that values it. As each agent ups another they are able to increase their status among their peers. In doing this they are also establishing what folk music means for this assemblage. While these actors argue about the existence of *Blandamore* the assemblage, the future of the assemblage, and the definition of folk music, are all being shaped.

Textual authority became central because ballads were understood to be “Remnants of an earlier stage in the nation’s literature and history, and exemplified the untainted, untutored genius of the English people”(Dugaw 1987, 71). The ballad revival was central to the establishment of a populist history of England, but populist history without the popular people: “The ballad revival in particular is not *believed* to have affected the common people themselves, whose songs and stories continued to circulate in oral tradition, filled the stalls of broadside printers, and provided literary antiquarians with the subjects for their study” (Dugaw 71)[*emphasis added*]. There is a divide between *folk* in the academic use that came to mean “the study of editorial legitimacy of folk song text” and folk “the common people”. The folk field is a thickening of relations between academic and scholars which excludes the contemporary musical acts of rural people. The relationship is held together by their

conception of the existence of an intelligent folk authorship in decline. Their desire for an unspoiled and literary origin is the desire-machine which creates/created the boundaries of the assemblage.

While the Ballad scholars were busy arguing amongst themselves there was plenty of activity on the street. The general population of European cities in many countries was also interested in old ballads: “*A Collection of Old Ballads* was published in 1723 by James Roberts, the largest job-printer in London at the time...this collection immediately became a bestseller, to all appearances one of the most popular books of the 1720s” (Dugaw 72). The popularity of ballads in England was not unique: “[T]he *Boston Evening Post* for July 4, 1737, worried that, ‘A few ballad singers uncontroll’d...are sufficient to cause disaffection in a state, to raise dissatisfaction in to a ferment and that ferment into a rebellion” (Ogasapian 2004, 129). But the popular interest in the ballad is not recorded by scholars of the period and one is hard pressed to find any references to the popular success of the ballads as mass literature. This exclusion is itself telling. It is difficult to assert how many other strata may have existed which built themselves on an interest in folk music and poetry. With what historical material is available it is safe to assume that musicians, amateur players, community theatre were also involved with the folk.

There are references to collectors who intentionally or accidentally collected or discussed ballads, which were popular with the masses -- an example of the slippage between strata:

For a halfpenny or a penny, ballads could be picked up at a stall. They were so abundantly available that Bishop Percy could excuse himself from printing ‘Robin Hood and the Pindar of Wakefield’ because ‘that ballad may be found on every stall.’ Percy himself escaped criticisms for raking up such litter by selecting and ‘improving’ his material carefully, but the more literal-minded Ritson, whose interests were merely scholarly and who, therefore, served up the broadside ballads unseasoned,

was rebuked for publishing *the refuse of the stall*. (Millar 1950, 128)

And so, the battle raged amongst the antiquaries and ballad collectors who attempted the questionable resurrection of a once popular, and popular again, people's voice. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, ballad study would firmly be entrenched and the ballad would be completely separated from the broadside. The study of ballads became an important aspect of folk music scholarship and the technical approaches to folk music study developed during this time would have a lasting effect across Europe.

FOLK TERRITORY III: J.F. CHILD AND HIS CHILD BALLAD ASSEMBLAGE

The study of ballads in the British Isles and in the United States of America had much in common. Ballad scholars were “preoccupied with the historical dimension of folk song, particularly its origin, with opinion divided between ‘communalists’ and ‘individualists’” (Myers 1993, 36). The ballad territory within the folk music assemblage had gone through a period of deterritorialization, or breakdown, over the question of origin. When the groups reterritorialized two separate and oppositional approaches to the folk origin had been devised. Thus two separate and competing territories were vying for authority within the folk music assemblage. On the one side stood the communalists, who were inspired by Herder and Jacob Grimm, and on the other, the individualists, led by William John Courthope (1842-1917) and Andrew Lang (1844-1912). The communalists argued that the ballad originated from the inventiveness of the people. In this view there is no definitive origin, original composition, nor composer. The ballad was passed along through families within communities and was modified in the ‘oral tradition’

that provided many existent variations which could be collected. The communalists felt that the ballad represented the true, organic, voice of the folk.

The individualists, on the other hand, refuted this position and believed that the folk ballad was the creation of a composer not necessarily a member of the folk -- Aristocratic songs (itself another BwO) created by composers and then spread throughout local communities because of its popularity at the court. The individualists asserted that song creation was an individual art and that the anonymity of the folk song itself is not proof of its communality. The individualist cause was led in the early twentieth century by Louise Pound. Pound had been publishing against the communalists from 1913 to 1921 and published her collected material as *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*. In this work Pound, takes up point-by-point the types of evidence adduced by the communalists. The assertion of primitive, historic, internal, traditional, and calls into question the flexible definition of *ballad*, which permitted so much argument. She concludes that the ballad is a late form, a short lyric tale of individual authorship, that the English and Scottish popular ballads are mainly aristocratic compositions surviving among the vulgar and sometimes containing stylistic elements found in other types of folksong (Wilgus 1959, 90-1).

Literary theory was used as the main vehicle for the struggle to articulate the borders of the ballad territories. Agents argued, and then countered, based on earlier ballad collections, but “conducted little empirical research on Anglo-American folk song prior to the publication (1883-98) of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* by Francis James Child (1825-96)” (Myers 1993, 37). This publication became known as the Child Ballads.

Child again transformed ballad scholarship, not by entering into direct competition with other collectors, but by creating a *scientific* methodology for legitimacy. This new modernist and scientific methodology would make use of contemporary strategies of dominance. The use of scientific rigor for the systematic study of Ballads established a new framework for authenticity. After professor Child's publication the entire field of ballad scholarship was narrowed to 305 ballads deemed to be "pure and authentic examples of songs emanating from an ancient, illiterate culture. All others encountered, he appeared to suggest, must be corruptions from the modern era" (Mitchell 2007, 8). Additionally, Child's book became a reference point for this new territory within the folk music assemblage. From then on all ballads would be referenced by the ballad name and by the number that Child assigned them. Child's influence as a ballad scholar can be seen in how his contemporaries publicly described his work: "He sought to print every *valuable* copy of every known ballad" (James 1933, 54).

Child was an English professor at Harvard University who had graduated first in the class of 1846 and went to Germany to complete his training. He was a beneficiary of, "that strange elite system of reward in which early merit and demonstrations of genius led to both professional and social elevation" (Abrahams 2000, 100). Child was quick with his criticism of collectors and modern editing of old (ancient) texts. He avoided the discussions of communalism or individualism and preferred another approach. His student, successor, and literary executor, George Lyman Kittredge echoed this tactic very clearly:

[T]he (ballad) author is of no account. He is not even present. We do not feel sure that he never existed. At most, we merely infer his existence, at some indefinite time in the past, from the fact of his product: a poem, we think, implies a poet; therefore somebody must have composed this ballad. Until we begin to reason, we have no

thought of the author of any ballad, because, so far as we can see, he had no thought of himself. (Sargent 1904, xi)

Child's criticism and suspicion of ballad collectors' editing practices was public knowledge. He would openly and very harshly criticize what he saw as poor scholarship and was not above unsubstantiated abuse: "The silliness and fulsome vulgarity of Buchan's versions are often enough to make one wince and sicken, and many of them come through bad hands or mouths; we have even positive proof in one instance of imposture, through not of Buchan's being a conscious party to the imposture"(James 1933, 54).

Child positioned himself as a great collector, great scholar, and ultimate judge. His own authority represented, for the group he formed around himself, a method of evaluating and characterizing folk music. Child managed to use the academic authority of a professorship at Harvard and a claim to scientific legitimacy to establish of canon and therefore definition for a folk song. Child turned to botany, it seems, and may have built upon Darwin's evolutionary approach, cataloguing vast numbers and studying relative frequencies of phenomena in many different species.

His work, while not popularly successful (nor was it intended to be so), was thick in description and heavy in reference. He was clearly writing for audiences who must have a great deal of familiarity with the history of ballad collecting in order to make any sense of the myriad of references that populate his prose. It would seem that Child was able to invest his analytical skills for strategic advantage and transform this folklores into a currency he was able to exchange within parts of the folk music assemblage. Child himself became, for his followers, the gateway to the authentic folk.

Folk music that the nationalist assemblages once developed did not disappear; it is still being used as a means to shape nations. In addition to the necessary proponents of national music practices which relied “to a great extent on how well local activities are fostered by the national institutional folk music milieu”(Goertzen 1997, 46), the nation-state also controlled folk music for more nefarious means. Timothy Rice pointed out how far some cultural officers would go to manipulate the ethnic image of their nation, “Apparently fearing that these minorities [Turks and Roma] had grown so large in number that they might begin to demand cultural autonomy, the government decided to solve the problem by symbolically erasing them and their culture from the national consciousness”(Rice 2004, 72). Rice’s example stands in marked contrast to the folkloric/folklorique pavilions that have developed in Canada for the assembly and promotion of a multiculturalism based on the performance of inherited European ethnic nationalisms (Greenhill 1994).

It is also important to note that the earlier approaches to the study of folk music which predated Child’s formulation continued. Milman Parry and Albert Lord developed an important alternative approach to folk music scholarship. Lord’s work *The Singer of Tales* (Lord 1960) and his most recent *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition* (Lord 1991) was in some ways a continuation of older epic approaches to folk music. Lord explored the possibility, following his teacher Parry, that oral tradition allows for the long-term preservation and sharing of story and song. Lord, for example, suggests in reference to a Bulgarian song that,

Elements in these songs came with some earlier Turkic people, perhaps even the proto-Bulgars. The Middle Ages gradually transformed these narrative elements from old beliefs, codified them in Slavic oral-traditional lore, and bequeathed them to us in many changing forms as jewels of many colors and facets across centuries, marked by the movements of armies, the rise and fall of dynasties, the investing and divesting of religions and heresies. (Lord 1991, 210)

Lord's perspective on oral song history goes far beyond my own and many of his contemporaries. Lord has far more in common with the pre-Child song collectors than post-Child critics. The search for long ballads and the great Homeric epics was not, even in the 1960s, the most likely course of study in folk music. By then the ballads and epics had been joined by a number of other folk music assemblages.

FOLK TERRITORY IV: THE AMERICAN PRIMITIVE ASSEMBLAGE

During the years the folk music assemblage had developed in Europe and later in America music was increasingly industrialized. Books appeared on choral singing in the United States, on fiddle tunes, Gaelic songs, slave songs, civil war songs and much more. But the majority of this material was published without any relationship with any official body of folk music scholarship. At the beginning of the twentieth century Tin Pan Alley, classical music, and balladry formed three national assemblages of musical cultural production. However, by the late 1920s new territories were constituted with musical material ignored or excluded by these three groups.

John A. Lomax, from Texas, arrived at Harvard and established a position within the Child territory. Lomax benefited from the same system of Harvard patronage that Child and then Kittredge (Child's assistant and Lomax's champion) had previously enjoyed. Lomax was introduced to Kittredge in 1907, and in 1909 he was invited to present a paper on cowboy songs at the national Modern Language Association conference. Lomax manufactured a rough southern cowboy image to match the songs he had collected.

Lomax's approach and style were new. For years the Harvard scholars were unaware of any ballads outside of the Appalachian Mountains and even then only those with European connections were of interest. Lomax "authored the legend of the ballad-mongering adventurer and placed himself firmly at its center" (Abrahams 2000, 102). Lomax focused on an area of song collecting that the Harvard coterie had all but ignored. This new approach would fit into the American fantasy: "Set out by Mark Twain, George Washington Cable, and Joel Chandler Harris he recorded and presented vernacular creativity: first of the cowboys, then of the former slaves who often filled prisons in the south, and finally, of the working stiffs throughout North America: sailors, sod-busters, lumberjacks, and miners"(Abrahams 2000, 103).

This makes sense especially after WWI with the increasing urbanization of America. Lomax gave an American accent to the voice of the folk. America was being transformed in much the same way many European countries had become transformed many years before. In the 1920s, for the first time, more Americans lived in cities than in rural town and villages. The country was becoming a powerful player on the world stage and with it internal nationalist pressures began forming.⁷ Lomax was in a position to be able to capitalize on this change. American institutions were looking for a masculine American image and Lomax was able to provide a homespun metaphor for America, the cowboy.

Lomax established a definition of folk music based upon American industrial frontier music. The fiddle and banjo songs from the mountains of Appalachia, the guitar songs from the American west, the sailor and miner songs from outports

⁷ Thomas Turino made note of this process in *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (Turino 2000).

along the coast were all collected into this new territory. Lomax re-defined the concept of folk music away from the organic rural folkloric origins and towards “isolated groups, interested only in an art which they could immediately enjoy, and thus an art that reflected and made interesting their own customs, dramas, and dreams” (Lomax 1994, xxviii). The image of America as a new land of prosperity and a new world full of people able to successfully tame the frontier. This is the metaphor for America that Lomax presented and it is precisely the type of nationalistic metaphor that would fit the uncertainty of life after the Great War.

Lomax was a success within the mostly academic ballad territory because of the help of his Harvard patron Kittredge. With this help Lomax was able to secure funds to enable him to carry out his fieldwork. With his position secure within the ballad territory he made an investment in the collection of cowboy songs. His investment paid off with the publication of *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* in 1910. The book was a popular success and was reprinted four times between 1910 and 1916. The commercial success of the book did something that was quite unexpected for the Harvard group. The publication allowed Lomax “the kind of recognition that has led to his position as one of the leading figures in the history of American folksong musicology” and “helped to prepare and inform audiences and performers for the commercial success of the singing cowboy” (Fenster 1989, 260). Lomax territorialized an assemblage outside of the scholarly ballad territory and was highly influential in the establishment of a new folk territory. The BwO of the folk changed from the rural European villager of antiquity or the traveling aristocratic entertainer of yore to the rugged cowboy on the lone prairie.

FOLK TERRITORY V: THE HILLBILLY MUSIC ASSEMBLAGE

In 1887 Emile Berliner had designed a method for recording sound onto wax-coated zinc discs to replace wax-coated cylinders. By 1901 the Berliner and the Victor Talking Machine Company went into production and Edison, Columbia, and Victor, the leaders in recording technology to that point, went into business together (Garofalo 2008, 19). By 1920 Ralph Peer, a former employee of Columbia records, began working for a label started by the General Phonograph Company in 1918 called OKey Records. Peer's use of technology would establish a new territory for folk music. The BwO of the folk would be characterized by more than just a philosophical treatise, poetic image, and literary text. Sound would become an important aspect of the characterization of folk music.

By 1923 Peers began recording country fiddlers, guitarists and singers. He marketed them under the name Hillbilly. By 1927, the year most recognized as the birth of country music, Peers was directly responsible for the recording and release of the earliest blues, jazz (as race records), country, and hillbilly recordings. What separated him from his contemporaries is that he utilized field recordings and introduced them directly into the commercial recording industry. With his recording equipment he traveled to destinations all across the American South and hold recording sessions. He would pay each artist \$25 and a percentage of the royalties for the recordings. The post World War I growth of radio supported his efforts. Peers recordings went to radio and almost instantly, at least by the standards of the day, thousands of records were sold.

John Lomax and his son Alan were also in the field using recording technology but in even more unlikely places than Peer. By 1933 the two had arranged for a loan

of recording equipment from the American Library of Congress (a 350 pound setup which took up the back of their vehicle) and spent a summer traveling across the south. They were in prisons recording ‘Negro’ work songs when they met Huddie Ledbetter or “Leadbelly” as he is better known. By 1935 the Lomaxes were setting up commercial recording sessions and publicity tours for Leadbelly across the United States.

The Lomaxes, “fearing that this traditional music was being overwhelmed by commercialism, ... determined to record it in as pure a form as possible and to awaken new audiences to its power and charm” (Filene 1991, 604). They were aware of the competition between the two territories that was underway. John Lomax may have been more acutely aware than most of his contemporaries. One could safely surmise, based on his earlier strategy with the Harvard territory that he was savvy enough to be aware of his dual role as folk musicologist and record producer. Authenticity and scholarly reputation were slowly being replaced by commercial success. Lomax was no longer just competing with other scholars within the folk music assemblage; new and much more radical territories were being established. A new conceptualization of the folk had been established by those influenced by the philosophy of Karl Marx, a conceptualization that would have a definitive impact on the development of North American folk music assemblages.

FOLK TERRITORY VI: THE COMMUNIST ASSEMBLAGE

Charles Seeger became a teacher at the New School in New York in 1929. In 1931 the New School’s Henry Cowell began to offer the first North American course in music cultures from around the world. He presented performances and lectures from non-European sources, providing an intellectual landscape that

supported a coming-to-terms with the musical world outside of the university's 'ivory tower'. The creation of a non-European music course provided an outlet for the study of musical culture that was outside of the usual school curriculum. During the 1930s, The New School became a major centre for the modernist impulse in the visual and performing arts. Out of this milieu came the Composer's Collective.

The Composer's Collective was founded in 1932 "as a collection of a dozen composers and musicians, working together in New York City to produce and perform proletarian music" (Reuss 2000, 45). It was not necessarily a communist organization, but the Communist Party paid the rent for the room they used to meet and some members of the collective took classes on Marxist-Leninism. The most vocal members of the Collective went by the pseudonyms of Carl Sands (Charles Seeger) and L. E. Swift (Elie Siegmeister). Members of the Collective "had gravitated into the [communist] movement's intellectual orbit as a result of the economic and social upheaval of the Depression" (ibid., 44). Carl Sands wrote, "Music is propaganda--always propaganda--and of the most powerful sort.... The special talk of the Workers Music League (WML) is the development of music as a weapon in the class struggle"(Sands 1934). In a Deleuzian way this could have been rewritten as, "Music is territory--always a force to create territory--and of the most powerful sort".

The Composers Collective did not however employ folk music in its compositions. It is also plausible that they constructed their assemblage on the Soviet model which looked toward artists and art (another assemblage) for revolutionary (modernist) music and refused to use the folk song form. Carl Sands (Charles Seeger) wrote, "Many folksongs are complacent, melancholy, defeatist, intended to make slaves endure their lot--pretty but not the stuff for a militant proletariat to feed

upon” (Sands 1934). The Collective folded in 1936, and to Seeger’s apparent dismay the workers on the front lines of the labour battles had been using folk songs across the United States for some time. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), an influential and musical union of the period, was actively publishing and distributing *The Little Red Songbook*. The Wobblies, as the IWW members were known, were famous for bringing Joe Hill ballads and newly composed folk songs to picket lines in various parts of the United States (Rosemont 2002).

The folk song was expressing something that the Composer’s Collective singing choruses seemed to be unable to do. As Elie Siegmeister lamented, a folk song is “the natural expression of our people who ‘don’t know anything about music,’...the deepest, most democratic layer of our American musical culture” (Siegmeister 1938, 681-82). No matter what the Workers Music League tried to do, people kept singing folk songs. This is not to say that the work that the Collective did was all wasted. They began to establish a connection between the musical intellectual class and the working class. As Alan Lomax said, “These were passionate people, you must understand; dedicated to their music, and to their political ideals” (Dunaway 1979, 2). The contribution that stands out more than any other is their skill at centralizing and organizing and members helped to set up a system of dissemination to propagate folk songs.

Folk music would no longer just be studied in English literature or folklore departments. Folk music studies would also be done in music departments. And Charles Seeger would make a copy of a Dock Boggs album and he and his wife would listen to it and make it available for their children. The greatest realization that was made was that folk music was no longer just something of the past whose traces

could be collected and analyzed. Folk music could be something that was contemporary and topical. This new territory in the folk music assemblage radically transformed the BwO of the folk.

The BwO of the folk, in this form, was established during the 1930s and 1940s. A series of labour disputes in Gastonia, North Carolina and Harlan County, Kentucky would recast American folk music into a form an urban socialist could champion. Aunt Molly Jackson traveled to New York City to sing and to solicit funds for the strike activity, pro-labour and communist circles welcomed her warmly. At a single concert at the Bronx Coliseum she sang for 21,000 supporters. In the audience were many young members of the American folksong revival, among them the Almanac singers.

The Almanac Singers, built upon this new image of the contemporary and radicalized folk, were the best-known group to emerge during this time. Pete Seeger, Lee Hayes, Woody Guthrie, Bess Lomax Hawes, Agnes 'Sis' Cunningham, Millard Lampell and Arthur Stern were the main players. Lee Hayes and Woody Guthrie had both been working within labour movements as organizers for a number of years and brought the southern labour tradition to New York. Pete Seeger and Bess Lomax Hawes were the first generation progeny of Charles Seeger and John Lomax, "The Almanacs were the end product of the rural organizational campaigns and the intellectual political concerns of the 1930's. The function of the group was propaganda, which was not limited to ideology but also had a musical dimension" (Denisoff 1971, 102).

People's Songs was created at the end of the World War II, "a logical extension of the mission of the Almanac Singers" (Reuss 2000, 180). The goal of the

organization was to produce music for people to sing and secondly, as a political movement to create a better world. Pete Seeger was the founding director of the group. He brought his personal beliefs in the value and political use of folk song to this new group and established participation as a guiding ethos. This addition to the BwO of the folk makes a great deal of sense. It connects back to the idea of the folk as a participatory and creative community built upon the sharing of social codes. In the urban context of twentieth century America how this folk experience takes place would be itself a creative endeavor. Maybe Seeger imagined the folk as a people who placed value on participation. Participation values are much different than the modernist values Charles Seeger and the composers collective championed, “participatory values are distinctive in that the success of a performance is more importantly judged by the degree and intensity of participation than by some abstracted assessment of the musical sound quality”(Turino 2008, 33).

The postwar period in the United States is well know for the anti-Communist reaction and the McCarthy Senate Committee on Un-American Activities. The pressures that led to the formation of the committee were already at work by 1946. *People's Songs* worked within Labour circles, at rallies, at strikes, to educate unions to use folk songs in their struggles. When the McCarthy committee started watching the group, many members were scared off or cut off from *Peoples' Songs*. *People's Songs* was sold across North America and was part of a North American mass cultural movement. However, with the reduced ability to actually get a copy of the song book and the stigma now attached to selling them, many bookstores backed away. The reaction was a deathblow for the group.

In 1950 *Sing Out!* Magazine was started to continue the work. Irwin Silber

compiled a magazine that dared to explicitly combine political statements with a lot of music. The music would all be notated so people could learn and sing it at home: “Irwin Silber, in ‘Notes from an Editor’s Diary,’ recalls he borrowed the name *Sing Out!* from the third verse of ‘The Hammer Song’ written by Lee Hays and Pete Seeger, which incidentally was printed on the cover of issue number one. It seemed to the publishers an appropriate aim to ‘sing out danger...sing out a warning ... sing out love between all my brothers (and sisters) all over this land” (Moss 2000, 20). The new magazine published songs stored in the old *People’s Songs* archive. The archive was maintained by the Weavers, Alan Lomax and Paul Robeson. Silber, with the help from Winnipeg-born Oscar Brand, was active in collecting and publishing songs that spoke about issues that interested regular people. The initial, and continued, success of *Sing Out!* had a lot to do with good timing. Indeed renewed interest in folk music was dawning: “For the most part, it seemed that young people were the ones who were hungry to assimilate old and new folk songs. Now, they could spend a quarter and pick up an issue of *Sing Out!* to find all manner of songs by the likes of Malvina Reynolds, Pete Seeger and Woody Guthrie” (Silber 1951).

The magazine was bolstered by the interest it received from a new generation of folk music enthusiasts. It was not the labour unions that helped it succeed this time. It was the young college crowd that became interested in a different form of expression. This new youth movement found its voice in this fledgling magazine that worked as a connecting point between the older radicalized pre-war activists and the post-war and Korean War activists. *Sing Out!* formed a long lasting alliance with Moses Asch and Folkways Records by 1958. The timing was perfect; the Kingston Trio was about to make ‘Tom Dooley’ a number one hit on the pop charts, a

moment considered by many to herald the beginning of the Urban Folk Revival. The combination of Folkways Records and *Sing Out!* magazine meant that folk songs were supported in print and on record and housed in the same place in New York City. Many new folk enthusiasts would be able to receive both the magazine and the albums from the same source. *Sing Out!* had succeeded in finding a place inside North American mass culture. This territory has continued to this day side by side with the Herder, Ballad, Child, Lomax, and Peer territories and there are still two more North American territories to be added to the folk music assemblage.

FOLK TERRITORY VII: THE AMERICAN FOLK REVIVAL ASSEMBLAGE

In 1952 Folkways Records released the *Anthology of American Folk Music* compiled by Harry Smith. This compilation contains, “Eighty-four recordings made between 1927, when electronic recording made possible accurate music reproduction, and 1932 when the depression halted folk music sales” (Smith 1952). For the first time audio material, originally commercially released by Ralph Peer and others, was put back into circulation. Unlike the books that the Harvard scholars, including Lomax, had been publishing, this aural document provided the sounds of America at the dawn of the recording age. Smith’s intentions were not far from the Lomaxes as is apparent in this note from the 1952 release:

Only through recordings is it possible to learn of those developments that have been so characteristic of American music, but which are unknowable through written transcriptions alone. Then too, records of the type found in the present set played a large part in stimulating these historic changes by making easily available to each other the rhythmically and verbally specialized musics of groups living in mutual social and cultural isolation...During this five year period American music still retained some of the regional qualities evident in the days before the phonograph, radio and talking pictures had tended to integrate local types (Smith)

While the Lomax collections tended to straighten out or fix irregularities in words or meter, the *Anthology* recordings re-introduced the raw sounds of the early

recording era. The aesthetic of the cleaned-up folk music played by leading folk music performers of the time ran in contrast to this recorded document. Greil Marcus wrote of the 1997 reissue, “The whole bizarre package made the familiar strange, the never known into the forgotten, and the forgotten into a collective memory that teased any single listener’s conscious mind”, and he continued, “A confrontation with another culture, or another view of the world, that might include arcane, or unknown, or unfamiliar views of the world, hidden within these words, melodies, and harmonies--it was like field recordings, from the Amazon, or Africa, but it’s here, in the United States!” (Marcus 1997, 7).

By the early 1960s the latest folk music territory had Pete Seeger, Mike Seeger (New Lost City Ramblers), Woody Guthrie, Irwin Silber, and Moses Asch at its center. This folk music territory, centered in New York City, had established a BwO for itself, which incorporated elements of the ballad field, 1930s radicalism, and popular music. The sound of folk music was acoustic guitars, sing-alongs, and social lyrics. It was also the sound of participation. Participation is the socially open and engaged musical performance that values engagement over professionalism and musical perfection. The Civil Rights Movement was developing at a rapid pace, especially after the 1954 Supreme Court ruling of *Brown VS The Board of Education of Topeka Kansas*. The organizing skills that had been developed during the labour school movement in the 1930s were brought to bear by members of the older and radicalized folk music territory. Civil Rights now trumped labour interests in folk music. The folk music territory connected to the civil rights assemblage and the battles that some older members of this territory had fought, of American

Communism, World War II and McCarthy, radicalized the BwO of the folk in ways that it had not been since the 1930s.

The civil rights movement and particularly the March on Washington in 1963 had a significant influence on the position of one particular agent within the folk field, Bob Dylan. Dylan would again redefine the BwO of the folk and folk music. As a leading, and high selling, singer-songwriter, he ushered in a new period of folk music. This is the period of singer-songwriter as creative artist who embraces the marketplace and create themselves in the image of the folk. Artists come to terms with their economic stake in the production of folk music.

FOLK TERRITORY VIII: THE DYLAN ASSEMBLAGE

Robert Zimmerman had set himself up in New York's Greenwich Village in 1961 and transformed himself. He made himself into an orphan, inheritor of Woody Guthrie's rambling-man aesthetic, and took the name Bob Dylan (Dylan 2004, 1-8). Dylan quickly gained prominence in the Village's flamboyant counterculture. Dylan also styled himself on the rough sounds in the *Anthology*: "Mr. Dylan's voice is anything but pretty. He is consciously trying to recapture the rude beauty of a Southern field hand musing in melody on his porch. All the "husk and bark" are left on his notes and a searing intensity pervades his songs" (Shelton 1961). Dylan's self-titled release on Columbia Records had only two original songs. The first was a talking blues in the Guthrie style and the second was a tribute to Woody using a well-known Guthrie melody. He was celebrated as the successor of Guthrie and supported by the Seegers and many of the other powerful agents in the folk territory. He was able to accumulate a significant power by positioning himself in Guthrie's shoes. This investment opened doors for Dylan both in the popular music world and

within the folk field. The politically active singer songwriter Joan Baez supported him and Pete Seeger brought him on the road and helped to position him as a successor to very politically aware agents within the territory.

In the summer of 1963 Pete Seeger organized a folk festival in Greenwood Mississippi, “In the yard of a Negro farm home on the edge of a cotton patch three miles south of here. The song festival or hootenanny, was sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which has been conducting a voter registration drive among Negroes in Mississippi delta towns for more than a year” (Times 1963). Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, Theodore Bikel and the Freedom Singers played to the nearly 300 people in attendance. The Times reported that, “One of the most popular songs presented by a local singer was one dedicated to Medgar W. Evers.... The refrain of the song was...only a pawn in their game” (ibid.). Dylan was invited to sing the song at the March on Washington one month later. He rapidly established himself as the most significant political songwriter in the United States.

Two years later at the Newport Folk festival Dylan symbolically broke away from the folk field by wielding an electric guitar, playing with a full band, and singing “I ain't gonna work on Maggie's Farm No More”. More than half of the audience booed. Dylan was not invited back for decades. The folk music territory that established in Dylan's wake was significant. Pete and Mike Seeger along with the rest of the 1960s era self-styled revivalists were part of establishing a folk revival territory. This territory established participation and social action as a dominant aspect of the folk BwO. Dylan however added a new version of individual professionalism to folk music. Dylan established a BwO of a politically astute, socially committed artist with enough agency to control his own career and artistic destiny. The folk musician after

Dylan could be a folk artist. What happened to Boggs in the 1920s would not happen again. Dylan added professionalism to the revivals participation, which established the grounds for the development of a new folk music territory that would blend aspects of many of the previous territories into itself.

FOLK TERRITORY IX: THE FOLK ALLIANCE ASSEMBLAGE

In the 1970s, half a decade after the folk revival ended, there was no BwO that exerted clear dominance over all of the others. During this time new regional territories became established. Named-systems revivals continued and established regional BwOs of the folk and blended aspect of the revival with others. The concept of the folk became kaleidoscopic, and it has become increasingly apparent that the best description of American music is as “a series of conflicts or clashes between diverse, and often opposing, musical identities. Rather than symbolizing like-minded communities joining as one”(Garrett 2008, 216).

The popular music industry became international and cast a large shadow over many musical communities worldwide. In the US and Canada Regional folk territories joined together to form a new international assemblage based upon the participatory aesthetics of the revival and called itself the North American Folk Song and Dance Alliance in 1990. It was created out of a desire to share resources and build assemblages between local presenters and folk music professionals. Since 2006 it has established an office and a bureaucratic structure in Memphis, Tennessee. The Folk Alliance is an assemblage of folk music festivals. Folk music festivals, both volunteer and professionally run, dot the North American landscape during the summer. These activities territorialize millions of spectators and incorporate a variety of musical styles from all over the world. Ani DiFranco, Michael Franti and

Spearhead, Los Lobos, Xavier Rudd, Ricky Skaggs, old time, Scottish, Irish, Indian, Pakistani, Native North American musicians and scores of singer/songwriters perform side by side with everyone selling CDs and merchandise. Behind these performers are hundreds of booking agents, independent recording studio owners, CD manufacturers, folk club owners, community radio hosts, instrument makers, and dozens of magazines. This folk music assemblage, since 1965, has included much of what would be considered the trappings of the popular music industry but is an associated network of diverse assemblages with fluid economic, cultural, and political relations.

CONCLUSION: AFTER AN ASSEMBLAGE APPROACH TO FOLK MUSIC

These nine territories are just a beginning of a full folk music assemblage map. I expect that the concept of folk music must extend like a blanket over all of the earth. In some places the blanket is denser because of an increased number of strata but there are likely groups worldwide who claim folk musician status for themselves or are described as folk musicians by others. Many of these instances may be additional examples of territories I have already described but I also expect that there are other territories that can be added to this list. The agents who work in both the private and public sector, in national governmental culture and heritage posts, in state/provincial government agencies, as well as in the music industry, all participate in the creation and preservation of such territories.

Dissecting the symbol of the folk by breaking it into territories and showing the assemblage for what it is opens a window into the various ways agents have used the idea of the folk for their own advantage. It also illustrates how complex the notion of the folk is and how many ways it has been applied to musical expression.

The next step in this project, now that folk has been defined, is to introduce and define the machines that play such an important role in the creation of folk music festivals. While describing these machines I will examine the folk music festivals of western Canada, a process that will allow these territories to be mapped for the first time.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE FESTIVAL-MACHINE, TERRITORIES, AND CAPITAL CREATE STRUCTURE

Introduction

Territories within assemblages are not impervious to the flow and exchange of information, ideas, and people across their borders. These things flow across territories and flow through assemblages. Because of this my focus on western Canada may be seen as arbitrary; as my examples will show, ideas and people flow into western Canada from America and Europe and impact the development of the western Canadian folk music assemblage. I have nonetheless chosen to focus on these festivals because, since the folk music revival of the 1960s and 1970s, a very unique, influential, and economically successful model for folk music festivals has developed in urban western Canada. In addition to this there has also developed, in the shadow of urban festivals, a rural festival movement inspired by a North America wide back-to-the-land phenomenon.

In the first chapter I utilized Assemblage Theory to construct a map of the folk music assemblage. D+G argue that territories organize around desire and specifically around the desire for the BwO. Chapter one used this methodology to organize the folk assemblage. Social machines are part of the BwO, working with desire for the production of territories. In the following two chapters I will identify two different types of social machines that I have documented at work in folk music festivals in western Canada; a) the festival-machine and, b) the carnival-machine. In this chapter I will introduce and define the concept of the festival-machine and argue that as a social engine it accomplishes three things. The first role of the festival-machine is to harness and then direct community social energy back into itself. The

second aspect of the festival-machine is that it attempts to inscribe upon the participants of the festival the image of the festival idol. This idol is the manifestation of the purpose of the festival. The idol is a concept related to the BwO of the assemblage; it could be the nation at a national festival, the town at a town festival, the king, emperor, or even a musical style. The third aspect of the festival machine, which is connected to the second, is its role in the creation and control of expressive practices which when mixed with capitalism develops into art industries.

I am going to begin my discussion of the festival-machine with a description of the founding of the most influential festival in western Canada. The Winnipeg Folk Music Festival was founded in 1974 and its structure has had a wide and lasting influence of folk music festivals in western Canada ever since. This discussion will also serve as an example of the ways in which the festival-machine can be applied by various and sometimes competing territories. This description introduces the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival (WFF), which will be referenced throughout this dissertation, as well as its founder Mitch Podolak, and the political education he received and applied to the folk festival. Following this discussion I will go into a more detailed theoretical discussion of the social architecture that the festival machine creates and the type of social impact that is expected to occur. I will close the chapter with a discussion of the festival-machine applied in Canada.

WINNIPEG FOLK MUSIC FESTIVAL: THE FESTIVAL-MACHINE INTRODUCED

I have argued elsewhere (MacDonald 2009) that the structural shape of the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival (WFF) and its organizational ethics find their first articulation with the founder Mitch Podolak himself. He has publicly reflected on his Jewish upbringing in 1950s and early 1960s Toronto and suggested that his political

orientation was shaped in important ways by his Jewish communist parents. But this is only part of the story. Mitch's musical love is folk music. He was introduced to folk music through Pete Seeger and a Jewish summer camp. His older sister brought the young Mitch to a Seeger concert at Massey Hall in the 1960s, just after Podolak had returned from a Jewish run summer camp. Mitch claims the song "The Bells of Rhymney" changed the course of his life. He decided not long after hearing Pete Seeger that the banjo and the folk music festival would define him:

I'm a folk music fan first. I went as a kid to Mariposa first and then to Newport and then to Philadelphia so by the time I'd been to all of those things several times as fans – you know as a fan you went to a folk festival you know. As a kid I got as enamored with the folk festival as I had with the banjo. It was as much the idea in my head as ... like every kid you imagine yourself doing something and one of the things I imagined, one of the many, many, many things I imagined myself doing was starting and running a folk festival somewhere. (Mitch Podolak Interview: July 6 2008)

For Podolak the politically progressive music of Pete Seeger would suggest more than just a job in folk music. After working in the famous Yorkville at the height of the American folk revival, Podolak left folk music for the Canadian Trotskyist organization. Podolak, as a banjo player and subscriber to *Sing Out!* Magazine, was aware of, and inspired by, the development of the folk music scene in late 1950s and early 1960s. However, Podolak got swept up in the politics of the Trotskyist movement and did not get professionally involved in folk music again until 1973. This hiatus, beginning around 1963, allowed the young Podolak to develop organizational skills in the style of the Canadian Trotskyist movement under the tutelage of the leader of the movement, Ross Dowson. It is from these experiences that Podolak was to develop a unique system of organization for the folk festival.

The connection between the folk music of Pete Seeger and organized political action was direct. A Montreal based contemporary of Podolak remembered:

During that period (early 1960s) Pete Seeger would come up to Montreal and go north and play the Jewish socialist youth camps. And not just the Jewish camps. One of the camps was called the Onzer camp, about 40 minutes from Montreal. And had all kinds of people who are now in all kinds of power positions in this country. And our camp which was more of a mainstream liberal camp. Seeger would come by as well. And he would play church basements. He played the Jesus (jesu) Hall in Montreal. I was 9 and that was my first folk concert. Blind Sonny Terry opened for him and I remember distinctly and Sonny Terry was on Broadway at the time doing *Finians Rainbow*. He was playing harmonica pieces. He was actually more popular at the time probably. People knew who Blind Sonny Terry more than they did Pete. Pete came out with his banjo and I remember his elbows and his face and I remember the way he would rear his head back to sing. I was 9 but I remember all of this. And I remember he had a plaid shirt on and a red tie. And I remembered that there must be some symbolism there because red doesn't go with plaid. My dad was a clothier and I knew that much. And then he announced near the end of the concert that there was going to be a rally the next day for worker's rights and that we were all invited to come down. (Syd Katz Interview: July 8, 2008)

Mitch Podolak traces his initial interest back to a Pete Seeger Massey Hall concert in the early 1960s. He had previously been introduced to some of Seeger's songs from his experiences at summer camp. Mitch Podolak remembered the Massey Hall concert:

Out came this guy with a banjo and a guitar! That was it for me. I was gone. That was a pivotal moment in my life. Pete takes the stage and sings, 'Oh what will you give me, say the sad bells of Rhymney', all the way home I'm asking my sister what the song meant. That was the bait. It was about the bells that ring in the miner's town and the bells that ring in the merchant town. It was a Welsh song. It was one of the things that got me going about politics. As much a part of my education, that song is, as anything I know. All that stuff started to happen right there. It was a life changing experience. I've never had one like it since. (Podolak interview: September 5 2005)

The connection between progressive politics and folk music would be reinforced a few years later when Mitch Podolak was invited, by a girl he was interested in, to join a 'Ban the bomb' group at his middle school. As he remembers, "You know, I would have joined whatever she asked me to. It could have been a

butterfly club; I would have joined it” (Podolak interview: February 11, 2006). It was a small political group dedicated to social action. Podolak recalled,

I see Peter Seeger and I heard anti-nuke songs, and working class songs and folk songs and this all began to.... I went to this folk show and there were all these same people from the ban the bomb movement. There it was; it was all tied together. The politics that I was developing and the songs that I was enjoying...it was all right there. From Pete, I learned the human side of politics. From Trotsky I ended up learning the mechanism, the technique and the love of it. (Podolak interview: February 9, 2006)

Mitch Podolak continued: “First you have to understand the Urban Folk Revival was the reaction of students and the petty bourgeoisie to the success of the Weavers and then the Kingston Trio. You also have to understand where the Communist Party really comes from” (Ibid.) According to Podolak his radicalization was also influenced by the history of eastern European Jews in Canada and the collective experience of several generations of Jewish immigrants in Canadian urban centers. The influx of immigrants led to the creation of social groups where they could speak their own language in a sea of English speakers. They developed a series of labour groups to support each other and out of these grew cultural groups. Mandolin orchestras and singing groups emerged everywhere there was a Jewish community. Centres were opened to teach children Yiddish and Hebrew. Podolak recalls that every day after public school ended he would go to Hebrew school for an hour. The cultural groups created camps where young Jewish children were able to go in the summer. Some were religious camps but many were secular. A number of these organizations were run or supported by the Communist party. Podolak explained that the Jewish relationship to the CP was built upon a fundamental belief in internationalism:

These immigrants because of their experiences in Europe started the communist groups. Nationalism was a dangerous thing for Jews. Every time somebody decides

to get patriotic Jews ended up getting killed. So, Internationalism was very important. Nationalism is a very bad disease. Whether the early communists articulated it that way or not, that's essentially what the reaction was. These early communists didn't escape from Communism; they escaped from a variety of forms of Fascism. Communism was a reaction to the treatment of people. It didn't come from aristocrats or religious orders; it came from the workers, the regular people. (Podolak interview: October 6, 2005)

Once Podolak joined the Trotskyists he was put to work as a professional organizer, a skill he would make good use of later in his life. The political development for a member of the Trotskyist organization was not easy. Members were expected to move out and begin organizing branches of the League around the city they lived in quite early; when they were locally successful, they were sent further a field on political missions. As Podolak recounted: "I was on a lot of missions (Toronto, Halifax area and Winnipeg). Most of them were successful; some of them weren't. The bottom line is I learned a lot from them. I learned tons about organizing. I learned to trust people. That was the most important thing. I learned that if you try to boss people around it doesn't work" (Podolak interview: February 10, 2006). The interpersonal skills required to work as a human organizer were gained in the field. The dedication to a vision was also acquired in the field. As Mitch Podolak said, "I got a hardness from Trotsky on a personal level. The knowledge that is important to you, you must be unwavering about. That's what I got from Trotsky" (ibid.). In terms of organizational ideas he was a Leninist. He believed in a disciplined organization that worked together. The group adheres to one line in public and has internal democracy within the organization. The lessons, which Mitch Podolak learned during his ten years with the Trotskyists, would underpin his methodology as an artistic director and festival creator.

Podolak drew his political orientation from a blend of Pete Seeger and Leon Trotsky. The attempt to blend the two was underlined in a pair of documentaries Podolak produced in the two years before he started the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival.

In 1972 Podolak produced a radio special about Leon Trotsky, an action that received high praise from the leader of the Canadian Trotsky party.

Dear Mitch;

I heard the program on Thursday night. Colossal. You have done a tremendous service to the revolutionary socialist movement. I can only think that the CBC will be anxious to sell that program across the English language world....and hundreds of thousands will hear it.

Not only is it a splendid work politically but I think that it is a real work of art.

Criticisms---I can't think of any that really matter---except for a next time---another project something along the same lines---say Lenin or Marx or Engels.

My warmest regards and thanks

Ross Dowson ⁸

Podolak ignored Dowson's suggestion and followed up with a radio special on the work of Pete Seeger.

Mitch left Dowson's group because of a 'fratricidal war' that opposed Dowson and his stand on the Quebec Question and Nationalism that same year.⁹ After nearly

⁸ Available at the Library and Archives Canada: Personal correspondence from Ross Dowson to Mitch Podolak: November 25, 1972 E2-1972- rom 49-33 R10995 LAC F

⁹ Currently there are no sources to fall back on for scholarly information. In a discussion I had with Ian Angus, author of *Canadian Bolsheviks*, he clarified the matter, but only a bit. There are a number of events that are taking place simultaneously which had been preparing to destabilize the Canadian 4th International. Members in France and England had been in communication with Dowson's LSA/LSO in Montreal and were prepared to bring them into the 4th International as a separate group. Dowson's stand on entrism with the NDP was a contentious issue. Further to this, according to Ian Angus, Dowson had been trying

10 years of organizing for Dowson and the Trotskyists Podolak found himself without an organized political mission. That was not going to continue for long. Thanks to a Manitoba government initiative, Podolak was funded to establish a new political establishment, the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival.

The idea of organizing a folk festival was never off of Podolak's mind for very long. When Podolak joined Dowson and the Trotskyists he had left his job at the Bohemian Embassy in Yorkville's then thriving folk music scene. But he always carried his banjo and a few important records, "I had been a full time Socialist revolutionary doing exactly that kind of work (organizing) and the banjo I still took everywhere, the records of Pete, Eric Darling and Leadbelly that I had with me where ever I went when I traveled from community to community" (Mitch Podolak Interview: July 6 2008).

Podolak's organizational training in politics would serve him well when in 1974 an important broadcast caught his attention:

Winnipeg had a centennial in 1974 and I had just begun to work at the CBC as a freelance journalist and I'd begun to make some connections inside the CBC to other places besides Winnipeg as you do. And one night Ava and I had this little apartment, and this ad came on television and it said that Winnipeg is having a centennial and we've established a centennial committee and they showed a bunch of

to retire for a while but couldn't get over the need to be at the head of an organization of which he had always been the leader. Communists of this era often throw around the term 'fratricidal war.' It generally means a splintering of a main group into different interests or 'tendencies.' These internal squabbles, which happen often, lead to a discussion and a vote, which leads to a decision that all will adopt. The majority rules and the party line are followed. This time though it seems there were too many factions and the issues were too large. The splinter groups created new organizations like the Revolutionary Marxists, of which Mitch Podolak was a part. Later the groups re-formed but so much damage had been done that the numbers, which were always small, were even smaller.

guys – a bunch of straight looking guys actually – it was a little intimidating looking at that picture, not much but a little bit. (Mitch Podolak ibid)

Podolak began to think about how to create a successful application. He felt that he, with his long beard and background, would not be kindly looked upon by this political committee so he felt being very well prepared with some “establishment” connections would be helpful:

I worked with a remarkable guy at the CBC, a guy by the name of Walter Unger, really a clear thinking character. He was the first guy I told about the idea. He was an exec producer at the CBC – and I was a freelancer – so I always had to convince him of shit anyway. Part of my job on a regular basis was to take an idea to him and say why don't we do a show about this...And then if it made sense we'd run it up the flagpole to see if there was money for it. That's how radio documentaries began at that kind of level.

So I sat down one day and said to Walter ok I've got this idea for a music festival and we talked about it for a couple of minutes and he went “aha, there's a guy in Toronto named Paul Mills who's just starting a folk music show and he's got AFM commitment money so if we can get the AFM money out of him and start with that then we can probably translate that to the centennial committee. So we phoned Paul and Paul said, get the guy in Winnipeg to give me a list of artists. (Mitch Podolak Interview: July 6, 2008)

So Podolak created a list of artists that he wanted to have to his festival. But he had been out of the loop during his years on the road and had not realized that many of the older musicians that had been the staple of the folk music industry of the early and mid sixties had passed away in the previous five years. So Podolak produced a festival list which included famous but dead performers. It was received well and humorously by his CBC connection:

So I wrote a list where about 30% of the people on it were now dead. They had died in the previous 5 years so when Paul saw this list he laughed a lot but he recognized the inclination is what he did. Paul's a smart guy.

So Paul backed me with \$16k. So what that meant is that I was the first person to walk into that group of really straight looking people with money in hand. All the other people were coming in with “I've got a great idea give us this amount of

money” I was able to walk in and say Hi, I’ve got this and if you do this I can go to the province and they’ll come up with this too and so that’s what I did. I went around and shopped it. (Ibid)

Podolak received the money from CBC and from the centennial commission and began to put the festival together. The festival was a top down activity. Money was allocated to create a public activity that would celebrate the Manitoba provincial government. Mitch used the money to create a structure that would celebrate folk music and progressive political ideals. As far as the government of the time was concerned the *Winnipeg* Folk Music festival celebrated the history of the city. Mitch was able to launch the *Winnipeg Folk Music* festival as a celebration of the people of the city and of the progressive concept of folk music he learned from Seeger. Both desires were satisfied in the creation of a structure capable of celebrating the ideological positions of the creators and directors of the infrastructure. The festival, I will argue in this chapter, is a machine for the celebration of the chosen festival idol. The festival is an organizational structure that is powered by the celebratory energy of a community.

ESTABLISHING THE FESTIVAL-MACHINE

Podolak’s influence had stretched across western Canada within six years of starting the WFF. Four years after the establishment of the WFF Podolak was busy taking the festival model to Vancouver. Only two years later the province of Alberta was organizing a provincial celebration and Podolak had the experience to capitalize on civic desire. Don Whalen, the founder and first artistic director of the Edmonton Folk Music Festival remembered:

My love for folk music followed me all the way to Alberta. In 1974 I went to the first Winnipeg Folk Festival at Bird’s Hill Park. Mitch Podolak produced it. And I was pretty much taken aback by it. I was impressed. That’s not a negative statement...it

just blew me away. I continued going. I think I went to the first 13 I think. And Mitch became involved and wanted me to start a festival in Edmonton. At that time...two years prior to him asking me to get involved I was running...well managing a little coffee house in Edmonton called the Hovel which became a bit of an icon...you may have heard of it. I did that for two years and then at the 80th anniversary...the provincial celebrations...the 75th anniversary...at that time Horst Schmidt, who was the Minister for Culture, who did some amazing things for culture in Alberta, and he basically said not this year but next year during the centennial you're going to have a festival. (Don Whalen Interview: July 6, 2007)

The current artistic director of the Vancouver Island Music Festival, and celebrated blues guitarist, Doug Cox got involved in folk music at the Edmonton festival,

I also learned a lot from Mitch Podolak who had written basically a manual on volunteer organization for a festival the size of Winnipeg or Edmonton...that kind of thing. I went through a bunch of the old programs and started to write down crew names and started to look at what do we need for this festival.” (Doug Cox Interview: July 5 2007)

Holger Peterson, an Order of Canada winner, owner of Stoney Plain Records, and host of long running CBC show Saturday Night Blues, recounted that,

Mitch Podolak who was the director and manager of the Winnipeg festival and was very encouraging and said why don't you guys do a festival. So Don really was the motivated one who put it together and he asked me, when we were putting the board together, he asked me if I wanted to be the chairman of the board. So I was involved from the very first festival on. (Holger Peterson Interview: August 6, 2008)

Podolak recalled:

1980 was the 75th anniversary of Alberta and a couple of things happened. Some genius at Alberta culture decided that whatever they put together for a celebration for the 75th needed to be everywhere in Alberta and that it wasn't going to just be a celebration in Calgary or Edmonton or the bigger communities. So, they created a system called the Alberta 75th anniversary festival for the arts and then they organized organizers in 6 different regions. Which they called FARC's (festival of the arts regional coordinator) and so each region had a FARC which covered 1/6th of the province. I was at Alberta Contact, I guess in 79 sometime and I was approached by Ken Graham who was, at that point, the head of Alberta culture and who last time I saw was driving a vehicle here at this festival as a volunteer a few years ago, and John Krypton. John was the head of the touring office at the Canada Council. The two of them sat me down and said, “We're doing this series of traveling shows through the province as part of the 75th anniversary” and they ended up doing 30 different traveling shows. It was great!. That was Lougheed's government right not this schmuck. Horst Schmidt was the minister for culture and they had some really fine

brains in Alberta culture and they put together this magnificent series of shows. (Mitch Podolak Interview July 4 2008)

Podolak returned to Winnipeg after the meetings and began to draw up plans for a mobile folk music festival that would take artists and technical people familiar with the Winnipeg Festival structure and put them on a bus and tour them around Alberta during this summer. Podolak called the musical tour the Old Time Medicine Show and Traveling Folk Music Festival and it ended up being a type of seeder project for at least three major festivals that all operate on the WFF model:

Well they basically said ok what's your budget and I went back to Winnipeg and sat down and dreamed it up. They found 22 communities that wanted us. And so I put together what I thought was the best cast I could put together at the time. I included Sylvia Tyson, John Allen Cameron, Jim Post, Stan Rogers, Stringband, Paul Han, Connie Kaldor, and another young woman who's name will come back. It was 9 acts and we did 22 one nighters. Well expect that this happened to correspond exactly with the meeting that I had with Horst Smidt and Don Whalen to raise the money for the Edmonton folk festival. So what we were able to do was to make Edmonton one of the stops on the traveling folk festival. So the first year of the folk festival the mainstage gear, crew, lights, and acts were the traveling folk festival. And we provided the first year with 9 acts and this is how Calgary started as well out of the same dynamic. There was a stop in Canmore as well. And we played on that stage that was not yet called the Stan Rogers stage. Stan Rogers played on that stage with us. (Ibid)

In this recounting of the establishment of the WFF model there is an implicit suggestion that there was little or no musical culture or no festival culture happening in this region at all. This however was not the case as one young promoter at the time, Cameron Noyes, recalled:

The young people that we got involved they had really deep understanding of the music that was being played already they were just taking it somewhere else and we got a lot of opposition from some of the die hard traditionalists at some of the festivals around western Canada. And there was an official order of how things went years later I found out that Edmonton folk festival, Calgary folk festival and Vancouver folk festival and especially Winnipeg folk festival. There were existing festivals around and there was one fellow his influence had been heavy years earlier. Figured out how the Canadian granting thing worked. So already there was a festival

in Edmonton called under the bridge where people gathered together and played folk music. This guy came in and basically, hating to say it because at this point him and a group of people turned it more or less corporate. There was money to be made from the government. *So who's this you are referring to?* Mitch Podolak and Gary Cristall who later ran for 16 years the Vancouver folk festival and then later ran the music branch of the Canada Council for the arts. The influence is very deep. (Cameron Noyes Interview: July 21, 2007)

Folk and roots¹⁰ music festivals in western Canada have become very successful. The festival structure that Podolak established made use of the transformative potential of the festival-machine. Many interviews with people across the prairies who have been involved in these festivals tell a similar story:

It was an amazing event that inspired everybody. It inspired everybody to see that you could do this. It was huge...I mean what Mitch did...I don't know if people realize what Mitch did you know. It was his idea and I know he had lot of help and lots of committed people that helped. Once he got going the main players there...I mean they all...and some of them still do the Winnipeg folk festival...but the whole...the WFF changed the face of music in western Canada...in my opinion...maybe in Canada. Because everybody got the idea after that. Everybody could see that this could be done. It wasn't a monumental task it could be done. You could get that many people to volunteer cause otherwise you just couldn't do it. You couldn't pay all of those people to do it. (Susanne Surel Interview: July 20,2007)

The festival-machine could be used by regular people to create a structure of experience that would prove to be transformational for both individuals and for folk musicians. But the festival-machine has to be theorized so that the scholar can differentiate the festival-machine from the community energy of gatherings which the festival-machine uses. The point of this division is to provide greater clarity and descriptive potential. I also propose that theorizing the festival and then the carnival

¹⁰ Roots music is an alternative term for folk music (Rosenberg 1993, 3) which shifts the emphasis away from the performers of the music towards the role the music plays as the basis of the popular music industry, blues as the roots of rock and roll for instance. Rosenberg suggested that, "The word "folk" is used sparingly in revival circles, while "roots" is frequently encountered in its place" (Rosenberg 1993, 21). I find this distinction is made rarely outside of the music industry and while in the 1990s 'roots' was increasingly used by the late 2000s this trend, from the point of view of the author, seems to have diminished.

in chapter three, will allow music researchers a new typology for field research on festivals and carnivals.

ASSEMBLAGE THEORY AND THE BWO: DESIRE TO BECOME FOLK

Chapter one closed with the establishment of folk music assemblages. These assemblages established forms of order upon a concept. D+G created concepts to assist in the tracing or mapping of social activity and also explored the energy immanent within these concepts. The folk strata relied on the energy of the folk BwO. The folk BwO however cannot be reached because it is an ideal concept. But the *desire* to approach it, the desire to approximate the folk BwO, generates desire as a social power which brings groups together.

Using Deleuze and D+G I will forward a theory of the festival-machine. This theory will seek to provide an explanation for the impact that the festival attempts to have on participants and the dual internal drives that power the festival organization, the desire for the folk and the desire for the assemblage. A theory of the festival-machine will establish that hierarchical and corporate developments are an outgrowth of the drive to establish order and permanent social architecture. The festival-machine can be seen in the national festival of the US (Knott 1946,1951), the early CPR festivals in Canada (McNaughton 1982), or the much more discussed nationalist festival and folklore literature (Bindas 1995; Lair 2006; McKay 1994; Mitchell 2007; Olson 2004). The festival-machine has been used to promote nationalism, regionalism, and ethnicity. This is especially true of folk music.

When someone suggests “the folk” they are also making a statement about the BwO of the folk. The folk is a concept like Anderson’s *nation* (Anderson 1983), Bodkin’s concern about true folk (Bodkin 1967), or Cantwell’s skepticism about

Dylan and the folk of the folk revival (Cantwell 1996). Much of the scholarship that deals with folk music in the last century takes the existence of the folk as a serious description (Cohen 1990), an emergent political population that transformed Marx's notion of the masses (Denisoff 1969; Lieberman 1989; Reuss 2000) or challenges the legitimacy of the concept completely like Dorson did with respect to fakelore (Dorson 1940,1945, 1952, 1955, 1967, 1969, 1970).

The subtlety of desire as a motivator, of people desiring to become folk intentionally, has not taken center stage in the study of folk music, with the possible exception of Greil Marcus, Benjamin Filene, and Simon Frith, who have all suggested that *the folk* is a productive myth (Filene 2000; Frith 1981; Marcus 1998). In these cases myth is vilified as fabrication and therefore illegitimate. These explorations have not provided a systematic reading of how this mythology works. Instead one is left feeling that the author, critic, or scholar has the upper hand and because he can point out the existence of the myth, somehow he does not participate in it. I wish to deal with this topic at the outset of this work. The concept of the folk, which is idealized, supported, and reinforced in the folk festival, plays a role in ideological cohesion at microcosmic and macrocosmic of levels. The notion of the folk and the desire to become the folk, which I will be thickening throughout this dissertation, is a social engine. I set out to refute Anderson's claim that communities are imagined, by making extensive use of Deleuzian concepts, but in the end will only add this, communities are imagined...*as their participants simultaneously imagine themselves through negotiation, territorialization, and exchange.*

THE TERRITORIAL MACHINE: THE FIRST LINE IN SMOOTH SAND

Highlighting the earth is important for two reasons. First, the earth provides a geographic focus and second the earth connects the desire for the BwO with materiality. D+G are interested in creating a framework to connect Freud with Marx, historical materialism and psychoanalysis in the examination of human material and conceptual organization; historical materialism is run by desire. The festival happens upon the earth and is always engaged in territorialization.

D+G begin with the “indivisible earth” (Deleuze 1983, 145). The body of the earth is the full and material body of material indivisibility. It is not a metaphor but the fundamental shared physical reality of material life. There is, in fact, no actual way to break up the earth. We draw lines on maps and put up fences but we cannot, no matter how hard one may try, actually break up the earth. The earth therefore represents a practical limit. The body of the earth is an example of “smooth” space. This provides the framework for the first territorial machine.

The first type of machine D+G describe is called the primitive social machine (Deleuze 1983, 145). This machine established for the first time the first enclosure, the first territory. Smooth space is marked by the first striation. The primitive social machine established the first form of territory and the first art, architecture (Grosz 2008, 1-24).¹¹ Smooth space, wrote Elizabeth Grosz, is chaos. The smooth space of the earth is the prairie and the jungle before they were named as such. Open spaces once named become striated and separated. The continent is smooth and striated. The prairie is a smooth space but is also striated and enclosed by mountains and rivers and forests. Animals striate smooth space in the formation of habitat. These

¹¹ It may also be noted that the etymology of architecture is the same as that of tectonics.

are examples of the basic territorial machine. To name is to already striate, to make order from chaos, to establish striations upon smooth surfaces. The first act of a concept is to establish a territory. Territory is a fact of life and an action that is basic to all of life. The act of territorialization is the ontological starting point for D+G. This extends into conceptual and artistic life as well. Music is territory, Deleuze insists, even when it is an animal acting out and singing upon the stage of the tree in the hopes of gaining attention (Deleuze 1994, 184). Territory is established in the act of making a sound, of uttering, of living. Life is about establishing territory. It is also about coding flows of desire.

If we take architecture as the first art, as Grosz does, we may admit that survival is the basis of human art. Darwin argued that music, like language, is connected to communication, sexual selection, and territoriality. Music therefore, no matter how it originated, is connected to our most basic animal natures. We witness this with whale music, bird music, and wolf music. But these strategies are likely not borrowed from another animal order. Evolutionary biology has learned that there are different evolutionary paths to similar organs. This is likely true of music. Human music developed independently of bird music in an evolutionary relationship with the same physical world. Our evolutionary needs were shared by other species and the answers we developed are evolutionarily strikingly similar to other creatures with which we share our planet. Our basic needs are the same as our desires.

Our desire to eat, to shelter, to live, and to experience, is all wrapped up in our senses. Our senses of hearing, feeling, experiencing our environment are part of our experience of sense. It is these senses which are part of what we call art. But by naming art we have already established it as something different. The concept of art

is a territorial machine that territorializes human expressiveness in a separate order. But art does not exist outside of history. The concept of art has a periodization that when addressed illustrates the shifting dimensions of the concept. Just as the folk has an assemblage so does art. We cannot propose that art should be understood in the same way at all times and under all conditions. The social relationships within community and within the sharing of resources must be taken into consideration. It is likely an error to not include the sensuous experience of art as a natural resource. So art is both natural human expressiveness and the mechanism of social, material, and symbolic exchange that occurs.

Desire is a basic motivator of action. Desire, according to D+G, moves like all things, in flows, which are smooth or striated space. A flow is coded or uncoded or decoded. The flow of desire is the expression of sense and the desire to sense. The desire to understand space is to create striated space out of smooth space. The desire to expression is to create striated sound space, symbolic space, out of smooth space; this is what Marshall McLuhan meant when he made reference to meaningless sounds and meaningless symbols (McLuhan 2002, 46). The desire to sense is the act of creating order out of chaos, to territorialize, to deterritorialize and reterritorialize. To take sound or symbol and code it for experience or exchange and participate in the flow of experience, of time, of culture, of sound, of language, of space. Machines do not exist to create flows; flows already exist and machines function on flows. Music is a meaning-machine that hooks the flow of desire onto the flow of sound and converts it into the flow of meaning, the flow of time, the flow of ritual, the flow of culture, the flow of tradition, the flow of capital. Turino defined flow as “a state of heightened concentration, when one is so intent on the activity at hand that all

other thoughts, concerns, and distractions disappear and the actor is fully in the present”(Turino 2008, 4). Deleuze compliments this notion of experience of flow as the experience of a paradox where one experiences both only the present and only the past-future (Deleuze 1990, 5).

THE FESTIVAL-MACHINE PRODUCES THE IDOL

Festival traps the energetic and wild flow of carnival. The Festival machine interrupts the flow of the social to redirect its energy, to invest the creative flow of the Festival energy into the Festival idol. The Festival machine takes the individual bodies that make up the creative social assemblage and inscribes onto each of them the image of the Festival idol. But this is not all. If power worked this way it would be easily noticed and long since described.

Festival is also a micro machine which affects spectators. The hope is that spectators engage in becoming in the image of the Festival idol. At the Vancouver Folk Music Festival the sign reads, “We are the folk and this is our Festival”. The sign, designed and hung by those who engineer the Festival, attempts to cross the subject divide and allow the spectator the opportunity to read and then to proclaim these words. We are the folk and I am the folk. The Festival-machine is at work within the factory of the self.

The Festival machine does not work on its own without energy. A machinic assemblage derives its energy from desire. The community does not need the Festival machine to prove itself but those who seek to control and shape community certainly do. The community has what I will call the carnival-machine, a natural and wild social energy that emerges out of people gathering together in celebration. The Festival legitimates its idol and creates the opportunity for many forms of capital

exchange to come into being as the density of the Festival increases. The Festival, because of its social density and exteriority, accelerates the environment for exchange and creates a vibrant social and symbolic marketplace. This seems to be particularly true of exchanges that are affective. Music, clothes, and food are socially active and through the Festival machine ideologically potent.

The Festival idol is consumed. This physicality of the Festival machine is its power. It is a physicality that is born of desire and is connected to the idol that is worn, eaten, danced, marched, and contemplated. The idol is seen, felt, and thought. The Festival machine operates on the trans-subjective. Like transubstantiation consumption transforms the spectator in the image of the idol and the festival-machine in turn takes that flow of desire and redirects it.

INTERSUBJECTIVITY:

I AM HE AS YOU ARE HE AND YOU ARE ME AND WE ARE ALL TOGETHER¹²

Deleuze alone, and later with Guattari, broke with the structuralists' interest in Hegel and Kant and turned instead to Hume, Leibniz, Spinoza, Nietzsche, and Bergson. In doing so they built upon an empiricist approach to society that made a claim that the individual and the community are expressed through each other. Instead of thinking in binary oppositions like subject:object Deleuze suggested that the subject is an assemblage that is already a member of a society. The subjective is not the classical drama stage where archetypes act out their roles instead it is a factory floor full of machines. The subject understands itself as a node composed of many vectors moving in a number of directions. The individual is the life affirming observation of difference embedded in the social. D+G wrote,

¹² First line from the Lennon/McCartney classic "I am the Walrus" (1967).

It is at work everywhere, functioning smoothly at times, at other times in fits and starts. It breathes, it heats, it eats, it shits and fucks. What a mistake to have ever said *the id. Everywhere it* is machines—real ones, not figurative ones: machines driving other machines, machines being driven by other machines, with all the necessary couplings and connections. An organ-machine is plugged into an energy-source-machine: the one produces a flow that the other interrupts. (Deleuze 1983, 1)

Desiring-machines, they write, are “binary machines” (Deleuze 1983, 5) where one machine connects to the next machine. One machine produces a flow and the other machine connects to that flow and breaks it or redirects it. Desire “causes the current to flow, itself flows in turn, and breaks the flows” (ibid). But these machines are not metaphors. They are real machines that work in relation to each other and produce for a third machine which connects to the flow of the last machine.

The third machine is not a dialectical resolution, rather it is another machine which cuts into the flow, “every machine is already the machine of a machine” (Deleuze 1983, 36). This is consonant with ecological thinking which stresses the interconnectedness of ecosystems. Each machine plugs into the next like a chain of machines. Like a food chain each machine produces something for the next. Machines are also social machines like communities. These communities exist as organs upon the full body of the earth, “The primitive territorial machine, with its immobile motor, the earth, is already a social machine, a mega machine, that codes the flow of production, the flows of means of production, of producers and consumers: the full body of the goddess Earth gathers to itself the cultivable species, the agricultural implements, and the human organs” (Deleuze 1983, 142).

Social machines create territories. These territorial machines establish interconnectivity as well as division: interconnectivity of the tribe, the socius, and the divisions of humans into tribes upon the “indivisible body of the earth” (Deleuze 1983, 146). All humans exist in the same way upon the earth as they are

interconnected with the body of the earth. Human existence is always related to desire-machines, production-machines, and social-machines. The socius is an undifferentiated stratus or a blanket of humanity that covers the earth supporting life in organized ways by chains of machines which redirect flows. Individuals are coded within communities and social machines code members into social subjects upon the flow of custom and tradition. The subject therefore is a social being creating itself by connecting machines to its flow of desire, its flow of sense, its flow of community, tradition, custom, heritage, and style. Deleuze suggested that identity is; (a) much more like a fold than a fixed point, (b) always in the process of development or becoming, and (c) always experienced as an in-between negotiated between two other experiences of historical time, the past and the future. The self is synonymous with the mind. But the mind, as Deleuze reminds us through Hume, is not a thing but is “identical to ideas in the mind” (Deleuze 1991, 88). He extends this to suggest, “every perception is a substance, and every distinct part of a perception a distinct substance” (Deleuze 1991, 88). The substance of the mind is consolidated by habit: “Habit is the constitutive root of the subject, and the subject, at root, is the synthesis of time—the synthesis of the present and the past in light of the future” (Deleuze 1991, 93). The past therefore is expressed as a habit of the mind and prepares for the future. What is called the past is often expressed as the expectation for the future. The present is the negotiation of the past and the future. As Deleuze learned from Bergson, the present is the choice about the future made by comparing choices to multiple pasts. Decisions are made by desiring-machines hooked up to social machines. Machines break flows up and code them. In this way the individual is not separated from the social nor is the mind or spirit separated from matter.

**THE ARCHITECTURE OF SOCIETY AND SELF:
THE PRODUCTION OF THE FESTIVAL-MACHINE**

The festival machine connects to the flow of desire and codes that flow to reinforce the ideology of the festival idol. It is instructive at this point to reconsider Mitch Podolak's story from earlier in the chapter. Podolak grew up with an image of himself as the son of European Jews in a diasporic Canadian community. He also connected, through his family, to an international assemblage of communists. Both of these images were supported by organizations dedicated to the development of the young. The Yiddish school that Podolak attended and the Jewish communist summer camps were run on the desire to reinforce a set of beliefs. As a young man in Toronto in the 1950s he explored his Canadian identity as well as his chosen identify as a folkie and follower of first Pete Seeger then Leon Trotsky. The personal territory that Podolak was born into and then built for himself was terrifically complex. One can see quite clearly how his construction of self was directly connected to his consumption of experience. It was from these experiences that the Winnipeg Folk Music Festival was first imagined and then created. It is impossible to separate the construction of self from the construction of the festival and the construction of the other assemblages. The point where all of these vectors cross is where both Mitch Podolak and the WFF can be located.

But there are also larger issues to contend with. The festival would not have been possible without the creation and normalization of social, political, and economic forms. The WFF was financed by the Manitoba government because there had already been a successful history of regional and national music festivals. The government of Manitoba provided money to a private organization to run the festival because in western Canada there had already been a history of private

enterprise creating cultural programming with government partnership. There was already a professional infrastructure of folk “artists” able to be hired who had already developed a following interested in attending and volunteering for an event like this. All of these vectors, and more, were required to allow the festival to be successful. These social structures can be called social architecture.

BECOMING SOLID:

THE JOURNEY FROM EPHEMERAL TO FESTIVAL ARCHITECTURE

My first impression when I sat in the front of a Festival stage at my first folk music festival was how much the experience mimicked a concert hall. Everyone sat neatly in rows in front of the stage on small fold out chairs, tarps, or blankets, or just on the grass. Everyone faced the stage. All of the acts were introduced and emerged from a back stage area. They were hidden from our view until they emerged for our entertainment. We all applauded. The concert began and ended. We applauded and chatted, milled about, looked at each other and then left. I could not help but picture everyone in tuxedos leaving our version of the opera or symphony. I had concluded that festival architecture copied or parodied the concert hall. I had not realized that the concert hall itself had emerged from the festival-machine.

The festival workers draw out the age-old architectural plans of the Festival to create a machine to harness the flow the social desire, to harness the flow of the carnival. Architectural thought was part of the festival-machine since the WFF. Mitch Podolak realized that he did not personally possess the skills required to figure out the physical necessities to launch the festival. He recalled that:

I wasn't experienced enough to do what I was doing and Walter Unger understood that there was a lot of stuff I knew nothing about – like staging and site design, like (laugh) most of the things you need to know. Because I had an idea and I knew about how to run a coffee house in the 60s but I really knew fuck all about running a

folk festival or any other large public event. So he found me a guy who hadn't done it either but who brought a whole bunch of other skills to the table. A man named Colin Gorrie. And he was the co-founder in every sense. It may have been my idea but he showed me what he knew and I showed him what I knew. And it was a really very fascinating and entirely good two years working with Colin. He's an architect by trade.

For instance, when you look at the WFF site that parking lot, that main parking lot, which is the nicest place to put a stage, is not a stage and it should never be a stage because it's the only place in the whole park that has a huge field and a sandy subsoil and is perfect for parking. No mud!

He brought the understanding of site design, of human movement, and of soil conditions. Here he was a graduate student architect that liked theatre more than architecture and knew stages and lights but also all of this other stuff. And I brought with me understanding about volunteers, about music. I learned all the stuff that he knew and if he would have stuck around he would have learned all of the stuff that I knew. (Mitch Podolak Interview: July 6, 2008)

Folk music festival site architecture continued to increase in complexity and as it did inclusion played a vital role. The site design that Podolak and Gorrie established changed very little for 35 years. In recent years however the WFF has considered a revamp of the architecture of the festival. The seriousness of the discourse around the project underlines the significance of architectural decisions. The chairperson of the WFF Board of Directors Terry Sargeant explained:

We've been considering it and developing it for the last few years. A huge impetus for it was a hugely muddy year. We realized that we seriously had to do some work on drainage on that main field or look for a place to move the mainstage. There had been previous site development plans developed. We went through a processes of board members and volunteers considering a number of elements then we found some funding to get a landscape architect firm come up with some options and we went through a number of interactions of different options until we settled with an option. What we've now decided upon. But it's something that can be phased in. We don't have to find bang – four million dollars to start it – we can phase it in over 4 or 5 years and it will probably cost 4 million. As soon as this year's festival is clear of the field we'll start doing some work this year.

Ultimately, it's about making the festival experience better for the patrons. Better roadways. Maybe one of the first things is to centralize some of the onsite service. The food court which is now that long strip down the side. There are a couple of problems with that. One is that it is a major traffic area down to the stage. And when

people are lined up at the food court that can be a bit of a problem. Another thing is a few years ago the health officials of the provincial government directed us to improve water systems in there as well as the floor area. And that was one of the impetuses to get us going on this site development. So we're going to move that into a bit of a village in the centre of the site. We'll have the food court, the beer tent, all clustered around a village square. One of the other elements will be to improve the access. If you've got a beer tent you need trucks to move the beer in and if you've got food trucks have to bring the food in. Right now they have to drive through the site and have to dodge people who are walking on the paths and that can be a problem. They'll be better site access for service vehicles and for the patrons walking to and from the difference stages and quite possibly, or possibly, some significant change to the stage locations. Including the main stage. Get the stage somewhere with a more sandy soil so that it doesn't turn into a mud bath every time there is substantial rainfall. But it will remain in the same footprint that we've been leasing from the park for many years. (Terry Sargeant Interview: July 7, 2008)

But after all of this planning and discussion the Board put a hold on the entire project and went back to the drafting board. As of the end of my ethnographic work in 2010 there still had not been any move to establish any of the changes in the festival site.

The structure of festivals is not only the organization of human resources; it is also the physical architecture of the site. Before embarking on this research I was not aware of impermanent architecture, what architects call "ephemeral architecture". I had not imagined it would embody a history of its own. Yet ephemeral architecture is linked to festival architecture. This following conversation is not unique:

For the last eleven years its been getting bigger but not too much bigger stage wise we've grown by only two stages but the infrastructure has gone up by a whole bunch with extra people although its getting easier. We have construction fencing now instead of 400 miles of snow fencing and security has gone up some. There are different zones to put up you can see it when you're walking around. There are different fences that get put up which quiet the people down while they go to the next piece. My job is to go around and offer ideas to people for ways to do things if they run into trouble and trouble shoot. I can get some more plywood or I can offer a different way to do it. Say, "Gee that looks really good but if you try this it would look a lot nicer". (Glenn Foster Interview: July 8, 2007)

Ephemeral architecture is the quiet, silent, or hidden history of architecture. Bonnemaision and Macy suggest that, "Archival records tell us that festivals and

spectacles were well funded by the ruling classes in order to magnify and glorify their reign” (Bonnemaison 2008, 2). They also make it clear in their edited text *Festival Architecture* that the Festival has historically been a place for not only architectural experimentation but also social and artistic experimentation. In the folk festival a great deal of the architecture is ephemeral, it is tents and temporary wooden construction. Different festivals commit to the solidification of infrastructure for their own reasons but it seems that the process from ephemeral to permanent architecture marks the festival community in particular ways. The ways in which architecture is structure is related to the ways it helps to, “mold and reproduce a particular pattern of social relationships” (Waterson 1990, 167). The festival-machine is not dedicated to impermanence but is complicit in developing the energy to transform ephemeral architecture into permanent architecture. Grant Gordon, who had been involved in music festivals in the Comox area of Vancouver Island since the 1960s described this transformation:

Every year we would build infrastructure. We’re still talking Renaissance fairs...we were still the Hippies. The guy that was managing this place (the fair was on the same land) was an ex staff sergeant from the RCMP and he did not like us. So we would get the grounds and because they weren’t using it we’d get to live down here for a month. And it’s quite a nice place, waterfront property. There was a lot of glass in the river back then and lots of nasty feet cuts so every afternoon I’d get to go down the river with my snorkel and mask...peacefully swim through the river and pick up glass because I was a first aid attendant by then. Pick up glass...everyday I’d go down there for an hour. It was pretty nice...anyway we built all of this thing...everything was built. There were no pop up tents. Everything was built...all of the booths. Were custom made and they were art. It mattered to people that they had something beautiful. You know...Guatemalan fabric or carved something...something that they carved on site and built every year. It was quite something. And the tent the big top tent is the last remnant of that that you see. When we see it we all go “ah yeah” right. You could have a whole field of pop ups and it just doesn’t have the same effect as that. But risk management comes in to play these days. (Grant Gordon Interview: July 5, 2007)

Creativity is key to the affective impact of the festival. But creativity within the festival-machine is always connected to other concerns. Infrastructure requirements and the drive to expand the festival have an impact on how creative participants can be.

We build it every year and have to take it out every year. That's the infrastructure problem. Beautiful site but very little infrastructure here. And they made us take it all out right. He made it as hard for us as he possibly could. And the only thing I'm not doing is naming him. And I will not name him. It really didn't end. The people that were doing it just couldn't stop themselves and they moved it across the road and it became the Shoreline arts festival. And there were three years of the shoreline. Coast Arts was another name for it. And those people who are good at getting money and connecting the dots that's what they do. I could say Doug Cox here...it's just what they do. Promoters right. And then there's other people...we're the service department right. We make it happen they get to have it but somebody's got to do it. (Grant Gordon Interview: July 5, 2007)

Doug Cox, the artistic director of the Vancouver Island folk music festival, targeted here as an outsider interested in making money, has an equally long history with music, music education, and community festival. Doug Cox was part of the founding of the Edmonton Folk Music festival and continues to be a very influential member of not only the folk music industry but an active advocate of music education and community development. But this accusation is instructive. Even though I personally think Doug Cox is the least capitalistically inclined artistic director currently working in western Canada, he is not able to escape the image of the festival-machine. The festival-machine creates an environment which makes demands on energy in a way that the carnival-machine does not. The energy required to establish and maintain a specific form of aesthetic order and a folk music industry puts pressure on community relationships and creates the fractures in the community which highlight hierarchical power relationships. Engineers run the festival machine and rule over the community enforcing their will and their idols.

This isn't the 70s anymore. We're not dancing in the rain to a blues band anymore. There are lots of inspectors here and we are inspected heavily.

(Later)

Maybe that's what I'm going to do next. Work politically to try to get infrastructure into these grounds so that I don't have to spend sleepless nights trying to borrow wire that I don't know if I'm going to get until 2 days before the festival. I can just walk over here and just plug it in. So that's what I'm working on I guess...just politics. I know lots of politicians, I'm a business man now, I know lots of people, I'm not from the same generation that fuckin tortured us down here when we were young. *Q. Is it different now?* [Distastefully] It's business. (Grant Gordon Interview: July 5, 2007)

The festival-machine works towards permanence. The structure that is created for the sake of shaping and maintaining the community event becomes dedicated to maintaining its own structure. Increasing levels of energy and money are put into the maintenance of the infrastructure of the event. This transformation from ephemeral to permanent architecture is also played out in the small businesses that are part of the festival. Gregory McArthur, a vendor of handmade Ghanaian baskets and straw hats, describes his transformation:

I was going to go to the Americas and then something changed and I was off to Africa. My friend said great idea go to Africa it will change your life. Well guess what it did.

I started studying music just 20 miles west of Accra and when I was done I brought back stuff. Selling it at little craft fairs and such. A few pieces of nice cloth and jewelry to supplement the income and it will support the drum studies. Of course I rarely drum now I've been consumed by this business. For five years it's been pretty serious where I've brought in quite a large volume of stock. For five years I've been seriously on the circuit. The first big festival I did was this one and I think there was a classic hippie scenario for anyone like myself who crawls out from underneath a stump in the morning and sort of picks out little bits of wood and flecks of dope off their teeth and says wow isn't it great to be alive. It was like tarp-land I had - I was too cheep to even consider having a proper tent so I had a couple of dodgy tarp and a few ropes and a couple of ransacked tables and of course there was a deluge...it rained like hell that weekend and I guess some people thought it was charming and took pity on me and did buy some things - I think I made my ticket back to Cortez island and a little bit more. But since then I got a loan and ah...I've been working my ass off for five years - not that I have anything to show for it I mean this is the home and office of Swingpad International Imports [referring to the Westphalia van he is living in]. I will walk away with a little bit but it's been an amazing journey being

on the road for five years like that but one does get tired of it. (Gregory McArthur Interview: July 8, 2007)

At the end of the research project Gregory's business had grown to include a business partner, many outlets, a new vehicle and plans for a permanent production capability on his property in Ghana. He is also considering creating a reforestation project on the lands surrounding his property.

Bonnemaison and Macy begin a sort of architectural point of singularity in the western world with the proposition that Greek temples are stone versions of earlier wooden structures (Bonnemaison 2008, 1). The permanent architectural structure, even ones as emblematic of divine order as a Greek temple, is preceded by an ephemeral structure. The Festival is also an enactment of ephemeral social structures entwined with the equally ephemeral architectural structures. The Deleuzian notion of territoriality fits quite nicely here. Festival architecture, both social and physical, is a territorialization. Ephemeral architecture is a history of the hardening of architectural forms which is a process we also find in social orders and music style. These are territorializations which work at different rates of speed and with different velocities but all in the same direction, towards hardening. This is yet another example that mountains, streams, buildings, social orders, and song styles all function in a similar way at different speeds. All move towards periods of apparent solidification but are all undermined by movement. All of these forms fold and unfold as Deleuze argued in relation to Leibniz and the baroque (Deleuze 1993). Festival architecture folds out of the carnival and out the point where social vectors cross. The festival, the stage, and the modes of exchange that were all in place for the founding of the Winnipeg Folk Festival and indeed the rural festivals that dot the Canadian west during the summer months have developed out of a complex social

history. This social history is entwined with government, with industry, and with the development of contemporary social and economic life. The remainder of the chapter will explore how this social architecture developed.

THE FESTIVAL-MACHINE:

HARNESSING, INSCRIBING, CREATING, CONTROLLING

Before great concert halls the 18th century French pre-revolutionary urban festival stages were constructed out of timber and raised on scaffolding so musicians could be seen and heard at greater distances (Monin 2008, 170). The organization of the festivals took a number of factors into consideration. Although at that time little was known about the science of acoustics long established acoustic strategies were practiced. Rivers were used to amplify music and help create lighting effects. Festivals were often held in areas that had been shown to have preferential acoustic impacts which were likely discovered by trial and error and vernacular performance practice. Similarly today buskers, from opera singers to singer-songwriters, know where the best busking sites are in any city. The performer lives within the performance space and knows, intuitively or empirically, that the environment is part of musical performance. Music is territory and territory is an aspect of music.

FESTIVAL-MACHINE I: HARNESSING

It is not only the organization of acoustic spaces that holds meaning but also how people are organized within those spaces. The physical organization of the 18th century festival can tell a great deal about the social structures of the mainstream society. These social distinctions are re-enacted within the pre-revolution French urban festival, “And people, like the music itself, were orchestrated. The movements were planned as spectators were protected, sheltered and, depending on their status, more or less comfortably installed” (Monin 2008, 171). The festival-machine was

used to reinforce social order. It is a machine used by the elite to help in the production of legitimacy and conformity. The festival-machine connects to the desire for the social and codes territory and membership even as it had been used to legitimate hierarchy.

Robert Weddle in his discussion of the Exposition Internationale held in Paris in 1925 suggested, “The nocturnal displays borrowed from baroque traditions in which plays of water, light, and fireworks were infused with musical and spoken-word performances to form an encompassing sensual spectacle. These traditions were modernized, however, through new technical means” (Weddle 2008, 216). It is not much of a leap to suggest that the festival architecture of the contemporary music festival with its emphasis on stage, lights, and sound reinforcement technology is the contemporary inheritor of these sensual baroque experiments. The festival-machine connects also the desire of sense and experience. There are a number of functions tangled together, connected to one another in a messy and unruly way. The festival-machine uses the experience of sense to help aid the legitimating of territory, of order, and social practice.

FESTIVAL-MACHINE II: INSCRIBING

Margherita Azzi Visentini, in her discussion of the development of the city of Venice suggested, “We cannot understand the development of Piazza San Marco and the smaller Piazzetta...unless we take into consideration the way festivals regularly animated these spaces, attracting huge crowds” (Visentini 2008, 74). Diane Favro also suggested, in relation to the festival of ancient Rome, “Festivals are not just seen, they are experienced. In addition to visually striking tableaux, ancient participants and audiences remembered the feel of sweat pouring down their necks

on hot days; the hardness of wooden benches; the mood of the crowd; the discordant sounds of music, shouting spectators, and braying animals; and the wafting smells of unwashed bodies and decaying garlands, among many other sensorial phenomena” (Favro 2008, 26). The architecture of the festival must take into account the constructed spatial relations between all involved and how these organizations come to constitute what they celebrate. The viewers and the viewed, along with those supporting players who sell food and beverages and those who establish and maintain order, are all connected in a Deleuzian molar that establishes the “becoming” of a territory. But the powers that establish the becoming of a space can also be harnessed to become something else. The city may be constituted by the ephemeral architecture of the festival but the festival can just as easily be used to deterritorialize the city. Festival architecture can, as Sarah Bonnemaïson points out, undermine political legitimacy. She uses the poetic phrase, “The Festival of Paris” when she speaks of the events that occurred in Paris in May 1968.

I say poetic because May 1968 may be considered the revolutionary birthplace of Deconstruction and French post-structuralism. May 1968 was both a nationwide strike, which sent the government of de Gaulle into temporary exile in Germany, and a street festival. Bonnemaïson noted, “Unlike earlier revolutions in France, celebration was a major component of this period, supported by a generation anxious to reclaim the right to express collective joy, pleasure and sensuality in public spaces” (Bonnemaïson 2008, 278). May 68 was by many accounts, which include the highly aesthetic 40th anniversary historical displays set up throughout Paris in 2008, was a self-consciously political festival which celebrated and enacted revolution. The idea of ephemeral social architecture is played out throughout the revolution,

On top of its (Sorbonne) main entrance a red flag was floating in the wind and a poster on the wall read: 'This university is open to everyone, students, workers.' In the courtyard, an impromptu jazz concert took advantage of a stray piano; statues of Victor Hugo and Louis Pasteur were draped with red flags and black bunting; long tables were covered with piles of tracts and books for anyone to read, as well as photographs of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara. (Bonnemaison 2008, 288-9)

The performance of revolution however was not immediately successful. The new order that the students and workers attempted to create, or created in an ephemeral way during the revolution, was eradicated in the anti-revolutionary aftermath. In the end the de Gaulle government was restored with even more popular support than before.

FESTIVAL-MACHINE III: CREATING

Festival architecture acted as an ephemeral structure that can be put away and taken out later. It suggests that ideologies, like the temporary structures of the Roman, Baroque, or Classical eras, may be stored away, taken out later, and reconstituted. The Festival may be understood as the territorialization of social and physical elements in a society embedded in the aesthetics of festival. The ephemeral performance of structure creates an experience and therefore a habit of thinking. Experimental structures, if they prove to be useful, may take on permanence. The Festival is therefore a space for the play of order in what Jacques Rancière calls the distribution of the sensible. The festival-machine provides the social codes for music practitioners to be socially constituted actors. The territorial-machines, the despotic-machine, and the capitalist-machine all connect to the festival-machine and musicians all connect to the coded flows produced by these various machines. The way in which musicians are able to code their creative desires is based not upon some innate or basic drive but on the types of possible social codes available to them

as actors. This has been described in a great deal of production of culture literature. What has not been so clearly described is the way capitalism has altered the musician's relation to the social codes created by the festival-machine.

The Festival-machine codes social flows and capitalism, according to D+G decodes them. Rancière argued that aesthetic orders are produced in the engagement with public performance. In this case music becomes a separate aesthetic order when it is accepted into public performance. But folk music is complex in this regard as it began conceptual life as an aesthetic code attached to the nation-machine. The notion of the folk, and folk music, has a long history of being established, and coded in opposition to art. Folk music is coded as not-art music. Matthew Gelbart suggested that the term folk music became solidified in contemporary usage in 1848 when it replaced, "popular antiquities" (Gelbart 2007, 261). He added, "By the turn of the twentieth century, our modern three-prong terminology of folk, art, and popular music was in place" and it became understood that, "common popular songs were the enemy at the doors of folk-music" (ibid.). Local performers who utilized local performance practices, also now called vernacular musical practices, were implicitly denied the social role of artist. Art was reserved for professional artists in popular music (private sector) or art music (public sector) and folk music traditions. Tradition was coded outside of capitalism and the folk was the symbol of the pre-industrial stripped from the peasantry.

Eric Hobsbawm pointed out in *The Invention of Tradition* that, "Invented tradition is taken to mean 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 behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity

with the past” (Hobsbawm 1983, 1). He went on to suggest that the state may play an important, and maybe singularly significant role in the establishment of these invented traditions. Hobsbawm added that by the nineteenth century the notion of the citizen had changed. The emergence of national governments based on the collective vote of individuals required the organization of rituals designated to celebrate the existence of the nation. He wrote, “The state, seen from above in the perspective of its formal rulers or dominant groups, raised unprecedented problems of how to maintain or even establish the obedience, loyalty and cooperation of its subjects or members, or its own legitimacy in their eyes”(Hobsbawm 1983, 265). But this must be understood in context, as state events were not planned in isolation. The state events of the nineteenth century were celebrated alongside religious events which both reinforced industrial social and moral order.

This is an extension of an earlier approach to coding culture. Peter Burke described popular culture of early modern Europe, a social space where the concept of the folk had yet to striate social practice to any great degree: “Every craftsman and peasant was involved in the transmission of popular culture, and so were their mothers, wives and daughters. They passed it on every time they told a traditional story to someone else, while bringing up children necessarily involved transmitting the values of their culture or sub-culture” (Burke 1978/2009, 133). He went on to suggest: “Festivals were also an opportunity for different groups to compete against one another” (281). This competition was not between different parishes or neighborhoods but between aesthetic orders. Rancière suggested that the establishment of an aesthetic order is a political act. If the Festival is the creation of an ephemeral social architecture then the folk music festival is the establishment of

an aesthetic order. Tradition then becomes a habituation of social and aesthetic orders maintained by the interests of those running the events. These events, especially after maturation of capitalism and the rise of the middle class, were measured by their commercial success. Events, which engage more people, generate more capital and were able to solidify. Successful events, styles, and approaches are copied and become established. Explorations and innovations are attempted as social ephemeral architecture and when successful tend to establish permanent social architecture.

Hobsbawm suggested that by the late nineteenth century, “And almost certainly in connection with the emergence of mass politics, rulers and middle-class observers rediscovered the importance of ‘irrational’ elements in the maintenance of the social fabric and the social order” (Hobsbawm 1983, 268). This intellectual movement “was transformed by the recognition that whatever held human collectivities together it was not the rational calculation of their individual members” (ibid., 269). Therefore the inventions of traditions was required to, paradoxically, establish control in a democracy. The creation of state run folk music festivals, especially in Canada and America, may be understood within this cultural framework.

FESTIVAL-MACHINE IV: CONTROLLING

Rancière in *Politics and Aesthetics* (Rancière 2007) used the terms “ways of doing and making¹³” (ibid.,21) when referring to art. All “ways of doing and making” are equally creative but do not have equal access to an art market. What this ultimately means is that “ways of doing and making” are commodified and are able to be used for meaningful material exchange. But as has been shown there are a number of ways

¹³ manières de faire

musical expression can be meaningfully exchanged. The rules of the exchange are not drawn from the music itself but are socially constituted. The folk music festivals in western Canada, as I will later show, are part of this commodification of “ways of doing and making” and the festival stage has become a complex market intervention into folk music. Historically the folk music industry functioned outside of the popular music industry and a folk musician was considered an amateur musician and did not live from his or her music. Now folk musicians and folk festivals make money. Musicians who play folk festivals may interchangeably call each other folk artists or folk musicians. This may be understood by a change of social status for both the folk performer and their art. The process is historically constituted, necessarily complex, and worthy of lengthy discussion. This is the history of the festival-machine undergoing a transformation with the development of the capitalist-machine and the creation of a new economic territory for musicians. But this is also the creation of new codes for the production of music in which musicians themselves are equally complicit and controlled.

FESTIVAL MACHINE V: THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF ART AND CREATION

The first transformation¹⁴ happened in Europe (western art music) and the second in North America (popular music). Walter Salmen observed that musicians of the early modern period were not able to make a living making Art (Salmen 1983, 19). Music was a production of soundscapes to serve social functions. In the banquet context it helped to create and sustain a festive atmosphere. In the military context it

¹⁴ I in no way want to suggest a European hegemony on all music. For the sake of this argument I will examine the territorialization of Western Art Music to illustrate a point. I am fully aware that the field of western art music has a history of denigrating all other forms but since the notion of “folk music” is a western concept historically connected to other western musical forms I will, for the sake of space, be specific.

helped sustain morale and identity. In the religious context it helped create an atmosphere of spirituality. It is not by accident therefore that the choir loft and organ of a Roman Catholic church are located at the back or at least out of sight of the congregation. The performance was not observed and the congregation was not permitted to be a spectator. The music served to emphasize the ritual act performed during the mass. Musicians and singers were hidden from view, disembodimenting the music from the musicians [medieval schizophonia]. Musicians were considered craftspeople; they were the invisible hands creating sound just like those of the sculptor or the stain-glass maker in the construction of the atmosphere of a Cathedral.

In the 15th century, and before, there were three different areas where paid musical activity was undertaken. The first was at the highest economic level of society, which included hereditary rulers and the clergy. They hired professional musicians to entertain them and their guests at a wide variety of sacred or secular functions.

The second area a musician could find work was in densely populated towns where wealthy merchants and the aristocracy were willing to hire musical entertainment. As craftspeople, musicians navigated fluidly through the social strata of the period. Festivals and fairs provided opportunities for musicians to make money, often only as a second choice. The most money was to be made in the service of the aristocratic class. As Jacques Attali has observed musicians were able to sell (trade) their skills to lords and ladies in very much the same way they sold their skills to wealthy merchants (Attali 1999, 47). This mobility was only available for musicians for whom a fixed position did not exist.

Performance at the local tavern or drinking establishment was the third type of paid musical work during the Middle Ages. The social status of this type of venue though was only marginally higher than the musical beggar on the street. While the prestige was very low, and the environment difficult, there were many occasions that required the services of the musician. Musical performances were needed in a variety of social activities from dancing to drinking, funerals to wedding banquets, and demonstrations of wealth to treaty ratifications. Salmen has pointed out that while a musician was an unsavory character their performance had great social utility (Salmen 1983, 22).

Musicians served the needs of the public on land and they also served European needs on the sea. During the Age of Exploration (15th – 17th century) musicians served on ships that sailed all over the world. The English navy utilized musicians aboard many of its larger ships and musicians in this period therefore began to find stable, if dangerous, work aboard ship (Woodfield 1995, 16). The European conquest of the so-called New World provided new opportunities for an extension of musical life. Every first step that was taken on the soil of the continents was accompanied by musical sounds. As the famed/infamous founders of the ‘New World’ stepped onto strange shore for the first time they engaged in “bizarre rituals” (Woodfield 1995, 115) of conquest supported by a host of musicians who served with the military units. On January 6, 1494, a mass was sung in one of these new settlements and became the first recorded instance of European music in the Western Hemisphere (Ogasapian 2004, 12). A continuation of European religious practices in the newly forming settlements ensured a continuation of the related European musical practice. Musicians hired by the church began to arrive in the new

colonies. Musical practice was used to deterritorialize the “savage” new world and reterritorialize it within Europe. The festival-machine was used to convince serfs that a hereditary ruler ruled them, just as it was used as a tool to colonize new peoples. A historical study on the strategic use of musical practice in colonialism, by the Catholic Church and by colonial governments may aid post-colonial discourse today although I have no space to make that argument here and leave it as a suggestion for future research.

Many colonies offered new opportunities for professional musicians. The new settlements were military projects and musicians were able to connect to the flow of the desire for colonization and make a living aiding the colonizer. In some of the colonies in the “New World” the drummer was elevated in his status to the official keeper of time, he was a human clock, the keeper of the flow of time and people. The drummer was responsible for letting everyone know the time of day. Sunrise was accompanied with drums, church services were announced with drums, supper, and setting of the guards at night were all announced by the sounding of military drums. The role of timekeeper for the new colony provided, at least for a time, a regular and very functional employment for a musician.

The 18th and 19th centuries saw major political unrest and economic reforms. The social restructuring brought about by the industrial revolution significantly impacted all strata of society and with it the musician’s place changed. William Weber described the musician in the 1800s as an entrepreneur and one who was able to utilize capitalism, publishing, and concert tours as an integrated part of their product (Weber 2004, 13). Entrepreneurial music was beginning to take on a characteristic which differentiated it from music in the previous centuries. Music was

beginning to be considered Art, not Function. The musician could begin to connect to the flow of luxury-desire.

In Europe musicians began to come to terms with the loss of significant aristocratic markets. They turned their focus on the developing merchant class, the capitalist-machines, but to do so it required that musicians develop a new set of skills such as market study, promotion, branding, and innovation--in other words the skills of capitalists (Raynor 1976, 1). Musicians began to approach their musical imagination the way a farmer approaches land. Smooth space was striated, fields were fenced and the land was marked with lines of crops. Musicians, like farmers, began to hire others to work with their products. Copyright developed to turn imagination into product the way fences made privately owned farms out of free land. Musicians developed the tools of the capitalist, specializations, and hierarchy and established themselves as entrepreneurs; this is the true capitalist. Musicians professionalized the extra-musical (exchange) skills that they had always possessed. The musician was free, or forced, to imaginatively construct their position within the flow of capital. Some did this by selling printed compositions reimagining the role of “the musician as music dealer” (Hortschansky 1971, 189-218) or the invention of the public concert available for those who could afford the price of tickets (Olmsted 2002, 106-138). These instances illustrate that musicians who once navigated aristocratic circles and traded their skills for food and lodgings were now trading their skills for money. Often this required, as illustrated above, that the musician learn to fit into new socio-economic machinery and play their role in converting skills into economic capital.

FESTIVAL-MACHINE VI: THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF ART THROUGH CAPITAL

Musicians had been integrated into a market economy for some time already and with the decline of aristocratic patronage the practicing musician now had to put more energy in new directions like public concerts, ticket sales and building a *carte d'adresse* (Supicic 1987, 108). For the first time in musical history musicians/composers were using their name to attract audiences to *their* music. With the rise of concert performance and music publishing more musicians were able to sell their compositions. Music moved from backstage or side stages to the main stage. Music and the musician were no longer a supporting element of a public event, but the main focus. The musician no longer served within the festival-machine but took on the working of the festival-machine. The musician became part of the production of commodity desire at the heart of capitalism. But what was so striking about this transformation is that a new form of desire was added, the desire for the musician. The musician began to code themselves with desire. The musician did not just produce a product they became a product themselves.

However, this technological and commercial transformation was a double-edged sword. While there was now an opportunity to sell musical works to an interested and buying public there were new pressures of public desires that musicians and composers had to navigate. It has been argued that popular taste (desire) gave rise to its opposite: serious music. As David Gramit reported of the period, "Cultivating and exploiting taste in this way had clear practical utility for musicians and publishers seeking both economic viability and social distinction. But the cultivation of such a taste for serious music had implications for the larger world

of production and consumption as well” (Gramit 2004, 94). The production of serious music can be read as the production of a sonic luxury good, the luxury-desire.

The cultivation of serious music helped to stimulate the necessity for a professionalized class of musicians able to perform serious music. The divide between professional serious performers and amateurs became more pronounced. Gramit asserts that, “For the advocates of serious musical culture, a concert’s value was defined above all by the worthiness of the music performed there. Because...this was certainly not a universal view, another issue writers faced was how to educate audiences to desire what was in fact best for them” (Gramit 2002, 128). Serious music became Art. Art became, at least for a time, the luxury-desire. The supporters of serious music worked to create an industrial model capable of producing wealth for the artist and the publishers of serious music. But this wealth seemed to be tied to the production of a luxury life style that is still part of the culture of concert halls as Christopher Small has pointed out in his contemporary description of clothing styles and ways of behaviour in the concert hall (Small 1998). The aesthetic environment was connected explicitly to the production of serious music. Serious performance spaces were erected along with serious schools for serious music. The entire “art world” (Becker 1984) from manager, to agent, to professor, to concert hall manager, to ticket seller, to promoter worked equally hard to create the proper consumer. Serious music and popular music developed because of each other and the needs of musicians within a new marketplace to create distinctions and often side by side. As concert halls were built, Carnivals became increasingly commercialized all across Europe (Burke 1978/2009, 341) By the middle of the 19th century concert life

in London, Paris and Vienna was, for the newly developed middle class, all the rage (Weber 1975).

FESTIVAL-MACHINE VII:

INDUSTRIALIZATION, MECHANIZATION AND LATE CAPITALISM

The musical culture of America developed somewhat differently during this period. European industries were moving towards the mass production of all things but American industry, at least in the entertainment industry, seemed able to exploit these opportunities more quickly than anyone else. It is certain that the reasons for this are many and complex. But interestingly throughout the 18th century musical life in the colonies developed slowly and was almost entirely amateur. As individual colonies grew with more wealthy inhabitants the local demands for entertainment became stronger and musicians found themselves working as entrepreneurs (Weber 2004, 10). Theatres, coffee houses, music stores, and music books became available. Musicians began promoting concerts and teaching music classes. They taught the children of wealthy merchants. In some cases military musicians retired from military service relocated to a colonial post to take on teaching assignments or ventured out on their own as music teachers for hire. Performances would be held in local halls, coffee houses or theatres by local amateurs quite often accompanied by their teachers. The social architecture to support music and musicians, which had developed over centuries in Europe, was not imported along with city planning. Colonial engineers did not acknowledge the infrastructure of the European art-world and did not make steps to establish social architecture for the arts. There was no body of public policy in 19th century North America designed to promote the role of the musician in society in the same way these policies had developed in Europe. In

Europe it was possible to choose a profession as a composer: “Instead of living life as a “bound servant,” as Joseph Haydn had done, he [musicians of the period] strove for an existence as an “independent artist,” one who had chosen the profession of composer as a spiritual career without strings attached” (Salmen 1971, 268).

Instruments like pianos had become increasingly popular and sheet music for the instrument universally available. Between the War for Independence and the American Civil War (1861-1865) much of the United States east of the Mississippi was now accessible by modern transportation. Trade within this part of the United States was developing and with it the sale of sheet music. Slowly all Americans began to have access to music publications and music teachers (Tawa 2000, 69). The increased availability of instruments, music, and teachers supported the development of musical performance as an amateur and popular pastime. Music was becoming available to the regular person. In America the music market developed, thanks to technology, towards a large-scale production of inexpensive goods.

Supplying amateurs with instruments and music had become a productive market but professional musicians did not enjoy the same artistic developments as their European counterparts. Popular songs were being produced and sold in large number for the parlor piano industry. By 1885 groups of songwriters and publishers organized themselves in Manhattan to produce popular songs written for the home market in what became known as Tin Pan Alley.

The industry for popular music developed into a mass-producing art world on the Ford model. Publishers, musicians, agents and promoters were all part of the new industry. Radio turned to music to draw people to its advertising and to stay on air, a strategy later adopted by television. Music became a commodity in the service

of other commodities. Since the 16th century the capitalist-machine was used by musicians to connect to the flows of commercial desire to sell music as experience. Recording technology created the environment for a new form of experience. This was truly schizophrenic relationship to music where musicians needed to more fully convert themselves into a product and attach that product to a new form of desire, the flow of popularity, the star fetish.

Raymond Williams argued that it was the centralization of production under a new form of monopoly or corporate capitalism in the 1880 or 1890s that heralded the beginnings of advertising (Williams 1980, 177). Edward Bernays, a key figure in the history of advertising in American and nephew of Sigmund Freud wrote, “The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country”(Bernays 1928/2005, 37). Raymond Williams perceptively pointed out “means of communication are themselves means of production” (Williams 1980, 50). The cultural industries applied the festival-machine alongside and often along with the national or regional governments with which it shared territory. The industrialization of culture in late capitalism¹⁵ continued to transform the social role of the performer. The emergence of the cultural industry in America seems to have further elevated the “artist” outside of society by further transforming the artist, de-humanizing or de-socializing them into a product.

¹⁵ Late Capitalism as described by Ernest Mandel which was characterized by the advanced sophistication and movement of financial capital (Mandel 1999).

There is another side of the issue worth consideration, as Marx warned: there is very little implicit equality in capitalism. Making a recording requires equipment for production and distribution. Poor musicians do not have the capital to afford their own equipment so they are at the mercy of those who do. The story of popular music is in part a negotiation for the means of production. Time and time again musical resources are extracted from musical communities and sold on the open market. This is the tension that Adorno senses. Local musical communities are at the mercy of large capital interests and particularly at the mercy of advertising.

Publishers, concert promoters, composers, and musicians were joined by songwriters, agents, record labels, field scouts, artist development (A&R) men, entertainment lawyers, and the big record labels, all in a push for a full scale music and an international industry dedicated to the production of schizophrenic desire headquartered in America. Just as European serious music had established an art world of publishing, copyright, concert venues, critics, promoters, and training schools that were required to establish an industry of art so did Americans but in America the capitalist-machine developed a way to connect to and manipulate private desire.

The festival-machine, which worked to produce the festival idol for the despot, was now put to work producing the festival idol for the capitalist-machine. It is not difficult to recognize the festival however. The idolatry produced by the festival-machine, the ordering and coding of the flow of desire which continued on in the shape of the permanent structures of the concert hall began to take a new shape in America. The music festival, rock concert, jazz club, dance hall, the industry of

popular culture and the aesthetics of popular culture all included the festival-machine.

FESTIVAL-MACHINE EXPOSED:

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ARCHITECTURE UNVEILED

The ephemeral architecture of the festival has hardened into many forms--into clubs, halls, and even sporting stadiums. The desire for the Beatles was so intense and audience attendance so large that Shea Stadium was transformed into a concert hall. Adorno seemed to be among the first to acknowledge what was happening in music but he was decades behind the industry. Adorno equally missed his mark when he ignored the observation of Freud to celebrate Marx. He wrote famously, "The concept of musical fetishism cannot be psychologically derived" (Adorno 1991, 37). The fetish is a concept equally important to Marx and Freud. The fetish is both Marx's suggestion that a commodity takes on a type of life of its own separate from its producer and the materials used in its production and it is also Freud's sexual desire that is satisfied through the use of an unusual commodity. A shoe fetish is differently related to both Freud and Marx and must be applied to the culture industry. It is the desire for the veneration of the fetish that the festival-machine connects. But art for Adorno must do more than this; it must be, as Jameson wrote of Adorno, "the guilty and fragile place of a promise of social and personal happiness persisting within a social order deformed by class and tending towards an ever more universal bureaucratic control" (Jameson 1990, 154).

It is not just Adorno and his concern to keep music and musicians separate from the economy. The relationship musicians have with the economy has long been understudied. Martin Stokes admitted that:

Ethnomusicologists have often, oddly, ignored this topic, no matter how central it might be to the lives of those we study, and no matter how much the discipline of ethnomusicology is committed to understanding music materially. This may be partly due to the general prominence of hermeneutic models that privilege the reading of texts and tend to regard the material struggles of the world of text producers as at best a kind of parallel text to be subordinated by the text itself...ethnomusicologists have not routinely made it their business to discuss the ways in which money circulates in situations of music making. (Stokes 2002, 139)

But (ethno)musicologists should not shoulder all of the blame. Government sector and private sector organizations are also unwilling to approach the music business as an industry. The *preciousness* of music, for both those who study music and who work in the industry, has veiled the social architecture from scrutiny. The festival-machine however is not invisible. The processes I have described in both the European context and the American context, which produced the Art music and Popular music industries, are happening around the world. Musicians are emerging from economically feudal¹⁶ relationships with their communities into capital based exchange. Although I am hesitant to suggest that this is a new stage of capitalism, as I do not accept this model of historical time, I must acknowledge that markets and market opportunities do develop. The capital-machine seems to exhaust resources and is moved to find and process others. Part of this process seems to be the industrialization of musical culture and the social transformation of the musician. But I cannot say anything more at this time for the reason that Stokes has outlined above. It is my hope that more ethnomusicologists begin to study the interface between industry and music culture.

¹⁶ I do not intend feudal to be synonymous with oppressed. I use this as a description of the economic exchange relationships musicians have with other members of their social group.

I will close this chapter by illustrating the role the festival-machine has played in the transformation of folk musicians in the context of Canadian folk music.

FESTIVAL-MACHINE IN CANADA: MAKING “CANADIAN” FOLK MUSIC

In 1919 Marius Barbeau, the famous collector of Franco-Canadian and Québécois folk songs and First Peoples’ music, staged programs he called *Veillées du bon vieux temps*. It was the first time folk music was presented in an urban concert hall setting (Nowry 1995, 187). John Murray Gibbon¹⁷ of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) hired Barbeau and they built upon the concept of the *Veillées*. In 1927 began the first generation¹⁸ of Canadian folk festivals. These festivals were multi-day events at CPR owned establishments across the country. According to Janet E. McNaughton, the CPR sponsored sixteen major folk festivals across Canada from 1928 to 1931 (McNaughton 1982). These festivals were a first for three reasons: (1) they presented folk music instead of art music; (2) they were used for the benefit of a private business; and (3) each festival stimulated the collection of ‘folk’ history.

The staging of the first generation of folk festivals presented rural musical styles to middle-class spectators. The music, stories and crafts, inspired by rural Canadian life were believed to be able to educate the developing Canadian middle class to the historic realities of life faced by working class immigrant Canadians. The festivals were calculated to provoke a new social awareness of the changing demographics of Canada.

¹⁷ John Murray Gibbon worked as European publicity agent for the CPR from 1907-1913 and in Canada from 1913-1945. See the entry in the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*.

¹⁸ This is a term I introduce in “The Best Laid Plans of Marx and Men” (MacDonald 2009). The second generation of folk music festivals began when the Mariposa folk music festival, which was inspired by the Newport and Philadelphia folk festivals, entered the scene in 1961.

Gibbon wrote, “The encouragement of Folk Festivals [first generation] is a good thing, as these remind the younger generation of New Canadians that they have a heritage of music and handicraft which is worth preserving” (Gibbon 1938, 424). During Gibbon’s time, not unlike today, Canada was a very dynamic country. He was interested in playing a role in the creation of a country that allowed individuals to hold on to the social history they arrived with. Gibbon’s idea was a *unity of difference*, a cultural mosaic, instead of mimicking the melting pot to the south. Gibbon was concerned with the American ‘Melting Pot.’ He warned, “Experience shows that if a younger generation is canadianized too rapidly, there is a loss of understanding between parents and children which is not good for family life, the basis of society” (425). Gibbon, in his work to support the notion of a Canadian Mosaic in his Festivals and later in print, was among the first to support a full-blown pluralist idea of Canada. It contrasted with the popular belief that Anglo-Saxon (British) culture was superior and therefore non-Anglo-Saxons needed to be assimilated. To find a way to preserve cultural history and embrace difference while still providing the necessary illusion of unity Gibbon grabbed the title ‘Canadian Mosaic’ from an American writer, Victoria Hayward. The title was used a second time by Kate A. Foster, “who made an extensive survey of the foreign-born, or ‘New Canadians’, as they were coming to be called, for the Dominion Council of the Y.W.C.A...in 1926” (Gibbon 1938, ix). Gibbon’s *Canadian Mosaic* similarly surveyed the country and described the culture of every group that had immigrated to Canada. He showed that the groups that came to Canada had rich histories and cultures and were bringing valuable attributes that would make Canada a stronger and better country. Some commentators suggest that, “He went out of his way to alleviate fears of

unassimilability by discussing individuals' assimilation as well as the 'cement' of common institutions which bound the Canadian mosaic together" (Palmer 1990, 125).

Gibbon believed that *The Canadian Mosaic* and the stages of the first generation of folk festivals in Canada would help establish diversity and difference as a positive trait of Canadian-ness similar to the American celebration of same-ness. It seemed that Gibbon equated ethnic and cultural tension with the lack of available information about different cultures. He therefore worked to dispel tension through education. Gibbon wrote, "*To know a people*, you must know its history and origins...if we are to understand the Canadian people, we must know more than just the geography and scenery of Canada, and the customs and habits of Canadians. We must also study their racial origins"(Gibbon 1938, viii).

Gibbon made sure to include prominent members of Canadian British Society in his festivals. He was politically astute enough to "advertise this festival as under the auspices of some Music Association. Mr. Beatty happens to be the Honorary President of a Society known as the Society for the Advancement of Music in Canada, of which Vincent Massey is the President" (Proctor 1980, 19). The work that Gibbon did to attach prominent people to the festival movement paid off. Public reaction to the first generation of festivals was very positive. The Great Depression hit in 1930 and the CPR Folk Festivals went into decline, but they left a lasting impression on Canadian culture.

Reactions to the first generation of folk festivals suggest that audiences responded as Gibbon had hoped. Gibbon's folk festival performances were seen to be more than entertainment or at least as entertainment with an educational

component. One magazine article from 1930 explained, “In these days when all the world is talking of peace, one cannot help being impressed by the influence exerted for peace by these festivals. Not only the New Canadians are made to think and feel Brotherhood, but their people in the older lands will hear of these things and will perceive a spirit of brotherhood, within Canada.”¹⁹ The music, then, while important, created meaning in conjunction with spectacle. The collected performances as organized by Gibbon, as artistic director of the CPR festivals, form a microcosm of one possible national culture. But multiculturalism had not yet been developed as a political concept.

Although the CPR festivals were ended by the economic downturn created by the Great Depression Gibbon, not to be turned from his task, focused increased attention on the promotion of folk song in provincial education. This shift of focus would embed folk music material in the curriculum of various Canadian provincial governments. Folk music entered the classrooms and, in years to come, these published folk songs would make an impression on the next generation of folk music enthusiasts, the individuals who would start many of the folk clubs and folk festivals across the country.

Gibbon’s work on the folk festival helped to further its popularity. Music festivals and exhibitions became popular in many rural parts of the country, finding some support from the provincial departments of education (Green 1991). Gibbon’s push for a national pluralism took a strange and unexpected twist when the provincial governments adopted folk music. Instead of supporting nation-wide

¹⁹ C.B. Robertson, “Artists All! – From Many Metals We Are Forging a Spiritual Consciousness Which is Canada,” in *The Canadian Magazine* 73, no. 1 (Toronto: Hugh C. MacLean Publications Ltd., 1930), 46.

pluralism the folk song became wedded with provincial nationalism, or regionalism, which in turn propped up cultural differences. This is where Gibbon was instrumental. He worked to help bridge differences through the creation of sites of cultural sharing, the folk festival. In the hands of the provinces, the folk songs became an emblem of regionalism that equally served the pluralist conception of nation.

The Maritimes were actively publishing their folk music. New Brunswick schools in 1928 created a new course of study called *Canadian Folk Songs* by Gibbon in its course listing. The Rural Division of the Nova Scotia department of Education supported the creation of festivals in the early 1930s and supported the publishing of Helen Creighton's first publication, *Folk Songs of Nova Scotia*. While not yet a province of Canada, Newfoundland also used its own regional folk songs in its school system to bolster cultural identity.

Elsewhere in Canada other innovations took place. In 1955 R.J. Staples²⁰ was already a long time director of music for the Saskatchewan Department of Education. He was a promoter of collected songs from around the province and published them in a songbook called *Saskatchewan Sings of Jubilee*. These songs were then taught over a weekly radio program and were incorporated into a pageant. Reportedly, an estimated hundred thousand people were united in this celebration broadcast (Green, 326).

²⁰ R.J Staples was the Supervisor for Music of Saskatchewan Schools from 1949-69. He had worked in an advisory position with the music board since 1940. *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*. Available online at: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=U1ARTU0003299> Accessed on February 28, 2006.

G. Roy Fenwick, Supervisor of Music for the province of Ontario, approached Gibbon, well known for his role in the promotion of folk songs, to write two books: *Northland Songs* (1936) and *New World Ballads* (1939). In 1935, Fenwick had created competitive and non-competitive music festivals that showcased the good work that public schools were doing. Songs dealing with traditional occupations were often celebrated. Fenwick was responsible for bringing new technology to the instruction of music. Gramophones were used in the classroom to help further the instruction of music. The developments in Ontario under Fenwick would have an impact on music education and to some extent cultural programming in Canada for years to come “By 1960, CBC had a Children’s Department and there were series for primary, junior and intermediate levels” (Newman 1988, 61-2). The publication of songbooks, which in many cases were compilations of previously collected material, also provided an opportunity for the collection of new folk song material, although much criticism has been leveled against these publications, including their reliability as educational strategies. Gibbon’s *New World Ballads* were not collections of folk songs at all but compositions by him based on existing tunes with questionable historic themes. As Newman notes, the Canadian content of texts authorized for use in Ontario schools until the mid-1970s was questionable (Newman 1988, 70).

Gibbon’s support of folk music in the school system provided a model for folk song collectors to follow. According to Green and Vogan the best collection of Canadian songs was *Folk Songs of Canada, Choral Edition, Book One* by Richard Johnston and Edith Fowke. Edith Fowke, best known as an Ontario folk song collector and early ethnomusicologist, would have an enduring impact on the understanding of folk song in the school system in Ontario. This book would be

found in households all over Ontario and would inspire and educate generations of children in Ontario. This book very closely represents Gibbon's presentation of the folk song. There were English, French, and 'aboriginal' songs. The French folk songs were translated into English. It is unlikely that the 'aboriginal' songs were actually songs of First Nation origin. The book also presents an odd tune entitled, *White Man Let me Go*, which has a caption that alludes to the song likely being written by a white man feeling bad for 'Indian' prisoners.

Gibbon's desire to use folk song as a tool for understanding and national cohesion caught on "In the 1960's and the 1970's, as nationalistic sentiments grew, more Canadian folksong collections were found in classrooms and on government listings" (Newman 1988, 99). As nationalists became more concerned with the United States' influence on Canadian culture, more attention was paid to Canadian folk music by national bodies like the CBC, the provincial Education Boards and folk societies.

Beginning in the 1940s radio programming on local CBC stations would present folk music, sometimes for school broadcasts. Publishers distributed national folk songs across the country by making them available in schoolbooks and 'folk song' collections. Newman's analysis of music textbooks shows a sharp increase of Canadian content during the 1980s (Newman 1988, 103). The encouragement of more Canadian content also came from associations such as the Canadian Folk Music Society (formed in 1956) and the Canadian League of Composers (created in 1951). In addition, in the 1960s universities build on what Marius Barbeau had started at the University of Laval by encouraging research of Canadian folk and aboriginal musics (Newman 1988, 85).

Slowly folk songs found their way to Canadian students yet the performance of folk music was not promoted as part of this academic interest. Few collectors during this time would make the transition from performer to academic and back. Marius Barbeau, who sang during lectures and also recorded for Folkways records, and Tom Kines, who performed at festivals, for the National Film Board, the Canadian Broadcast Corporation, Folkways Records, and Electra records, were exceptions rather than the rule.²¹ Interestingly, the intent behind the dissemination of song and culture somewhat transformed in the process. Many of the original performers that Marius Barbeau had championed were left, like Dock Boggs in America, by the wayside. Careers of folklorists and national mythologies trumped the careers of rural vernacular singers. Nevertheless, Gibbon was successful in his aim to imbue pluralist ideas into Canadian society. He served to inculcate Canadian schoolchildren with the idea that there was a Canadian ‘folk,’ a constructed and artificial indigenous essence for regional and national identities. However, the pluralist nationalism that Gibbon had envisioned has become manifested in the past few years with the current folk festival industry.

Gibbon and Barbeau transformed folk music in Canada by opening the doors to its professionalisation. Gibbon gave song collectors venues for the publication of their research. He also gave publishers and producers access to vernacular musicians,

²¹ There are many other names besides Gibbon and Barbeau worth discussing here: Helen Creighton, Edith Fowke, and Kenneth Peacock, only to name a very few. Edith Fowke deserves special attention for the important work she did in this regard and for the continued influence she had on the direction of what has become known as the Canadian Society for Traditional Music.

and gave a stage to these musicians. Ultimately these musicians had access to regular venues to play and could consider living from their art.

On the surface, this transformation benefited all. It seems, however, that there were unforeseen consequences. The public sector collected and promoted folk music not for the sake of the music, but rather for the interests of the state, to develop regional and national identities. The private sector was interested in the music as a means to make profit on song sheets and songbooks and then audio recording technology. A large private industry developed around the production and distribution of music. Musicians were an afterthought. They not only did not immediately become professional musicians but they were separated from their own expressive practice. Their songs were collected, their music was recorded, and their recordings were sold. But after the recordings they went back to the mines.

The development of this cultural industry has had a lasting effect upon the expressive practices of individuals and communities today. It seems that if the commodification of art can be explained then the impact that the commodification of popular music has had on local communities and individual musicians may be better understood. When the folk musician took the stage a transformation occurred.

FESTIVAL-MACHINE AND WESTERN CANADIAN FOLK MUSIC

The Folk Music and Dance Alliance (Folk Alliance) molar, through assemblage theory, has a molecular structure at a regional level. The Folk Alliance is made up of five representative regions. The United States is divided in four regions (NE, NW, SE, SW) and Canada is considered the fifth region. Each region has its own volunteer board. The Canadian board is called the Folk Alliance Canada Board. The Canadian regional membership is made up of four regions, western Canada, Ontario

(Ontario Council of Folk Festivals), Quebec (Folk Québec), and Atlantic Canada. Western Canada is broken up into provincial areas constituted by festivals.

Some festivals in western Canada have emerged from their provincial perspective to formulate a western Canadian position. Two organizations emerged from this. The first was an informal group of artistic directors called WRAD (western regional artistic directors) and the second is a group formed by the festival organizations themselves called Western Folk Festival Collective (WFFC). Not all Festivals in western Canada hold membership in WRAD or the WFFC. Membership in both organizations is by invitation and unofficial ratification by current membership.

This organizational strategy is seen to be the natural product of the music business, the organizational headwater. It is however the most unnatural, or most abstracted, aspect of the assemblage. Folk Alliance only makes sense, as an international stratum, when its place is constructed from the bottom up. The international organization is built upon a conceptual approach to the monetization of musical expression. Folk Alliance is unique because it has been built upon a very basic approach to monetization. The incorporation of a stage into a community-managed event has allowed for the accumulation of capital and the growth of new assemblages around the capitalization of human imagination.

CONCLUSION: THE FOLK AFTER THE FESTIVAL-MACHINE

The Festival therefore constitutes a structural frame for the practice of hierarchical social order and, at the same time, creates the opportunity for the monetization of “ways of doing and making”. If one follows Rancière, the folk festival establishes a way for vernacular musicians to speak for themselves as artists.

But the Festival may also be seen as another group of entrepreneurs finding a way to clothe themselves behind the idol of the folk. What is certain is that the Festival has, for millennia, been a useful machine for the establishment of ideology. The construction of the Festival has ensured that its participants are coordinated to celebrate the founding ideology of the event. Whether it is Empire of Rome, the city-state of Venice, or the democracy of America the Festival works with the complicity of the participant.

To suggest that the Festival is propaganda would not be extreme. But the Festival is also more than that. The Festival has been used to try on new approaches to social order. The Festivals established since May 1968 may have reestablished the ideologies originally built for the May 68 festival/revolution. Ephemeral architecture, like the tabernacle the ritual tent of the Jews, can be “carried through the wilderness during the Exodus” to help establish the temple of the tenth century B.C.E and “all synagogues to follow” (Bonnemaïson 2008, 1). The tent turned temple is a fitting metaphor for portability and nomadic ideology. The Festival structure may help to support contemporary hegemony but it may also be used to compete with it.

The Festival therefore is not imbued with a fixed ideology. It is a machine for the establishment of consensus. But it is also a machine for material exchange and the establishment of markets. The Festival is a social machine that is used to try out different ways of being, different approaches to exchange. The Festival is revolutionary but the Festival is also conservative. It is a machine for preserving established social order, reinforcing ideologies, and to preserve habits in the name of tradition. This paradox is central to the Festival. While the Festival is torn by these two opposing energies, what consolidates the Festival is the internal order that is

imposed from the top down. The Festival is the establishment of order and orderly conduct. The carnival however, is like a Dr. Jekyll celebrating wildness and disorder in a conventional sense. Mr. Hyde is the Festival. With the Festival explored I will now turn towards the carnival and what this concept offers.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CARNIVAL-MACHINE, SOCIAL ORDER, AND THE WILD

Introduction

Carnival is an assemblage with no expressed interest, no hierarchy, and no central control; it is the desire of social becoming in the expression of wildness. I suggested in the preceding chapter that the festival is a machine for the production of the art product and the production of aesthetic consensus. The festival is a hierarchical structure designed and implemented by an elite. The festival is the establishment of hierarchy, the expression and confirmation of hierarchical power. The festival establishes and manufactures the ideology of celebration, which establishes ideological consensus. I have taken great pains not to characterize the elite by any sort of standard definitions because the festival elite have been emperors, kings, queens, mayors, presidents, unionists, students, hippies, anarchists, and revolutionaries. The festival elite are defined by their use of the festival-machine for the establishment of their goals, stated or otherwise. The festival machine will produce an elite by establishing a position of power, which forces the elite into the collection and distribution of capital. The festival-machine works towards centralization and control or is de-centered and dispersed. The festival machine will produce forms of consensus which include aesthetics. Whether or not the elite wish to posit a claim to Art, to engage in the politics of aesthetics, is of little importance. The machine of the stage, the frame immanent in the stage, cannot distinguish intentions it can only undertake action and produce and respond to desire.

It could be easy to confuse capitalism with the festival-machine and collapse one into the other. But the festival-machine existed long before contemporary capitalism. Capitalism de-coded some of the flows of the festival-machine and

allowed musicians to connect to some of these decoded flows. This was noticed by Paul Greene in his discussion of the work *sound engineers* do when they use recorded music to engineer social space in a Tamil Village (Greene 1999). Maybe more strikingly in Feld's now influential article "Pygmy Pop" (Feld 1996) capitalism plays an important role in decoding musical sounds. But as both Greene and Feld observed recorded music does not directly eliminate or even alter greatly the mechanisms of live performance. The social ritual of live musical performance continued alongside the schizophrenic of the recording industry. Ritual musicians are still hired to play in the Tamil Village and "Pygmy" music is still performed as an exchange with the forest. It was not the act of recording that changed the rules and established a new space. Recording captures sound but sound was already transformed into a commodity. Capitalism is the means through which territorial space gets decoded; striated space becomes smooth only to become striated again. Feld plays the role of the gardener and sketches out lines and rows, striations, the outline of new territories upon smooth surfaces.

The stage produces art before and after capitalism. The festival-machine produces a wide variety of desires that can be satiated by capital exchange. The purchase of products that are associated with the festival are used to establish membership, as an act of remembrance (souvenir), purchase a cd of a band that one loved, or contribute to the festival organization by contributing financially (even-split ticket sales, community association membership fees, etc.). There is also a list of other basics of life that need to be purchased even after the entrance fee has been paid. Food and beverage are the most significant here but may also include shelter in the form of sun protection (hats, sun glasses, sun screen), weather protection (long

sleeve or short sleeve shirts which also serve as souvenirs, warm sweaters, hoodies, pull overs), and other forms of festival shelter like the festival chair.

The festival-machine if it is working properly will produce an art-world that celebrates the expressive modality (the style of music or cultural expression) in a way that conforms to the desires of the elite. The festival-machine works towards the production of the festival BwO. But it seems the elite do not have complete control of all of the creative machines. The festival-machine is not the only type of machine in social space. There is a second machine equally as old, maybe older. It is a machine that disregards the stage-machine. One that creates meaning and hierarchy under a different set of rules and works so perfectly and discreetly that it has not yet been exposed for what it is. This machine is the carnival. The carnival does not work specifically to undermine the festival and it should not be understood to be the other side of a binary pair that works for balance with the festival. Understandings like this would simplify the complexity of the situation. The festival and carnival machines work around and through each other. They do not work in a linear way and should therefore not be put on a continuum, a graph, a chart, or situated in a binary. They are both social machines that should be dealt with as conceptual machines.

THE CARNIVAL-MACHINE SLIPS THROUGH MY FINGERS

The carnival-machine creates different flows and works off of different desires. The carnival-flows and carnival-desires are less easy to identify because they are numerous, non-centralized, secret, and underground. These desire-flows may not even have a specific and hardened conceptual territory. Yet the carnival BwO has a tremendous impact on the development of social ethics even at a national or international level, when the flows become harnessed by a festival-machine. The

carnival-machine is non-central (was never centralized) and therefore is a type of semiotic inhibitor. The carnival-machine produces affects, relationships, symbols, and very powerful codes but does not produce fixed and hardened codes that extend over large distances or for long times with a central and agreed upon meaning. But the concept remains and produces a BwO. The concept of Tao seems most similar to the carnival-machine, the unnamable and fluid force at work in the universe. According to the ancient Chinese philosopher Lao Tzu in the *Tao Te Ching* the Tao cannot be named, held, controlled. Its flows can only be understood, navigated, appreciated. He wrote:

The Tao that can be told is not the eternal Tao.
The name that can be named is not the eternal name.
The nameless is the beginning of heaven and earth.
The named is the mother of ten thousand things.
Ever desireless, one can see the mystery.
Ever desiring, one can see the manifestations.
These two spring from the same source but differ in name;
This appears as darkness.
The gate to all mystery. (Lao-tzu 1997, 1)

But I also wish to distance this social dark-matter from the realms of religion. The carnival-machine does not work off of anything rare. The social word is running over with flows of desire. Carnival-machines are at work on the dance floor of a club within the belly of the festival-machine. There are many carnival-machines at work within a crowd as a parade passes. These machines run off of the desire for sociability, for inclusion, for sexuality, for altered experience, for special types of non-professional status. Most fundamentally the carnival-machine produces packs and pods that become articulated and defined by their quests, by their actions, and once named become something else. The action that has no name is the realm of the

carnival. The enunciation of a name to an activity or event is the sound that the festival-machine makes when it is powering up.

Music has always been attached to the carnival-machine. A factory blueprint could be suggested here which would work as follows. The social-machine is attached to the music-machine attached to the carnival-machine and attached to the festival-machine. Off of this grouping of machines are other territorial-machines and capital-machines. Music is a type of machine that takes sound and converts in into codes that may become attached to other codes. Music does a variety of things at any time. It is personal and social. A song will aid in celebratory dancing and later may bring on tearful nostalgia. At once the music-machine works off of desire for a celebration of the present and the desire to relive a past. Music is useful to create memories, mark memories, celebrate moments, monumentalize experience, and most importantly, music works with the carnival-machine to territorialize experience. The performance of music establishes a social gravity that binds expressive community together. The music-machine establishes territory. This happens all of the time.

CARNIVAL-MACHINE I: LOCAL COMMUNITY AND EXPERIENCE

The festival-machine connects to the music-machine flow to funnel this social energy into itself in the establishment of the festival idol. But the carnival-machine, lacking a center, has no target to funnel its flows. The carnival flows, like sound, dissipate if they are not already channeled by the festival-machine. The carnival-machine produces an overflow of unassigned experience that is not cast into any lasting form. A country-dance is a great example. If the dance is not sponsored by a church, a community association, or a local bar, if it is just held in a barn on personal

property, the carnival-machine and its flows can be more readily seen. Gerald Milnes noted this about fiddle music in rural west-Virginia: “Music that brings “chills of hilarity” goes even further to convey the listener to another mental state, just as folk music in all cultures has done for thousands of years. Folk music from less modernized cultures is almost always associated with dancing (as most traditional fiddle music is) and often has some deeper purpose and meaning” (Milnes 1999, 6). The “chills of hilarity” is Milnes way of dealing with a content of music that is difficult or impossible to reduce to the semiotic codes available to us through language. It is the chills, the physical feeling, of knowing something and of experiencing something that is at once absolutely immanent and “of this moment” and is also connected by strong emotion or impression to a sense of something larger. This is what some have called an eternity moment or for Nietzsche the “eternal return”.

This concept is not of the festival. There is no elite putting up a carnival and establishing an idol to celebrate. It is a social occasion that has sociality as its engine with no ulterior motives and no external themes. The festival-machine works to establish the form of a shared BwO. The carnival-machine cannot produce a BwO because it cannot be contained in a form. But the energy generated by the carnival-machine can be drawn and converted by territorial-machines into a personal BwO. The festival is centralized and the carnival is radically non-centralized. That does not mean that there are no hierarchies. As Drew Beisswenger reported from an interview with west-Virginian fiddler Melvin Wine: “Word that someone was organizing a

platform dance for a certain day would spread by word of mouth *in the community*.²² Occasionally, a special effort was made to invite particular musicians... this exemplifies the seriousness with which the musicians viewed the matter of *charging the dancers*” (Beisswenger 2002, 49). Community members who organize a successful social occasion increase their social capital in the community but do not attempt to contain the experience or establish themselves as the idol of the event. It is never the named platform dance, it is only the platform dance. The carnival-machine establishes and reestablishes territory and is part of the sociability of the primitive social machine. But the flows created by the carnival-machine are allowed to dissipate like morning mist broken by the first rays of the sun. The carnival-machine loses its power and will break down. Early morning revelers, those few left standing, struggle with the gears of the festival-machine trying to draw out what is left of the once potent flow before its energy is completely dissipated.

CARNIVAL-MACHINE II: BEYOND SUBCULTURE

The carnival-machine, in recent years, has become less secret. Terms like subculture and subcultural style along with diasporic and post-colonial studies, especially the effective concept of the *Black Atlantic*, have established a multi-layered picture of society (Frith 1981; Gilroy 1993; Hebdige 1979). Leisure and entertainment activities are often used as a lens through which to sketch out the imprint of these non-official assemblages. The first assemblage is the traditionally organized semi-closed social group in close proximity. But this is often cut through by a second non-material approach to assemblages superbly embodied in the concept of *audiotopia*, a sound world with incredible descriptive and affective power that is

²² It is interesting to note here the lack of necessity to name the community.

once a conceptual place embodied in sound and like any utopia a no-place (Kun 2005). The audiotopia is an idealized assemblage of places into which listeners can enter and have imaginative yet intimate experiences with musical others. This concept ties well to Shaffer's schizophonia and gives back some substance to the disembodied flow of sound meaning. These two together provide the means through which un-official social assemblages have been sketched out. Martin Stokes discusses this in relation to Irish fiddle sessions. The official Protestant and Catholic establishments both claim "traditional music" for the republican cause (BwOx2). The Irish music session gets organized however formally or informally at the local pub. Musicians gather around a table and begin to play:

They require a certain kind of informal organization, without which a session could not take place. Once they begin to take place in certain bars at certain times of the week or month, with the encouragement (or at the very least toleration) of the landlord, they acquire a certain dynamic of their own. The emphasis however is very much on an idealized spontaneity. Some kind of leadership is in fact involved, in that certain musicians are 'in the driving seat', beginning sets of reels, jigs and hornpipes, but an ethos of egalitarianism prevails. (Stokes 1994, 109)

Here the carnival-machine is at work again and uses music as a form of social gravity that binds players together and establishes community of a certain and impermanent type, the primitive territorial machine. But underneath these fiddle tunes lie other layers of meanings. Tunes name places and families, situations, conflicts, and wars. The act of playing, of which Stokes made note, is undercut by symbolic musical exchange. Keith Basso, in describing the Apache multilayered understanding of place wrote: "Like their ancestors before them, they display by word and deed that beyond the physical realm of place lies a moral reality which they themselves have come to embody"(Basso 1996, 86). The ministries of culture claim this activity for the idol of their festival-machine, which connects to their despotic

territory machine. The Irish session is a single territory with a density of connections, a variety of BwO, which works alongside of, in concordance with, and in spite of official government policy. Developing a Deleuzian vocabulary of multiplicity enables these multiple layers of relationship to become visible and aids the researcher in tracing connections that are created and noticing connections that are enforced. Ultimately, social energy will be tapped and claimed by territorial assemblages; there is almost no escaping this connection. But tracing in which ways this social energy is tapped and by whom, and for what purpose, provides a great critical apparatus.

CARNIVAL-MACHINE III: CREATING ALTERNATIVES

Recently, Zygmunt Bauman suggested that the late twentieth century should be described as the “Great Transformation Mark Two” (Bauman 2002, 33). This social transformation is marked by the collapse of social engineering that happened, “before Francois Lyotard could declare the demise of ‘grand metanararative’” (ibid.). This social transformation may be seen not so much as a decline in the influence of traditional power structures but as the awareness of an alternative assemblage of social and economic relationships which does not operate under the festival-machine. The carnival-machine works off of the flows of creativity, the flow of affective commonality, and especially off of the flow of desire for the carnival BwO, the wild.

CARNIVAL-MACHINE AND THE WINNIPEG FOLK MUSIC FESTIVAL

The Winnipeg Folk Festival is an ideal place to start in this discussion of the carnival-machine--ideal because the festival structure that Mitch Podolak developed in the WFF has increasingly become the standard model for folk and roots music festival organizations in western Canada. It is ideal as well because while the WFF

organization structure has set the standard for the operation of the festival-machine, the carnival at the WFF has reached mythic proportions in western Canada while remaining a mystery to the staff of the WFF.²³ The WFF is two interlocking events. The publicized festival event features programmed stages, an increasingly wide assortment of music entertainment, food vendors, craft vendors, participatory events like the children's area, a labyrinth cut in the grass, and an area to fly a kite. The official festival site has a solid infrastructure a very large backstage area with volunteer services, meals, snacks, a bar, and lounging areas. Easy access to food, water, shelter, bathroom facilities, plus constant entertainment are coupled with the energy of fifteen to seventeen thousand participants and seven or eight stages running simultaneous entertainment.

Six thousand ticket holders have access to the camping area that opens two days before the festival begins and empties completely the day after the festival closes. The camping area takes up little room in the advertising for the festival. But for many of the six thousand campers and the hundreds who want to be campers the festival campground is the party of the summer and for many the best part of the festival.

The line up for the WFF camping begins Tuesday night. In 2008 my wife and I arrived at 12:45 am on Wednesday morning because we were told to arrive early. We did not know what to expect. We had heard many people talk about the line up the year before but no one went into any great detail. The only advice we were given was to arrive early. We were really not early enough. We were car 60 in an increasingly

²³ After the first summer of research a new Executive Director was hired by the WFF and I was hired as a consultant for festival camping.

long line up. Ten cars pulled in with us and for the next hours cars arrived regularly. By first light there were hundreds of cars. It took a few minutes to walk to the front of the line to speak to the first couple of cars. They had arrived at 6:30 pm. The next summer we arrived at 10:30 and were 34th in the line.

Entering the camping area at the Winnipeg Folk Festival is an event like none other. Waiting in the overnight line up is only the first part of a pilgrimage that lasts for nearly fifteen hours with no access to food or water unless you have your own. We spent much of the night walking along the line, talking and sharing stories with others. Many tell stories of last year's festival or share their plans for this year. The second summer we discussed how bad the rain and thunderstorms were the year before, whether or not they made it through the entire weekend and in what kind of condition they had to endure. One person later told me that in the first couple of hours of the big storm their tent was destroyed and all of their food spoiled and they ended up living off of peanut butter and beer for four days. These stories played a dual role of aiding in information exchange and bonding. Terrible weather stories and hard luck stories are a great way to bond and to learn what not to do in a situation. Everyone packed their fresh food in sealable containers in year two.

The first year we were provided with plenty of advice. We were told where the good parties would be in the campground. Because of our early interviews with the site staff we were given a map that only the volunteers carry, one that clips to a lanyard. This proved to be invaluable. It was a link to the festival and established us as having an important relationship to the festival, which I think helped me to elicit more information than I would have otherwise. Not only was I a researcher studying festivals in Western Canada, which many viewed as the best possible way to spend

the summer, but I was a researcher that already had some status with the festival organization. Information about late night drumming circles, fire dancing, finding drugs, and Pope's Hill was quickly dispensed. I was excited about what I was going to find. I was familiar with these sorts of camping events and had experienced them on the west coast of the United States.

The Oregon Country Fair is one example where after the official event ends, the howling begins. This is not actually a reference to werewolves or a wink to the wild powers of nature. Quite literally, people start to howl like wolves and begin to howl in packs. So howling was not a surprise. In fact at many of the camping festivals that I have attended over the course of this research any festival site large enough so that all of the participants cannot see one another seemed to have developed this custom of howling. I can only suppose that howling is a type of echolocation that helps participants bond, marks the territory of the festival, and somehow marks this particular celebratory moment in time. No one I asked about this custom had any idea why they did it. Somebody would howl and then they would respond, "It feels good, I don't know". The custom dates back to at least the early 1990s at the WFF and was mentioned in a 1995 article, "One person (usually a man) will start up, and another will follow, and just like in the wild with real wolves, the whole campsite will erupt into unearthly howling" (Macaulay 1995, 22). For some this is an exciting experience but for others it is "rowdy, uncivilized, and somewhat frightening" (Macaulay 1995, 21).

The center point of the late night parties was Pope's Hill. I thought this was particularly unusual on the prairie. I was told that Pope's Hill was constructed for the 1984 visit of the Catholic Pope John Paul II. From the top of this little hill the pope

said mass for what must have been a crowd of thousands. But this little hill was now the center of the late night festival.

When I arrived on the site I immediately went to see Pope's Hill and found a small hill with a wooden bridge and a path. The campground was separated from this area partly by a fence to restrict tent setup. Closer to the hill however the fence gave way to a line of large rocks people can walk through. They were spaced apart so that two or three people side by side could walk between the rocks. Pope's Hill is an important landmark for festival campers. It is a site with an intriguing and difficult history and a site of continuous struggle and contention. Pope's Hill is also the place where I first began to understand the carnival-machine and the feeling that Deleuze called the primitive territorial machine. I am not alone in this realization of this powerful and beautiful experience. This unnamable encounter with the power I will call the carnival-machine was transformative. As I wrote this chapter I found a short article which talked about camping at the festival site in 1995 (Macaulay). The author who wrote the article described Pope's Hill at night. Reading her description brought tears to my eyes I could not fully explain. I think that my tears came from the shocking beauty of sharing in the same very personal and transformative mystery with someone I do not know, who wrote from a different time but in the same place.

Pope's Hill was not originally included in the area that the Bird's Hill Natural Resource staff agreed upon with the WFF. Pope's Hill was a recognized Catholic spiritual landmark for the local diocese and as such was off limits to any other use. But a single small hill on the prairie is not going to escape notice. Festival campers have used Pope's Hill as an important late night ritual site for decades. The Bird's Hill staff decided to press the issue of Pope's Hill in early 2000. Along with the

RCMP the staff of the Natural Resources office they attempted to evict the late night festival drummers from the site. They expected to disperse the late night party and clear the hill. This was a serious strategic error by the RCMP, the festival, and the resource office staff. Unexpectedly, word was spread throughout the campsite that the hill was being raided. Hundreds of people massed against what was seen as an attempt to take over “our” hill. Campers stood fast against the massed security, police, and resource staff and “drove” them back from the hill and out of the camping area. The only effect of the police presence was to deepen an already established division between the camping area and the festival area. But why was this a big deal to the campers and what does this story have to tell us about how these campers think about themselves and this hill? From the point of view of the festival organization the camping area was a service provided for campers. But for the campers the experience was something else, something much more important.

I pondered this question while I waited in the line up. I was told the story about Pope’s Hill more than once each of the two years. Pope’s Hill represented something central for the camping community. One blog posting from June 29, 2004 had this to say:

Honestly, the festival campground is a sight to be seen. It is remarkable to spend most of a week camped in a field with 5,000 of your closest friends, and not have to fear any untoward incidents. People drum. People dance. People sing. People play. People glow. People, er, well, you know. Music is made. Talents are shared. A general feeling of happiness and festivity pervades. Rarely are there any unfortunate incidents.

It’s hard to believe that this stupid little knob was the subject of a near-legendary standoff not that many years ago: when the teeming masses faced down the hordes of police officers and park rangers that encircled its base to finally break through, storm the hill, and, er, stand on it. For as long as we’ve been going to the festival, the congregation on Pope’s hill, though technically outside the boundaries of the festival campground, was tolerated. I can appreciate there’s a sort of illicit thrill to visiting the hill. I can also appreciate that it’s the only thing remotely not-flat within a day’s

hike, and hence, is a natural congregating spot once the official festivities are over. (Wooding 2004)

But it is hard to extract from accompanying stories the real power of the wildness of the nighttime party and the important affective environment central to the power of the party. There is no story, and no words, no matter how well used, that express what is actually at work in the carnival-machine.

I met Darby in the line up the first year. One year he took a Greyhound bus from Vancouver to Winnipeg just to be at the WFF for the camping. The camping experience is very important to him. This excerpt is an example of the type of conversation that is had in the line up:

Where else are you going to get all of your friends together to hang out and party for a week? It's the hottest week of the summer usually; watching sunrise on Pope's Hill...there's too many things to list. Just the positive feeling from everyone. I haven't seen a fight in folk festival ever. I haven't seen anything bad happen, I've never had anything stolen. I've usually leave my tent unlocked, I've got my guitar and didgeridoo and get to make music with my friends for a week. It's one of the best, positive, fun escapes I've ever been to. I like it better than Christmas. (Darby Jones Interview: July 9, 2008)

Many echoed Darby's claim of no violence, no theft, and no trouble. He was also not alone in comparing the WFF to New Year's Eve, Christmas, and even birthdays. Many of the people I talked to in the line up expressed an overwhelming love of the experience and all of them included sunrise on Pope's Hill in their description.

The line up began to move at 8 am. It turned out that we were only one of two gates that were opening. The east gate, which opened an hour earlier, allowed many of the camper vehicles that had arrived the day before to migrate from the Bird's Hill Park camping to the festival camping line up. We moved from the line up outside the park into the park itself. After a night of sleeping in the car and urinating in the

woods we were ready to get into the festival area. We showed our passes and tickets at the front gate and made our way into another holding area. WFF volunteers organized the arrivals into rows of vehicles. Hundreds of cars, campers, and trucks were organized on a large grassy field. Finally we had access to a porta potty and line-ups quickly formed. There was still no access to food or coffee except what was brought with you. People snacked on whatever cold food they had available. A few people, obviously latecomers, walked by with hot coffee from Tim Horton's and were gently chided for not bringing more.

The sun was getting hot and burning off the morning mist. Drums, which had been heard during the long night in the line up, began to punctuate the clear morning. Guitars were brought out of cases and impromptu jam sessions began. I took out my banjo and started to play. A few guys in the vehicle next to us brought out some hand drums. A guitarist joined us shortly and we sat in the grass and jammed for at least half of an hour. During that time volunteers moved through the lines selling raffle tickets, handing out garbage bags, festival information, and condoms. People were moving through the lines chatting, introducing themselves, and taking lots of photos. There was a palpable excitement in the air. Then the first line began to move.

The next step was to trade your passes for bracelets. The colour of the bracelet dictated what level of access you had to which areas. Because we were guests of the festival we were given an all access festival pass, which was an official pass, plus a camping pass. Most people were given a bracelet for camping and one for the festival. There were two types of camping. What is informally known as noisy camping, which is regular camping, and then the alternative quiet or family camping.

The noisy camping is separated into RV camping, for large vehicles and campers, and then regular tent camping, the largest area of festival camping.

Once issued passes we were able to park our car in a large parking area that rings part of the camping area. From parking there are paths that provide access to the camping fields. Both years we took the first two paths 1A and 1B but one could also take path 2 or 3. Our first step was to find a piece of land to put our tent on. We were encouraged to do this as quickly as possible. Sleeping on the prairie can be difficult if the weather gets bad. In early July in Winnipeg it is known to get bad from time to time. The first year we were pounded by 35 hours of nonstop rain, very strong winds and thunderstorms. Thousand of tents were destroyed. The camping field was strewn with debris by Saturday morning. The second year though there was only one rain shower and very little mud.

Since the only covering in the camping area are the trees that ring the large field the closer you can get to the trees the more shelter you have. Because we arrived early we were able to get into the field quickly. As I was parking the car Claire took the tent and began to look for a place to set up. I parked the car and grabbed a couple of bags and headed towards the camping area. At the WFF you cannot take your car into the camping area, unlike Ness Creek, North Country Fair, and Vancouver Island, where you set up camp next to your car. In Winnipeg you have to leave it in parking and walk your gear into the camping site. This is not a terribly long walk but is a couple of hundred meters from parking to the edge of the site.

Regulars bring small carts to help schlep²⁴ their gear. The site itself is very large. So your tent may be 1 or 1.5 kilometers from your car. On average it seemed to take at least four trips to carry all of the gear from the car to the site so there is a considerable amount of walking on the first day. This really does not change once the festival starts. The site is large and a lot of walking is required.

Both years we were included into a community of people. The first year we were adopted by a large group of university students who made certain that we had access to everything we might want. We were well looked after and spent some time talking about research, university, and anthropology. They were intrigued by being the object of study and went out of their way to explain how everything worked and wanted to include us in everything. It was a great first experience of the WFF camping. We were adopted into large family of young friends who had been doing this as a yearly ritual for a number of years. This was the highlight of their year, so it was a great pleasure to be able to be with them during their highest time, despite the weather. Everyone huddled against the rain and the wind and one night I was awakened by a young man banging on our tent asking for a knife to help cut down tarps that had collected litres of water which were now pouring directly into his tent. Together we got through the five nights and stayed in contact through facebook and email. We looked for each other the second year by leaving messages with familiar people; we located each other within two days.

The second year we met a few familiar faces and asked to stay with them. They graciously agreed and remembered that we were doing research. We had spoken with

²⁴ To schlep is a Yiddish term which means to carry. Mitch Podolak is quite pleased to claim that it is because of him that schelpping is a festival word in western Canada.

them a few times the previous year. They were happy to see us again and very happy to share their space with us. Soon vendors that we had met the previous two years of the research project began to arrive, and they also joined us. By nightfall we had a circle of tents around one fire. We brought out our musical instruments and began to play. Other musicians camping near us joined in, and we had a gloriously musical evening around the fire pit that became our home hearth. The occasional howl could be heard as early as 1:30 in the afternoon, just after the first campsites were established. By nightfall the sonic space of the site became dense, filling up with howls, drums, and the nighttime sounds, the pulse, of a festival.

After midnight it was suggested that we head to Pope's Hill. Both years at the festival began the same way. We spent the afternoon setting up finding friends and the necessary supplies. By evening we had established our organization and our tenting pod. We ate together, made tea and coffee, and then beer and drugs were brought out and shared, followed immediately by the starting of the fire and playing music. We had not had a meal since the night before at the invitational BBQ Mitch Podolak organizes. The second year of the project the guests of the BBQ ended up being our musical camping neighbors.

After we all had finally ate and relaxed, played music and established our home fire we were ready to explore the darkness of the rest of the site. We all left as a group and headed towards Pope's Hill. We made our way through the increasing madness. Musical and creative experiments took place everywhere. We walked by a small group of people taking a loaf of bread, dressed as a rabbit, for a walk. Actually, it was being dragged on a small brown paper bag which operated as a make shift sled. A drum set was being pulled around on a cart to different locations. The

drummer would play for dancers. We passed small tent towns. Many had themes. A assemblage of small tents circled by banners, by flags, by lights, by plywood tourist cutouts of smurfs that you can put your face in and have a picture taken. And then out of the disorienting darkness two large castles take you by surprise.

Two twenty foot facades of castles lit with torches and surrounded by Good knights in white with a king, queen, and wizard command their soldiers in a battle with the dark castle, the Evil king and the dark wizard. Knights ride around on bicycles outfitted with horse heads and engage in jousting competitions. The gathering crowd, brought together by the rumour of this impossible experience, or by yearly ritual²⁵, chant “joust, joust, joust” as knight after knight knock each other off of their bike horses. Someone screams and five ninjas run by. A brightly coloured dragon and then a fifteen-foot white translucent fabric elephant stroll through the gathering crowd. The density increases. People bump into one another, beer is spilled and marijuana joints are passed and shared among strangers. Brownie? Mushrooms? Offers to participate in an experience with strangers in a strange land.

The strain of a song drifts into the sonic chaos and for a moment structure is created, but fleetingly. I turned around to see a small group of musicians playing on a low stage between the two castles. The white king is calling his court to gather. The queen joins him and together they begin a proclamation. The white wizard with his impossibly oversized and cartoonish wizard hat and his crystal ball staff, which looks remarkably like a glass light shade on a discarded hockey stick, begins to cast a spell over the crowd. The same wizard the next day gets in front of an impromptu parade

²⁵ The Castle Boys create an environment each year. I will discuss this further in Chapter four and five.

and declares with authority, “The sacred weed must be burned”. The music begins. There is no electricity, no sound system, just the thrum of a guitar, the blast of horns, the beating of drums, and the strained voice of the singer mixed with the joyful yelps of a gleeful audience lit by torch light.

But I have not yet reached Pope’s Hill. Somehow along the way I was separated from my group, my pod. I had not even noticed. I was walking wide-eyed and mesmerized, completely at home in a sea of strangers and strange things. This is the world of childish free imagination brought to life with neon colours, torchlight, and manufactured illusion. Dragons, elephants, wizards, kings, ninjas, and music of all kinds blending together, layer over layer, and establish a dense sensory fabric that I manage to get through. This is like the “noisy ramé” (Sumarsam 1995, 62) of gamelan or the “lift up over sounding” (Feld 1982, 249) of the Kaluli people of Papua, New Guinea. This is the experience of layers and layers of sound, of meaning, of symbol with no clear orchestration, no central point of sedimentary meaning. There is no clear sense to this experience but it is clearly not meaning-less.

I struggled to visualize what the field had looked like this morning. Which way to Pope’s Hill? There are no signs and I had become so disoriented that I no longer knew where I was on the site. All of the landmarks that I used to navigate were lost in the darkness. The small tent villages, which all looked so similar this morning, now created a dense quilt of textured sound and light. I was surrounded by dark images moving, no flowing, through the open spaces of the field. I sat on the grass and watched how people flowed. They formed small rivers between places. The entire field, which seemed to have clear articulation earlier in the day, became an open space, a smooth space spilling over with streams of human flows. I could not tell

where the main river flowed but I sensed, by its density, that it flowed to Pope's Hill. I joined it. I gave myself to the flow no longer concerned about where I was going or where I would end up. I now understood the stories I had heard about people losing their way in the camping area and not finding their way back to their tent until morning. I had no idea where I was. And in my sensory disorientation, my non-centeredness, I began to sense something more significant.

An outline of a brightly lit form caught my eye and immediately disappeared. There it was again. It was a one-dimensional person. It took a moment to understand what I was looking at. Someone, a group of people, had created a stickman image on their own bodies with glowsticks. In the dark, and at a distance, one can only see the stickman. It appears as if stickmen drawings suddenly, from out of the darkness, sprang to life. One of the stickmen had a huge stickman phallus and was attempting to penetrate some of the other stickmen as they scampered by.

I arrived at the large rocks that I had seen earlier. Ahead of me is Pope's Hill. But it looks much different than it did earlier in the day. The wide-open space between the hill's summit and me was awash with people, glowstick figures of all shapes and sizes, and a monster glowstick man that must have been 30 feet tall. A giant glowing monster, a dinosaur maybe, moved through the crowd heading for the human density near the summit of the hill. The night was thick with the pulse of drums. Everything moved with the pounding of dozens of drums. I sat on the rock looking over the distance, the wildness of the scene, the shocking and alien landscape that this morning was so peaceful. This morning I wondered what could possibly be impressive about this little hill. Tonight I look at the scene in shocked disbelief and wide-eyed wonder. I thought about the tent that I had just passed with painting

hanging on the wall, blank canvases on the ground with paints of all descriptions piled in a disordered mess nearby. A small sign lay on the ground next to the pile of art materials that said, "Please paint a picture and leave it here for our gallery", someone had brought painting supplies and had created a community gallery for anyone to participate. Pope's Hill was a companion gallery. People painted themselves with colour, light, and sound and moved with an increasing pulse with everyone else. This is pure communal creativity.

I moved away from my mooring on the rocks that overlooked the approach to Pope's Hill. I was swept back into the flow by the sudden need to be closer to the pulse at the top of that little hill. The drumming thundered over that little space. The base of Pope's Hill is sunk into the ground. The earth used to create the hill must have been taken from around the base of the hill, like a child's simple sand castle. It seemed that the drumming was amplified down here. I began the walk towards the hill. The closer I got to it the more densely people were packed together. Once at the summit the human density is the highest of the entire festival. Dozens or hundreds of people are huddled in a tight circle of drums. I moved with the pulse of the drums and the flow of the people around them. I was handed a tambourine. I joined in. We flowed together through the shifting pulses and the rhythmic negotiations. The drumming morphed as though the drummers were shooting rapids and avoiding rocks. Like a school of fish or a flock of birds they negotiated the main pulse with rhythmic variations that sometimes send shockwaves through the dancing audience. The syncopations ripped through the fleshy circle and dancers erupted in screams of pleasure.

Something wet hit my face and pulled me out of my reverie. I looked up instinctively but it was not rain. We were being showered by glowing liquid extracted from glowsticks. Dancers all around the circle sprayed everyone with the glowing liquid. I was at once annoyed by who ever had tossed that glowing stuff. I got sprayed again. I looked around to see a couple of young dancers gleefully distributing the glowing mess. My annoyance did not last. The fluid was an offering of appreciation. The next rhythmic variation stimulated another shower of glowing liquid. It was everywhere now and I no longer cared. I looked around and we were all covered. I was marked by my experience at the center of the great and pulsing circle that is the great beat that animates the entire carnival. When I returned to our home fire I carried the marks of being inside the circle.

I passed the tambourine on to somebody dancing next to me who gratefully accepted it. I do not think he had ever played a musical instrument. He struggled to figure out how to follow the pulse, how to engage with the flow but he struggled gladly. No one looked, asked him to be quiet, or to find the beat. He was embraced by the circle and enveloped by the pulse. Wandering out of the circle I was contemplating how rare this type of community music making is when I was stopped in my tracks. At the base of the hill four beautiful leather-and-fur clad, tattooed women, danced with torches to the pulse of the drums.

These are the Fire Pixies that I had heard about. The Fire Pixies are a local fire-dancing troupe. From my perspective on the top of the hill I see circles of fire ringing each of the dancers. They perform choreographed moves in beautiful formations. I sat on the hill, myself sparkling like a constellation in the moist grass, watching the absolute beauty of the fire shapes in the night. As I sat there I

wondered how other people experienced this. Did they have the same sort of feeling that I have right now? I found another description of this aspect of the WFF written in 1995:

Every year at the WFF, I wait for the musical epiphany, and here, in loathsome festival camping, amidst the hated drummers, I was unexpectedly moved. I was beginning to understand what was so appealing about the percussive rhythms, layered into a harmony. It was beautiful. The stars were out, the moon was shining, and I was content. Then something astounding happened. A woman stood in the field in front of Pope's Hill and twirled fire batons. The drummers increased their tempos, and their playing became frenzied as the fire-twirler increased the speed at which she spun the fire around her body and head. I had to give my head a shake, because it seemed to me that these inconsiderate men were making beautiful music and honouring this woman with their creation. It may only be a thought that could come out of the end of a sleep-deprived weekend, but it has stayed with me ever since. (Macaulay 1995, 23)

The sun began to lighten the eastern sky as I sat there on the hill contemplating the dancers, the drums, the glowing liquid, and the fire. I noticed that I had been absent-mindedly tracing with my eyes the low strata of wood smoke that hung above the fields. One of my camp mates sat down beside me. We had all been separated for hours. She noted my considered appraisal of the camping area and volunteered, "This is my favorite time every year. I always sit here at this time, looking over the site the way you are now, and think how much this looks like a village. Our village." I do not think I responded. I felt a surprising lump form in my throat and mentioned something about how pretty the tree line looks at this time of day. She hit something deep with the comment about the village. I was unsure what it was. It was partly an idea that had no form and partly a feeling I could not quite describe. It was powerful and moving, it was the experience of something that seemed eternal but also seemed impossible. I was still struggling for a way to describe that feeling in my tent later, on the edge of sleep, as the sun dissipated the great pulse.

DELEUZE GOES INTO THE WILD

Individual and group subsistence is a basic requirement for group maintenance. A community relationship is partly organic and as an organic entity the individual and group negotiate resources upon the strata of the earth. The stratum of the earth is the absolute ground floor of existence. The body of the earth is the basic limit of the assemblage. The next step in the assemblage is the individual and then the group. Political philosophy has a long history of arguing over this first level strata. Hobbes argued in Chapter 13 of the *Leviathan* (1651) that without centralized rule life would be “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.” The individual, interested in his own existence, will struggle and fight for his own satisfaction. The State in the form of a social contract will ensure safeguards and the possibility of social harmony. Rousseau argued alternatively that community is the most basic form of existence. The genetic experience is the family unit one is born into. The child is raised by a community even if it is just the family. Rousseau argued that the social contract is based on the relationship between people and nature. A successful life depends on the relationship between the force of the natural world and that of the family. He suggested that families are joined together to form larger groups out of self-interest. The social contract therefore, the first stratum upon the body of the Earth, is ultimately social. Rousseau claimed that the *Social Contract* would preserve life in community and individual freedom as well (Rousseau 2003, 9).

Community is a free association of individuals who do not give up their individuality to become community but retain self-expression and become something else. Assemblage theory, like Rousseau, does not allow for a dialectical dissolution of the individual into the group. The individual becomes a member of the group

through negotiation of value. The negotiated individual freedom makes the individual a member of the group. This negotiation takes on an outward appearance and characteristics. Rousseau called this the *General Will*. He wrote that, “As long as several men in assembly regard themselves as a single body, they have only a single will which is concerned with their common preservation and general well-being”. This basic agreement should not be confused with some sort of primitive order of things. As social anthropologists have well established there is no primitive order from which any social order has descended (Kuper 1997, 231-44). The establishment of the compact and the general will is not a matter of inheritance but group-becoming. It is not just a matter of exchange reciprocity. Deleuze suggests that the relationship runs much deeper than this.

This mutual becoming is not marked by legislative coercion but by another type of negotiation. Deleuze asserts that, “Customary rules (nomos) govern group behaviour without being deliberately founded as legislation or explicitly represented to it in the form of law (logos)” (Holland 2004, 21). Group behaviour establishes modes of conduct and approaches to life. The personal is not the base expression of individual desires but a more complex, more sophisticated negotiation between individual and group. The personal “is composed of--or, in Deleuze’s terms, passively synthesized from--experiences and therefore cannot be separated from them” (Buchanan 1999, 6). “Passively synthesized” though, in no way takes away from the status of the individual. The creative existence of the individual is established within the dynamic of the group membership. Membership is not the denigration of individual creativity but the expression of it. The group is an assemblage and in Assemblage Theory the negotiation of Rousseau’s General Will is

not alien to the individual. This negotiation of group personality is the same as the individual negotiation at a different level. The individual is not isolated on one side of the individual-group binary. This binary is illusory.

CARNIVAL-MACHINE IV: I AM THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GROUP

The subject does not become less important but arguably more important. The establishment of individual affect is an expression of part of the will of the group, “The smallest scale comprises a population of individual persons, but the subjectivity of each of these persons must itself be conceived as an assemblage of sub-personal components” (DeLanda 2006, 253). DeLanda suggests that “A subject crystallizes as an assemblage through the habitual grouping of ideas via relations of contiguity, their habitual comparison through relations of resemblance, and the habitual perception of constant conjunction in the case of linear causality which allows one idea (that of the cause) to always evoke another (the effect)” (ibid., 253-4). Deleuze argued that that contiguity, causality and resemblance constitute the principles of association which transform the mind into a subject (Deleuze 1991, 98-101). Subjectivity for Deleuze is not a subject but an affect arising or growing out of the principles of subjectivity. The mind becomes aware of the subject in the association of ideas that are “connected in the mind not by the mind” (Deleuze 1991, 24).

But this does not suggest that community is without hierarchy. The negotiation that occurs in community is the establishment of hierarchy and difference, not necessarily the hierarchy of government, class, family lineage, or tradition. The creation of the subject is the awareness of difference. This awareness comes from the act of thinking of self in the relation to others. It is the act of becoming aware that produces difference and community. Through thought one becomes aware of

both the self and the group. 'I Am' as well as 'We Are' is established in thought. The establishment of difference is not a negation of individuality or of the other. Difference ought to be observed through a positive lens, "In its essential relation with the other a will makes its difference an object of affirmation" (Deleuze 1962/1983, 9). A person becomes aware of the other while acknowledging its place in the group. "To think is to create. This is Nietzsche's greatest lesson" (Deleuze 1962/1983, xx). Thinking is a creative negotiation of hierarchy and the creative difference that establishes group relationships. This is a retelling of Rousseau's founding premise but for Deleuze, "Hierarchy is the original fact, the identity of difference and origin" (Deleuze 1962/1983, 8). The Social Contract is thus not merely the establishment of a force to satisfy shared needs but is also the establishment of hierarchy.

The subject finds his/her place not merely in relation to his/her environment but in reaction to it. The creation of the subject, his/her becoming, is always and already in reaction, "Consciousness is essentially reactive" (Deleuze 1962/1983, 41). And this reaction is the creation of difference, or hierarchy, and of the subject itself, "We do not feel, experience or know any becoming but becoming reactive" (Deleuze 1962/1983, 64). Creativity is expressed in the negotiation unleashed by becoming-reactive. The act of becoming therefore is always in relation to something else. Since the community and the environment are all outside of the subject, and since the subject is defined by his/her reaction to what is outside, then it is unnecessary and even misleading to suggest that there is a special set of negotiations between people and objects. Everything is an object to the mind and the mind's negotiations and creative reactions with all of these objects affect the individual. Therefore the natural

world, people, art, ideas are all particles that are synthesized into community.

Deleuze used Nietzsche to replace the binary good:bad with an alternative. Deleuze said that everything is already reactive and this is what Nietzsche called a *will to power* being expressed. The *will* is not Hobbes' General Will. It is not a transcendental expression of community or humanity that motivates and activates the community through the individual. The will, according to Deleuze, is not merely the desire for power or the need for self-aggrandizement. It is not something so simple and selfish. The will is the "genetic element of force" (53) and the force is a response in reaction. Reaction therefore is more than simple response. Reaction has two possibilities. It is either reaction as subservience or reaction as creation. In either case creativity remains the constant. The will is the expression of creativity.

CARNIVAL-MACHINE V: CREATION, DESIRE AND COMPOSTING

Nietzsche, according to Deleuze, is a philosopher of creativity. Creativity is not derived through an external body. It is not the morality of the Church, State, or the Arts -- that is the festival-machine. According to Nietzsche there is no God (idol) functioning as a metaphysical engine. Nietzsche taught, "God is dead". But it is not the death of something concrete, not even of something divine. But it is the death of exteriority replaced by an inner creativity that is no less theistic. God has been replaced by creativity and being creative. The engine of desire is not a metaphysical driver, is creativity itself. The desire to create is the *will to power*. Creativity is the act of thought. Thought is creativity. Thought is the basic experience of life. Through Deleuze Nietzsche states, "the will to power is essentially creative and giving...power is something inexpressible in the will" (Deleuze 1962/1983, 85). This is the role Nietzsche plays for Deleuze.

Free creativity can be described from a more contemporary angle. Nietzsche's good genealogy has a lot in common with composting, the breaking down of items to create from their debris a fertile ground from which new life can spring. Composting is life affirming and destructive. Intellectual composting, the act of destroying to affirm life, is a more active genealogy. Deleuze would prefer composting. It is a creative, life-affirming act that demonstrates immanence. An American Deleuze might have been interested in ecology. If the Nietzschean genealogy is translated through deconstruction into composting then Deleuze may have more of a connection with contemporary ecology than one may think. Free creativity is the wild.

There is a great deal of commonality between the poet-essayist Gary Snyder's influential approach to ecology and Deleuze's philosophy of creating. Snyder captured the imagination of readers as Jophy Ryder in the Kerouac classic *Dharma Bums*. He has not only been considered a founding beat poet but has also become the poet laureate of the ecology movement. What is most compelling in his work is his approach to the relationship between people and nature. His confidence in the necessity of a relationship with the wild is built upon the lessons that are immanent. The relationship of which Snyder wrote is dense. It is based on an ecological understanding that, in many respects, stands outside of western thought by combining eastern and western physics and metaphysics with Fritjof Capra and Gregory Bateson. The Deleuze and Guattari concept of the rhizome, while constructed outside of this milieu, is the most fitting metaphor for this thinking of wild ecology.

FINDING DIRECTION INSIDE A RHIZOME

Metaphor is powerful. Its power emanates from the habit of thought that gives meaning to the metaphor, reinforces meaning through use, naturalizing habits of the mind through repetition. A metaphor, as we all know in practice, is not a fact or even a good description. But metaphor does shape, in important ways, the way thought itself is framed. Metaphors help condense complex ideas and are used to lend physicality to abstract notions.

Thought is often imagined as a tree. The tree of knowledge. Its roots plunge deep into the soul. The tree shoots up towards the sky. From the ground to the sky. The line runs up and out. Away from the earth towards transcendence. The tree is singular. It is a powerful symbol that has been used regularly, “The tree is already the image of the world” (Deleuze 1987, 5). The forest for the trees and the trees for the forest. The general and the individual, “The West has a special relation to the forest, and deforestations” (Deleuze 1987, 18). But what might happen to our understanding of the world if one was to substitute metaphors? Instead of using the tree as a metaphor I am interested in the substitution that Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari have suggested, the rhizome.

The rhizome is a curious type of root system and an equally curious metaphor. It is defined by its underground system of nutrient communication which really has no obvious entry or exit point. It travels horizontally instead of vertically and when cut doesn't die but becomes two separate and healthy systems. The rhizome on the surface can be seen as separate plants even though it shares a single root system. At nodal points roots dive down into the soil and stems shoot up. Unlike a tree the rhizome works on several planes. It is a system. Identically the individual is never

completely an individual but it has its own roots and stem. In the rhizome we escape the fatalism and fetishism of deep structure (Deleuze 1987, 12-25). It appears to me that when we attempt to comprehend what sets into motion using structural mythology or operational cosmology are no longer appropriate. The rhizome would be appropriate. This swap of metaphors changes the notion of being as a fixed subjective and social position, “The tree imposes the verb “to be” but the fabric of the rhizome is the conjunctions, “and...and...and...” This conjunction carries enough force to shake and uproot the verb “to be.” (Deleuze 1987, 25).

The rhizome works across many planes and is in fact a three dimensional way of conceptualizing the world. Steven Feld has explored this layering of dimensions. It could be said that *Rainforest Walks* is a rhizome. It is a three dimensional sound construction which seeks to blend recording technology and writing to a map of social space, “In the Kaluli world “lift-up-over sounding” sounds are dense and layered, blended, and forever thinning and thickening. One hears no unison, only a constant figure to ground motion of densities, decays and fades, of overlapping, alternating, and interlocking sounds...One sound stands out momentarily, then just as quickly fades into a distance, overlapped or echoed by a new or repeated emergence in the mosaic” (Cummins 2006). Information, ideas, representations, thoughts, ethics, styles all move through the rhizome. This upsets the notion of deep structure with a genesis, “Any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be. This is very different from the tree or root, which plots a point, fixes an order. The linguistic tree on the Chomsky model still begins at a point X and proceeds by dichotomy” (Deleuze 1987, 7). Machinic assemblages produce flows and interrupt flow. Rhizome is multivocality and hypertexting.

CARNIVAL-MACHINE VI: CREATION AND THE RHIZOME

The multiplicity of information is not an alien appendage stitched on by a digital revolution. It is the extension of creativity and imagination. It is the multivocality of semiotic codes. In this way hypertext can be said always to have existed. Feld seemed to have felt the same and situates his research to raise questions “about the relation of voice and place, to provoke you to hear sound making as place making. And when you hear the way birds overlap in the forest and you hear the way voices overlap in the forest, all of a sudden you can grasp something at a sensuous level that is considerably more abstract and difficult to convey in a written ethnography” (Cummings 2006). The rhizome works at the sensuous, intellectual, spiritual levels and connects them together in experience. We know these discreet areas of specialization are not in fact discreet but inform each other. Experience is the slippage that occurs through the rhizome, it is this slippage that makes connections and gives experience its kaleidoscopic nature.

A rhizome is connections, “A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles” (Deleuze 1987, 7). The rhizome is not a replacement power structure nor is it the end of domination. Deleuze and Guattari insist that in the rhizome, “There is no mother tongue, only a power takeover by a dominant language within a political multiplicity” (ibid.). Power and structure form within the rhizome. The rhizome does not replace the hierarchy it subsumes the hierarchy within a larger order. The hierarchy is shown to exist within a larger assemblage. The struggle for domination is always waged, always won and always lost. Foucault’s reflections on Bentham’s Panopticon, as a postmodernist symbol of

the power of the state, is always cut through with vines and cables, secret passageways and underground caverns. Prisoners and messages move in and out. Secret codes and slang harden into codes, “Language stabilizes around a parish, a bishopric, a capital. It forms a bulb. It evolves by subterranean stems and flows, along river valleys or train tracks; it spreads like a patch of oil”(ibid.).

The rhizome may have an extra significance for ethnomusicological ethnography: what I call rhizome ethnography. Conceptualizing the rhizome is thinking musically. Music is a rhizome: “Music has always sent out lines of flight, like so many transformational multiplicities, even overturning the very codes that structure or arborify it; that is why musical form, right down to its ruptures and proliferations, is comparable to a weed, a rhizome” (ibid.,11-12). Thinking musically can be applied to music history. Different levels of “official” emerge. Historical lines provoke one another. History is contrapuntal and polyvocal. Consider the relationship between Theodor Adorno and the Frankfurt school in America and the Beat movement. Both lines occur simultaneously and have much to say to one another. As D+G suggested, even if overstated, “Everything important that has happened or is happening takes the route of the American rhizome: the beatniks, the underground, bands and gangs, successive lateral offshoots in immediate connection with an outside” (Deleuze 1987, 19). Deleuze thought about the relationship between the Beats and what could be called mainstream culture. The Beats existed as a nomadic social stratum whose territory, New York to San Francisco, covered part of the United States. Their stratum is nearly perfectly mirrored by the Frankfurt School, especially Adorno, during the American period (1938-1953) and their similar territory New York to Los Angeles (Jeneman 2007).

CARNIVAL-MACHINE VII: RHIZOME POKES THROUGH MY FOUNDATION

Adorno was correct in his observation of an increasingly administrative culture industry but could not see the rhizome within which he participated. He could not foresee how independent business, those outside of the administration of the culture industry, could manipulate technological refuse. Like a prescient form of recycling tied to an industry addicted to progress, the total administration of the culture industry is undermined. The critique of the emergence of the culture industry is valid. Simultaneously however, with the introduction of each new mass media technology, independent commercial initiatives develop both out of the new technology and out of the old. When Television became the new media technology new radio station formats developed out of sold off radio infrastructures. Technology is worked like jazz improvisation and the old is reworked, recoded, and reconnected. But Adorno did not like jazz. Adorno did not quite get that he was suggesting the rhizome. In *Aesthetic Theory* (Adorno 1984) he argued for thinking musically but dialecticism was still getting in the way. He could not see that Nazi Germany and the resistance existed simultaneously.

It is poetic that Adorno disregards Jazz out of hand (Adorno 1991, 29-60). Poetic because it is a jazz player (Lester Young) who is credited with the word which undermines the culture industry: cool. The cool is that which is sufficiently outside of the mainstream to be attractive to scene setters of all kinds. The cool is that which the culture industry has been chasing since the wholesale transfer from radio to television and the post war growth of R&B records, leaving race records behind. The cool has an unusual history that is part of the rhizome. Miles Davis claimed the 'Birth of the Cool' in 1949-1950 both as a reaction against Be-bop and as an artistic

statement which influenced the West-coast cool jazz scene. The cool transformed disenfranchised, independent, New York poets and novelists into a scene and a movement. The Beat generation, transformed by the cool, established the independence of the cool. The chic distance from the culture industry and the critical undermining of the symbols of the culture industry is unheard by Adorno. After all how could he have heard it? He spent little time in dark alleys or in old cars zigzagging across a counter cultural America. It was not part of his ethnography and the rhizome short-circuits dialectics. Strata always exist in the multiple; there cannot be a single historical line.

Late night radio, underground clubs, bootlegged recordings, independent bands, and private zines all participate in the cool. In this instance however the cool is a machine that is dedicated to decentralization. Hippies move out of major cities to take back the land in the name of the cool. Against the total administration of life and death they move out following Thoreau's trail back to the pond where the water is cool. Beats and Hippies elevate the nomad and challenge the center, "History is always written from the sedentary point of view and in the name of a unitary State apparatus, at least a possible one, even when the topic is nomads. What is lacking is a Nomadology, the opposite of a history" (Deleuze 1987, 23). Downtown cool and out of town cool music, records, labels, promoters, and festivals. Woodstock was an improvisation in thinking that Michael Lang learned from John Coltrane. Woodstock was a density in the rhizome that had its own history. The Beatniks form a stratum and the Hippies form their own stratum or plateau, "We call a plateau any multiplicity connected to other multiplicities by superficial underground stems in such a way as to form or extend a rhizome" (ibid., 22) It was an attempt to centralize

the cool. They did not know that it was not possible to administrate the cool. The fences were torn down and the festival disappeared into the countryside; “A rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, *intermezzi*” (Deleuze 1987, 25). They would emerge from the cool from time to time and travel to Los Angeles and take names like Joni or Neil. The Thoreau-artist of the cool would remain ambivalent. The basement administrators make basement tapes, and the cool would continue to undermine the culture industry and the nation with *invisible republics* (Marcus 1998), inverting, like techno-intellectual pirates, the modes of conduct of those above ground. The culture industry and the state strive for total administration but are always undermined. Rhizome ethnography asks that the ethnographer confront multiple levels and multiple flows.

Ecological thinking developed underneath the culture industry from the awareness which emerged from living within the tunnels: “in contrast to centered (even polycentric) systems with hierarchical modes of communication and pre-established paths, the rhizome is an a-centered, nonhierarchical, nonsignifying system without a General and without an organizing memory or central automaton, defined solely by a circulation of states” (ibid., 21). Living within a complex life system and coming to terms with non-central, non-hierarchical, communal life models provided the grounds for a new form of thought.

The rhizome can be said to have been inspired equally by Paris 68 and the West-coast counter culture of America. D+G claimed that something significant had happened in America. The California school’s work on bridging Eastern and Western ontology as well as the Frankfurt school’s philosophical militancy helped to establish a counterculture whose activities Deleuze described: “The nomads invented

a war machine in opposition to the State apparatus” (Deleuze 1987, 24).

Adorno warned that there is little hope in escaping the grasp of the culture industry. But what he was actually saying was that there was no hope of escaping his map. Even as he was watched his books being distributed in tunnels built under the city he had just finished. They were the leather-clad members of tribes, the Beatnik, the hippie, the folkie, the punk, and the underground raver. Thinking musically exposes the rhizomatic and non-dialectic character of History. When Ethnographic and historical work are undertaken one traces impressions left in the earth by ancient river ways, and ancient earthworks. Ethnography is always part history and part archeology. It forces the researcher to come to terms with the disjunction between linear History and the social complexity of the rhizome. Howard Zinn spoke of this multivocality in a 1975 article about Independence Day, “The Declaration of Independence became an embarrassment to the Founding Fathers almost immediately...When the Continental Congress in 1781 voted half pay for life to officers of the Revolution and nothing for enlisted men, there was mutiny in the New Jersey and Pennsylvania lines. Washington ordered two young mutineers shot as an example. The shovelfuls of earth covering their bodies also smudged the words of the Declaration, five years old and already ignored, that *all men are created equal*” (Zinn 2001, 31). It is the tracings that should make the map and not the opposite (Deleuze 1987, 21). The tracings create a much more complex and densely layered history with constantly competing claims. Digging beyond the official history one will find rhizome history. Various plateaus with slippages between them and these slippages create distinctions and tensions as Richard Handler pointed out in Québec society, which he characterized as, “a people who refuse to live but refuse to die, of

the mingled pessimism and optimism that must be the fate of a tiny collectivity (did he mean assemblage?) lost in a continent of alien culture” (Handler 1988, 185).

The rhizome is understood in the mapping of assemblages which are brought together by “desire” and established by “enunciation” (Deleuze 1987, 22). It is however often from the desire for enunciation that the Festival, the hierarchical structure, emerges. For the sake of order and identity the carnival is often submerged as a historical entity; it is too hard to grasp and too hard to name (like the Tao). Nationalism and regionalism distort the flow of ideas and people, hiding the connections. But style silently reasserts complexity as Stuart Cosgrove noted in relation to the Zoot suit, “A spectacular reminder that the social order had failed to contain their energy and difference” (Cosgrove 2002, 157).

The subject and the plateau work within one another and rhizome ethnography must appreciate the affective aspects of social acts. The Art-machine works in conjunction with a Subject-machine to produce affect. In Deleuze as well as later for D+G the system works to produce a map of society, which is based on the multiple, the social instead of the individual. In this system an assemblage becomes territorialized and as such begins to articulate itself. The territorialization is a density upon the rhizome and therefore always and already connected to other densities connected by plateaus, people, ideas, and places inform each other. Individuals and social organizations do not “be” in this system but become. O’Sullivan remarked that, “Deleuze and Guattari’s rhizome is not just a critique of representation, but also an active attempt to think our own subjectivities differently” (O’Sullivan 2006, 16). Thinking itself becomes “Thinking art as a machine” (O’Sullivan 2006) where individual and social creativity is a fluid process of creating. The rhizome map

illustrates social strata, conceptual strata, and the points where they connect with one another; these points are nodes that put down roots and flower into tribes. The carnival-machine runs off of the tiny social explosions that happen at these moments of becoming-community.

AFTER THE CARNIVAL-MACHINE I: ESCAPING AND CREATING

The WFF camping area was a great introduction to the idea of the carnival-machine. I began to see aspects of the carnival in many rural festivals. It turned out that many of the rural events grew out of the back-to-the-land movement of the 1970s. Large groups of young people left major urban centers across Canada, just as they did in the US, and made a new life for themselves in the bush. There is no single reason for the outward migration. All of the back-to-the-landers I have spoken with have their own reasons. A well-known soundman from British Columbia put it simply:

I moved out of the city and did that Back-to-the-Land thing. First I went to Whistler and built a geodesic dome and squatted without electricity- I lived without electricity for a long time which is weird for a soundman – I would just leave the gear in town. After two years and the village was becoming developed. I said ok I'm going north. So I went to New Latch and lived in the bush there...there were a lot of musicians into woodwork. They were always coming out and jamming at somebody's house and the next logical step was having a music festival and then in the north they are starving for outside musicians to come in. So having a music festival was a way for everybody in the community to have something to build up for...once a year at least and go play with each other. Plus have other musicians to come in and give you that incentive. To get you out of your paper bag and stuff. (Terry Hilton Interview: July 7, 2007)

Terry admitted that he was concerned about the possibility of nuclear war and a general dislike of contemporary society. But there were also other reasons:

I thought that the world was going to end. I was nine years old when the Cuban missile crisis happened and in North Van they had all of those air raid sirens. And we had to play Duck and Cover and I was a boy scout and I was getting into the woods

and I felt safe there. And then there was this old guy who lived in my neighborhood his name was Silace Huckleback and he dressed up, he had buckskin clothes, and he dressed up and he had this hair that came down from his cap and he had one of those Buffalo Bill mustaches and he was a real character and he was like “Yeah go out in the bush” And I didn’t realize how much of an influence that man had on me until after I left and actually they just had a story about him in the North Shore News but that was it I thought the world was going to end and I wanted to be someplace where I thought I would survive it. There was a lot of people went there...a survivalist thing...Now I’m not worried about it at all...but I think it’s because I’m confident now that I could survive...what difference does it make. (ibid.)

The social climate in both Canada and America has an impact on the development of the back-to-the-land movement. It seems that a general social and political disenchantment was mixed with the escalation of the Vietnam War, the FLQ crisis and the energy crisis:

It sort of reached the point then that it is reaching now where everybody is going wow this is really weird and at that point we saw that we could all go...there was a lot of opportunity...there were a lot of old empty houses and everything was free. All you needed to have was an airtight and some firewood and you could live the life.

We were some of the younger people who came here. But there were older people who came here with resources and probably had had jobs and then dropped out. Whereas me I was probably 19 or 18. And we were living with these people. They had the resources while I...well they had 8 acres or 20 acres of land for I don’t know 3 grand or 5 grand or something and we’d go out to live. We’d live in shacks and we’d build houses there were no building codes and we just did it right. But in the wintertime it’s cold. So we’d go to the arts alliance...it was our community hall...and the arts alliance started it was called The Joint and she [points to Diane] ran the kitchen. (Grant Gordon and Diane Bostock Interview: July 9, 2007)

The festival movement that would eventually become formalized as the Vancouver Island Music festival began as hippie festivals. But the festival was not a project that was created in a vacuum. It was an extension of a new and unstructured community creatively expressing itself. The community expression that fueled the carnival-machine emerged from the desire to enjoy the new rural community that they had created:

Diane. I was the last in a succession of people who ran the kitchen. The Good Day Café. All of the people who had the money who had moved here we were the young ones hanging out with them. They had arrived here through the draft dodging...yeah

Grant. Lot's of them.

D. We gained a huge amount of wonderful people that way.

Q. Did that really inspire a lot of younger people?

G. Well they had a direction I think and they had resources. Those slightly older people, now I'm 56, those people who are now 60 or 65, they actually had jobs before they dropped out. Whereas we just went out of school and it was all [waves his arms around implying that they were going for the ride] "Life is Cool". It was really, really, really, uh...there's a lot of food here. There were a lot of resources being thrown away here it was easy to live here. And we would put on these festivals. We weren't working there was UIC there was grants there was money. There was firewood

D. Metal roofing...that greensheet - the paper used to print their paper on these aluminum sheets which you could make a roof with it. G. People made houses out of that stuff. D. And cedar was free it was called scrap or useless wood so you could get truck loads of it and could build anything...like your inside walls with it. And the food was free we got it from the supermarket. They didn't mark it down in those days. They just piled it outside and we used to just go in and pile it...G. You know so the Renaissance fair we were feeding 18 people for free. At the SoFarm where we lived. We were feeding 18 people for free in the summer time.

G. Everybody put in and it was good but we were hassled a lot by the establishment that was here. We were threatening no doubt.

Q. You just put on a music festival because you were bored?

G. Everybody is a musician, everybody played...we weren't bored. There was no boredom involved. It is community. Its how we would get together. (ibid.)

The Kispiox music festival in Northern British Columbia, the Ness Creek festival in northern Saskatchewan, and the North Country Fair in Northern Alberta developed similarly. These very rural festivals share with the dance parties of West Virginia a desire for community sociability. The rural festival, at least at the beginning, expresses the shape of the carnival-machine. It is nearly impossible to find anyone

who can say why the festival was started in the first place. The best answer, and the most common, is “for fun”:

The fair started because a bunch of people had moved to the country back-to-the-landers, that was that movement of people. And we celebrated the solstice celebration, we'd party at somebody's house and stay up over night and watch the sunrise – we were actually on a lake at that time. And that happened for a couple of years and within our group of people we were, even though we were a north country group of, we were called “hippies” at that time, we lived in different communities around here but we still pulled together for workbees and social life and helping each other get started in life. The communal kind of thing. And as different people started to become involved in their different communities one of them found out that we could get grants to have a fair. So we talked about it in our groupings and we applied for it and we applied to become a society so we could apply for different grants and that's how we started as a fair but before that it was a party. (Wendy Freeone Interview: June 19, 2009)

The back-to-the-landers I interviewed often defined themselves in opposition to mainstream culture and expressed a desire to connect to something more permanent, something older. Wendy explained the significance of the NCF happening on the solstice in social-ecological terms. She explained the timing as a reaction to the longest day of the year. She also described the impulse that became the North Country Fair within an aboriginal context that stands in opposition to the Christian dominated mainstream culture of 1970s Canada:

Because the Christian church has stolen all of the ways that people used to celebrate and they've put in their slate on it and through the oppression they put on people to follow what they are saying people became afraid to do their own thing and were penalized for it. Sometimes even put to death. So Christian celebrations became the main one and the pagan ones became the under - they were still practiced but they were under the blanket sort of thing. And we're in Canada so most of us probably grew up in semi-religious families and most of us didn't necessarily agree totally with what was being told to us and some of us really didn't agree with what we were being told so we...but we know that there is something more beyond us no matter how it is that we think about it. Or however it is that we feel it. So we went back to...and parties are always a good thing and gatherings are always a good thing. For the aboriginal people this is one of the big times of meeting other families. This is a very big time of match making for the aboriginal people especially in Northern Alberta where it was just family groups that traveled they weren't great big tribes like in southern Alberta. But in the summer they would all meet up in a gathering place and they could do match making at that time because they had to matchmake out of their

family unit. It was a big deal with trading and dancing and singing and feasting and meeting up with other family members who have moved off with other family community units and that is kind of what we are. And we are people who wanted to come back to the earth. And some of us did and some of us tried it and then went back again to what they were used to and some people stayed and eked out a life following the ways that they wanted to do. (ibid.)

Wendy went into detail about her decision to go back to the land. It is interesting to note how many times she mentions creativity as a reason:

They wanted to feel independent, to feel self sufficient, they wanted to produce for themselves instead of ... they didn't necessarily want to produce money to buy things but wanted to grow things, to raise things, to put their energy into what it was that they got. That lasts for some years for some people then the economic system rears its ugly head and quite often you have to jump into the mainstream and as people stayed longer and raised kids people tended to get pulled back into the mainstream. So fewer of them are back on the land but many of the kids that come to the fair are about living this way instead of living in the city. I was able to raise my kids, we were off the grid, we burned wood, we had kerosene lamps, we melted snow, we did all of those things and I was just trying to teach them that you can solve your own problems you don't have to follow the regular system. You have to be warm, OK how am I going to be warm. You don't have to get a job, put in a plug and then the heater comes on. That sort of thing. You're hungry ok what do we deal with, you hunt, you gather, you do different things. You have to learn how to prepare it, to store it, to be frugal in lots of ways. You want light ok what do we have to do. (ibid.)

Creativity, independence, and community are all rolled up into the engine of the carnival-machine. The experience that seems to be central to all of these experiences is a connection to what I will call the wild. The back to the land movement, which established the hippie communities which would in turn establish the second significant history of western folk music festivals also formed an alternative to Mitch Podolak's festival-machine. One history of western festivals is the politically oriented urban festival-machine that works to establish the idol. The second history provides a vehicle to enunciate the carnival-machine and this relationship to the wild.

AFTER THE CARNIVAL-MACHINE II: SNYDER, TAUSSIG AND THE WILD

Jack Kerouac, since my undergraduate introduction to him, has been burning through the back roads of my mind in a 1958 Chev Impala. I have never seen him and he has never spoken to me. He is a ghost rider content to kick up dust across wild frontiers and open fields. He is content to travel under the radar of my consciousness and has never really totally informed any phase of my thinking or my life. But he has continued to stay close. He is in the rhythm of my speech and the timbre of my conceptual life. Recently I was introduced to an old friend of his who I had read as Japhy Ryder in *Dharma Bums*. Ryder inspired me so much that I considered, for a summer, of giving up a musical career to become a trail guide. It was a tough decision.

Kerouac based Ryder on the important American poet, Buddhist, and ecological advocate, Gary Snyder. Snyder has made significant artistic and philosophical contributions to the ecology movement. Conceptualizing the rhizome brought me back to the ecological thinking of wildness as a productive concept. Snyder's "*The Practice of the Wild*" and D+G's concept of the rhizome fit together in important ways. Through Snyder and the past 3 summers of festivaling in western Canada Kerouac returned for me and out of the corner of my eye I saw some dust getting kicked up and I heard the unmistakable sound of spinning tires on dry gravel roads.

I met Ryder/Snyder again. This time however my interest in ecology is not separated from my interest in musical culture. It is like I followed Kerouac's dust trail across conceptual space-time to meet up again with a possibility of myself. My work in ethnomusicology and my developing interest in the health and sustainability

of local music community have brought me back to my earlier interests in ecology. I have come to understand that Snyder is the connection between Lessig's Commons (Lessig 2004) and ecology.

Snyder wrote, "Recovery of the commons--and this in a modern world which doesn't quite realize what it has lost. Take back, like the night, that which is shared by all of us...There will be no tragedy of the commons greater than this: if we do not recover the commons--regain personal, local, community, and peoples' direct involvement in sharing (in being) the web of the wild world" (Snyder 1990, 36). Isn't this Lessig's concern with the over regulation, or enclosure of the commons that the Internet represents when he demands, "Show me why your regulation of culture is needed. Show me how it does good. And until then keep your lawyers away"(Lessig 2004, 306). Cultural sustainability in both the legal dimensions and its ecological dimensions agree that a shared and open social space is essential for culture. This is, I suppose, not surprising. But it does suggest an unlikely alliance: the courtroom, classroom, boardroom, and field. "Understanding the commons and its role within the larger regional culture is one more step towards integrating ecology with economy" (Snyder 1990, 37).

Snyder's commons is a sustainable community. The model for this sustainability is taken from the wild. In a very powerful couple of pages early in *The Practice of the Wild* Snyder goes through the Oxford English Dictionary definitions of the wild and points out that they all are opposed to civility and civilization. The wild is not a concept that can stand on its own. The dictionary defines the wild as uncivilized, rude, resisting constituted government of individuals, unrestrained,

insubordinate, licentious, dissolute, loose of behavior, violent, destructive, cruel, unruly, artless, free, spontaneous. Snyder develops a counter definition for the wild,

Of societies--societies whose order has grown from within and is maintained by the force of consensus and custom rather than explicit legislation. Primary cultures, which consider themselves the original and eternal inhabitants of their territory. Societies which resist economic and political domination by civilization. Societies whose economic system is in a close and sustainable relation to the local ecosystem. (Snyder 1990, 10)

And he continues,

Of individuals--following local custom, style, and etiquette without concern for the standards of the metropolis or nearest trading post. Unintimidated, self-reliant, independent. Proud and free. Of behavior--fiercely resisting any oppression, confinement, or exploitation. Far-out, outrageous, bad, admirable, artless, free, spontaneous, unconditioned. Expressive, physical, openly sexual, ecstatic. (ibid.,11)

Lessig's commons become a much more colourful space when they are described in terms of their relationship to wildness. It also, I think, provides a framework for a much more critical discussion of the importance of the commons as a creative place worthy of protection. The commons, if it is a town park, is nice but hardly supports the same sort of life affirming activity. It hardly excites the same protectionist impulse. Is cultural sustainability about making sure we have access to the Town/city Park or to cultural Rockies, ancient boreal forests, and pristine prairies? Lessig doesn't really describe, in any detail, what we should protect. Snyder however is very clear. Local culture is not small culture. Local culture is the magic of ancient woodlands. Local culture is the wild.

Local and wild culture is a rhizome. Local culture is not just 'like the wild' it IS the wild. It functions as a rhizome. Individuals form neo-tribes, connect to each other, cross over each other, and create a fully overlaid and conceptually multidimensional carpet of communities. Members and ideas slip between the layers.

There are no spectators, only participants. All of this participation and sharing produces a wild (synonymous with) sustainable ecosystem, “Wilderness is a place where the wild potential is fully expressed” (Snyder 1990, 12). Participation is not just a nice idea but also an essential aspect. Eliminating or limiting participation creates cultural erosion, just as trees that are harvested no longer hold down the topsoil of hills. A limitation on local participation damages the health of local culture. Full participation leads to cultural health, “When an ecosystem is fully functioning, all the members are present at the assembly. To speak of wilderness is to speak of wholeness” (ibid.).

Participation is key to the carnival and it is the central feature of the ecosystem. Yet not all participate. Michael Taussig remarked that there are many powers at play when we think of wildness, powers which have been destructive as well as redemptive, “Wildness challenges the unity of the symbol...Wilderness pries open this unity and in its place creates slippage and a grinding articulation between signifier and signified” (Taussig 1986, 219). Wildness tears apart structures because of the constant creative negotiation contained in becoming. Is it no wonder, Taussig remarked, that wildness has been demonized for thousands of years. Bernheimer reminded that the central authority of the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages constructed wildness in opposition to, “Christian norms and the established framework of Christian society” (ibid., 220). Being wild was to be outside of Christianity and therefore outside of all that is Good. This is still the case in Christian countries where the bible is still allowed to influence social discourse. Taussig commented that, “European ideas and sentiments separated pagans from the great chain of human being so that the pagan entered, with the utmost ambiguity, into a

nether zone between the animal and the human” (Taussig 1986, 215). Wildness is the rhizome that is human and more-than-human and therefore contradicts the Christian ontology. This observation has been made in other parts of the colonized world but is rarely discussed within North American society even though since the 1970s America has inherited Britain’s place as the world center of modern paganism (Adler 2006, 17 and 341;Hutton 1999) especially through feminist Wicca (MacDonald 2010). Taussig tells of the wild that is stolen out of the pagan world and reterritorialized in the colonial church. But its connections to the rhizome cannot be completely cut off: “Her name was changed from the Wild Woman of the Forest to Our Lady of Remedies. Conquered and tamed, wildness yields its healing power. Today figures of semi-naked Indians surround her image” (Taussig 1986, 189). It is possible to trace the connections and establish the rhizome and to see how wildness has a long history of being written out of history. The writing of history is, as Foucault reminded, the establishment of structure over experience. What would happen to History if the wild were permitted its rightful place? One implication would be the legitimating of the rhizome as a model for history and as an extension a trans-subjective approach to subjectivity and community. Deleuze, Snyder, and Taussig appear to speak together when Snyder wrote, “The world is our consciousness, and it surrounds us...The depths of mind, the unconscious, are our inner wilderness areas, and that is where a bobcat is *right now*” (Snyder 1990, 16).

The rhizome is not new. It is only a new way to think about social life. If we now accept that the rhizome is useful we can come back to earlier terms to find new value in them. Like a mythical journey Snyder supports these sorts of returns, “The heart of a place is the home, and the heart of the home is the fire pit, the hearth. All

tentative explorations go outward from there, and it is back to the fireside that elders return” (Snyder 1990, 26). We have now returned back to the hearth with a new appreciation of the wild, subjectivity and community. As we have agreed the individual and the community are locked in a process of becoming and I think it is time to develop a new approach to the idea of the folk. Instead of thinking about the folk as those who cut into the wilderness to build fort walls and bordered communities, on the side of the colonizers, maybe it is time to also make room to re-imagine the folk as those who live in sustainable independent communities before or just after colonialism. It is not too hard to believe that a society coming to terms with colonialism will return to pre-colonial articulations for a post-colonial sociality. A post-colonial sociality might articulate itself in the terms that Michel Maffesoli describes in *The Time of the Tribes*.

**AFTER THE CARNIVAL-MACHINE III:
THE WILD NEO-TRIBE AND BAKHTIN’S RECAST OF HERDER’S FOLK**

In chapter two I argued that Festival uses vernacular expressive practice in order to support ideology and therefore separates the local community from its own expressive practice. I further argued that simultaneously capitalism separates expressive practice from the community when it is converted into the property. The stage of the festival has been used to reaffirm the relationship between the ruling ideology and their relationship with global capital. So far in chapter three I have detailed an alternative approach to thinking about social relations and identity. The metaphor of the tree has been replaced by the metaphor of the rhizome. I have been developing a discourse of wildness that stands within, underneath, and around society. Wildness is a more basic social discourse and one that is again coming into

full view. Johann Herder along with Rousseau and the other social theorists were part of a milieu that afforded the same sort of priority to the social that I do. In this sense I think that Herder, in particular, articulated the rhizome in his construction of the folk. Further, Taussig echoes Herder's redemptive strategy in his own way. Taussig argued that "colonialism fused its own magic, the magic of primitivism" (Taussig 1986, 216) and through primitivism created wildness and the possibility for redemption.

Wildness has a socially redemptive quality that is like magic, if one defines magic as the transformation of consciousness through the will. But in my work this magic is actually a direct form of community participation that actualizes individual and community enunciation. I call this process the Carnival. And in calling it Carnival I include Bakhtin's work and place it along side Taussig, Snyder, Deleuze, Maffesoli, and Herder. In the closing of this chapter I will argue that Herder's concept of the folk can be re-read through wildness and neo-tribalism to produce a more sophisticated approach to the folk.

AFTER THE CARNIVAL-MACHINE IV: NEO-TRIBALISM

The terminology of cultures and sub-cultures has become so common in usage that their existence seems self-evident. I am concerned however about the implicit hierarchy that is suggested in the notion of culture/subculture relations. This is not to say that specific groups of people who claim membership in "style communities" do not exist. Quite the contrary, I believe these groups have always existed in metropolitan society. This is precisely the attraction I have to Deleuze's bottom up approach to assemblages and the rhizome. Some critics place the individual before the group and others claim the preeminence of the group.

But there are also approaches to the thinking of groups. Dick Hebdige helped to define subcultures in his 1979 British text *Subculture and the Meaning of Style* (Hebdige 1979). Six years later in France Michel Maffesoli published *Le temps des tribus: le déclin de l'individualisme dans les sociétés postmodernes*. Maffesoli argued that individualism is in decline in postmodern society in favour of tribalism. Hebdige, and even Bourdieu's work in *Distinctions* is not in direct opposition to the concept of tribes but does have a different tenor. The distinction between the tribes, classes, and sub-cultures is a matter of hierarchy.

The subculture is by definition below the mass culture. But subculture is not often used to refer to wearers of Chanel, NHL or NBA sports teams' gear. Instead subculture is used to refer to youth style which conflicts with 'mainstream' fashion or style communities. Andrew Bennett has pointed out that subculture has "discarded a great deal of music and style-centered youth activity... presumably on the grounds that its mainstream centeredness somehow removed its potential for counter-hegemonic action which the Centre (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies) so readily associated with mods, skinheads and punks" (Bennett 2003, 153). But even the existence of mass culture within the rise of metropolitan cities and the introduction of demographic and then psychographic marketing from the 1920 to the 1960's is questionable. It is unlikely that there has ever been a truly 'mass' style or mass culture. The absence of a mass culture would put the entire enterprise of a sub-culture in jeopardy. If one was to accept the notion of mass culture it would require an explanation for dealing with the development of independent record labels, radio stations, specialty television stations, and all of the musical style and clothing genres associated with them and which have proliferated since the 1950s. So much work is

required to accept mass culture that subculture may have limited use. Instead I will use Maffesoli's term *tribus* or tribe.

The choice between subculture and tribe has a historical dimension. If it were just a useful term to discuss small communities or assemblages then I would just settle with something much more neutral. But tribe has the very connotation that I need to bring wildness into the rhizome on an affective level. Maffesoli developed the notion of tribe in isolation from Deleuze it seems. Neither make any reference to the other nor appear in a bibliography entry. It does seem unlikely that two very socially oriented scholars working in France at the same time would not come across each other's work. But a historical connection is unnecessary for their theoretical work to fit together. In any case Deleuze could have used the term tribe to characterize an assemblage. The tribe provides a good characterization of the milieu's affective enunciation. Space or territory and exchange is central to the life of the tribe and the characterization of space is also the creation of self, "History may promote a moral (political) attitude, but space will favour an aesthetic and exude an ethics" (Maffesoli 1996, 15). In the creation of self the affective becomes ethical, "Because there is a sharing of the same territory (real or symbolic) that the communal idea and its ethical corollary are born" (Maffesoli 1996, 16; Taussig 1986, 16). The tribe's morality is completely bound up with its territory and its aesthetic life. It is through the Carnival that the life of the tribe takes on its most expressive dimensions. It is through the Carnival that the ethical, moral, aesthetic life are combined and embodied into the symbol: "The community expends its energy in its own creation (possibly recreation)...the most striking aspect of this relationship is the development of the ritual" (Maffesoli 1996, 17). This is not a politics of the

Festival which is the politics of the palace, it is the politics of the 'public square' (ibid., 57).

Bakhtin knows the politics of the public square. It is this politics that he described as the Carnival. There are no spectators at the Carnival because everyone is involved. It is a short time where all people engage as equals under the rules of the night, the rules of the Carnival where all, according to Bakhtin, is an inversion of the day. Bakhtin recounts Goethe's words, "Crowded together, its members are astonished at themselves. They are accustomed at other times to seeing each other running hither and thither in confusion, bustling about without order or discipline. Now this many-headed, many-minded, fickle, blundering monster suddenly sees itself united as one noble assembly, welded into one mass, a single body animated by a single spirit" (Bakhtin 1984, 255). The emergence of this spirit is important in the Carnival experience. It is not the Spirit of History but something much more visceral. This is the same spirit that is Taussig's redemptive power and it is the feeling that Deleuze refers to as "Pure Immanence" (Deleuze 2001). Maffesoli called it "Immanent transcendence, one which both surpasses individuals and springs from the continuity of the group" (Maffesoli 1996, 67). The immanent-transcendent is the social divine that Durkheim touched on and it is this 'spiritual' experience that is central to the Carnival.

Bakhtin thinks about Rabelais and the carnivalesque and sees in Rabelais the same popular carnival spirit that Goethe found. For Rabelais the carnivalesque was more about the sacrifice and the body. In this sacrifice Rabelais comments on an animating feature of human life. The carnivalesque is that time when all acknowledge, regardless of their class or social position, where everyone is engaged

in a single human journey. The journey being life's journey to death. This journey is enacted in the Carnival.

The body is very much the center of the carnivalesque. Bakhtin's body is grotesque and he shows how Rabelais focuses on the scatological aspects of the act of being human. The messy human acts of birth and death. In the act of feasting and excreting social bonds are temporarily constructed and an eating and defecating beast of humanity becomes visible for a short time. All live and die, that we know, but in the carnivalesque where all life is turned on its head we emerge from the fantasy of our lives and through fantasy we engage in the reality of our life. Bakhtin suggests that, "It atones for a whole life of suffering, by the mere pressing of lips to the cup of life" (Bakhtin 1984, 256). Life is affirmed in the close and immediate social bonds that are established.

However the carnivalesque does not flatten Social order and all of society does not become a singular mass. Instead, the experience of interlocking and amorphous tribes, which flow into and through each other in a radical and fluid density, gives society its transcendental property. Maffesoli counters Bakhtin here when he wrote, "instead of a subject-actor, being confronted with *interlocking objects*; like a nest of Russian dolls, the large object-mass conceals smaller object-groups which are diffracted to infinity" (Maffesoli 1996, 75). The Carnival is Nietzsche's *Eternal Return* in this case where the postmodern tribe sees itself in the ancient imagined tribes, as well as the medieval tribes and the 'Indian' tribes.

The primitive is celebrated and elevated above the rational and the civilized the constant battle between civilization and the wild. Michael, a visual artist at the Vancouver Folk Music festival, said: "There are always a battle between the classical

and the wild” (Michael Love Interview: July 2009). But in this tension the individual realizes that he or she cannot in fact be alone: “Consequently, we find that the individual cannot be isolated, but rather he or she is tied, by culture, communication, leisure or fashion. To a community which perhaps no longer possesses the same qualities as during the Middle Ages, but has nonetheless the same form, a form which must be closely examined” (Maffesoli 1996, 81).

The ritual of the contemporary festival as carnivalesque retains that aspect of Goethe’s and Rabelais’ carnival. Many claimed that there is a feeling of the Carnival as being more real than so-called real life. The Carnival may be where the tribe is experienced in its most complete and complex form. Indeed members move in and out of various tribes at Carnival and establish new and temporary social bonds. But in these small social bonds radical creations can emerge, as Maffesoli argued with example: “Renan shows clearly how at first it was small groups that gave birth to what was later to become Christianity: ‘only the small sects are able to found something’” (Maffesoli 1996, 83). Something that may be seen if one thinks of the impact that Beats and Hippies have had on clothes, food, social order, and business practices. Californian social experimentation has become daily practice and codes from the Hippie Milieu emerged out and were accepted into other tribes.

CONCLUSION: THE CARNIVAL-MACHINE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS REVEALED

The tribe is the embodiment of wild order. This is not contradictory. As I have already rehearsed Snyder when he opened *The Practice of the Wild* with the type of order that exists in the wild. Civilization has an opposite and this opposite is not chaos but wildness. Civilization and wildness are two forms of ordering. This type of order I have called Festival and it works to establish form over time. Festival works

to establish the permanence of a system of being through the cementation of habits of thought and the habits of practice. Wildness on the other hand has no time for permanence. Wildness is the Carnival. It is a negotiated impermanent and sustainable order constantly in flux. Carnival is a permanent state of impermanence. It is much older than Festival but no more or less natural. Both of these social structures seem to exist within one another and in all creative practices. Music theory is Festival and improvisation is Carnival. But they do not ever dialectically merge. Festival-machines work upon the flow of carnival-machines and social-machines and state-machines connect onto these flows. So do tribal-machines and trans-subjective-machines of desire and enunciation.

With the Carnival and Festival established I wish to return to Herder. It is important to note that of all of the musical genres that have existed this is the only one, to my knowledge, that was created to proscribe music not to describe it. Folk music is a complex genre category because it is not truly a genre. This is what causes the concept to cloud up when one gets too close to its source. Herder, intentionally or not, created a term that has a dual nature. I have no doubt that many terms that we accept have a Janus-face. But Folk is one that for a very long time has caused a great deal of conceptual trouble.

My intention here is to point out that in Herder's writing there is already an impulse of cultural sustainability and tribalism that is only now being accepted in scholarship. Snyder and Herder may have much in common. One can hear Herder's voice within Snyder's, "We may well ask ourselves if the harkening back to the past (folklore, the revaluing of popular festivals, the return of sociability, a fascination with local history) is a way of escaping from the dictatorship of finalized, progressive

history and thus a way to live in the present” (Snyder 1990, 62). And Herder wrote, “Who could compare the different satisfaction of different meanings in different worlds... Every nation has its center of happiness within itself, as every ball has its center of gravity!” (Herder 1774/2004, 29). Herder and later Bakhtin were both concerned about the ecology of the rhizome which is the health of the natural social order and the tension with aspects of modernity. Maffesoli described this tension, “While modernity has been obsessed with politics, it may be equally true that post modernity is possessed by the idea of the clan” (Maffesoli 1996, 104). Before there was Festival and capitalism to separate expressive practices from local/vernacular communities there was Carnival and the immanent-transcendent ritual that created social symbols. It seems that Herder’s folk may be understood as a strategy to develop a counter-metaphor to modernity around which Festival-machines could establish. Maffesoli argued, “Neo-tribalism reminds us that consensus is not uniquely rational, something that is too often forgotten” (ibid., 104).

The Folk is another way of saying the wild. All of the discourse around the folk suffers when it misses this connection. The folk are the primitive pre-industrialists who have never really existed. They are the savages of modernity. The etymological root of *savage* is from the French *sauvage* which refers to either a savage person or wild behaviour. Wilderness is from the old English *wildeoren* which also means wild and savage (wild and wild?). The Folk, like Taussig’s observation about the savage, has a social ambivalence. It is at once something that is foresworn and something that is secretly redemptive. It is the immanent aspect of transcendence. Snyder commented, “When the children are safe in bed, at one of the great holidays like the Fourth of July, New Year’s, or Halloween we can bring out some spirits and

turn on the music, and the men and the women who are still among the living can get loose and really wild. So that's the final meaning of wild--the esoteric meaning, the deepest and scariest. Those who are ready for it will come to it. Please do not repeat this to the uninitiated" (Snyder 1990, 24).

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE CREATION OF FOLK MUSIC TERRITORIES WITHIN WESTERN CANADA

Introduction

In the last two chapters I chose the Winnipeg Folk Festival as an example of the carnival and festival because it was the clearest instance of socially and geographically separate territories dominated by different social machines. The festival was dominated, of course, by the festival-machine and in the camping area the carnival-machine established community in its own ways. When I first began to write about the WFF I thought of the daytime and nighttime festivals as being different but interconnected spaces. The daytime festival was the “official” WFF and the campground was the “unofficial” space. Six thousand people returned to their tents in this unofficial place as the spectators drove back into town and to their beds. This is how Mitch Podolak first described the distinction between the festival and the campground to me. The real festival, he said, happened in front of the main stage and the rest was an accidental add on, an additional service, or a side effect of the festival.

In the first drafts I began to describe the dialectical relationship between the territory of the daytime festival and the territory of the nighttime camping area. This was an alluring approach. I could set up the dialectic where the Apollonian festival and the Dionysian carnival would produce as a third term, the complex music festival. But when I continued with the fieldwork I was forced to come to deal with territorial spaces that did not dissolve. As a camper at the WFF I was constantly struggling between what was on stage and what was happening in the campground. Jam sessions, spontaneous parades, drum circles and a nearly endless list of other

activities were happening in the camping area. They did not stop when I walked away. I began to realize that the only way the dialectic could work is if I elevated my experience above that of others. If I only focused on what I attended and then wrote about my experience with blinders on I could argue that this was indeed one event. But I knew when I was at the campground I was missing something at the festival. The sound of great music on a big stage was carried on the breeze from the festival to camping. When I was at the festival I could imagine in my mind endlessly creative people doing crazy things only once. People were having a special and meaningful and unrepeatable time in the camping area right now. If I was there...

Both the camping area and the festival area had individual special textures which were unique. Turino usefully described the difference as participatory and presentational and wrote:

Participatory performance is a special type of artistic practice in which there are no artist-audience distinctions, only participants and potential participants performing different roles, and the primary goal is to involve the maximum number of people in some performance role. *Presentation performance*, in contrast refers to situations where one group of people, the artists, prepare and provide music to another group, the audience, who do not participate in making the music or dancing. (Turino 2008, 26)

In the festivals both of these types of experiences were happening simultaneously and there was no resolution except what I chose to experience. I both chose to experience and to miss out on experience. This is not dialectic. This is the existence of two competing territories with competing experiential textures that are nonetheless bound together as the WFF. To come to terms with the assemblage of the WFF means to accept that it is never a single territory but a collection of semi-open territories which individuals negotiate alone or in groups. The exchange that happens between territories will be the focus of the final chapter so I will, as much as

possible, limit this chapter to a description of the types of territories that make up the festival. But a few words must be said here to establish the connection between the social machines of the last two chapters with the territory and exchange chapters which will conclude this work.

TERRITORY AND EXCHANGE

Territory and exchange are so wound together that it is virtually impossible to clearly separate them. The social machines are engines that transform desire into territory and allow for the exchange of territory in the creation and satisfaction of desires. Territory and exchange is a chicken-egg dilemma.

Often it is performance and exchange that first establish the territory. But it is also the need for performance and exchange that sets a territory aside. The festival and carnival machines harness the flow of desire for the creation of territories held together by exchange. Spectators in the *presentational performance* have already participated in the creation of the territory through the exchange of money and time. Territory and exchange happens almost simultaneously in the *participant performance* context. This chapter will describe the creation of territories and illustrate how meaning emerges with the negotiation of borders.

This chapter will make a modest contribution to the discourse of territory and exchange in ethnomusicology. Territory and exchange, although not articulated as such in the literature, take a variety of forms. Stewart in an article about jazz bands recalls the jazz proverb, “every tub sits on its own bottom”(Stewart 2004, 181). The point is made that in jazz ensembles the exchange that occurs between individuals establishes the territory of the ensemble. This micro-politics of exchange between the individual and the group can be seen in work that focuses on the individual

professional musician within a local or regional professional industry. The status that an agent can gain directly through publicly acknowledged economic exchange is an important aspect of professional musical life in many places. There are plenty of examples of this kind of statement, “A major factor in the play of ideas through musical assemblages is the micro-politics of authority and hierarchy that arises from musicians’ working together, depending on one another, and competing. I believe that the ongoing construction of authority in musical scenes-reputation building-is a pervasive theme in most performers’ lives” (Gerstin 1998, 386).

The interlocking themes of exchange and territory have also been interrogated in macro-political context as Marc Pearlman observed in Javanese music, “social distinctions are often encoded in easily perceptible musical features” (Perlman 1998, 45). Philip Scher discussed this in exchange and creation of territory through the formation of carnival bands in Trinidad which begin in the fall with groups displaying costume drawings so that, “potential patrons scan the walls of as many camps as they’d like looking to see whose band they want to “play” with” (Scher 2002, 462). Christopher Waterman pointed out that, “An effective performance of *juju* music both reflects and shapes the social context in which it takes place” (Waterman 1982, 61). The creation of the party territory is built through the exchange that *juju* musicians have with each other, their patrons, and their audience. Of the Aymara of Southern Peru, Turino observed the way they “[I]nternalize ways of being and conceptions of the “natural” order of the world based on the specific responses to common objective conditions” and he concluded that, “This situation creates a certain conformity of vision, and thus a basis for unity”(Turino 1989, 2).

The exchange that the Aymara musician has with their world and with each other through the description of their territory also establishes a shared vision of territory.

There is also some literature that explores the micro-political exchange with territory that occurs when the micro and macro strata interact. Qureshi observed in the power relations between a teacher and student of Hindustani music that alternative social territories were established inside and outside of music lessons which allowed for alternative modes of exchange structured by still larger exchanges and negotiations of tradition, history, economy, and colonialism (Qureshi 2000, 16-7). Turino illustrated in the musical impact of deterritorialization and the pressures that were put on exchange in his study of the Fiesta de la Cruz. He pointed out that the playing circle was, aesthetically speaking, negatively impacted by the larger socio-economic processes that were drawing resources out of the community (Turino 1990, 403-7). He also pointed out the negative impact on morale that an unsatisfying performance can evoke.

Each of these instances draw out the relationship between territory and exchange and illustrate how macro and micro political issues are often interwoven with the aesthetic rules of performance practice. It is also made clear that performance practices inform community ethics.

This chapter will begin to establish how my research on folk music festivals in western Canada can make a contribution to this ethnomusicological discourse. I will illustrate throughout how the festival and carnival machines participate in the creation of territories and the exchange that takes place between them. But what will also be shown is that exchange is a fundamental aspect of the existence of the territory. In the final chapter I will more clearly spell out the social implications of

participatory exchange. But to do this requires a preliminary sketch of larger social assemblage within which this exchange occurs.

But sketching out territories, while descriptive, may sometimes be problematic. As was shown earlier the concept of western Canadian folk music arbitrarily, in some senses, divides western Canadian and American experiences along national borders. Government funding policies with territorial priorities reinforces these once arbitrary borders and makes it possible to talk about western Canadian folk music as separate from western American folk music. The territory is created by internal exchange which as I will show in the next chapter; a) holds a territory together, b) allows for external identification of difference which helps to identify the outside and, c) represents the space of dense-negotiation of inside and outside which forms the border of a territory.

To begin to describe the western Canadian folk music assemblage I will sketch out the assemblage from the largest conceptual territory to the smallest territory. Establishing an outline sketch of the entire nest of territories will set the stage for the necessary discussion of animating the assemblages. For the sake of simplicity I have decided to sketch the territories from the largest to the smallest and then in the following chapter begin with the exchanges that occur from the smallest to the largest territories. But before I begin a warning is necessary. The borders of the territories that will be described always have an aspect of the arbitrary. The borders that I perceived during the course of this fieldwork may have looked obvious to someone looking for borders and irrelevant to someone interested in capturing the experience. The point of view of the viewer is important to consider. There are some who believe that those who claim to speak for an assemblage must have a privileged

position from which to speak. This is not true in all cases. I am not trying to sketch out the official organization of a festival. I am interested in both the official and unofficial aspects of the festival. It is my hope that by nesting all of these territories inside one another and allowing them to compete, to pull against each other, to undermine each other, I will provide a necessarily complex picture of a complex social activity that has for more than thirty years gone unreported in academic literature. What follows, then, is an introduction to a developing social assemblage. I have attempted to present it as completely as I can in this format. But I am sure there are errors, omissions and oversights that I hope will instigate further research on this topic. The complexity of territorial negotiations I have attempted to document suggests to me that much more research needs to be attempted. The following is a short example of the complexity of the social flows I have attempted to navigate. Following this example I will begin sketching out the territories of the western Canadian folk music assemblage.

TERRITORY I: SOCIAL FLOWS AND TERRITORIAL SAND CASTLES

When I announced to my WFF contacts that I would be lining up for the campsite, with thousands of other people the night before the gates opened, I was greeted with amused looks. I was asked outright more than once why I was bothered to go early. I could come from town and do my research and then after the “show” when “everything” was done I could go back into town and stay with the musicians and staff at the hotel. There was plenty to see at the after-hour hotel parties. But I responded that I was interested in seeing what happened in the campsite. With alarmed looks they wished me well and suggested that if I wanted to get a good spot in the campsite I should be there early.

Beyond camping registration there was very little sense of what happened in the campground. Mitch Podolak suggested that the campground had gotten out of control and there were too many drums and not enough music being performed. He suggested that years before there were plenty of music sessions around campfires but that stopped because of the impossible noise of hand drums. But there was little other information save the concerned whispers of drugs, violence, and dangerous uncontrollable adolescent parties.

The week before my first WFF camping experience I spoke with the security and production crew for the camping area and they claimed that:

What you want to do is come to the festival next weekend because the festival is about people and music. What I was saying is you want to come not just for the official music, the festival, which is this side of the road, but you want to come over here for the unofficial music, which is the people and the festive campground playing their music. You can't come to the festival unless you come to the campground as far as I'm concerned. (Randy Castlake and Mike Litwin Interview: July 4, 2008)

The division between official and unofficial festival informed my thinking about the two territories that were being created and nurtured by what appeared to be a single community. But on the ground the festival was much more than a single community. Even from the point of view of the highest and most official level, the most senior management, large territories were unknown. The executive director, artistic director, and the board of directors for the WFF had very little idea of what happened in the camping area. Between the 2008 and 2009 festivals I had weekly conversations with the new executive director of the WFF Tamara Kater (who had left the Ottawa Folk Music Festival to take the more prestigious job at the WFF). The purpose of the conversation was for her to get a first hand account of the campground from an analytical angle. I was able to utilize my field notes for this conversation and we were able to compare our experiences with other camping

festivals. In the course of the conversations over several months we were able to piece together a satisfactory survey of the camping area. It was during this time that I realized how deeply ingrained the distinction between the festival and what I began to call the carnival truly was. My distinction was inspired by Bakhtin and Attali and became more precise and more practical during these conversations.

The camping area of the WFF, the carnival, functioned in its own way and maintained its own ethics. Tamara Kater became aware of this aspect of the festival in the spring of 2009. The camping passes for that year's festival had just been released and the tickets had sold out earlier than they ever had. There was a strict limit of six thousand tickets for sale which they assured me was consistent with other years. Campers I spoke with however overwhelmingly insisted otherwise and that the festival, they claimed, had restricted tickets this year because of external pressures from the park management. Long time campers had been unable to purchase their yearly camping ticket which increased the pressure to get any available ticket. In a few instances would-be campers purchased an advanced ticket and then, discovering that they could not attend, attempted to sell the ticket online and some for an inflated price. This is a familiar enough tactic for sporting events and large concerts but not at the WFF:

And it was interesting to see a couple of people who not very wisely put up a camping pass at a widely inflated price. One of them wisely took her ad down very quickly and I found out who it was and I called her and left her a message a couple of times – and I got in touch with her long after her tickets had been cancelled. She told me that she had realized very quickly that she had made a mistake she had bought a resold ticket at a higher price last year and thought well I have an extra one I'll resell mine, she had three extras, but the feedback or backlash from the community was so strong it made her realize that she had done something wrong and that perhaps worried that she did actually sell it to someone she would get there and they might actually be angry with her and might try to convince her or trick her to come somewhere so they could yell at her. And she said, "and I had no idea". It must have been happening off line because I didn't see much evidence of that sort of

thing. I saw some statements like “that’s not very folkie of you” but apparently the extent of the backlash was so severe that she took down the ad within 24 hours. (Tamara Kater Interview: July 6, 2009)

The organizers of the festival are in the dark with regards to the carnival world but between the campers communication flows freely,

I arrived at 6pm and number two arrived at 7:30. This is year number three for me. *Q. Why the front of the line?* You get all the notoriety. Everybody comes to visit the number one person in line and people talk about you inside the campground during the festival. It’s crazy...and you get a chance to pick your campsite. *Q. Will you be the first person in the camping area?* No. The RV section get let out first and they make up about three or four lines before we drive into the field. They are kept inside the Bird’s Hill Park campground. During the night people come up to visit and bring instruments and goodies. People do this every year. People arrive, park and then come up to say hi. Everybody asks what time we arrived at. So for a while we challenged people and made them give us good information before we’d give them good information about when people should show up next year. *Q. So you think next year people will be showing up at 6pm next year?* Not 6pm. 3pm. It’s going to get earlier and earlier. The people last year got here at 7pm. I got here at 6. I cut an hour off. I added them to facebook (the first place car from last year), they’ve become pretty good friends. *Q. Do you make many friends in the line up?* Oh for sure. Two years ago there was a car down there a little bit and I ended up sitting with them on a blanket most of the time and then I bumped into them inside the festival and it was random hug time. It was great to have random hug time with a bunch of strangers inside the festival. It was really nice. (Darby Jones Interview: July 9, 2008)

In this short example it is clear that negotiations occur at different levels. In some instances it is interpersonal communication between festival participants. At the same time the executive director of the festival is making decisions based on interpersonal communications which effect thousands of people. These exchanges take place from territory to territory and establish connections between individuals and groups which may last for moments, days, or years. Information and expectations are exchanged and territories are articulated as groups, spaces, or concepts.

Festivals should not be considered a single community but a territory that is already within other territories. The festival is an assemblage of interlocking

territories that are established in a variety of ways and respond to a variety of stimuli. These stimuli are assemblages of exchange which link territories together. These exchanges are flows that move between territories on the same strata, between two different groups at the same camping area. And sometimes vertically between strata (higher or lower). The festival-machine and the carnival-machine are the machines which produce these flows. Connecting to a flow is both the articulation of a territory and the processing of exchange. The festival-machine seeks to structure and striate and the carnival-machine seeks to create nomadic smooth space. Both machines work to establish territories. But often these territories are like sand castles being lapped by the social sea. They last for a short time, are built for fun and experience, are created and lived for the moment, and then are left behind to be flattened and smoothed by time. At other times the network of connections that establish a territory, its ephemeral architecture, becomes an established and necessary node of exchange. When this occurs the ephemeral social carnival architecture hardens into permanent social festival architecture.

TERRITORY II: WESTFOLK

The folk revival may have ended 45 years ago but the popularity, presence, and growing number of folk/roots music festivals suggests that folk music, or at least the celebration of a form of music called folk music, is alive and well. Self described folk music communities have developed in size and economic maturity. A deep gulf separates the academic study of folk music and the contemporary folk music performer. This is especially evident in Canada which has been included in only one full-length study (Mitchell 2007) and only then as part of North America. Folk music has become a business model and an industrial category, which has always to some

degree been torn between critical and philosophical agendas on the one hand, and, on the other, a popular music genre built upon the debris of the American folk revival. This approach has replaced the folkloric notion of a socially and geographically bounded musical style often utilized for the promotion of regionalism or nationalism.

Contemporary music histories insist that the American Folk Music Revival ended in 1965 when Bob Dylan played an electric guitar on stage at the Newport Folk Music Festival. However, since 1965 an international professional music industry has developed in the shadow of critical attention. As was discussed in chapter one, different assemblages have been organized around the concept of “folk” music. Each of these assemblages has different priorities, and many have different ways of judging their success. Governmental and university assemblages judge their success based on collections, preservation, and publication. Governmental approaches are concerned with representation and often ethnic diversity. Newer assemblages have taken up folk music as well. The assemblage of Folk Alliance is interested in the professionalisation of folk music. This is an industrial approach directed towards the capitalization of folk music. This approach is tied to the larger trend of capitalization that is outlined in chapter two. Folk Alliance is a professional organization with membership dues, a regular newsletter, and the yearly conference held in Memphis, Tennessee.

Folk Alliance has developed into a continent wide folk music administration. There is an international board and a professional director and a small professional staff with a headquarters. Each region of folk Alliance (NE, SE, SW, NW) has its

own regional conference, board, and internal organization dependent on the size and success of the region.

Folk Alliance has an awkward relationship with Canadians. Canadian members pay dues to Folk Alliance but generally do not consider themselves to be a region of folk alliance. There has been a significant nationalist discourse which claims that the Folk Alliance Canada board should not be considered a region but a chapter of a larger International Folk Alliance. This is a murky argument that comes up from time to time on listserves or in backroom conversations about how well Canadian members are served by a FA centralized in Memphis. There has not been an official statement that clearly identifies how national borders should be negotiated in this international organization. While this is an interesting dilemma and worthy of more research, I will not attempt to explore it here.

The geographical territory of Canada is divided into distinct regions. Western Canada is a region which stretches from Winnipeg to BC. There is a separate regional organization in Ontario, one for Quebec, and one organization for Atlantic Canada. There are other provincial funding organizations from individual provinces, and music industry associations in many provinces who work alongside genre specific music organizations. For instance the Music Industry Association of Nova Scotia, the East Coast Music Awards, the Celtic Colours Festival, Lunenburg Folk Harbour Festival, and the Stan Rogers Festival along with broadcasters, theatre directors, culture, heritage, and tourism offices, and a brewery, among others, all form a network that works to share information and establish strategic programs for the successful promotion of folk, roots, country, pop, and Celtic music in Nova Scotia.

In recent years, and beginning in Ontario, these assemblages have become more established. In 1986 six music festival organizations came together because they were, “seeing the benefits of mutual support and collaboration”.²⁶ Since then the Ontario Council of Folk Festivals has become the largest folk and roots organization in Canada. The OCFF since 2001 has been run by a professional director hired by an elected board which had been established by the OCFF membership. The director’s job was to manage the growth and professionalization of the organization. By 2004, “service development and financial strength of the OCFF were transformed profoundly”²⁷ and the yearly OCFF conference had become the unofficial Canadian national conference attended by many of the largest and most successful folk and roots music festivals in Canada. The OCFF was the only conference of its type for folk and roots music in Canada. Therefore it is often, correctly or not, equated with the FA regional conferences and plays the same role for performers. Many performers treat OCFF as the first step towards the international FA conference attended by thousands of musicians, promoters, agents, broadcasters, and general industry workers.

This assemblage of Folk Alliance conferences is the yearly meeting place for many members of the industry. But an industry cannot function with only yearly meetings. Day to day information is shared by members of Folk Alliance Canada on a listserv called MaplePost. MaplePost is an electronic town square. The traffic flow can be generally grouped in four large groups: broadcasters, promotion, house concerts, and industry concerns.

²⁶ Ontario Council of Folk Festivals website accessed January 11, 2010

²⁷ *ibid.*

Broadcasters publish recent play lists and top plays on independent, college, and community radio. This assemblage of independent folk music broadcasters²⁸ have used MaplePost as their main means of regular communication and have established themselves as important members of the folk music industry.

Booking agents, public relations companies, and individual musicians use MaplePost as a vehicle for gig publicity. Press releases of tour schedules and individual shows are regularly distributed. But the promotion is not only for live performances. CD releases and house concert series are also regularly publicized. House concerts figure separately on the list as they are recognized as a special feature of the folk music industry. Recently Mitch Podolak organized the creation and promotion of house concerts into a not-for-profit business enterprise called *Home Routes*.²⁹

Finally, industry concerns makes up a great deal of the information flow of Maple Post. The topics range from personal stories, technological information sharing, to changes in provincial or private funding structures or dealing with copyright and royalty information. Maple Post seems to make the industry real for its participants. Unlike many professional listserves, which are often only one of many different lists, MaplePost has no competition. It is the only electronic vehicle for

²⁸ Until very recently folk music radio shows only existed on college or community radio stations. In 2008 the CBC launched a radio show dedicated to folk music for the first time since Simply Folk ended in the 1980s.

²⁹ Podolak's most recent addition to the folk music industry. *Home Routes* is a western Canada wide series of house concert tours which, for the first time, has emerged from a centralized office which coordinates the artist scheduling and programming for the entire west. The organization is quickly developing connections in central and eastern Canada and has also begun to organize Canadian styled folk festivals in America.

general communication in the folk music industry.³⁰ MaplePost is the electronic embodiment of the folk music industry and the growth of OCFF and MaplePost seem to be directly connected. The development and application of digital communication technology, that has allowed for MaplePost has, in all likelihood, been an aspect of the increased size and influence of OCFF. A more detailed study of the folk music industry in Canada through the lens of the OCFF would be required before anything more than a suggestion would be appropriate in this regard.

The assemblage of Folk Alliance Canada has its administrative center in the OCFF. Folk Alliance Canada describes itself as follows:

[Folk Alliance Canada] is the official Canadian affiliate of the North American Folk Music & Dance Alliance. If you reside in Canada, your membership in the latter automatically makes you an important member of the Canadian folk family tree and gives you access to special Folk Alliance Canada artist promotions and events, like the annual Canadian Folk Alliance Canada Showcase at the annual conference of the North American Folk Music & Dance Alliance in Memphis, Tennessee. If you're looking to connect with others in the folk milieu, you may want to subscribe to Maplepost, the online Canadian folk forum, and visit our events page for info about where to market your talent both here and abroad.³¹

The FAC description does not refer directly to the assemblage of folk and roots music festivals at the center of its structure. The rationale for this is unclear. The conference is an opportunity for artists to showcase for venue promoters and festival

³⁰ The notion of a folk music industry is itself a topic of debate. At the 2008 OCFF conference a plenary session was dedicated to this debate. Mitch Podolak was included on the panel and argued the minority position that folk music did not constitute a separate industry. He preferred the term faction or trend and suggested that folk music was part of the larger industry of popular music and should be understood in this way. It does not, he argued, incorrectly I feel, have an industrial structure separate from the capitalist structure of the popular music industry.

³¹ Folk Alliance website accessed January 13, 2009 (<http://folkalliance.ca/fac/>)

artistic directors. This is an important and puzzling omission given the interlocking of clubs, concert venues (soft-seaters³²) and festivals.

Each of the regions of North America is considered a market. Each market has a number of festivals, house concerts, folk clubs, radio stations, and theatre venues. There are two approaches to entering a market. An artist can enter a market by performing at a festival first and then following that introductory performance with local press, folk concert performances, and house concerts in the hopes of developing a fan base large enough to fill a small and then medium soft seat theatre. This is understandably the most desired approach and is a fairly fast way to convert local or home region support into support in a new region. Home region support is crucial for new artists as regular gigs help to hone skills and develop media savvy. This capital inertia may translate, with the right support, into a hyped up regional conference showcase either in an official capacity or an unofficial capacity (no-case or guerilla showcase³³). The inertia at a buying conference like this is sometimes enough to convince the artistic directors of the larger folk festivals to attend and in

³² Soft-seater is the industry term for a sit down theatre show.

³³ Unofficial showcases have been going on for as long as official showcases. It seems that the creation of “official” meaning sponsored showcases usually in a larger room with a stage, full sound system and lights, has created the unofficial showcase. The guerilla showcase is usually in a hotel room, with the bed taken apart and leaned against a wall with little to no sound system. Poster are made and scattered around the conference. Incentives like free beer are often used to entice people to come to the performance. Since everyone works in the industry no one knows who is actually watching the showcase. At one FA conference I had met a blues label owner and suggested to him to hear a particular act. He later signed that act and the performer went on to become a well-known Canadian blues performer. These are regular stories at industry conferences. Unofficial showcases are how folk music performers, in many cases, “get their break”.

some cases artists are signed to large festivals immediately³⁴. In a few instances this has been turned into long standing concert career and numerous Juno awards³⁵ for folk and traditional music.

I worked as an artist, booking agent, artist manager and eventually the OCFE conference technical director. In the course of this experience I was able to develop an appreciation of the interconnections and politics within the folk music industry from the point of view of the OCFE. But even from that perspective the festivals in western Canada, the largest and most lucrative festivals in Canada, were always held up as the gold standard of Canadian folk music festivals. These festivals set the standards for folk music. They were always on the cutting edge and, it seemed, always involved in breaking the most successful artists in the contemporary folk music industry. This trend began with Mitch Podolak's release of the first Stan Rogers record, Gary Cristall's support of Ferron, a lesbian singer songwriter who continues to have an influence on women's music, and his introduction of "world music" into the festival scene in the 1980s. Festivals in Alberta and the prairies were involved with the careers of KD Lang and cow punk and the later acoustic punk of Ani DiFranco, who incidentally has the same booking agent as Stan Rogers. Folk

³⁴ This happens at every conference. But during the years of this research a new trend began to emerge. Fewer Ads and industry members are traveling to the larger conferences. As the cost of travel increases and communication gets easier Artistic directors need to "look" for fewer artists. AD's at even the smallest festivals are getting more applications than they have performance spots. A contemporary AD does not need to travel to the large conferences to find "talent". During this time however the large conferences are becoming larger and more expensive. The drive of the conference is the opportunity to impress the large festival AD it is unclear what may happen if musicians become aware of the lack of booking that actually seems to occur at these booking conferences. There are no stats and no research done on the effectiveness of these conferences. This is a very important area of study that must be undertaken if we are to fully understand the music industry.

³⁵ Canadian music award similar to the Grammy.

music festivals “out west” seemed like a bright light on the horizon from my perspective within OCFF.

TERRITORY III: WRAD AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER

The folk music festivals in western Canada are unique for another reason. Unlike folk festivals in Ontario western folk festivals have not, until recently, had any form of central organization. In Ontario, the OCFF is highly organized and successfully enables festivals to share information. But for all of this organization the largest and most lucrative folk and roots music festivals in Canada are in the western provinces (Edmonton, Calgary, and Winnipeg). Since 1999 artistic directors from some western folk festivals have gathered together unofficially under the name of WRAD (western roots artistic directors). This organization was informally conceived and organized and was a way to share information. There was no desire to establish a public organization like the OCFF. The goal of WRAD was to provide a space for AD’s (artistic directors) to gather and share information and ultimately engage in professional development. Two members of the group wrote a creative mock history for public consumption. The bogus history being as follows,

Western Roots Artistic Directors -- *an equal opportunity secret society* -- was founded on the three principals of *Trust, Honesty, and Respect*. The handful of inaugural members met in random patterns apparently by chance and over time maintained fraternal if distant relations, holding informal council at sporadic intervals as early as 1970's CE. After more than two decades they began to actively seek each other out, and since the late 1990's the new, hand-picked WRAD has met annually at a closely guarded, undisclosed location “somewhere in western Canada” to ensure their conversations are completely private, thus fulfilling a *prophecy* passed down from a famous Grand Master of the Knights Templar, *Jacques de Molay himself*, shortly before he was burned at the stake for heresy back in 1314.

There has been much speculation and no shortage of controversy in Folk since news of these meetings began trickling back to the aged city-folk states including London,

Paris, Berlin³⁶, Toronto and Philadelphia. The levels of interest, suspicion and even paranoia are perhaps understandable when one considers:

- a) that the most conservative estimates of the total land mass under the direct influence of WRAD and their “free folk philosophies” start at 1,251,904 square miles while the more hysterical estimates have ranged as high as 3,382,991 square miles.
- b) that the size of England, sometimes held up as the current ruling kingdom of folk/world/roots/etc music is 50,351 square miles, ergo, there is room for anywhere from 25 to 70 Englands within the commonly accepted borders of the WRADLands.
- c) This seemingly humungous land mass and the inhabitants have been and in large part remain both “terra” and “musica” incognito to most who live in what WRADatistas refer to as “past the Lakehead” or “the old countries”. Maps and travelers guides, when they refer to the WRADLands at all, still feature drawings of mythological creatures and the warning “there be monsters”. Interestingly, the members of WRAD have shown little interest in disavowing any of these colourful misperceptions.

But obviously, given the vast area and the decades of activity under discussion, there is literally and figuratively more than enough room for suspicion, speculation and straight-up fantasy about this shadowy land and shadowy group. To that end, we have assembled what facts, credible speculations and even the more bizarre theories about this possibly remarkable group.³⁷

Later a more legitimate WRAD website was constructed, not to replace the first however, as both websites are still active and available. The second site is much more descriptive about the organization. According to the second website³⁸, less than 100 people organize folk/roots festivals with annual budgets totaling over 13 million dollars, are supported by 13,000 volunteers, and hire more than 860 artists and groups who perform for over 500,000 spectators. While much of the scholarship that deals with the North American folk revival situates it in the past tense (Cohen 1990; Cohen 2000; Filene 1991; 2000; Mitchell 2007; Rosenberg 1993; Weissman 2005) folk music festivals are alive and well and perhaps are more popular than they were at the height of the folk revival.

³⁶ Likely a veiled reference to the Leonard Cohen song *First We Take Manhattan*.

³⁷ The Secret history of WRAD (<http://wrad.ca/history.html>, accessed September 12, 2009).

³⁸ <http://www.wrad.ca/home.html>

Western Canadian folk music festivals, a number of which have become loosely organized in WRAD since 1999, began in 1974 with the founding of the Winnipeg Folk Festival (MacDonald 2009). But in all that time little has been written about what could easily be called a western Canadian folk music movement. Gillian Mitchell wrote that: “There has been little written on the Canadian folk revival...there exists no comprehensive survey of the Canadian movement, even in article format” (Mitchell 2007, 21). Her work was a commendable effort in attempting to come to terms with the aftermath of the folk revival in Canada but did not include the development of western Canadian folk/roots music festivals. This was likely based on a long established tendency to locate the folk revival in the east coast of Canada and America. Western Canadian folk music festivals however are the largest and most financially successful folk music festivals in the country.

In 2006 a second organization developed called WRASTA. This organization included AD's, festival directors, board members, and volunteer coordinators. The point of the organization was to provide a forum for the main organizers of folk festivals to share information. WRASTA, like WRAD, was a private organization that worked under the radar even for those working in folk music. Entry into both of these organizations was by invitation with no official public structure, operational board, or official public persona. In the fall of 2008 WRASTA became a more official organization. The members decided to drop the WRASTA name and become the Western Folk Music Festival Collective with a new website and national aspirations. And as a group they have exerted a nation wide structural hegemony over other folk music festivals. This is most recently witnessed in the Western Folk

Music Festivals Collective³⁹ domain name choice, www.folkfestivalscanada.com. Their website reads, “Folk Festivals Canada is a consortium of Canada’s leading music festivals, dedicated to the advancement of folk and roots music across the country”.⁴⁰ Only one festival included in this list is located outside of western Canada.

Folk music festivals in western Canada therefore are territorialized in a few ways. Generally all folk and roots music festivals that are located in western Canada may be grouped under my moniker of westfolk as a geographically oriented term. WRAD, WRASTA, and Folk Festivals Canada are more official and professional organizations recognized by industry associations. No one in the industry would recognize westfolk or any other term to designate folk music festivals in western Canada. As such my terminology is totally arbitrary but necessary as a description. I suspect that if anyone in the industry were directly asked for a term to describe folk festivals in western Canada the response would be stunned silence.

But if the same person was asked about the organization of folk music festivals internationally they would likely describe it in the following manner. They would begin with a sketch of territorial assemblages which are globally oriented and continent size. Then they would move to country sized, to regional, to local territorial assemblages of province and town. There is never more than one folk music festival in any town so there is a limit to the size of territories. The smallest

³⁹ The Western Folk Music Festival Collective (WFMFC) is a group of western folk and roots music festivals that have had an ongoing but unofficial relationship since the late 1990s. The group has become official during the course of my research which began in 2006. I presented a folk music history lecture at the first meeting held in Vancouver in the early spring of 2007.

⁴⁰ <http://folkfestivalscanada.com> accessed September 20, 2009.

territory is the town or the festival. Since they are both the same I will choose the festival as the smallest territory and the starting point of the following description. The festival is the smallest molecule of the international association but it is also a molar which needs to be broken down to the molecular level. The point of this sketch is to explore the networks of relationships at the base of this international industry.

I will begin by taking the largest approach to the festival, sketch out its frame and shape and then slowly break the festival down to its smallest components. I will make use of interviews with participants as well as field observations to do this and will draw out points of connections and intersections, the social architecture, of the festival as I proceed. Once these territories are explored I will go through these territories in chapter five outlining the exchanges that take place across the territories. In this chapter some of the territories may seem to be static or to have limited relationships but this is a side effect of sketching.

TERRITORY IV: FENCES ERECTED UPON SKETCHES

It is fairly easy on the surface to distinguish between a festival and the other communities that surround it. There is a fence and a gate that mark the entrance and borders. The outline or absolute border between the festival and everything else is the festival fence. This border begins as an imagined outline on an organizational map. There are however many historical, social, political, or geographical reasons for the placement of this line. The fence therefore may not be as solid as it appears.

Fences are established at the WFF in two ways. The blueprint for the fence is established in consultation between the provincial park warden at Bird's Hill Park and the leadership of the festival. These two parties have established a long-term

agreement about the footprint of the festival. The festival fence goes up every year at “fence day” the weekend before the festival. Volunteers paint small stages and erect miles of fence around the perimeter of the festival. Fence day concludes with a BBQ to feed the 150 volunteers who attend. The perimeter fence delineates outside from inside and also inside from outside. For financial, accountability, and safety reasons the perimeter fence establishes a territory for which the festival is willing to take responsibility. But the fence serves another function. It divides the “other” world from the carnival world. Arlo McGowan a long time festival worker noted:

I love the Montreal Jazz festival but when the show is over you go home. Here the show’s over you go to your tent you wake up in the morning and you walk back to the stage and you start all over again you’re not dealing with the cars and the traffic and all the other stuff that’s like...out there...on the other side so to speak. So I prefer the festivals where you go and stay and camp. Like my car hasn’t moved in a week. I haven’t even turned it on in a week. (Arlo McGowan Interview: July 7, 2007)

Arlo has a lot of experience erecting fences. Today most fences are wire mesh fences that are tied to metal poles that are hammered into the ground. They do not require much labor to erect. This fence technology has replaced the plastic snow fence and even earlier fence technologies:

That was back in the Late 70s early 80s and there was still a lot of hippie like construction you know a lot of really, really cool stages. We had a tower which was like the inner office, tools were stashed underneath, and the upper office was the head production manager’s bedroom. And we made all of these really funky buildings. Wood was cheaper and easier to get, we got a lot of scraps out of the mill that were still usable. All our fences were slabs. (ibid.)

Festivals that happen on public land and especially those that are negotiated space within city limits the fence usually coincide with the outline of the available park property. Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton festivals carve out their festival space on city park property. The outer perimeter of the festival is relatively

predetermined. The placement and number of gates however is not so obvious. Gate placement, size, and orientation depend on a number of variables negotiated by trial and error. The placement of the gates depends on traffic flow, audience size, type of surrounding neighborhood, and a consideration of the parking area. Transportation and access concerns also have to be considered. Pick up and drop off areas for artist shuttles arriving and departing the festival adds another level of complexity. This is further compounded at the Calgary folk music festival which allows artists to drive onto the site with their very large tour busses.

Most human traffic enters the festival site through a main gate. This gate is policed by volunteers and in some cases hired security. This main gate only permits walking traffic and is quite easy to control with a handful of volunteers, a ticketing area, a bag check area to inspect for restricted materials (glass bottles and video recording equipment). It is much more difficult at rural festivals.

The perimeter fence at a rural festival is often much different than an urban festival. The Kispiox Music festival has a front gate with a ticket booth policed by volunteer and professional security late into the night. This festival takes place on community rodeo grounds so there is a partial permanent perimeter on one side of the site. The other side of the site is the Kispiox River which creates a natural border. Ness Creek Music festival, Robson Valley Music Fest, and North Country Fair are more rural festivals and are still further away from any civic organization. All three of these festivals take place on private land. Robson Valley is on the McDonald property in Dunster BC and both North Country and Ness Creek festival organizations own their own land. These borders are much more fluid and depend on geography to establish barriers. The front gate of these festivals is patrolled by

volunteer and professional security and they all have a single road that approaches the front gate. The security focus on the front gate is obvious. There is no other approach to the festival grounds from any other direction. Ness Creek music festival is very rural. There are no fences to keep anyone or anything out or in. The bears which seem to patrol the exterior of the festival ground successfully keep festival revelers well within the grounds. In this case there are a few special volunteers armed with bear-bangers⁴¹ whose job it is to respond to bear sightings.

The Robson Valley and North Country locations are similar. They are both much closer to a local town than Ness Creek and both, like Kispiox, are bordered on one side by a river. This natural geographical feature makes them ideal areas for a festival. A river is an effective and beautiful border which provides an opportunity to cool off in the hot summer. South Country Fair is a combination of the two models. It is not as far away from a town as the other three; it is a park site like Winnipeg, Canmore, and Vancouver. But the site is also undeveloped enough to not require a fully established perimeter fence unlike festivals like Canmore, Calgary, and Vancouver which are set up on public access parks with year round and regular access. These urban festivals need to be completely fenced.

TERRITORY V: THE ECOTONE AND THE PROBLEM OF LINES

The urban festivals fence has one aspect that the rural festivals do not. The urban fence produces what ecological science calls an ecotone. The ecotone is the space where two ecosystems connect. Ecosystems, like cultural systems, and mineral systems, have fuzzy and permeable border zones. These border areas are not fences

⁴¹ Bear Bangers are a device used by backcountry hikers to scare off bears. It is a small device that fires a small but loud explosive charge not unlike a firecracker. The explosive ‘crack’ of the bear banger was an interesting addition to the sonic fabric of the Ness Creek Festival. It was especially suggestive when heard late at night.

nor are they walls, they are the ecotone. It is a space of negotiation and high diversity. The ecotone is the ecological space of increased diversity that is produced when two systems overlap. It is at the borders of systems that diversity and production really peaks (*The audio work that Steve Feld has done at the border between the jungle and the Kaluli village is a recording of the ecotone*). The ecotone is a suggestive concept that describes what happens at the borders of urban festivals. This is especially significant for the Vancouver Folk Music Festival.

The Vancouver Folk Music festival takes place in the Vancouver community of Kitsilano at Jericho Beach. The Jericho Beach Park, like all parks with water access in urban Vancouver, is very popular. When the VFF is being set up the park serves a double function. It is being transformed into a festival and it still serves as a beach for the local community. This increased activity in the park has an impact on the immediately local community:

The congestion in the neighborhood. This has been setting up for two weeks now uh...a few years ago they used to start setting up like three or four weeks in advance so it was really, really disruptive to the neighborhood...but then I think the city told them they couldn't start until after July 1st. So now they start July 2nd and it just depends where their weekend falls as to how much time they have to get to set up. So they madly set up for two weeks and then they take down for about a week...sometimes longer actually longer...there's still things left in the park...um...it's just disruptive...we don't own the park but we use the park and everybody uses the park but you're limited when they're setting up and during the festival...but now I stick around and go...they give us a free pass for Friday nights - used to be that you could bring friends and all that but the last few years they've said that only people that have identification to prove they are living in a residence could go...which I disputed. I wrote them letters. I said so what you let some people in ...we eat we shop. I mean the people that I would take with me they loved it... because we shopped and went to the market and looked forward to eating but this year I've noticed that they are allowing to bring four people in and only one person has to have identification to say they live in the neighborhood...so that's a good concession.

So I'm not too happy about how they are responding to the neighborhood. They used to be a lot stricter in terms of enforcing the no parking you know, in the area. Whereas now they don't so you could certainly drive into your property and find

your driveway blocked or whatever...you know they just don't branch out as far as they...they used to go beyond here but now this is where they stop. (Meryl Interview: July 14, 2007)

The territory around the border of the festival is an area that has more flux and activity than it first appears. The framing essential to the festival-machine has its opposite in the carnival-machine. The concern about borders and fences that are part of the festival do not come up with reference to the carnival:

Oh yeah absolutely- but it wasn't a festival it was a Be In it was completely different. There were no gates, no security no nothing. There's a stage and everyone comes - and it was a completely Bacchanalian San Francisco type easy going straight forward no gates no fences nothing in front of the stage just wide open - mind you there were a hell of a lot less people back in those days too - I mean if you had 5000 people at something you had a lot of people. Because there just wasn't that many people around - but I mean the bowl was just full of hippies - it changed a lot of people's lives - it was just really good. (Arlo McGowan Interview: July 15, 2007)

The territoriality of the festival fence can create a situation where even those whom one would imagine would be accepted by the festival get kept outside. This is nowhere most evident than the 2007 exclusion of Oxfam from the VFF:

Well they've kept the same number of booths but they've been wanting to mix up the nonprofits that are in there -- there is a sharply discounted rate for nonprofits and there is one section of the festival for that - and so we were put on a wait list because Oxfam is too big and too high profile and we've been there for a long time - it's a little frustrating because there is a lot of space where they could add more non profit booths but they don't and I don't know why - and then doubling (the rate) and choosing smaller groups who can barely pay for booth space is a strange decision from our perspective but fine I suppose.

Since I've started the rate has more than doubled. The amount that nonprofits are supposed to pay but um as I said I didn't do the attempt at the booking this year someone else in the organization was doing that this year. Last year we got in at the last minute because a couple of the others couldn't afford to pay at the last minute...they didn't show up so we fit in there. It's a fine idea but there are lots of groups in there who will come for one day or will come for a few minutes but we always have a number of volunteers who are very active and we get about 50% of our signatures for our big drives from the folk festival every summer. So it's left us in the lurch a little. Most years we're averaging about 1600 signatures a day inside and

right now (outside) we've got about 100 so far (late afternoon). (Rob Taylor Interview: July 16, 2007)

Economic decisions play a role in deciding who gets past the festival gate. These negotiations add to the activity that takes place around the border. There is so much activity and so much action happening just inside and just outside that it seems inappropriate to think of festival fences as simple lines on a blue print. The fence is a zone of activity where ideologies and economics are balanced and negotiated. The fence may not move from year to year in a physical way but there is increased or decreased activity at it. The pressure at the gates of the VFF began in the early 2000s and become an increasingly important issue in 2005.

By 2008 the unofficial vendors, which lined the back fence, had increasingly become an issue. Each year there were more and more vendors in the ecotone. These vendors, according to the festival administrators were drawing off of the festival energy and creating a problem. The back fence of the festival runs along a paved walking path which in turn is along a beach. The general public has access to the beach and during the festival is full with people listening to the music for free. This area had become known as Marrakech because of the colourful fabric tents blowing in the breeze. Marrakech existed on the borders of these two systems in the space of increased productivity. It had developed its own rules and existed as the carnival does on the free flow of available creative energy. One of the vendors who worked in this area described the event to me:

We come down a week in advance and mark out our spot with string or duck tape or something and it is generally respected. The local police and the RCMP turn a blind eye to what goes on here because it's a black market. We've been here for the last 3 years and this is the most I've ever seen (170 or so vendors along the back perimeter fence). I do really well here because what I do is unique, hand made and local. I think other people are doing less well...it depends on ... I mean there are a lot of people

who go to India or somewhere like that over the winter and bring back a lot of stuff but that is a whole different quality⁴² and category...

Q. Are most of the clothing people in this row dealing with imports as opposed to locally made clothes?

I think most of them are imports yes. There are definitely some amazing artists and some local designers out here as well like my friend Katrina who designed this jacket and I've traded with her yesterday. And she's one of our tribe. She also works with natural fibres, soy bean bamboo, linen, hemp, and has everything locally made in Vancouver. So there's a couple of us out here but there's definitely a lot of imports.

Q. Why outside the festival instead of inside?

Well there's a lot of people who come here to shop who don't even have a ticket to be inside. So you get more people out here. Besides you don't have to pay, or apply, you just go get your spot, it's free. I mean the folk fest organizers come around at the end of the weekend and ask for donations if you've done really well and we're happy to give that because we wouldn't have been able to do this if they didn't put on the festival - so we really respect that -

Q. And how about the rangers and police?

Yeah, they've been accepting. It's a tradition. On Thursday night some vendors tried to drive in with their cars to set things up and they don't like to see that - so they just make sure that people are keeping off the grass so that people don't drive in - and they try to keep people from camping but once the festival has started they don't really bother. Like yesterday there was somebody that was bothering us here at the stall and one of the rangers came by and made sure that he wasn't bothering us. And was really friendly to us and was like, "You guys are hard working people I know and we want to make sure you're safe". They've been really friendly.

There's been some issues with people having fires or getting drunk on the beach but that is something totally different from us vendors.

Q. Do you camp here during the festival?

I've been sleeping in here (inside the booth). There are bathrooms just over there. It's fine. I'm a gypsy. I've been living on the road in a little school bus for the last year. Not in the winter but in the summers. So I guess I'm used to it. (Freyja Interview: July 14, 2007)

⁴² These inexpensive fabric vendors who sell cheaply made scarf and Indian export items at low prices are referred to by crafters and artisans with the derogative nomenclature Shawl-mart.

But in 2009 the festival attempted to break up this area and absorb the energy of this area for itself. The festival-machine predictably devised a way to draw the carnival flow into itself. The informal money collection, as a form of tax, was not enough for the new administration⁴³ of the VFF. The festival fence morphed and changed the front and back gate entrance points. A middle space was created that was gated but did not have direct access to the festival. To go into this expanded market area required walking out of the festival site and walking back into a newly gated and enclosed market area.

The new market administrator did her best to make everyone happy but seemingly had very little support from the festival staff who could not really provide any sort of vision for the new area and apparently had no knowledge of the long standing tradition the vendors and festival had negotiated. She was approached a number of times by local artists to set up art installations but she declined all offers. She was only authorized to accept artists and crafters who could pay the price the festival was charging for this real estate. In an interview with one of the vendors, a local and well-known photographer, I asked, “Why did they set up these new markets” his response was simple. “Why is not a good question you are more likely to get an answer if you ask what the purpose is” he continued, “wildness and classicism are always in relation to each other” (Michael Rose Interview: July 17, 2009). The festival draws off of the carnival energy and the festival takes credit for its success. In an interview with the artistic director of the Vancouver Folk Music Festival she reported that, “A vendor called and claimed that 80% of the festival

⁴³ I returned to the VFF in 2009 because so much had changed since 2007. The entire administration of the festival had been replaced.

traffic is because of the unofficial vendors. So I said why don't you come and set up next weekend then after we are already gone?" Her position was clear and undeniably sensible.

The altered vendor area included 200 vendors on the two outside areas and 30 or so inside the festival area. The general impression is that it did not work very well. Some vendors suggested that they are making 50% less than the year before. The more important issue was differentiating "shawlmart" vendors from crafters and artisans who specialize in local wood workers, hand made art, and fair trade products. There was no mandate given to the vendor area to differentiate fair trade from world trade. The VFF, it seems, is interested in capitalizing off of the ecotone instead of managing it and helping to shape and support it. It does not seem enough to set up these areas and then let the vendors to their own devices. But instead of thinking of the space just outside the fence as part of its community, even though the festival claims to be part of the community, the management prefers to turn a blind eye and let the "free market" reign. This stands in marked contrast to the Che Guevara quote at the festival backstage, "At the risk of sounding ridiculous the true revolutionary is guided by feelings of love". And the 2009 festival T-shirts which read, "The earth is not dying she is being killed. And those who are killing her have names and addresses" --Utah Phillips. Some of those people Utah was speaking of were literally just outside the gate of the festival making money.

TERRITORY VI:

INTERNAL FENCES AND THE SKETCHES WE IMAGINE AND MAKE REAL

Fences do not just border the festival site but also divide internal space. Glenn Foster at the Vancouver Island Music Festival reported that, "There are different

zones to put up; you can see it when you're walking around. There are different fences that get put up which quiet the people down while they go to the next place” (Glenn Foster Interview: July 11, 2007). The fence is also used for crowd control. Narrow fence openings cause traffic to slow and increases the time it takes for audience members to get from one point of action to the next. In this case from the mainstage, where the party was taking place, to the camping area or parking lot where there should, from the festival's point of view, no partying. If fencing elongates the time between the main stage and the next free area flows of activity are slowed and the energy is reduced. Line-ups tend to disrupt the carnival-flow reduce energy and restore order.

Internal fences at park sites include trees lines and narrow paths. These help to slow down traffic flow and bottleneck free flows. Narrow areas control traffic and wide-open areas reduce density and increase the rate at which social energy dissipates. If no structure is created to work as a social energy amplifier there is nothing for a carnival assemblage to use as a point of focus. This may take the form of a stage, a workshop space, a participatory art installation, or a feature of the natural environment that can be transformed into an activity. If none of these focus areas are constructed energy will dissipate in this area unless someone decides to create an energy amplifier in this space. Controlling the flow of crowds and managing the amplification or reduction of social energy is central to the design of the festival. Many of these types of architectural additions are experiments that add or subtract from the overall aesthetic experience of the festival, just as earlier experimentations in ephemeral architecture established stage, lights, and sound customs. The festival-machine therefore has another component. The observant

festival engineer can watch the carnival-machine in action and create an environment which simulates the factors that at play. In this way the festival engineer works with social energy and natural creativity to formalize these elements in the festival-machine. This is an aspect of the development of festival aesthetics to be discussed in more detail below.

Fences work to produce boundaries and to establish shape and structure. Fences are important structures around which a wide variety of negotiations occur. Both internal and external fences produce territories, affect energy flows, and impact the shape and form of community celebration. Administered fences also shape the ethics of space especially in the ecotone. The fence is both arbitrary and decisive as its placement has an immediate impact on all of the people who must negotiate it. The fence defines one type of border at the festival but there are many more. Different types of territories require different types of fences. Each of the fences has the same characteristics as the main fence. It has gates and flows to be navigated.

TERRITORY VII:

FOLK FESTIVAL AESTHETICS AND THE TERRITORIALITY OF STYLE

The folk music festival aesthetic has the carnival at its core. A long time festival participant described it in these terms:

Now the whole campsite at the Winnipeg folk festival turns into this moving, playing village till 6 o'clock in the morning. The whole thing is undulating you know. So all of those people come for that. They want their children to see that. They want their children to see and understand music like that and enjoy music like that. I'd rather see live music than anything in the world. I mean who watches television in their right mind. Movies are good...live music is better. Paintings are good...I like visual art... but live music is better. It moves you and draws you. You want to be...even if you're not musical... but a lot of people that listen to live music are musical. But even if you are not, people are drawn to it...people are part of it. They want to meet the musicians...they want to meet the person who touched them like this...that moved them. (Susanne Surel Interview: July 20, 2007).

There is an assumption in this statement that everyone comes to the festival for its carnival elements. There is also the assumption that these are the same or similar in a number of festivals. There were so many comments like this at different festivals that I tend to accept these assumptions. This commonality emerges from the mixing of the folk music festival and the carnival in different proportions. The festivals I have studied all have a mix of the festival structure that Mitch Podolak helped to engineer and a type of carnival that makes overt reference to hippies. The festival structure will be described in the next section but I have to take a moment to describe a central component of the carnival. It is the blending of the volunteer and community structure of the festival with a core carnival ingredient that allows for these very disparate festivals to be lumped together. This also suggests another type of gate. This gate is non-centralized and difficult to pin down. It could be called the hippie-gate.

TERRITORY VIII: PEACE, LOVE AND RULES - THE HIPPIE AS FOLK AESTHETIC

The hippie is an important code at folk and roots music festivals in western Canada. It has been that way since the early 1970s. The first interview of the first day of the research project at the Vancouver Island Music Festival a long time volunteer described her first experiences at western Canadian music festivals:

Lot's of grass...lot's of bare feet...lots of dancing...the music was a lot of medieval pipes,⁴⁴ flutes...and the woodland...you know the name of the guitar with the big fat back...[lute]...yes...so all that type of music...and it was oriented towards all those flowing dresses...and you know...they call it hippies now ... but at the time it just was what it was...I went as a child I was little I was 8. My mom used to take me through there and got my face all painted with flowers and yeah...and then I came to work here 10 years ago and brought my son and daughter on board about 8 years ago and uh...over time there needing more younger people and so we started hauling our kids in and now they're coming on their own and volunteering. So I

⁴⁴ Many of the early hippie music festivals were connected to the American Renaissance Fair movement and the early music revival of the 1950s.

think that's the whole key is the way we've been able to keep things going within the community. Now we're at the point where were turning volunteers away ... so we've definitely come a long way. (Interview: July 14, 2007).

Minutes later I talked with Bob Romano whose wife was part of starting the festival in the early days and he remarked that:

Yeah...it was early on and it was pure hippie and it was a lot for the establishment to deal with because alternate lifestyles were still more of a critical thing but you know ten years later when everyone was in their 30s and had houses you could go to the people who had the authority and they knew you. (Bob Romano Interview: July 14, 2007)

The term hippie was used quite often in conversation. It represented a way of being, a style, and an ethics. The term hippie represented a complex array of aesthetic indicators. North Country fair is known as Hippie Days and it proudly proclaims so on the back of the festival t-shirts. Being a hippie and being part of hippie culture is part of the aesthetic of the festival and has worked to invite people in and keep people out. The hippie aesthetic is also a type of gate that establishes territory.

In this sense the aesthetic concept of the hippie is a great deal different than what has been written about folk music to date. Sheldon Posen in an important early article on folk festivals and the folk revival published originally in 1979 made no reference to hippies or a contemporary youth movement at all (Posen 1993). He connected back to Dylan, Seeger, and the earlier context from which American folk music, at least according to the scholarly folk studies canon, had emerged. There was no place for the hippie in this east coast oriented folk revival discourse. In New York City urban bohemians modeled themselves on wartime French existential

philosophers and artists and played at the underground. In the Canadian west, with much more land, you could actually disappear. And that is precisely what happened.

The hippie/back-to-the-land movement developed a somewhat cohesive aesthetic sensibility. This shared aesthetic marks perhaps what should be understood as a separate aspect of the American folk revival. But it seems more likely that the literary shocks of the Beats, the acoustic instruments of the folk revival, the psychedelic experiments of the west coast counter-culture all sent out individual style shock-waves that marked everyone. What emerged was a bricolage of style, a fluid and conceptual territory that has become coded as hippie. The hippie has become the BwO of the folk in western folk and roots music festivals. This has serious implications for aesthetics and forces a full aesthetic description of folk music to come to terms with the philosophical, moral, environmental, cultural, social, visual, and aural elements of folk and roots music. This is precisely what Arnold Berleant has been arguing for under the rubrics of engaged or environmental aesthetics (Berleant 1991, 1992, 1999, 2000, 2004). The aesthetic field of folk music in western Canada is influenced to a great degree by the “aesthetic field” of the hippie. In many interviews the concept of the hippie was often central. Very few people felt up to the task of describing the hippie even after they made a claim about how important hippies were. It is also interesting to note that during the interviews very few people actually considered themselves hippies. Someone sitting next to the participant during the interview may confirm their status as hippie but the concept seems suitably rarified as to be something more than human. Which fits the Deleuzian concept of the BwO as something one strives for and models themselves upon but does not reach. The hippie is a BwO that must be accounted for as it defines the

central aesthetic aspect, and therefore one of the key points of connection of the music festivals I have studied in western Canada.

The hippie is described in a wide variety of ways. There are direct comments that refer to hippies in a negative way. Grant Gordon described the difficulties of running a festival in the early years, “When we were dirty stinky hippies it was an uphill battle all the time” (Grant Gordon Interview: July 12, 2007). Since the 1970s however the hippie has undergone a public relations transformation. The “dirty hippies” of the early festivals have, in 2008, celebrated the 40th anniversary of Woodstock. Woodstock has increasingly become a North American myth of grand proportions. One of the founders of the Kispiox Music Festival, the day he was adopted into the local Gitksan clan, mentioned the far-reaching influence of Woodstock:

I would think most of that comes from the way the original Woodstock was promoted and all of the press and all of the ideas that sprang from Woodstock and the people like Janice Joplin and Jimi Hendrix, the drug users who died from that sort of thing. And I would think that a lot of the ideas about festivals, for people who had never been to festivals, would come from Woodstock and other major events like that. (Joe Sullivan Interview: July 24 2008)

In the most recent filmic retelling of Woodstock, *Taking Woodstock* (2009), the young hippies were transformed from the dirty, hungry, stoned kids of the 1970 documentary into a pulsing and meaningful historic people. The main character in *Taking Woodstock*, watches the mass of people pulsing in front of the big stage transform into a universe gravitating around a bright center of density. This transformation of hippie from outsider to cultural hero has played out in the western festivals. Meg Cursons, the public relations person at the Vancouver Island Music festival described this transformation,

As it becomes more popular then it becomes something worth crashing. And well it used to be that nobody wanted to bug the hippies down at the fair grounds but then this thing has grown and there is a lot more diversity in programming and suddenly its cool enough to want to break in...so we're dealing with that. It's the thing that you want to break into, it's the thing that you want to volunteer for, it's the thing that the community is proud of...and a big chunk of them come and there's a big chunk who never come but they're really proud of that music fest where all the freaks are at. (Megan Cursons Interview: July 14, 2007)

Very few of the festival people I had interviewed were willing to go into detail about what a hippie might be or a larger picture of the hippie aesthetic. But Trent Moranz one of the founders of the South Country Fair stands out in this regard. The following interview section is long but worth including in full, as it is the best single description of what hippie means in all of the complexity:

Everybody hates hippies right. It seems like. Nobody knows what they are. Most people that speak negatively about hippies don't know what one is and don't know who Ferlinghetti is or Ginsberg or Kerouac but they had their stuff together. Some of them were very self destructive...but Ferlinghetti is still alive and still painting. But a lot of what you see around you today that is progressive came from people who were free thinkers and open to new ideas to new ideas in the late 60s and early 70s.

There were some projects that failed miserably but Twin Oaks is still happening a collective, cooperative community. There are lots of failures but you can't tell me that Drop City wasn't a success at some level. It isn't there anymore but the awareness of the world around you from a place that really had its origins in mass culture, – people thinking that people were building a new world and leaving their parents' world behind and trying to build something better. It's viewed as having failed but partly because it was actively pursued and systematically destroyed. Using incentives for instance trying to spirit people away into a different way of thought.

It's more complex than that right and I could go on just about that part but as far as the environment goes the hippies were right, what's happening to the air? What's happening to the water? Don't worry about that it's not happening...oh well geeze...40 years later it is happening...what if we had done something then?

So my friends who are ashamed of that and I know some very cool people who just went and got jobs and I could never quite do that. I grew my hair out at 15 and thought this is a good thing a person should be able to have a pony tail and survive in the town they were born in and be respected and acknowledged for what they are capable of their talents and abilities. Out of obstinacy I've never removed by earring and never cut my hair I've always called myself a hippie and now I'm taking every

opportunity to correct everyone's misconceptions about those things because a lot of what I am today...like Oregon Country Fair – I'd love to meet some of those people – they laid the ground work and are continuing to do the work.

You never hear about Twin Oaks or the successful collectives that exist in many places. The best crafts around here that go to the festivals that were people who were already doing that back then and who passed it onto someone. There is some amazing stuff at some of the festivals especially the bigger festivals. Wood work and really cool designs that somebody worked out on their own or learned it from somebody. It was passed along to them. That's a responsibility. That's a deep responsibility. (Trent Moranz Interview: July 21, 2007)

At the end of Trent's description of hippies he begins to discuss what any folklorist would call folk culture. It is possible here to once again discuss the relationship between Kerouac and Adorno. This time however we can move it up in time and point out that Sheldon Posen and other scholars of the Canadian folk revival, or the folk revival in Canada, did not notice that something was happening that fulfilled their criteria for "authentic" folk culture. But it seems that, like Adorno, and through no fault of their own, they were looking in the wrong direction. Not finding what they expected to find in the place they expected to find it, they made a claim for its extinction. Authentic folk culture was alive and well just as they wanted it to be. It happened to be in a different form and a different place than they expected. It existed on the frontier and far away from the small town satellites of east coast universities.

People who did not want to be noticed, far away from urban centers, had established a new form of hippie folk culture. One back-to-the-lander described the history that led up to the Ness Creek festival:

[It was] a community I knew and was centered along the Boreal forest line just north of the prairie. And there is a whole bunch of hippie back-to-the-lander people for the last 30 years we've all been doing it. And we had lots of gatherings back then. There was the children's gathering at Birch Lake and there'd be this big Clan gathering of a couple of hundred people of kids and the whole thing...a big family.

And we all came here. That was our big get together. (Terin Turner Interview: July 20 2008)

Terin described an immigration of urban youth moving out of cities like Toronto and Winnipeg and relocating to inexpensive land on the frontier. The frontier stretched across northern British Columbia and the northern prairies from Alberta to Saskatchewan. There were hippie communities in the Okanogan, the Kootenays and the Islands off the coast of BC. This influx of alternative youth had an impact on local rural culture. Wilfred Lee described the impact that this immigration had on him as a young person growing up in the Kispiox area:

In the late 60s there started to be a lot of hippies a lot of the back to the earth people moving in and that really changed the valley. That was wonderful. We just worked long enough to get money to party. (Laughs) They were all my age and it was just absolutely fabulous.

A kid from here who grew up and didn't even have a vehicle yeah...I didn't know anything about grass or...it was fun yeah. I wasn't a big acid user but I dropped acid a few times and it was a real learning process for me...it changed my whole life. It taught me to be closer to my children, to try to take care of the earth; it was a learning process for me. But I don't even smoke dope anymore ... hardly [laugh]. (Wilfred Lee Interview: July 26 2008)

Alf Brady was one of those early migrants who left Toronto and ended up in Kispiox. He, along with Joe, started the festival and was, as of 2008 adopted into the Gitxsan clan. The relationship that Alf, Joe and Wilfred established in the community helped to transform it:

We came and looked at the community grounds and where the current stage is there was nothing but an old trapshoot range, kind of showing you the flow and evolution of the community from the farming area to a little more of the hippie counterculture coming in from the early 70s. There was a period when we were melding. Learning how to run rodeos along with the people who had been here. Finally it came around to the festival idea. And Wilfred, who is one of those individuals born and raised here, we said there is almost a bowl but it needs some help. And Wilfred said I'll bring in my bulldozer and we'll do it. So Wilfred sculpted the existing amphitheater. (Alf Brady Interview: July 26 2008)

Transformation is central to the aesthetic. The transformation is not only physical but also psychological, social, and environmental. The hippies that I interviewed moved out of urban centers because of what modernity represented. They all shared a desire to build something new along side existent rural communities. The back-to-the-landers struggled to build an authentic life affirming society to replace their feeling of disconnectedness. This hippie movement is marked by a do it yourself attitude that includes every aspect of their lives. Creativity, community organizational abilities, and industry are highly prized attributes.

The mother of the founder of the Robeson Valley Music festival, another 1970s migrant from Winnipeg, described it in these terms:

I lived in Winnipeg. Memorial Boulevard in Winnipeg. All of the young people migrating across the country. It was such an incredible time to be alive. This was happening in every city from Montreal to Vancouver. There would be some place that the young people would find and as they passed through there would be hundreds and thousands even. And of course the police would be. As they were here last night...the police were there. Dangerous young people moving across the country. Dangerous young people listening to music. Yeah. That's what was happening. It was a movement. We are talking about freedom. Well that was my goal. I think freedom was the goal. I think the idea was to create something different.

Yeah but...it didn't really work. It didn't really work because of the fact that everybody was taught right from the beginning to earn and spend money. It's all about money. Almost anything people say or talk about is "I don't have money" or "I'm going to get some money", "I'm going to spend some money".

I think that there is a way to change but the first thing is that we cannot submit to any authority outside of ourselves. When we recognize that the ultimate authority in our lives is ultimately ourselves then we can begin to create something different. When a society is based upon ideas and thoughts of people who have been dead for two hundred years it's no longer applicable I feel. I think that every generation has to create their own reality. And I go further. I think that every individual needs to create their own reality and that it is very irresponsible to do things you don't want to do. (Arlene McDonald Interview: July 24, 2009)

This ethic has continued to play a role in festivals. The Robson Valley festival, which has become formalized in the last 13 years, has continued this connection to the hippie ethic:

We want to create employment and diversify into a music and arts festival and a way of establishing a centre for people to come and exchange ideas in all manner of sustainable community living and the music is only one part of it. It's a language of celebration but with it comes a communication for all of these walks of life and that we are on the verge of needing and are building a completely new society regardless of whatever might be happening around the globe or in our governments, or initiative this or environmental disaster that. People are waking up and realizing that we are not necessarily tied to that machine and we have the power to establish our own communities and make our own decisions and that's what this is about. For me the most powerful thing that happened this weekend was last night while I was sitting with the local constable and we were watching a band together and having this philosophical discussion about changing the way that society is run building our small communities and building trust again. So ok that is it in a nutshell. That's why I do it. (Seth McDonald Interview: August 24, 2009)

There is still a contemporary discourse around hippies and it is still active in shaping how people in this community position themselves:

My dad's a free natured, free spirited, loving to all, he'll give anybody a chance. Obviously there are bad people in the world but I think if you ask a true hippie and I know a few and if we brought them over they would say something totally different than I'm saying but I think a hippie is someone who watches what they do in life so they don't pollute the world. Not wreck things for a future society. They are looking out, everybody gets caught up...like I own a car that burns gasoline so that I can get to this festival, but ... on the other hand I know how to convert diesel engines to run on vegetable oil. I converted MamaGrooves⁴⁵ tour bus to run on vegetable oil. But you know...burning anything creates carbon but not burning gas saves on all of those extra chemicals plus they get it for free. So for a band it's great for them. (Brian and Charmain McGilligan Interview: July 25, 2008)

Even Mitch Podolak has come to believe that the future of folk and roots music festivals is in small non-centralized community festivals. His concern with society that developed in the 1960s is still evident. He has recently moved from

⁴⁵ The band that Robson Valley festival AD Shara Gustofsan and Executive Director Seth McDonald started.

working on large festivals to creating a House Concert series in western Canada designed to give people an opportunity to get close and personal with songwriters. The house concert series also provides more gigs for professional songwriters during the year. He has become disenchanted with the size of contemporary festivals and the constant growth for which the organizations strive. He has begun to advocate for the creation of a larger number of small festivals. This is a long quote but worthy of including in full as it is the first and most significant critical response coming out of the folk music industry in western Canada that I have encountered:

I think folk festival...not just folk festivals but all cultural events, all festivals, even ones with specific audiences like the folk world has, it's the shift of time and sand. Who the fuck knows. If it keeps going the way it's going will we end up with folk festivals that will be part of an industrial machine?!? I doubt it. I think people are going to try. I think the record industry is pluuuhhh. I hear people in the record industry talking about this as an "adjustment" like they think it's just a technical adjustment to the whole nature of the record industry and that once we go through this adjustment to the change in technology that everything will make sense again and we'll be able to make money out of selling music and blah blah blah. But I don't think so. I think everything is way too much in flux.

Will there be folk festivals...in the future...I don't know. I hope there are a lot more small ones! Personally. I'm really interested in ones like Hiawatha because the quality of the experience is way higher even though there is a lot less there. Because the relationship to music is a lot closer. Absolutely everybody...I mean when you have that many players in the audience. When you have 3000 people at the festival and there is only one primary stage and there is a thousand there at any given time and when you're walking through the rest of it there is a lot of people playing music all day. Then you have to ask yourself what is the relationship here. And you will say that it is more to music than to almost anything and that's way better...it's a better experience. It's different. I think we'd be way better off with a couple of hundred more like that in North America. I think. I think so. Than a whole bunch more of these big clumsy fucking things that turn into large bureaucracies or tools that aren't tied into the learning process that they are proselytizing. They are separated from it. (Mitch Podolak Interview: July 6, 2008)

Podolak's criticism carries a special weight. As the chief engineer of the festival-machine in western Canada it is interesting to hear his critical review of what he put into action thirty-five years earlier. He clearly comes out in favour of a

carnival oriented music festival with limited growth and little professionalisation on the site. Podolak argues, whenever he gets the chance, that the contemporary festival swallows more money into itself to fund its infrastructure than he had to start the festival in the first place. His is highly critical of the inertia that contemporary festivals are riding and has suggested that more money needs to be made available to musicians and less of it dedicated to growing a music industry. Evaluating this critique would require a critical schematic of the art world (Becker 1984) in Canada to establish the fairness of economic distribution with the production of culture (Bourdieu 1993).

The hippie aesthetic plays an important role in establishing the shape of the festival and the types of fences that are constructed. The territory of the festival is constructed to be an experience, a cottage industry, a place to relax, a respite from the world, and a place that functions counter to the world. In this sense the hippie aesthetic is much more than the tie-dye t-shirts, the imported Indian fabrics, African crafts, vegetarian food, flower face paint, and music stages. The hippie aesthetic also attempts to include social change and alternative modes of exchange. The hippie aesthetic therefore can be more than just external style. For many it represents a lifestyle. The lifestyle that is part of many folk music festivals can represent a fence for some. But for others it is one of the main motivators for their participation. I will continue to explore the hippie aesthetic in the next chapter to illustrate how it informs exchange.

TERRITORY IX:

COMMITTEES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER UPON A FIELD

The next folk festival territory to be considered is the internal organizational structure of the festival. These volunteer committee structures work the same way in all cases. From top to bottom the organization is based on volunteer labour. Very few members of the organization get paid and only the largest festivals have professional staff. While it has its founders the festival is not based on individual people. Not-for-profit status usually immediately follows the decision to start a festival. The transition from the amorphous social party to the festival is a significant organizational and legal transformation. This is a process of enunciation where the borders of social groups thicken and become established in a real way. The enunciation of a not-for-profit music festival society requires the creation of a board of directors. The leadership of the festival, the executive director, the artistic director, and the volunteer coordinator are usually individual jobs with the rare exception of an artistic committee at Ness Creek. The board of directors (BOD) is responsible for the success of the festival as a whole and as such has the power to hire and fire any professional staff. It is not unusual for a BOD to do such a thing. During the course of this research the artistic directors of Salmon Arm Roots and Blues festival and the Vancouver Folk Music Festival were both fired by their respective boards. The executive director of the WFF left to run another arts organization and the executive director of the Ottawa Folk Music Festival was hired by the WFF. The former executive director of the Dawson City Music Festival was recently hired as the new Artistic Director in Ottawa after the founding artistic director resigned in the face of board pressure. All of these changes occurred in the last two years.

Individual BOD have different approaches. At some festivals the board is called a working board where members are active in the running of the festival. This is most true of Ness Creek music festival and Robson Valley where board members are expected to roll up their sleeves and do work. North Country and South Country fair is very much the same. The most committed members of the community usually play the dual role of board membership and lead volunteer. In this way they lead from the front.

Boards may choose to be more hands off and function as an advisory body. This is true of WFF, VFF, VIMF, and EFMF. These board members are selected from the local community for the service they can offer to the festival organization. Often this is a professional service that the board member can trade for their position. I will discuss the exchange relationships in the next chapter for now I am interested only in their role. Terry Sargeant the chairman of the WFF board described the selection process for new board members:

We have a nominating committee that seeks out candidates. That committee and the board will look at what specific skills we might need. For instance do we need somebody with a legal background or a fundraising background or an accounting background. They are not major criteria but they are helpful. We'll identify the skills that we need and then try to find people in those areas. We'll go through the process of seeking candidates, interviewing candidates and then appointing candidates.

We look for people who have connection into the community, but not necessarily money or big business. We want people who aren't shy about connecting with the community although our board isn't really, or doesn't play a major role in fundraising. Some arts boards, that's about all they do. Ours we don't. We're probably going to change that a bit but it's still not going to be a huge focus. Some have more fundraising responsibilities at the board level. The site development project we have going on right now. (Terry Sargeant Interview: July 6, 2008)

The CFMF board has adopted a new approach. The main focus of this BOD is connecting to business money. This approach seems to work very well for the

CFMF as it has become the most lucrative festival in western Canada in the last five years recently surpassing the EFMF. The CFMF approach was described by the chairman of the CFMF Board Of Directors Greg Ferguson as a natural connection to local community know how. His approach was very matter of fact. Arts boards know how to run arts events but do not necessarily know how to make money or to work in corporate circles. It makes sense, therefore, that a board include powerful and connected members of the business community, people who have access to people with money and can speak the corporate language of influence exchange.

There are criticisms to all three approaches. The working board is often characterized as pushy and insular. There is often a great deal of politics and negotiation with board members who are seen as holding the reins of power too tightly. Working boards are usually long established, have little turn over, and develop in small communities where there is not an ample supply of human resources. The advisory board has been criticized for being too complacent and allowing professional staff to go unchecked. More than one person joked with me that Terry Wickam, the long time director of the EFMF, had set up a board which he would be able to control from the grave. The CFMF model has received the most criticism. This approach is seen by many to be taking the folk festival model of volunteer labour and exploiting it for the gain of the organization. The argument goes that the BOD has no or little connection to the musical community and is there to use the caché of the festival to bolster individual status in the economic community while paying off the folk festival for the opportunity. The impact, it is argued, is an increased stratification of privilege on the festival site with multiple levels of access made inaccessible to the regular volunteers. Local business leaders

who do no physical labour are given special privilege based on their business connections while people who actually put on the festival are kept out of high status backstage areas. I will deal with some of these concerns in the next chapter.

The top organizational positions of all of the festivals surveyed are the executive director (ED), the artistic director (AD), and the volunteer coordinator (VC). The power hierarchy between these positions depends on the particular history of the festival. It is usual for the AD to report to the ED who then reports to the board of directors (BOD). In other structures the AD, ED, and VC all work as a three-member team with no internal hierarchy and equal voting power. This way decisions are made by consensus and then ratified by the BOD. The ratification process, depending on the type of board can either be a rubber stamp or a real collaborative feedback process. It is usual that a board ratifies a staff decision but in the case of the EFMF the producer⁴⁶ will discuss projects that require ratification early in the process so as to incorporate the board's ideas in advance of a ratification process. This ensures an open and transparent process, which is important since the entire festival structure is undergirded by society membership.

Membership in the society is open to everyone in the community and is often a fund raising opportunity for the festival who can charge a membership fee. The BOD is required to hold a yearly membership meeting and make a full report. This process ensures direct communication between the society membership and the BOD. In smaller communities attendance at membership meetings can have a very immediate effect on the shape and priorities of the festival. A small group with

⁴⁶ Because of the way the EFMF is structured Terry Wickham's role is a blend of the AD and ED. He does not use the terminology that all of the other festivals use and prefers to call himself the producer.

expressed interest may turn up to the meeting with an agenda for the festival and by sheer numbers can institute its candidates for the board and work towards a special project. In most cases however this is not what happens. Often the yearly meeting is an uneventful financial statement and a confirmation of the status quo. Only in extreme cases does this meeting ever really become a heated political situation.

Part of the reason for this has to do with the internal structure of the festival and the amount of immediate input volunteers have on it. The Volunteer coordinator is the top of a significant organizational structure that has proved to be a very successful social engine. The organizational and financial success of folk and roots music festivals in western Canada is directly connected to how the volunteer structure works. It has three effects. First, it reduces the operational cost of the festival, a phenomena I will discuss more in the next chapter. Second, the volunteer structure disperses tasks among a large number of people and allows, through peer-to-peer instruction, a tremendous amount of core strength through redundancy and diversity. The third aspect is associated with the second. The large amount of volunteers that the festival requires allows for a considerate buy-in by large numbers of people.

Mitch Podolak counted on this buy-in very early in his organizational experiments and expected that direct participation would translate into commitment to the aims of the festival. He dubbed this direct community participation the “community factor”:

In the second last year I was the AD of the festival we set out to take statistics to get a sense of whom the audience was. We got these marketing students from the University of Manitoba to help us collect stats. We put together this questionnaire and had volunteers walking around the festival collecting these stats. They asked every tenth person that passed why they came to the festival. We had these categories: folkie, peripheral folkie, meaning somebody that was interested in

progressive music and didn't totally live off of Tin Pan Alley, and 'Eventer'. The Eventer category means that the individual comes to the festival because of the human event that happens there. The music doesn't matter that much to them. We expected about 15% of the audience would be Folkies, some percentage would be Periphery Folkies and about 70% would be eventers. When the stats came back though, only 3% of the surveyed people called themselves Folkies, 97% described themselves as 'Eventers.' This is the extraordinarily loyal audience of the folk festival and they didn't listen to folk music during most of the year, but they were loyal to the event. That was a bit shocking. Generally speaking you can describe the Community Factor in this way. If you add up anybody on the site: a crafter, food concessionaire, volunteer, local entertainer, by year two of them being there they become the chief propagandists for the event. There is not enough people to make up a paid base for the event, I mean from loyal fans of the music. It is the human event that makes the difference. (Podolak interview: February 10, 2006)

The largest section of the Community Factor is made up of volunteers. These are the people who show up for the event and put in hours of un-paid time to make the event happen. The volunteers get a free pass to the festival itself, get fed, and get into the after-hours parties. The only way to get into these parties is to be a volunteer, organizer or performer; which was different than the Mariposa⁴⁷ model which created parties for the staff, performers, and paying public. The volunteer must have such a positive experience that they will want to trade their labour for the experience of the event. An important part of this entails what Mitch Podolak refers to as the 'Devolution of Authority.' The transmission of the authority comes from the Artistic Director down to the volunteer worker on the festival ground picking up the trash, "People on the ground making the 'right' decisions that effect the festival, so the decision-making itself doesn't have to go back up the line. Decisions can be made quickly and by people" (Podolak interview: February 11, 2006).

⁴⁷ Mariposa Folk Music Festival was the first folk revival festival in Canada. Mitch designed the volunteer structure loosely upon what he saw at Mariposa but made important changes to it.

This allows, according to Podolak, for the reduction of alienation in the festival labour experience. Personal ownership of experience is the intended result:

What if you took all the people that volunteered their time at the festival and you paid them. What do you think would happen? It would fall apart. All of a sudden people are working for you instead of working for them to make the festival happen. People would be alienated from their labour by the money that you paid them for the job. The volunteers are doing this because of the pride that they have in seeing the festival happen; the benefits they get from it count more than not getting paid. If this weren't the case we wouldn't have volunteers. The festival can't handle the number of people that want to be volunteers. I've said this before, if anyone wants to be a volunteer just to get in free, I'll give him or her a free ticket. I don't want people who will trade in their time for a ticket. I want people who want to make this happen" (Ibid.).

An economic analysis of the Stan Roger's Festival, supported Podolak's claim and reported:

The festival relies critically on the effort of volunteers, effort that is not included in a purely financial accounting of the festival. What is the cost to society of the volunteer labour expended? It is likely that this ties in with other areas, as [a] common theme of discussion (and jokes) at the festival was that you couldn't pay people enough to do the jobs that they volunteer for. Volunteers feel a type of pride that comes from participating, and doing what needs to be done without being paid, as if the pay itself disassociates one from the external benefits. (King 2003, 57)

In an interesting admission Mitch Podolak remarked:

Most of the cool things about the festival weren't created by me. Volunteers started them. People who thought, 'wouldn't it be cool to have his'. So they called me and mostly I said do it. Sometimes I thought it was stupid but I'd let them try it anyway. Like massage at the festival. I thought that was stupid; the woman who brought it up tore a strip off of me. She was right; I [was] just being an asshole. Now, massage is at every festival. That's how good of an idea it was. You have to trust the people that you're working with. That's what makes the festival work so well. You have to let people do the thing that they are good at. (Podolak interview: February 11, 2006)

Direct participation in the festival structure allows some room for individuals to express themselves in the way that they desire. No matter what or who someone is in the rest of their lives they can become somebody else for the duration of the

festival. Don Snider, the head of production of the EFMF described it in these terms:

I had one of my guys come to me and say I've been here four years...almost five years now can I be a coordinator in three years. That's the way they feel about it amongst themselves. You don't get to run a crew until you've gathered a lot of experience. And you have to express that desire and let us know and then we'll feed you in and then you'll get to learn and then you'll be able. If we see that you've got the desire to suck up the knowledge whether its tenting or scaffolding, if you're already a skilled electrician but you want to take up truck driving and you've got the license it all depends. I've got truck drivers that come to me and say, "Don I don't want to drive truck I do it every day, I want to pound nails, to pound posts, I want to build fences, build buildings" Great. But I also need to know you're a truck driver in case I get stuck. So I can call you for an hour. And they go – not a problem. (Don Snider Interview: August 6, 2008)

The size of the volunteer structures behind the large urban festivals is immense. The size of the volunteer structure depends on the needs of the festival itself. Each organization is different and corresponds to each community's specific history, geography, and level of development. The festival is constantly a work in process. It is never in a fixed form. Each year lessons are learned and systems are worked out. In the case of the EFMF thousands of people participate in the production of the festival:

We have about 2000 volunteers but we have about 130 on the site crew. But we're an unscheduled crew and we've got 21 days of set up and 10 days of tear down with 4 days of show. We're here over a month. And it's all volunteer. It's all volunteer. We go to breakfast at 8 in the morning and work at 9am and work until 9 at night. And we do that every day for 7 days a week. So, it's unscheduled in the sense that if you work 9-5 you can phone down and get dinner, we'll feed you as soon as you walk in the door and you put in your 3-4 hours every night the best you can. You do that for 10 days and you've got your 40-hour minimum. To be on the site crew before the show opens normally you have to have your 40 hours in. That's a minimum. There's guys walking across the field behind you that have 150 180 hours in...in that 21 days. There are some people who just drove into town for the week and will put in their 40 hours. They'll start and work all day Saturday and keep going.

There's the 100-hour club as we call it. And that gets you a jacket or a fleece that is made by folkfest for you. And it will say. It will have the corporate symbol on the back, modified slightly to represent site crew. It will say site with a years behind it. So

if you see someone walking down the street with a festival jacket with the corporate logo and at the bottom it says site with a year you know that person has done more than 100 hours on site. And usually that beyond 100 hours. I've got a guy that did 500 hours last year and will have done 300 and change this year. And he keeps his job. (Don Snider Interview: August 6, 2008)

Unlike the professional art world, that has established specialized industries to construct performance venues, the festival uses the community energy of the carnival-machine to fuel the production side of the festival. Structures are set up to allow community people to work together for a common and shared goal. People will do a great deal of physical work for no financial exchange and will feel rewarded. As Don explained community status is a great motivator. But it works as a motivator because volunteers are able to see themselves within the larger social structure of the event. Mitch Podolak explained the relationship between the artistic goals and the production side the volunteers play:

In order for the festival to work properly, the AD has to sit down with every committee or cadre on the grounds. Their goal is to transmit the meaning of the event so that the volunteers can understand how they are connected to fulfilling the goals of the festival. You have to tell them everything. They have to know that their membership in this activity is vital. That's not bullshit. People know bullshit. You have to tell them the truth. When I was at the Stan Roger's Festival I sat down with every volunteer group and said: ' This time next week, people just like you will be getting together in a place like this in Winnipeg. They are going to have a discussion just like this one. One week after that it will happen in Vancouver.' So it goes. All over the country people are getting together to have this discussion. So they know that they are volunteering for something much bigger than just this festival. When we first started and WFF was the only one. The speech was different but it was the same idea. We are moving towards something and your part in this makes a difference. We are building a social revolution. (Podolak interview: February 10, 2006)

But people do not work in the hot sun for many hours for platitudes and pep talks. The transmission to the volunteer groups does not end here. They are informed of the hopes and fears of the festival organizers, and the problems they are facing and

the challenges they hope to overcome. The ground rules are laid out: each group is represented by a crew boss; the crew bosses report to a section boss, who in turn reports to the site boss, who reports to the Volunteer Co-ordinator and the AD. Each group is given a different coloured t-shirt to represent their working group. Solidarity is promoted within each working group and the emphasis is on doing the job 'the best way you can.' The goal of the AD is to transfer decision-making down the line. Each person who volunteers at the festival knows what his or her job is and what is expected. They work together to come to decisions for the benefit of the festival. Mitch Podolak refers to this process as the 'Devolution of Authority.'

The Community Factor is an essential part of the festival architecture. The entry to the after-hours party is only open to artists and members of the volunteer structure. The opportunity for song sharing is emphasized here. It happens informally all over the site during the weekend but the opportunity to play songs with the performers is promoted as a special event. The volunteer co-ordinator invites all of the volunteers to bring their instruments and to 'jam' at the parties, socially locking everyone together. The emphasis is on creating bonds in a shared social space of their making. In Podolak's model the members of the Community Factor are themselves transformed into members of a festival. Podolak believed that the commitment to the creation of the event put them in line with his philosophical position concerning folk music and their place as 'the folk.' Mitch Podolak explained it by example:

At the Sudbury festival this year (2005) I had a volunteer who was doing only one shift on the entire weekend and that was doing a survey for me. I asked her why she was volunteering and she didn't have an answer to that. In contrast a couple of years ago I was in the shuttle van in Edmonton and I got to overhear two volunteers from different crews and who had never met explain to each other about why they volunteered. I sat there listening and pretending not to notice and all I could think

about was James P. Cannon⁴⁸ and how much I owed him. Common purpose was what they were talking about and the trust was implicit. Good festivals don't allow their leaderships to substitute themselves for decision making by volunteers” (Podolak email, December 8, 2005).

The Vanguard element, which returned every year, helped to promote the festival event, educated each other, and transformed this public space into one which celebrates folk music. In the following chapter I will suggest a more detailed mechanism for the success of this structure.

The reason so many volunteers return each year is the reward they feel from offering their participation. I was often told how much stronger their experience of family and community is at the festival. That volunteering is like coming back to your home year after year. Being a volunteer is doing something with and for your community. In a surprising discovery many long time volunteers no longer have much interest in the music that is programmed at the festival. They are in it to play music with other volunteers or to simply be part of putting on the big show. They enjoy the camaraderie and the feeling of community they get from being part of constructing and running the festival. Podolak claimed that a festival organization that puts the power directly into the hands of the volunteers is a healthy and successful organization. Tamara Kater said that when it gets close to the start of a festival there is nothing that can stop it from happening. This claim was echoed at all of the larger festivals. One AD jokingly added that even if the festival organization closed down the festival would still be built and likely still happen even if it meant volunteers performing themselves. The community energy that is focused by the festival-machine is shaped by habitual practice. The volunteer committees,

⁴⁸ American Trotskyist and leader of the Socialist Workers Party until the mid-1950s. He was an influential Trotskyist until his death in 1974.

which vary from festival to festival, arise from the specific needs of the community and are an expression of the community. In this way the festival is able to directly respond to the desires of community members. Instead of inviting political participation the festival-machines emphasis on carnival-flows invites direct participation in the shaping of the festival. This seems to reduce bureaucratic wrangling and increase creative direct action. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

TERRITORY X: TARPS AND THE GREAT FOLKIE LAND GRAB

Rural camping festivals and urban festivals differ in other ways. The relationship to space, specifically space in front of the stage, is radically different. The rural audience has a much more flexible relationship to the stage than the striated and contentious space in front of the urban stage. These front of stage territories occupy a smaller geographical space than the other territories I have examined to this point. But this territory, while relatively small, is geographically and conceptually central. All of the physical, technological, artistic, and managerial components are all arranged for the enunciation of festival action that occurs on and in front of the stage. The festival begins and the smooth space in front of the stage becomes the focus for all of the participants, the spectators, volunteers, and staff. But territorial negotiations occur even before the festival formally commences.

A strange ritual was incorporated into the WFF and has traveled along with the rest of the volunteer structures. At the WFF folk festival it was referred to as the “running of the tarps” at Vancouver it was the Birkenstock 5000, at Calgary it was the tarp run. Edmonton and Canmore both instituted a strategy to eliminate the run by incorporating a kilted bagpipe player who marches the audience into the field.

The need for the piper, and the associated security, is to control the rush of spectators and their land grab. The space in front of the stage, as soon as the front gates are officially opened, becomes a dense melee of people and large blue tarps. The tarp is used to stake out individual territory in front of the stage. The urban festivals have this elaborate ritual every festival day. For simplicity I will call all of these rituals a tarp run.

This tarp run begins hours before the festival opens. In the case of Vancouver and Calgary people camp out at the gates of the festival the night before. This practice is officially discouraged but the campers, during the course of this research, were never asked to leave. Edmonton avoids this line up frenzy with a sophisticated lottery system that ensures arriving early is not advantageous. The line up at WFF begins a few hours before the gate opens. Once the gate opens WFF and CFMF tarp run functions in similar ways. People move from coral to coral like cattle. At Vancouver there is no coral system. The gate opens and everyone runs directly to the front of the stage with his or her tarps.

Once in front of the stage the tarps are rolled out and set up. The tarp becomes a private territory and, like a room, is out of bounds to anyone else. The quilt of tarp blankets the first third of the space in front of the stage. These tarps become assigned seating and the smooth space in front of the stage becomes striated and owned. Often some sort of colourful stick or unusual stuffed animal is hung from a stick to mark the otherwise undifferentiated sea of blue tarps. Since the tarp quilt changes its pattern everyday, depending on the luck or skill of the runner, this identification process is useful.

The rural festival does not have this approach to the front of stage area. There is no way to own any piece of ground in front of the stage. There is no rural festival where one can sit in front of the stage for the entire day. Directly in front of the stage is always a dancing space. Those who wish to sit do so and usually on a slight rise so that they can see over the heads of the dancers. But for a particularly contemplative song or performance everyone may sit on the trampled grass and relax. It does not seem to merely be a matter of fewer spectators than other festival. The larger rural festivals like North Country Fair and Ness Creek have as many spectators as Canmore but the flow of human traffic is entirely different. The participants of the rural festivals circulate through the dancing area. While in the urban festivals sitting and listening as if the festival were also a concert hall is part of the culture of the event. In the early years of the urban festivals the culture around folk music was to sit and listen to the performers while performing but then to participate in after concert music making.

This sitting culture is being challenged now at all of the urban festivals. Young participants who have no exposure to concert hall culture, the kind described by Small in *Musicking* (Small 1998), are coming to the festival and expecting to be able to dance. There is a considerable tension between these two types of audience. This supports Small's thesis about music as an act. Folk music, for one audience, is made for the listener. But for the other audience it is made for the dancer. There is a struggle being enacted over the definition of musicking in this cultural formation. And a struggle that becomes more tense after dark. Musicking is also about territory and this struggle manifests itself as a territorial struggle of sitters and dancers.

It seems that the unwritten rule of festival programming is to increase the overall stage energy after dark with higher profile, dance oriented bands with lots of stage lights. The urban festivals have tried to develop a compromise by setting up fenced dance areas on either side of the main stage. This strategy works well during the day and early evening but usually breaks down at night. Since the programming moves towards louder and dance intensive music for the final two acts the tension between dancers and sitting audience increases. Often the struggle comes to a climax by the loud and energetic opening of a dance band and the front of stage flood of dancers followed by the retreat of sitters. Or slowly one person and then another begins to dance in the sitting area. This is often brought to a climax when the performers encourage everyone to get up and dance. At this point everyone gets to his or her feet and the sitting area disappears but does not fragment. The sitters dance upon their tarps and maintain, at least for a little longer, the territory they had won earlier that day.

The sitters reign during the day. Festival security enforces a no dance protocol in the seating area. We experienced this enforcement at the Salmon Arm Roots and Blues festival. We were listening to the group Kries, a cross between a rave group and a traditional Croatian folk troupe. At the most intense moments of the performance with bagpipes wailing, the Roland 808 kick drum kicking us in the chest, the singer jumping up and down, Claire (my wife), moved by the performance, jumped up to join in the musical ecstasy. Immediately a security guard came out of nowhere and got directly in Claire's face, between Claire and the stage, and told her she had to sit down immediately. There was no space for discussion nor was there

any contextual awareness on the part of the security person. The rule to enforce was not to dance and it was enforced without question.

This run-in with the security raised a question for me about agency and dance. It seemed to me that it was indeed possible that the explosion of dancers we had witnessed each night was built up during the day. Security guards and fences restrain the carnival energy that the artistic director helps to stimulate with dance bands. It seems that the festival audience area is pressed between the forces of order and the forces of the celebration. Or to refer back to Attali the joust between the carnival and lent. The tensions happening at the gates of the Vancouver Folk Music Festival is also being played out between dancers and sitters in front of the urban festival stage. Artistic directors with which I have spoken have all suggested that this tension has been increasing over the last ten years. During the course of the research this was a question discussed during WRAD meetings. There was no shared sense of what was causing this cultural pressure at the festival nor was there any sense of how to deal with it. The fenced off dancing area was the immediate but unsatisfactory solution that still breaks down every night. It will be interesting to see how this change in audience culture, in *musicking*, affects the shape of the larger festival in the years to come.

TERRITORY XI: CAMPFIRES AND THE PLACES WE LEARN TO CALL HOME

Campfires mark territories at camping festivals. No matter where campfires are established a music culture develops around them. A campfire is a type of energy amplifier which helps to establish a striated space in an otherwise smooth space. This striation aids in the creation of group energy. At festivals that allow individual fires, the WFF, Kispiox, or North Country Fair, small groups of people camping in the

area will take charge of the fire. It is usually started in early evening, after supper, and when many people return to their tent for warmer clothes. Individual fires allow small communities to form. These small fire areas develop very intimate musical or creative communities. This is exaggerated when musicians camp nearby. Since recorded music is officially prohibited, and communally enforced at all camping music festivals, live music becomes a very important social activity. It is customary to introduce yourself or join in with a campfire where music is played. Musical fires are never private. It is expected that nearby musicians will join. Many local non-professional musicians prepare all year for the festival campfires. It is in these settings where professional and amateur players play side by side. Some of these fire pits, given the right stimuli, become something quite extraordinary.

What began at the WFF as our fire pit turned into something much more significant as the research project wore on. During the second year of the research we interviewed a number of vendors that we began to see more and more. We formed a tribe and would spend an increasing amount of time together as our paths crossed. We would bring messages from person to person as we crossed the prairies on our own trajectories. We once delivered a message to Dave from Nomad's Kitchen, from his daughter, who also a food vendor. The message traveled from Kispiox BC to Canmore Alberta. We met up with Dave, Doug and Laura at the Canmore public campground. We set up our tent and then all huddled together under a big tree and watched documentaries about the Chavez in Venezuela on a laptop fitted with computer speakers.

Dave is the founder of Nomad's Kitchen, an increasingly well known and portable vegan food kitchen. He is a former protestant minister who seems to always

wear a Chavez t-shirt. He has visited Venezuela a number of times and does his best to spread the revolutionary good news. The Nomad's Kitchen was originally created to provide an event for like-minded people. For Dave it is a vehicle for social action and a place for people to check in with each other. For us, western Canada began to be stitched together in an assemblage of connecting points. We would eventually begin talking about the flow of the summer months as being "on the road". From campfire to campfire our small band of travelers slowly began to formalize. We saw Dave first at the Vancouver Folk Music Festival in 2007 and then again the next week at South Country Fair in Fort McLeod Alberta. In many ways these two places could not be more different. What were the chances of seeing the same food vendor on the other side of the Rockies the very next week? So we sat down to interview him and began a relationship that would become increasingly intimate. The last week of the research project in 2009 we sat in his backyard, the edge of the wilderness really, on a very rural property outside of Nelson BC, around yet another fire. We sat together and looked at the stars and talked about this dissertation. We talked about the festival and the carnival. Dave was the first person I spoke with, other than Claire, about the theoretical construction of this dissertation. Dave was very enthusiastic and he began to go into greater detail about Nomad's kitchen and the concept of the nomad, of local food, his business practices, and a revolutionary life. He has dedicated his life to working towards transforming his relationship to work, place, and business and attempts to do all of these in a way that affirms his own life and adds to the lives of others. Nomad's Kitchen travels western Canada every year stitching communities together -- but not for the creation of large territories but in lines that connect campfire to campfire within a cultural rhizome.

Soon other people began to get connected to our thread. Becky (Bea) Caulford, a recycled clothing designer from Toronto, Scott (Scotti) Buxton, a bamboo flute maker from the southeast corner of British Columbia, Gregory McArthur, a Ghanaian basket and hat importer, along with Doug and Laura who worked with Dave at Nomad's Kitchen (from Smithers BC). Whenever we would cross paths, which would be as many as four or five times a summer, we would try to camp close together. If it were not a camping festival then we would meet at Nomad's kitchen for a chai and coffee in the evenings. Vendors are easy to find. They have a booth that one can connect with. Vendors also tend to return to the same festival for many years in a row if the business is good. Scotti has been attending Salmon Arm Roots and Blues festival for ten years. He has also been attending the Canmore folk music festival for many years. While we were together at the Calgary Folk Music Festival, Scotti pulled out a bag of tobacco and held it out to me to smell. I instantly recognized the tobacco mix of a friend of mine from Canmore. He was surprised when I identified the source of this tobacco and it turned out that they had also been friends for many years. I had recorded an album for this musician the winter before and had also been gifted some of this very distinctive tobacco. Scotti made the flutes that I had recorded on that album project. I had first heard these flutes around numerous campfires around which we sat and played.

We met Gregory McArthur the first year of the research project as well. Gregory had traveled to Ghana to learn drumming and on his return to Canada brought a few locally produced items back with him to sell. He sold them all easily and thought that getting into the business of bringing Ghanaian made products into

Canada seemed like a good idea. Gregory began to travel back and forth each year from western Canada to his new home north of Accra. He would spend the winters at home in Ghana and then return and live on the road with these baskets, hats, fabric, and jewelry. During the course of the research Gregory met and married a Ghanaian woman and she had a baby. He invested in his business and was bringing more and more products into Canada. We had met Gregory at Vancouver Island Music Fest, the first festival of the project. When we arrived at the Canmore music festival during the second year of the project we met Gregory and Scotti sitting down together and both vendors began to introduce me to the other. It was great fun to see the lines converge at a campfire. This convergence continued when Dave arrived. By the final campfire of the project at Robson Valley Music Fest as many as could make it arrived in the campground and looked for a member of the tribe. The rule was always the first to arrive held space for the rest.

At the WFF Claire asked to join one group and then the rest of our tribe arrived and attached to the tent pod. Together everyone chipped in on the construction of a covered social area. The canopy and collection of carpets and candles became the chill out space, kitchen, coffee area, late night music area, and drug den. At every festival new people would come in and sit down and become part of the space for the weekend. The space was named the magic carpet and was littered with wine bottles, marijuana pipes, coffee mugs, coffee grinders, and tea candles. Group meal times happened on the carpet. Some would cook over the collection of portable stoves while others would sing songs and play instruments. Stories about the night before or other festivals would circulate and the bond

between everyone became tighter. The density of these relationship was evident in the increasingly interlocking improvisational music that was made.

I had a musical relationship with each member of the pod. They were drawn to the festival life because of the music and the freedom of being on the road. Their career as vendor developed later. They discovered the festivals and then set about trying to figure out how to attend more of them. Often they would be introduced to someone who had been able to figure it out years before. There is a great deal of mentoring among the vendors. Younger vendors or want-to-be vendors are often hanging out around the vendor areas. Scotti makes a habit of training local young people to sell his flutes for him. He likes it because he can take a break and provide a meaningful learning opportunity for the children. Scotti is a great flutist. We jammed flute and banjo improvisations every time we got together.

Trevor is a didge playing friend of Scotti who was introduced to us at the WFF. Trevor makes bags from old seat-belts. At night we would play didge, flute, and banjo around the fire. Other musicians would join us with guitars and drums and we would make very ethereal improv music or accompany a singer. As the years progressed we began to understand each other's musicality and would go further and deeper. Some of the less expressive members of the group began to collect and play shakers and smaller drums. Every member of the group began to play and sing together. It became a meaningful process in the creation of group cohesion.

The first night of the WFF was usually the first time of the season when nearly everyone was together. Bea had just come from Toronto, Trevor and Scotti from BC, and we spent a few hours around the fire making music together. Our first greetings were loving but distant. After we made music together the same deep bond

we had developed the year before began to emerge. The summer felt like it had officially started. Together we would leave the fire and head towards Pope's Hill and the eventual sunrise.

For other people the campfire can turn into something else entirely. Beginning in much the same way as I have outlined above. Someone has an idea and then works to create something out of it. The Castle Boys at the WFF are the most extreme example of personal creativity around the campfire. The Castle Boys have their own facebook site with over 500 members that await their yearly creation. But the Castle Boys, who are now celebrated by the WFF organization started because of an accident:

(Mario) The first year I came out myself (8 years ago) I got lost in the dark. I had to wait until the sun came up to find my way back to my tent. It was funny. I was sitting right over there and my tent was right over there (points to a space approximately 20 meters). And the year after I came back and said to my friends I went to this great festival but I got really lost. It was really frustrating and I want to know where my home is when I'm there so I want to do something that helps it stand out. So we built something pretty small that year around our firepit. A little enclosed thing that was just for us. And then from there people started coming around and coming by and so we started to build it bigger every year and added more entertainment.

(Morgan) For some of the next generation of us that got involved we got interested the year they didn't build anything. There was one year where they skipped because Mario had torn his ACL and there was something missing. So after that we just had to find these guys and just make this happen again. It just has to. It could have happened again whether we found them again or not but the first time I saw the castle I just said I have to be involved in that. (Castle Boys Mario De Negri and Morgan Ficks Interview: July 8, 2009)

Like Dave's Nomad Kitchen, participation in creative community is the driving force behind the work. Mario suggests that the creative environment that the Castle Boys create is a type of zone of experience not unlike the creative zone opened by improvised music. The Castle is a larger example of the Magic Carpet. Both are territories for creative experience that mark or striate space in important ways. They

are landmarks but ones that are functional and transformative. Mario explained it in as follows:

It's great here. You're here and pretty separated from your regular life and then it gets dark and there is this castle in the field with people with helmets and swords and stuff and that just pushes you over the edge. The stuff that we built is awesome but the stuff that people bring to it, the stuff that you don't expect and that people just do is incredible. Like the time when the bagpipers stormed the evil castle. That was awesome. It's when people pick up a sword and put on a helmet and then get involved in something when they don't even know what is going to happen. That's the most awesome. (Ibid.)

TERRITORY XII: TENTS OR CARS AND THE JOURNEY TO SLEEP

When the big show ends on the main stage all of the energy of the carnival begins to be dispersed. The lights go down and the music is completely shut off. There is no music left playing and no large lights remain lit. Some people struggle to keep the party going and begin to sing songs in their own little groups. But ultimately the energy required to keep a large group engaged in the carnival is beyond what can be accomplished without a stage. The energy created on the stage is able to start up and then feed off of the carnival-machine for the rest of the day. Once the large stage is closed the large group flies apart into its smaller constituent pods. The idea of the Deleuzian assemblage is again valuable. The molar of the festival that is embodied by the mass of tightly compressed people directly in front of the stage is shown to be a molecular structures held together by the framing apparatus of the stage and the energy that is generated by the exchange between audience and stage. The audience, as a singular concept, is an illusion. In fact it is a collection of tarps, and pods which separate out into smaller groups.

In a camping festival smaller framing practices happen around campfires. At some rural festivals large communal fires bring many people together and sustain the

carnival energy. Still others turn on smaller stages which will sustain a smaller group for the rest of the night. At North Country Fair and Ness Creek this usually means until the sun rises. At many of the rural festivals drum circles, like the one at WFF begin. These circles provide a different form of framing. The stage of the festival-machine creates spectators and an audience but the carnival-machine turns people into participants. Everyone is part of the experience. It is not unusual to have a large bottle of water, wine, beer, or joints passed around a circle of “strangers”. Everyone is there together and participating together.

But eventually, whether it is an urban festival or a rural festival the day and night must come to an end. The smallest festival territory marks the final act of the festival day. At the urban festival this means getting back to your car. It is best to take your time doing that, as the line up leaving the festival is always slow. It is like everyone wants to linger just a little bit and get one last taste of carnival energy. Once in the car you take stock of the day and head back to where you are staying. There is almost always a party happening somewhere at an urban festival. But the party is often restricted to volunteers. In some cases that included us but in other cases it did not. Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver had large parties but did not include vendors so we often would do something else. Leadership of the urban festivals does not seem to understand the assemblage that they are part. They tend to see themselves as individual events that serve only their town or city, their volunteers, but are not creating something. The organization therefore tends to exclude the sometimes large collection of professional food and craft vendors that do so much to spread the word through western Canada. In some cases the vendors have made long term relationships with local people who supply them with a bootlegged pass

for the party or familiar security turns a knowing blind eye. But in other cases, like the Salmon Arm Roots and Blues festival the security volunteers were so militant that they were physically ejecting anyone who was not permitted. In this case many people who are 'on the road' find a smaller bar or head back to their camping area to have their own carnival and musical fun.

The largest number of people head home satisfied with their experience and intent on returning tomorrow. There is still another group of people that head to local bars to continue the party. Mitch Podolak did an informal survey of bars near the VFF when they were trying to decide whether they would serve beer on the festival site (Mitch Podolak Interview: March 10, 2009). It turned out that there was so much traffic at the local bars during the festival they had to double their staff. But ultimately even the bar closes, the night ends, and everyone returns to their place of sleep.

At the rural festival the tent, which was the first act of territory establishment, now becomes home. Couples return to their tents, strangers who are now a couple, at least for the next hours, will return to a tent. Single people find their way or spend time trying to find their way back to their tent. The tent becomes home. In a few hours the sun comes up and the day starts again, at a slower pace. Breakfast fires are started. The smell of food wafts through the air. Nearly everyone struggles with making coffee on a campfire or portable stove. The long walk to the portapotties now feels much different than it did the day before. Everyone is dirtier and more comfortable. Something palpable has happened to us since yesterday. We have become something, together. My realization on Pope's Hill holds more true this morning than it did hours earlier. You can now pepper your conversation with

landmarks and meaningful reference. I will meet you next to the conga players by the water tap. Or I am just past the line of trees behind the castles. The free space of the festival area has been transformed into striated festival space with neighborhoods, characters, successes, problems, messes, memories, hopes and dilemmas. The drums start up again and I can feel the carnival energy starting to vibrate. The pulses of the drums striate even the free space of the air. It will take hours before too much is happening. But song circles are already beginning to form. On my way back from the bathroom I stopped at a guitar circle and played a few tunes on a banjo that was left on an empty chair from the night before. No one is worried. The owner will remember where it is and come back to collect. It took an hour to get back to my tent. On the way I saw a guy walking around with a banjo and we sat on the grass and talked about banjo styles. My pants are a little wet from the grass and that feels good. I am going to head back to my tent, my pod, my tribe and see who is awake, and get coffee on because the vendors have to get to work soon and I have to prepare my video camera and tapes for another full day of interviews.

CONCLUSION: HOW I MADE MY OWN BWO

All of these territories are run through by individuals who move and interact. Territories of different sizes fit one into the next, one over the next, overlapping, and running through each other. Each of the territories is a collection of relationships held together by very potent social energy. The largest territories become articulated only through a molecular structure. A close inspection of each of the territories outlined in this chapter expose the seams of smaller territories stitched together. Instead of looking for singularities, assemblage theory suggests that group dynamics are more accurately described in the actions that holds each stratum together.

Further, assemblage theory provides a perspective for the ethnographer in their appreciation of how energy flows are directed and consumed. It becomes clear in this case that the festival assemblage works off of the wild flow of carnival energy when harnessed by the festival-machine. The role music plays as an agent for assemblage cohesion is similarly clarified. Music in folk music festivals does not serve a single purpose. Music, as Deleuze claimed, participates in the establishment of territory. Musicking is exchange and the establishment of territory.

Social energy is internally generated. One needs only to follow the energy from the excitement or curiosity that is present before the festival to the ultimate use of the carnival energy during the festival. Preparation is the manifestations of desire - - desire for future participation. The musician, who sits at home for months practicing guitar, or didge, or drums, is generating social energy to be released at the festival. It would be an interesting direction for future research to follow a group of people as they prepare for a festival to know exactly how much people imaginatively invest in the festival. It has been indicated by a large number of festival interviews that many participants think and talk about the festival throughout the year. The amount of this imaginative preparation is determined of course by their individual connection to the festival event. Those with the most densely established social assemblages seem to also generate the most social energy at the festival. They may be seen as the hub of a social wheel and the center of their individual territory. They are responsible for the continued generation of energy. Contemporary Internet technology and especially Facebook groups have aided this. Many of the festivals have their own Facebook groups and have been very successful in populating them.

Electronic presence has become an important way to communicate. Tamara Kater the executive director of the WFF described this:

There are tons of ways and there are lots of technologies that we are exploring through an electronic newsletter be it a program book, the volunteer organization, letting people know that we care and that we want to hear what they say, and that their ideas help to make the festival better. Which is not just condescending or pandering it really is true that sometimes a tiny idea is really useful and sometimes someone will come up and sort of point out something that's much more big picture.

Social networking is very important. Definitely it has become one of the forms that we use a lot more lately. It was something, I think someone set up a face book page about a year ago and just kind of started it up and then we started using it a little bit proactively and thought about what opportunities we had to talk to people and how we could create that interactivity that social media is helpful for. We realized at a certain point that it seemed to have a high propensity or a high concentration of campers, and when we needed to communicate things or ask there opinion it became a great form for that. (Tamara Kater Interview: July 6, 2009)

But what is called social networking may indeed be the engine that has run the festival all along. The contemporary electronic version of social networking is a simulation for a long established social process that occurs between the smallest territories at the festival, the individual.

The individual is often understood as the smallest unit of social research. But D+G refer to the individual as a territory. And as a territory it may have its own BwO. As we have seen, one of the back-to-the-landers opened a window into this with his description of the influence that a neighborhood character had on him:

Then there was this old guy who lived in my neighborhood his name was Silace Huckleback and he dressed up, he had buckskin clothes, and he dress up and he had this hair that came down from his cap and he had one of those Buffalo Bill mustaches and he was a real character and he was like "Yeah go out in the bush" And I didn't realize how much of an influence that man had on me until after I left and actually they just had a story about him in the North Shore News. (Terry Hilton Interview: July 7 2007)

Years later Terry realized that he had embodied this character just as Huckleback had embodied the dream of Buffalo Bill. Everyone, according to D+G, is made up of an assemblage of concepts, ideas, and styles. The individual affect therefore is connected to a larger question of aesthetics. Just as Terry established his approach to life in part from a childhood desire to be Huckleback so too do many of the people I have interviewed connect aesthetics and ethics. There is a great value placed on the manner in which people interact with each other. Being folkie is meaningful and often suggests living in harmony with one another. Late at night at the last festival of the project on a very dark path at the Robson Valley Music festival two young boys were about to get into a fistfight. My wife and I were approaching them and reminded them, from a distance, that this type of behaviour was not folkie. This urging neutralized the hostility. The participatory and noncombative creative engagement with one another for the benefit of the community is the ethics of the folk music festival. This manifests in many forms of creative play that values equal participation. In a similar instance Turino illustrated in *Moving Away From Silence* how the Conima aesthetic of “playing as one” is valued in a society which values egalitarianism (Turino 1993, 55-7). Folk music aesthetics therefore does not just impact the shape of the festival at the highest levels but is negotiated at all levels. Aesthetic and ethical agreements ultimately shape what folk music means and looks like and as such is part of folk musicking. At the level of the individual it is embodied in personal style and individual action in regards to the community of style they choose to join and support. This is a negotiation based on exchange. In the next and final chapter I will explore exchange from the smallest territory to the largest, from

the individual to the global, and ultimately come to a new definition for contemporary folk music in western Canada.

CHAPTER FIVE: EXCHANGE, SOCIAL CAPITAL, AND THE SOCIAL ECONOMY

Introduction

Deleuze suggested that desire is the energy which binds assemblages. Desire, he argued, is the affective transformation of self constantly reaching out towards the BwO. In chapter one assemblages were ordered around the BwO of the folk. Each assemblage, already an assemblage of organizations, was established in relation to a version of the folk. In chapter two and three one assemblage was mapped. This map required the creation of two activating concepts that stood between the self and the BwO of the folk. The festival-machine was described as a social machine for the establishment of articulated social organizations. The carnival-machine, on the other hand, was a social machine for the creation of inarticulate group experience. These two machines are always at work together for the creation of social territory and exchange. The folk music assemblage in western Canada is organized into a variety of territories that have been sketched, in chapter four, from the largest to the smallest. These territories are nested inside one another, territory upon territory, rubbing and overlapping upon one another. These territories, as a socially meaningful organization, are bound together. The festival and carnival machines are used by all members of these territories in their negotiation of their individual and group experiences and combine to form the festival assemblage. The workings of these machines, in part already explored in this dissertation, require further exploration.

The machines produce flows and use flows but what are these flows and how can they be conceptualized? Flows are exchanged between territories to establish relations. Flows build up, are saved, or used immediately. A flow is produced by a

social machine and then traded across territories. These exchanges can be characterized in a variety of ways. This final chapter will make use of theories of capital to help conceptually solidify flows for further analysis. This approach taken from sociology and economic theory will more completely satisfy D+G's claim to bring Freud and Marx together. D+G have established the exchange of desire in relation to the establishment of assemblages, territories, and this is firmly rooted in the domain and discourse of philosophy and, as result, requires additions to make it applicable to ethnomusicology. The creation of the festival and carnival-machines was an application of D+G to the field. This chapter will further ground D+G in ethnomusicology discourse through the application of social capital theory. This will have the dual benefit of clarifying D+G's Freudian-Marxian claim for use in ethnomusicology and will also illustrate how economic theory may ground concepts of performance, participation and community.

HOW I MADE MY OWN BwO II

In chapter one I argued that the BwO is an idealized concept that is impossible to reach. The folk was presented as one instance of the BwO. The BwO does not only exist as a socially constructed concept but also a construction at the level of the individual. There are always at least two BwO. There is the BwO of the folk and the BwO of the folkie and it is the exchange between folkies which produces the BwO of the folk. The creation of the personal BwO is an affective act that is based on personal desire wrapped up in the social world. It was argued in chapter two and three that the self is not an isolated individual but an element of community. This argument will be forwarded again in this chapter with an addition. An individual BwO is developed in exchange with others. Individual and social development are

wrapped up in each other and can not be separated. Since the BwO is developed and sustained through exchange separating out exchange from identity is unproductive. Therefore I will argue that the types of exchange that occur within the festival space have a direct impact on the participants in a real transformative way. I will also argue that the degree to which individuals engage in exchange has a direct bearing on the degree to which they are impacted.

D+G established the BwO in opposition to a fixed form of mental health espoused by Freud, Jung, and Lacan. Guattari, a Lacanian trained psychoanalyst who later broke with Lacan, was skeptical that a therapist enjoyed privileged access to mental health truths. D+G made a radical argument in *Anti-Oedipus* against a perceived fascism of psychoanalytical orthodoxy. The mommy-daddy-me therapeutic triangle was a strategy, they argued, to reinforce contemporary social norms. The institutionalization of norms can make the desire for social change an illness. Social change is often bound up with a radical reinvention of social norms which should not be diagnosed as disease or deviance by the therapeutic professions. Instead they replace the structured approach to the *ego-id-super ego* and Jung's archetype with the more fluid, personal, and exchange oriented BwO. Foucault trying to find the words shakily suggested this approach was "A war fought on two fronts: against social exploitation and psychic repression? A surge of libido modulated by the class struggle? Perhaps" (Deleuze 1983, xi). Foucault asserted that the formulation of desire in D+G's *Anti-Oedipus* is a new form of philosophical ethics which Foucault dubbed an, "Introduction to the Non-Fascist Life" (Deleuze 1983, xiii).

The personal BwO established by the manifestation of personal desire in exchange with the social (tradition, heritage, style, media, expressiveness) is an

invitation to consider the multiple. For an ethnographer this is a terrifying prospect. My research area is filled with individuals each with their own complex desires and images of the folk. The folk is already, as Robert Cantwell argued, “a compound concept” (Cantwell 1996, 372) but one that cannot be distilled from historical assemblages that have attempted to bottle the folk in previous times. The concept of the folk, the BwO of the folk, this new folk, is not fixed and stable. It flows, moves, and breathes. And if, as a researcher, I am going to allow the carnival elements to remain intact I must find a way to sketch out the folk without squashing it between the pages of this work. So instead of attempting to describe the BwO of the folk narrowly I am going to sketch an outline of what I have witnessed based on the impressions left in the soft social sand of community fields. These sketches are sometimes made from the impact that the BwO of the folk have made upon individuals and at other times on the impressions that it has made on how social groups work.

The BwO of the folk is entwined with ethics. Any attempt to understand the aesthetics of folk music must come to terms with the relationship between ethics and aesthetics and the ethics of folk music. But the ethics of folk music are further entwined in the ethics of exchange and coded by the ethics of community through which flows are traded. The flows are coded in aesthetic, ethical, territorial, social, cultural, habitual, and economic layers. To understand folk music in this assemblage means therefore to sketch out the ways in which these layers are exchanged. The aesthetics of folk music is therefore much more than the sound of the musical object. Music aesthetics, in the broadest sense, is a way of being in community, as Arnold Berleant suggested: “[aesthetics] is full integration, integration equally of the

personal and the social, a goal as much social as it is aesthetic” (Berleant 1999, 22). This is an aesthetics of music after *musicking* (Small 1998) and one that produces “senses of place” (Basso 1996), which are “built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock” (Schama 1995, 7). A full engagement with the aesthetic life of the community establishes the BwO of the individual and helps to forward, through an impossible multitude of small streams, the shared and cumulative fabric that we call culture. This is not unique to festival participants and has been noted among the Tuvan: “Whether real, imagined, or a combination of both, musical narratives embody not so much mimetic responses to an environment as the transmission of cultural memory” (Levin 2006, 118). The act of making a people as a group is both the creation of the individual and the establishment of shared strategies to negotiate the present. Anthony Seeger has noted this in the Amazon, where “Suyá performances were not only imbedded in the context of their social definitions of space, time, and persons, they were imbedded in the context of their understanding of their history and their strategies for the present” (Seeger 2004, 132).

SOCIAL EXCHANGE IS HOW I USE AND BUILD MY BWO

The aesthetic act as it is related to the creation of the BwO is also connected to social exchange. The territories that I have described in chapter four exist because of the processes of exchange that hold them together. A territory emerges out of a type of social wildness. The social energy that is created by the carnival machine is harnessed by individuals and directed towards the establishment of ephemeral social architecture. This architecture is necessarily aesthetic and affective. Ephemeral social architecture is successful if it is able to again harness wild creative energy and further store it within the slowly developing permanent social architecture. This will happen

if the participants feel that there is something to be gained by participating in this social arrangement. What will be gained is ultimately, I argue, the fulfillment of their BwO which is necessarily connected through the group to a larger BwO. It could be argued here that this new territory develops its own BwO which helps to affectively inform and differentiate its participants. In time, if the exchanges which are made possible by the new assemblage are successful, both within the group and between groups, then the ephemeral social architecture takes on a more permanent shape. This is the point at which the festival-machine works to harness social energy for the group. It is at this point that a group may take on a name and a territory: it becomes a socially meaningful entity and comes to be perceived as an organization within which exchange is possible. A solitary person may see in the articulation of this group something that fulfills their individual affective desires. It is at this point that the individual, recognizing a group, may attempt to make an exchange.

An argument for the establishment of self and group through aesthetics and exchange is not without its opponents. For some, it may seem unnecessary to talk about personal affect and assemblage exchange, as if art is but a mere social commodity. Adorno and Benjamin's modernism discourse is the most obvious counter position. Their letters from the late 1930s (Adorno 1977, 110-41) allow a very narrow space for aesthetics and materialism. Of commodity fetishism Adorno wrote: "The fetish character of the commodity is not a fact of consciousness; rather, it is dialectical, in the eminent sense that it produces consciousness" (Adorno 1977, 111). On the one hand I agree with Adorno that the fetish is part of the production of consciousness. The commodity, as I have already argued in chapter two and three, is as much the material manifestation of desire as the desire that the commodity

produces. The BwO, as the plane of desire, is both the factory floor and the showcase for commodities. The fetish is both the producer of consciousness and the production of consciousness. It is not dialectical at all as Adorno claimed but additive. The desire for the commodity and the exchange from which it emerges and into which it is introduced is bound to the construction of self. D+G argue that this is constant conjunction of ands (and+and+and).

Advertising plays a role in the creation and exchange of aesthetic symbols, the familiar and unsurprising set of symbols used by the folk festivals. There is an overwhelming use of sepia toned photographs, colourful photos of hippie tie dye, lots of trees, sunsets, people in green fields, and smiling groups of children and adults. This is hardly surprising. But this advertising did not simply create this culture as a simple reading of the Culture Industry (Adorno 1991) would have us believe. Advertising and industry just simply do not have the impact that both celebrants (Bernays 1928/2005) and critics (Postman 1985) of 20th century public relations dreamed it did. Contrary to Adorno's claims advertising does not create a civilization of somnambulists. A standoff between commodity desire and personal freedom is misleading. Advertising does not conquer individuals and nations but the manipulation of desire by advertising does create and propel commodity exchange. The difficulty here is the lack of ethnography which has explored the question of commodity creation, commodity exchange, aesthetics and social organization. Adorno's position that aesthetics and commodity exchange are mutually exclusive gets in the way of exploring a more nuanced view of both aesthetics and exchange.

More recently it has been argued by David Brooks (Brooks 2000) that meaning has been replaced by exchange. Brooks argued that new-bohemian urban

consumerism blends the images of 1960s ideology with the consumerism of the 1980s. He suggests the term *Bobo* (bourgeois bohemian) for the new upper class. Similarly in *The Rebel Sell* (Heath 2004) Heath and Potter argue that so-called counter cultures fail because they are not actually a real alternative but a market bound commodity that has been coded “alternative”. Like *Bobo’s* the counter culture is a style that is traded on the open market by members who claim an alternative position. It has been shown time and again, argue Heath and Potter, that these alternative-styles are not contrary to the “capitalist system” but are instead an essential part of it. Capitalism is not a system that moves towards the same but towards difference and distinction. Therefore the production of style alternatives created by the so-called counter culture or subculture (Hebdige 1979) is an important aspect of capitalism.

THE FOLK BWO AND THE INDUSTRIAL ALTERNATIVE

In the previous chapter the concept of the hippie was explored. The hippie aesthetic, grounded by a do-it-yourself attitude, may on the surface not appear to be overtly ethical. But one does not need to look far to find a well-articulated precedent to the hippie aesthetic. Further, this precedent is a response to the development of industrialization which articulates its opposition and aesthetics in its modes of exchange. Therefore I will argue against the position of Adorno, Brooks, Potter, and Heath to suggest that an alternative to industrial capitalism can in fact be mounted. But in order for it to occur it has to combine a non-industrial aesthetic with non-centralized process of exchange—and that, I argue is precisely what has happened in the post-revival folk music industry that has developed so elaborately in western Canada. Further, this has been accomplished by developing a BwO of the folk,

which embraces local and sustainable artistic community that reach out to other local communities. Contemporary folk music communities in western Canada are bound by a non-industrial, non-central, community oriented aesthetic, which constructs its BwO from similar types of historic movements.

It is not much of a jump to bridge the hippie with the folk. The folk BwO has characterized different assemblages. The folkie has been a villager, a farmer, a unionized worker, so too can the folk be a hippie. The contemporary folk, owing in part to the famous image of Woodstock, are imaged within the hippie aesthetic. So to characterize the hippie is to characterize contemporary folk to some regards. The hippie, itself as a concept, is already, as I have shown, a BwO. Very few people felt comfortable laying claim to this identity because of the idealism that is associated with the word and image of the hippie. Even those back-to-the-landers who continue to live in rural houses with no running water and no electricity rarely admit to being a 'true' hippie. They immediately identify as members of the rainbow tribe, 'the' community, or some such tribal moniker. I began to outline aspects of the hippie aesthetic in the last chapter but stopped short. I will continue with the definition of the hippie in this chapter by examining ethics of exchange and the relationship to aesthetics.

THE EXCHANGE MARKET FOR HIPPIE CURRENCY

In the first part of this chapter I will argue that the hippie aesthetic is the aesthetic of folk music. This aesthetic has some obvious and well known, often copied, aspects like tie-dye, flowing skirts, leather clothes, and hand made recycled products. The emphasis on hand made natural products and recycled fabrics transformed into unique clothes and useful accessories is an important marker of folk/hippie/tribal

style. Ethical exchange, at least the way ethical is imagined within this community, means locally produced and community oriented. But it also should look the part. It should make stylistic references to hippie or tribal clothes, jewelry, or accessories. It is not enough to be ethical it should also look ethical. This often means using natural fabrics or materials that have little to no processing and are usually in earth tones. But it may even include very hi-tech fabrics (hemp, organic cotton, spandex blends) touted as environmentally conscious and cut into postmodern “tribal” styles. Since recycling is such an important aspect of this aesthetic it is very common to use vintage cotton flowered dresses from the 1960s. The ethical/aesthetic vocabulary also has musical components. Acoustic instruments are preferred and may include a wide variety of string instruments, hand drums, shakers (not plastic), wind instruments, and didgeridoos. The musical style may range from the traditional music session to the extended group improvisation of the jam band. The singer/songwriter also has a place here but handmade songs are preferred to covers. The emphasis is always on participation over spectatorship. Everyone is encouraged to play a role. This has developed into a variety of dance styles which allows non-singer or non-instrumentalists to be engaged in the production of music. The tribal hoola-hoop⁴⁹ is a very popular way to be engaged in the jam session but may also include juggling, tumbling, or any form of dance.

The notion of “festival gear” or “festival clothes” or “festival music” is common. Many festival participants keep a box or bag of clothes that they reserve

⁴⁹ An approach to hoola-hoop that is very dramatic and experimental. The hoop is moved around the body. The hoop itself is usually coloured with a variety of brightly coloured tapes which reflect white or black light very dramatically in near-stage activates or late night dance circles. The dancers are considered participants in the performance.

for festivals. These items may be useful like a pair of rubber boots but are often stylized in some way. Some vendors make and sell items that become established festival wear. These vendors produce hand made fashions that employ overtly neo-tribal and hippie stylistic elements. But beyond the obvious fashion of the clothes there is also a statement that may as well be sewn into the lining. These clothes are made with an anti-industrial, pro-cottage industry, environmental, fair trade, ethical purpose. Every aspect of the product is recycled or grown ethically. The designer is also usually the person who chooses, grows, or harvests the product. Since these clothes are not mass-produced the purchaser often claims that the product makes them feel more themselves.

Bea, the recycled clothing designer, chooses all of the fabric for her clothes at second hand clothing shops. All of her products are made from old curtains or old fabrics. Scotti travels with his uncle to bamboo groves in Florida and harvests the bamboo for his flutes and then spends the winter building them in his barn. Dave from Nomad's kitchen arranges his menu based on local food concerns and makes arrangements to buy food as locally as possible. The chai that he serves is not made from concentrate packages that he could buy at the local grocery store but made at the festival site in massive pots with herbs and spices that he collects himself. All of these vendors are supported by a clientele interested in the ethical quality of the products they consume and exchange. This exchange is based upon an established ethics. This ethics has been dubbed *post-hydrocarbon aesthetics* (Bulletin 2006).

Post-hydrocarbon aesthetics is both a style and a mode of exchange. One informs the other. Just as the Arts and Crafts movement, inspired by William Morris (Todd 2005), turned away from inexpensive and plentiful machined copies of ancient

artifacts in favor of the work of crafts people during the industrial revolution, so too do self-style hippies seek a return. The Arts and Crafts movement developed at the end of the 19th century as a reaction to the rise of industrial products coinciding with the emerging middle class. Increased industrialization provided large quantities of inexpensive replicas of once elite and hand produced goods. Middle class architectural and design style copied Victorian style. But the copies were mass manufactured in industrial processes and lacked the quality of the originals. As a response members of the Arts and Crafts movement suggested a return to the age of crafts guilds. Crafts people were not completely eradicated by the industrial revolution, “What is absent from most explanations of the industrial revolution is the fact that the social and economic relationships that sustained our peasant previously did not disappear” (McMurtry 2010, 20). The movement would have a limited but lasting effect.

Between the 1920 and the 1960s industrialization continued to expand. Skyscrapers became the symbol of the industrial success. Architects like Frank Lloyd Wright referred to this symbol of American success as filing cabinets for human cattle. The back-to-the-land movement was a direct response to industrialization. The hippie movement and the back-to-the-land movement responded in much the same way as Morris had responded seventy years before:

In the mid-sixties and extending into the early seventies there was an ascendancy of counter-cultural consumer values that increasingly challenged the middle class materialism that had flourished since the end of World War II. The world was increasingly critical of what was seen as the selfishly acquisitive lifestyle of Western Consumers. Instead it became fashionable to scale down on consumption. This was the time of the Hippies who rebelled against middle class values and consumption patterns. One of the ways in which this rebellion took place was by adopting blue-collar clothing such as jeans and work shirts. (Ostberg 2007, 100)

Along with this stylistic transformation new social models were being explored. This took the shape of a return to the Arts and Crafts movement and other reclamation projects like the Renaissance Fair and Folk festival movement. It is interesting to note that Morris had a great influence on Pre-Raphaelite art. It is an interesting comment on this relationship that hippie style would copy these paintings and period designs. Morris reached back beyond early Victorians to recapture the relationship to the crafts guild and the hippies of the 1960s reached back to him, at least for a short time.

Industrial development spurred on by inexpensive energy continued. Cities and suburbs expanded and the concept of box-stores like Wal-Mart reached into nearly every corner of North America. Cities were increasingly dominated by cars and skyscrapers and even the smallest community was invaded by box stores, strip malls, and large parking lots.

But industrial development since the 1960s has been haunted by Marion King Hubbert's prediction of peak oil. The 1973 and 1979 energy crises provided some momentum for his theories. This concern has never gone away. Coupled with the energy concern is the environmental movement, organic food movement, free range food, fair trade products, and recycling. All of these concerns dovetail to form an ethical block which has become articulated as post-hydrocarbon aesthetics.

This aesthetic is not truly completely post-hydrocarbon as many who count themselves in the movement continue to use gas-burning vehicles to attend festivals and use hydrocarbon to run the sound systems, lights, and food services at the festivals. But it is increasingly done in the consciousness of the energy and the social, environmental, and economic impact that is caused by the activity. The development

of this consciousness has become manifest in what becomes cool in this community. Articles and attitudes that have a negative impact on collective society and the environment are generally to be considered un-cool. Being cool means that one is just in-front of the aesthetic trend, “Cool as subcultural capital” (Nancarrow 2007, 135). Being cool allows for the accumulation of a certain amount of social energy and it is here that the bridge between ethics, aesthetics, and the social machines become important. Cool is not created solely by the individual in possession of the cool; it has to be recognized in you by others. So cool is a subcultural capital that requires a community to recognize its value. Therefore what is cool can be seen as a marker for what is highly prized in a social group. Cool can be sought after and desired but it cannot simply be manufactured. This is the tension that has permanently kept the cultural industry, as Adorno called it, in check.

Deleuze provided helpful philosophical concepts for the characterization of the social world and for aspects of its movement. But as I have already suggested, his work must be brought down out of the philosophical ether. Desire, he claimed, was a central motivator. Desire and exchange connected together connect Freud to Marx. If desire is produced and exchanged in the production of self and society then one should be able to identify it and then watch it flow. Sociologists and economists have identified a concept called social capital that seems to fit D+G’s ideas about desire and exchange.

SOCIAL CAPITAL IS FOLKLORE ECONOMICS?

L. Judson Hanifan coined the concept of social capital in 1916 while working as a schoolteacher in the rural Appalachia. He had noticed that industrialization had had a negative impact on communities. They had lost many of the traditional

community practices which seemed to have kept them bound together. Community dances, work parties, church picnics, and barn raising had all been made irrelevant because these services were replaced by industrial services. He wrote: “when the people of a given community have become acquainted with one another and have formed a habit of coming together occasionally for entertainment, social intercourse, and personal enjoyment, then by skillful leadership this *social capital* may easily be directed towards the general improvement of the community well-being” (Putnam 2002, 5). Social capital turned out to be a productive and engaging idea although not always an easy one to grasp. It seems that social interaction acts as a type of engine: “Social interaction helps to resolve dilemmas of collective action...social capital can thus be simultaneously a private good and a public good” (Putnam 2002, 7). Social capital is the engine that Deleuze suggests is at work to produce not only community but also individual *and* collective action. As I will show social capital is the manifest exchange of carnival social energy.

Bourdieu influentially expanded this discussion in *Forms of Capital* (1986) and argued for an extended accounting of exchange. He begins with a reevaluation of the concept of capital beyond the simple exchange of material commodities. Capital, he argues, is:

Accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its ‘incorporated,’ embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor...Capital, which, in its objectified or embodied forms, takes time to accumulate and which, has a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible. And the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world, i.e., the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for

practices. (Bourdieu 1986, 241)

In 1965 Jane Jacobs defined a community's social capital in terms of "the assemblages of strong, cross-cutting personal relationships that develop over time and that create a basis for trust, cooperation, and collective action among community members" (Zadeh 2009, 642). Bourdieu and Wacquant (Bourdieu 1992) suggested that social organizations are built upon trust, norms, and assemblages that aid in the facilitation of collective action. Lin (Lin 2001) called social capital an investment in social relations with expected returns. Coleman (1990) suggested that social capital explained how some social activity worked: "the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence" (Coleman 1990, 302; Ostrom 2009, 18). Social capital is used to establish collectivities and will also produce "distinction" (Bourdieu 1984). Social capital therefore is glue which draws individuals together in a community as well as a repellent that keeps groups and individuals apart or distinct even within a collective context (Cuesta 2009, 38).

After Bourdieu and Coleman one of the most influential thinkers of social capital is the American thinker Robert Putnam. Putnam has suggested that, "[T]here is mounting evidence that the characteristics of civil society affect the health of our democracies, our communities, and ourselves" (Putnam 2002, 6) and that social health is based upon "habits of cooperation, solidarity and public service" (Putnam 1993, 89-90). Putnam built upon Coleman's definition of social capital "as the relationships among people that can serve as a resource distinct from physical and human capital to achieve certain ends" (Gilbert 2009, 58). These ends are community oriented in nature and are either material or embodied (affective). Capital is a form of energy which is accumulated, used, and exchanged with others. Therefore a focus

on exchange is significant: “The discussion on the possible virtuous circles or simultaneous links of social capital is not just merely, or mainly, an academic or analytical exercise. Separating those distinctive causal effects governing key social interactions, such as interpersonal trust, community participation, crime or welfare is crucial to design effective social policies” (Cuesta 2009, 50). Not only is it useful for governmental policy design but also key for the creation of social policy (permanent social architecture) of any organization. Appreciating social capital and its flows enables one to sketch out how social energy is created, shared, consumed, stored, and generally exchanged in any social situation. Appreciating this form of energy creation and flow allows this type of study to move beyond philosophical assertions about transsubjectivity and social machines to discuss the creation and exchange of social capital, its affects and effects.

SOCIAL CAPITAL I:

EXCHANGE MAKES AND MOLDS INDIVIDUALS AND RELATIONSHIPS

Social capital plays a role in the formation of a person, personal style, and social order. Capital creation and investment is both self-serving and community building as Becker remarked, “[F]orward-looking persons recognize that their present choices and experiences affect personal capital in the future, and that future capital directly affects future utilities”(Becker 1996, 7). What these investments are based upon is a certain amount of luck, power, and skill. But on the whole no one can completely predict the future, no matter their position of power can completely shape shared style, or predict what will be cool, and therefore “uncertainty about the outcomes from their choices is just one reason why individuals only *partly* control their own destinies”(Becker 1996, 10).

Consumption plays a major role in social practice. Individuals understand the priorities of the group and make investment decisions from their limited vantage point. The limitations of this vantage point help to explain why individual members use social capital in various ways. Investments in style are therefore made under considerable performative pressure. If the style of a community has an ethical aspect, the way the festival community claims to, the performative strategies a person employs becomes a significant aspect of their consumption practice and investment choice. This is what Becker had in mind when he wrote, “Consumption and other activities have a major social component partly because they take place in public. As a result, people often choose restaurants, neighborhoods, schools, books to read, political opinions, food, or leisure activities with an eye to pleasing peers and others in their social network” (Becker 1996, 12). The commodity is always social and is always a statement about the relationship between the individual and the group. Gary Becker, the inventor of the concept of *human capital*, suggests that, “the commodity apparently produced by fashion goods is social distinction” (Becker 1996, 46).

Becker suggests that, “style is social rivalry, and it is, like all rivalry, both an incentive to individuality and a source of conformity” (Becker 1996, 46). Any type of style is a form of negotiation within the community for distinction and it is the embodiment of the desire for both individuality and inclusion. The individual invests in style in order to establish their position within a community: “[I]ndividuals maximize welfare *as they conceive it*, whether they be selfish, altruistic, loyal, spiteful, or masochistic. Their behavior is forward-looking...”(Becker 1996, 139). Social capital is created when people come together and invest their energy in social order. But

within community distinctions are always being produced. These distinctions are far beyond the hierarchies that Nietzsche suggested and more elaborate than Bourdieu allowed in *Distinction*.⁵⁰ However, this is not to suggest that there are no limitations on the development of social capital. As Becker reminds: “Actions are constrained by income, time, imperfect memory and calculating capacities, and other limited resources, and also by the opportunities available in the economy and elsewhere” (Becker 1996, 139).

SOCIAL CAPITAL II:

SOCIAL ORDER MAY BE ANOTHER WORD FOR OPPRESSION

Social capital is also not without its dark side. Social capital is a form of social energy that allows for collectivity but it also may lead to exclusion or what I would call *oppressive inclusion*, that is, community control, acceptance anxieties and stress, conformity, normalization, marginalization (which is very distinct from exclusion), stigmatization. Putnam reminds us that “The touchstone of social capital is the principle of generalized reciprocity” (Putnam 2000, 134) but that reciprocity must be carried out through a assemblage. The assemblage may “serve some groups may obstruct others, particularly if the norms are discriminatory or the networks socially segregated” (Putnam 1993, 11). Social capital therefore may help strengthen group bonds, ensure exclusion, or increase normalizing or controlling pressures. Social capital therefore is multi-sided. It is the positive energy that holds a group together, the pressure that enforces conformity, and exclusive social bonds which deny new membership. Social capital therefore has positive and negative aspects. On the negative side it may “constrain future events or even be used for purposes that

⁵⁰ Bourdieu’s formulation accepts fixed class groupings and occupational assemblages which seem to no longer provide useful social distinctions.

produce harm rather than benefits. (Ostrom 2009, 21). Negative or oppressive inclusions may create “excess claims on groups, restrictions on individual freedom, and downward leveling norms” (Portes 1998, 15). So instead of promoting socially sustainable norms social capital made have a net negative impact on the social unit.

SOCIAL CAPITAL III: I... SORRY I MEAN WE, JUST MADE MORE

Social capital is created when it is used. When people engage with one another either to form bonds, to enforce normative bonds, or to exclude, social capital is being impacted. But social capital is not moral. Excluding certain people from the group may increase social capital. But in another social formation exclusion may decrease social capital. In this way social capital is dependent on the ethics of the group. There are many large-scale historical examples of the development of social capital for ill or for good. Nazism and the civil rights movement both counted on the development of social capital for mass mobilization. This highlights an interesting aspect of social capital. If social capital requires use to develop, then social situations that provide limited engagement will not provide the opportunity to develop social capital. Since the creation of social capital requires exchange, and since organizations cannot produce social capital without participation, spectatorship may bring people together but it may not have any lasting social impact.

SOCIAL CAPITAL IV: PARTICIPATION AND SPECTATORSHIP ARE NOT EQUAL

Participation and spectatorship are not mutually exclusive. It is generally accepted today that spectatorship is participatory. But spectatorship and participation are not interchangeable. Putnam in his influential work *Bowling Alone* attempted to explain why there has been a general decrease in social capital in America. But he also complicates his discussion with the title *Bowling Alone*. People are participating in

bowling in higher number than ever but participation in social bowling leagues has decreased sharply. The question Putnam poses is why are so many Americans *bowling alone*? And is this decrease part of a larger trend already noticed in the decline of voting turnout, church attendance, and political party membership? Part of his solution was to suggest that a general trend towards spectatorship may be part of the answer: “[I]t is striking that at the same changing balance between active participation and passive spectatorship we earlier noted in the political sphere can be found in the sphere of sports itself. In football, as in politics, watching a team play is not the same things as playing on a team” (Putnam 2000, 114). He suggested that while spectatorship at a football game or a concert may bring people together it does not provide an opportunity to produce or exchange social capital. There may be rare exceptions like championship games that lead to a spike in civic pride but this impact, he argued, is short lived and is balanced by the drain on civic pride experienced by fans of the losing team. Social capital is produced when people gather to play football together. This he notes is also true of music:

This same phenomenon observing up, doing down-appears in other spheres of American life. In both popular and high culture, audience growth has generally matched or exceeded population growth.... On the other hand, by many measures, “doing” culture (as opposed to merely consuming it) has been declining...According to surveys conducted every year over the last quarter century, the average frequency of playing a musical instrument has been cut from nearly six times per year in 1976 to barely three times per year in 1999. The percentage of Americans who play an instrument at all has fallen by fully one-third (from 30 percent to 20) percent over this period, and exposure to music lessons has been dropping in recent generations. According to surveys commissioned by the National Association of Music Merchants, the fraction of households in which even one person plays an instrument has fallen steadily from 51 percent in 1978 to 38 percent in 1997. (Putnam 2000, 114)⁵¹

⁵¹ This statistic does not include computer based music but as Theberge has pointed out in *Any Sound you Can Imagine* (Theberge 1997) the isolation enforced by the technology of computer music making may not contravene this suggestion in

What Putnam noted as a reduction in the social capital of church organizations is true of music lessons. A reduction in the opportunity for people to play together has had a direct impact on the number of people that play. Spectatorship has replaced participation⁵², but this trend may not continue. Putnam argued at the conclusion of his book that “evidence suggests that young Americans in the 1990s displayed a commitment of volunteerism without parallel among their immediate predecessors” (Putnam 2000, 133). There is little evidence to suggest that this represented a general trend which continued into the 2000s. There were pockets however of tremendous growth in social capital and community development in some parts of America (Putnam 2003).

But this is only part of the answer to the question of why people are bowling alone. Clearly if it were simply that participation is being replaced by spectatorship than people would not be bowling at all. But people are bowling. Putnam suggests that a decrease in a general form of social capital is wreaking havoc on seemingly unconnected aspects of society. People are bowling alone because organizations are not oriented towards the creation of social capital. Putnam illustrated that people who are already engaged in-group activity get involved in more group activity. Social capital spills out over the edges of any single activity and has an impact on other

relation to a social capital argument. It is possible that computer musicians could form a movement from behind their terminals but there is no evidence of this yet.

⁵² Although recent studies have suggested that there are blends of participation in gaming world that may further complicate this thesis. See Kiri Miller (Miller 2007; 2008) But there are no studies that illustrate a the development of social capital crossing over from digital/virtual worlds to the social world. *Rock Band* and team performance video games allow for the production of social capital in the traditional way. The video game, in this aspect, is like a bowling alley, or a jam session, it is a social technology and is not new or unique in this way.

activities. His larger thesis is that organizations that create social capital have a positive impact on society at large. Spectatorship is a type of participation but one that may not provide the opportunity to develop social capital. As such the positive social impact that the development of social capital may have is not realized in performance-lite spectator exchanges.

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL EXCHANGE

Social capital is the commodity at the center of social exchange. It has been argued that it is this exchange which creates and sustains community. An increase in social capital has immediate impacts on social and individual health. As Putnam puts it, “the almost imperceptible background stress of daily “transaction costs” -- from worry about whether you bring back the right change from the clerk to double-checking that you locked the car door--may also help explain why students of public health find that life expectancy itself is enhanced in more trustful communities” (Putnam 2000) 135. A reduction in stress levels is connected to even greater community benefits, “the benefits of social capital spill beyond the people immediately involved in the assemblage and can be used for many other purposes. The more neighbors who know one another by name, the fewer crimes a neighborhood, as a whole, will suffer. A child born in a state whose residents volunteer, vote, and spend time with friends is less likely to be born underweight, less likely to drop out of school, and less likely to kill or be killed than the same child--no richer or poorer--born in another state whose residents do not” (Putnam 2003, 269). The development of social capital therefore has a direct impact on individual health and prosperity.

This is what Judson Hanifan noted back in 1916. Social capital provided the social energy for the environmental movement and for fascism. It creates social cohesion and establishes the energy for the development of social architecture. How that architecture is used and for the benefit of whom is a wild card. Successful social movements are able to capitalize on the development of social capital. This is the carnival-festival relationship at work:

Social movements and social capital are so closely connected that it is sometimes hard to see which is chicken and which egg. Social networks are the quintessential resource of movement organizers. Reading groups became sinews of the suffrage movement. Friendship networks, not environmental sympathies, accounted for which Pennsylvanian became involved in grassroots protest after the Three Mile Island nuclear accident. Social ties more than ideals or self-interest explain who was recruited to Freedom Summer, a climactic moment in the civil rights movement. (Putnam 2000, 153)

These great and socially transformational movements have friend assemblages at the core where social energy is produced. The social energy of the carnival-machine, the wild exchange between people, produces social capital that can be harnessed by groups looking to increase their membership. The downside of this is the possibility that if the energy is not harnessed by a festival-machine and incorporated into a more permanent social architecture, then the energy which holds the larger group together can easily dissipate and the group may dissolve back to the smaller social groups.

AFTER SOCIAL CAPITAL I: SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THE NEO-TRIBE

With social capital more clearly laid out it is possible to return to the relationship between ethics and aesthetics and contemporary folk music festival community. Michel Maffesoli draws the connection out explicitly and argued that aesthetics is “in its etymological sense people feeling emotions together. This is the sort of aesthetics that provide foundations for a community” (Maffesoli 2007, 27).

Aesthetics therefore is a type of field for the exchange of symbolically loaded material and embodied actions. These exchanges generate a social field which establishes a territory for further exchange. The amplification of this exchange creates the environment for even more social capital production. It must always be remembered that social capital is a special type of capital that is not used up when it is exchanged. It is the exchange of social capital that produces it. Social capital is then consumed and invested in affect. The tribe is therefore a type of carnival assemblage: “Neo-tribes are inherently unstable, small scale, affectual and not fixed by any of the established parameters of modern society; instead they can be held together through shared emotions, styles of life, new moral beliefs and consumption practices. Indeed they can be so ephemeral as to be, just a feeling, a fancy, a fantasy” (Cova 2001, 71). Cova’s definition of the neo-tribe is what I termed the carnival-machine in chapter three. The neo-tribe generates wild energy, their social capital, through the carnival-machine. The creation of social capital is also the creation of shared symbols, “The specificity of a postmodern tribe is clearly its aesthetic. In the same way that politics were the sign of modernity, aesthetics may be the sign of postmodern society” (Maffesoli 2007, 2). The neo-tribe is the smallest assemblage of the festival and carnival. Folk aesthetics emerge out of the exchange of social capital as if through the cracks between social tectonic plates. Tribes, as social molecules, combine resources and establish temporary and multileveled social order. The social order is based upon the processes of exchange that takes place within them. The manner in which social capital is exchanged also informs style: the exchange of capital within the carnival differs from the festival. The carnival is wild and uncontrolled social expression that is at the root of reciprocal social exchange. It is

this form of social capital that activates impromptu pods of creative expression and establishes tribes. The carnival machine is run off of the flows that are created by the social exchange of tribes.

AFTER SOCIAL CAPITAL II:

EXCHANGE BETWEEN FESTIVAL AND CARNIVAL MACHINES

The festival machine connects to and runs off of these carnival flows but also contributes its own festival flows of social capital. The festival machine runs off of the stored energy of past carnival flow. Old carnival flows leave a residue or imprint upon the festival machine that can be used as a model for successful carnival energy. The festival is like social fire starter. It collects and maintains residual carnival energy and connecting from one year to the next. The festival is also the conceptual focus for the potentiality of the carnival experience. The festival becomes both the door through which the BwO of the folk can be approached and it is also the promise of the possibility of the carnival. Both of these identities are tangled with each other so that they are impossible to separate. The carnival-festival is all that it has been and the promise of all that it can become.

Within the structure of the festival, negotiating status is based upon the exchange of social capital, but the types of exchange are much more rigid and controlled than the carnival exchange. Festival exchanges are policed by policy to encourage or discourage behaviours. The social capital of the festival is clearly hierarchical and institutional. But the festival, as I have been arguing all along, is not immune or separate from the potent exchanges of the carnival. The festival machine is often used to recreate or simulate the observed carnival environments. The festival itself is the permanent social architecture to the carnival's ephemeral architecture.

This is not unique to the festivals that I have been studying. This sort of relationship between ephemeral and permanent, between carnival and festival has been well documented elsewhere. My addition to this literature is to suggest that approaching these exchanges through the lens of social capital may provide a more descriptive tool to document social flows of power (Nahapiet 1998; Nancarrow 2007; Ostberg 2007; Perlman 1998; Qureshi 2000; Scher 2002 ; Stewart 2004; Turino 1989 and 1990; Waterman 1982).

AFTER SOCIAL CAPITAL III: EXCHANGE AND THE SOCIAL ECONOMY

Volunteerism is a very important element of the festival structure. The innovation Mitch Podolak made to the social architecture of the festival helped to amplify the volunteer's role. While even Podolak has claimed this to be a minor addition I must suggest, reflecting upon the creation of social capital, this small change has had enormous implications. It seems that providing space for the carnival-machine to work within the festival structure generates a tremendous social power. The social capital that is generated between volunteers enables the festival-machine to powerfully run off its flows. These flows have direct economic impacts. The Edmonton Folk Music Festival is an excellent example of the power of social capital:

Eighteen years ago we had the same set up time. But the site ended just behind you. Now it goes for another 2.5 city blocks. It is now roughly 6.5 or 7 city blocks long and at this point here we are 2 blocks deep. I've never done the hectarage on it because it's just not of interest. The point is we have 8 stages and we have a main stage hill that will seat the 16-18 thousand people. It is the same size as the (Edmonton) Coliseum but our acoustics are better. We don't have any reflection or reverb. It just heads away. (Don Snider Interview: July 27, 2008)

Snider and one other short term staff member are the only paid production staff

required to oversee the building of a site that is the equivalent to the size of a small town with a mainstage as large as an arena. But it is built by people who are not on a payroll. They work for the good of the community, and the festival, and for what they get out of the experience. Jeff Watling at the Kispiox Music Festival commented on why he volunteers to run all of the sound gear for the festival all weekend:

I like it when the audience hears good music. It sounds good and that's the main reason I got involved. Like I said I do recordings at home and it kind of transferred that to the sound situation and I got that pretty quick and I like when it sounds good. That's my main interest. To make it sound good. (Jeff Watling Interview: July 28, 2008)

The exchange between people and the festival has proven to be a very important way to create growth. People exchange their particular skills within the festival and get something back. One familiar refrain is the connection to the festival community that is created. Another refrain is the construction of identity. The connection between how people imagine and construct themselves, imagine and construct folk music, and imagine and actively construct the festival:

For those who are into music they know that it isn't just a folk festival that it is way more. It has a philosophy to it, it has a lot of things that relate to good environmental practice. The clean up of the hill afterwards is promoted. You want to get a picture of the site after the Big Valley Jamboree down at Camrose...what it looks like...it looks like a disaster...like Woodstock when everybody leaves. That doesn't happen here because they continue to cultivate that certain philosophy of how people should treat each other on the site and be respectful to others on the site. So similarly there is very few problem with individuals. I've never heard of anyone fighting. We promote 'share the hill' and those kinds of endeavors. You know a "get to know your neighbor" approach so you're less likely to be antagonistic to one another. (Don Dublanco Interview: August 7, 2008)

The comment that the experience is "way more" than a festival was not uncommon. The community building ethics at the festivals was pronounced and emerged in a variety of ways. But one of the most interesting aspects of this was the active way it

was constructed. It seems that community building is understood at all of the festivals through participation. The festival community, which of course includes the spectators, tends to weigh participation much more heavily than spectatorship. Time and again stories of transformation through participation were shared. One of these stories was rather dramatic.

At the 2008 Kispiox Music Festival in Northern British Columbia Alf Brady and Joe Sullivan, the summer I was there doing research, were adopted into Gitksan wing-chief Bill Blackwell's traditional clan house. Wing-chief Blackwell had been involved in the festival since its beginning and had performed the traditional greeting at the festival every year. The traditional greeting is a ceremonial welcoming of all of the participants to his territory which includes a symbolic gift of bread and fish to everyone present. But this year there was an alteration to the opening. Blackwell invited Brady and Sullivan into the clan house in the hopes of establishing a more permanent connection between the festival and the local Gitksan:

The relationship between the festival and my house has become very strong. And to show our appreciation we have invited the first coordinators Joe Sullivan and Alf Brady to become house members. On Friday we called them in as honorary but in the upcoming year, after proper protocol has been followed they'll become full fledge house members and be able to wear the house crest.

Q. I spoke with someone on Friday after the initiation into your house and they said they were really touched because it felt that the entire festival was brought into your house symbolically.

Yes that is exactly true. I'm glad they understood that because that is the point of it ultimately. They are the beginning of the festival. I thought that in order for them to feel really part of it (the land and territory) they should become part of the house also.

Q. Do you hope that their relationships will become stronger?

Actually, I don't have to hope I can see it happening.

Q. In the last 14 years has there been changes?

A lot of changes. All because of Joe's hard work. There were barriers that we had to...but they've been all dealt with.

This festival is really important. This one brought the community together here. I'm quite amazed at the number of volunteers I see signing up every year to help up here. We've been involved with the opening here for a long time. For the last couple of years now I have not spoken out at the beginning and told them that the opening was not a show it is a tradition that we carry on. It is a Gitksan tradition. And what you witnessed on Friday and today was not a show. It's rooted back hundreds of years and we're going to keep doing it. The other reason why I do it, you've probably seen my grandchildren here on Friday, we have to start bring them along to show them that there are other people, people that are proud, but to show them that the language that we speak to them at home is a very important language. I am instilling our Gitksan language into them. It's very important that we use the language. (Bill Blackwell Gitksan wing-chief Interview: July 28,2008)

The relationship between Brady, Sullivan, and the local Gitksan through Blackwell is especially significant. According to both Sullivan and Brady the relationship only twenty years earlier between the old homestead families and the Gitksan was very tense. But Sullivan and Blackwell had worked from the beginning to establish a productive relationship. Brady and Sullivan approached Blackwell and sought approval to have a festival on traditional land. Blackwell agreed to the festival, welcomed the participants to the festival, and spent the days of the festival fishing local salmon to feed everyone at the end of the festival in traditional fashion. The year I was there Blackwell and the men of his house caught 45 salmon which were prepared by everyone in his house and brought to the festival for cooking by festival volunteers. The salmon feast at the end of the festival was for everyone and as I interviewed Blackwell the air was thick with cooking smoke and hundreds of festival spectators were turned into feast participants. Blackwell and his family lined up alongside of festival participants and everyone shared in the feast. According to Blackwell, Sullivan, and Brady these bonds have helped to eliminate the ethnic divisions, which had plagued this rural town for generations.

Clearly there is a great deal of exchange across territories. The festival-machine provides the conceptual framework and industrial connections to channel the carnival-machine energy into socially productive and sustainable activities. When the carnival-machine energy is generated out of wild social relations then the festival-machine works as a type of solar panel to harness and channel these energy flows into long term activities. The festival therefore works in a markedly different way than an entertainment activity which is run by economic capital. If all of the jobs, or even a great deal of the jobs are done through economic exchange there is a reduction in potential output of social capital. This presents a dilemma for the professionalisation of the arts but it must remain for future research. It is enough to suggest here that the professionalisation and industrialization of music has coincided with Putnam's observations about decreased social capital. Social capital is everywhere but what marks a business in the social economy is the way in which social capital is utilized and incorporated as a type of working capital that in important ways may reduce the need for economic or natural capital (Lertzman 2005, 244).

AFTER SOCIAL CAPITAL IV: SOCIAL ECONOMY AND THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

So what does one call an enterprise that is run off of the energy of social capital? An enterprise that is a non-profit organization that gets money from the public sector but also operates with the public sector to produce profit for the community for which it works. Economists have settled on the concept of the social economy for this type of mixed economic model. The social economy has, since the 1990s, received increased attention but it has, as of yet, not been discussed as an aspect of the music industry. The social economy is a complex concept and one that

has not yet been clearly defined. At its base is the development of social capital created by participation.

In many cases the ethical aesthetics of folk music as community participation inspires community members to initially participate. But it is the social energy that participants experience within the running of the festival that creates cohesion. It is the overflow of this social energy that draws increasing numbers of people to the festival. An increased number of tickets sold and an increased number of volunteers allows for an increase in size and an increase in economic capital. A larger pool of economic capital means that artistic directors are able to hire higher profile artists and draw spectators to the festival, which in turn increases the economic capital that is exchanged within the festival. At the larger festivals these artists are many times not considered folk musicians but this is forgiven because of what can be done with the economic and social capital created by major entertainers. More spectators will increase the standing of the event, which may increase the social standing of the event and therefore its social capital. Economic profit allows for the festival to spend surplus economic capital on the community, and invest in human capital for the festival, which adds again to the social impact of the event. These investments increase the social and physical capital and if wisely invested may further increase the stature of the event within the community, may enhance community bonds which may further increase the social impact of the festival. The success of the folk festival as a member of the social economy must be conceptualized as virtuous circles instead of linear cause-effect chains.

These interlocking circular benefit relationships are seen at work in Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Calgary but are not as obvious in Vancouver. Smaller rural festivals

have made decisions to limit their growth at a certain point and therefore enhance their economic capital by increasing the number of yearly events that are hosted instead of increasing the artistic budget to hire “big name” artists. Rural festivals often do not have the infrastructure to host big name artists nor are they interested in investing in large one-time shows. So instead the rural festivals increased the potential for carnival energy and use that as their major draw.

To further complicate the general outline of a business in the social economy it seems that the structure of social business is context specific. So an NGO, a charity, a development project, will all have type specific organizations. A folk music festival has an approach to the social economy that is specific to the music industry and has developed to work with the entertainment industry. So, as others have already mentioned, “it is therefore difficult to place it precisely in a map of an economy because its position depends on which definition of it is being used” (Bridge 2009, 35). A definition of the social economy is generally made to include cooperatives, mutuals, associations and foundations which do not readily fit with models that have developed within the folk music industry of western Canada. It has been suggested therefore that the “*social economy* is a bridging concept for organizations that have social objectives central to their mission and their practice, and either have explicit economic objectives or generate some economic value through the services they provide and purchases that they undertake” (Quarter 2009, 4). But this should not be read to mean that the social economy is not an economic entity. Rather “[t]he social economy represents not an insignificant component of Canada’s economy and workforce” (Quarter 2009, 29).

I do not wish to suggest a specific definition for the social economy at this

point because “in Canada, the social economy is not a concept that is broadly understood by academics, students, policy-makers, activists, or the public at large” (McMurtry 2010, 1). It can be described in broad strokes however. An outline of the general shape of the social economy may be described as, “Economic activity neither controlled directly by the state nor by the profit logic of the market, activity that prioritizes the social well-being of communities and marginalized individuals over partisan political directives or individual gain” (McMurtry 2010, 4). Part of the rationale for the diversity of approaches to working with the social economy is due to the, “various different traditions and policy emphasis that exist” (Bridge 2009, 77) for enterprises that work somewhere between the private and public sectors.

As I had mentioned briefly in chapter two the folk music festival may be considered through a more standard economic lens. When this occurs the festival is often considered to be a form of Community Economic Development initiative (CED). As Quarter has pointed out, “While it may seem unusual to characterize the performing arts as a form of CED, these activities are vital to communities. ...Moreover, performing arts organizations fit the criteria of CED in that if they are formally incorporated, they are usually non-profits that earn a portion of their revenues from the market but also rely on external supports from government and foundations” (Quarter 2009, 97). This type of approach has gained more traction recently with a “growing number of impact studies demonstrating the economic benefits of the performing arts” (Quarter 2009, 98). But looking at the impact that folk festivals have on local economies may limit what is noticed. Putnam gives one simple example: “[C]ivic engagement early in life is one of the strongest predictors of later adult involvement” (Putnam 2003, 145). So if the local folk music festival has a

program for youth volunteers than these young people are, according Putnam, more likely to continue to volunteer in socially oriented community activities for the rest of their lives.

A more dangerous potential impact of having too narrow a CED focus risks making judgments based on economic priorities like efficiency. Efficiencies are good in some instances but may miss the social capital issues: “Using the social-capital lens allows us to see that in each of these cases the supposed inefficiency actually is essential for creating the virtuous circles of human connectivity that are basic to the organization’s effectiveness” (Putnam 2003, 270). Sometimes these inefficiencies may be struggles between competing groups. These struggles of opinion or approach may prove to be important opportunities to develop social capital: “Bridging is not about “Kumbaya” cuddling. It is about coming together to argue, as much as to share” (Putnam 2003, 279).

So social capital and the social economy must be understood, at least in this case, together. Exchange, as has been discussed, is a multi-sided and participatory activity where members engage and play with the situations that are presented. The structure of a social enterprise, like the folk music festival, must be built with opportunities for the development of social capital. The social business is always a mix of the carnival and the festival where territories engage with each other to produce and channel energy flows. The energy flows are created and channeled in different ways but what is unchanged is the ways in which the participants participate, “Consumer tribes...do not ‘consumer’ things without changing them; they cannot ‘consumer’ a good without it becoming them and them becoming it; they cannot ‘consumer’ a service without engaging in a dance with the service

provider, where the dance becomes the service. Participatory culture is everywhere” (Cova 2007, 4).

The notion of the consumer tribe is useful here. The participant consumer who, at the end of the last chapter, drove home in their car or went to bed in their tent come back to the festival the next day ready to engage and exchange again with the temporary and yearly event of the festival. Their exchange depends on a great many things; on the size of the festival, the field of possibilities, the freedom of the carnival, or the rigidity of the festival, but what is generally true is that “In sum, smaller is better for forging and sustaining connections. On the other hand, bigger is better for critical mass, power, and diversity” (Putnam 2003, 277). For the remainder of the chapter I will retrace the steps I have taken in chapter four. This time however there will be two changes. Instead of moving from largest to smallest territory I will move in reverse from smallest to largest. Also instead of describing who is involved in the territory I will illustrate the ways in which members of a territory exchange with each other and with those assemblages that exist outside. In the process of doing this I outline the ethical and therefore emergent aesthetic terrain of contemporary folk music which will ultimately be a description of contemporary folk music in Western Canada.

FESTIVAL EXCHANGE I: THE TICKET

The ticket is the most obvious moment of exchange. Spectators have the opportunity to purchase a ticket for the festival in the same way they purchase tickets to any other event. There is nothing in my research to suggest that people buy tickets for the festival for different reasons than any other entertainment event. The value of the ticket is connected to the use value of the festival. The use value of the festival is

based on the past experiences or future promise that the festival represents. For those who have never attended the festival the use-value is based on the expected experience. Many events base this on who is going to be performing at the event. But folk music festivals seem to have a different relationship with their spectators. Mitch Podolak experimented for a few years and did not publish the festival line up before the event. He claimed that there was little to no impact on the event. Terry Wickham on the other hand claims that a world-class line up will bring a small percentage of new people each year. But on the whole the majority of spectators know that the festival is going to be a good value regardless of who is on the lineup. The use-value of the ticket is based on trust that has developed between the AD or Producer and the audience. Nearly everyone I talked to said they knew very few people on the line up each year but always left with new favorite acts.

At rural festivals this even more pronounced because the musicians on the lineup are often new to touring, have only a regional following, and have often not performed in the area of the festival. It seems however that at some festivals, at least in the ones dedicated to growth, that headliners are increasingly important. The added percentage of people and the increase in economic capital exchange at the ticket booth is necessary. Terry Whickham at the EFMF claimed that the most important engine of the festival is the artistic budget. He claimed that generating more social and economic capital is directly connected to the amount of money put into this budget. It is the only variable element over which the Producer or AD has any direct control. An increased artistic budget increases the expectation from the general public and thus drives the local buy-in. The increased excitement from media and volunteers, because they get to see someone really important at their festival,

drives up local commitment to economic exchange. More tickets are sold because people want to be part of the experience. The headliners therefore can be understood as an investment in economic capital for an expected return of economic and social capital. But without more research it is unknown if there is indeed a direct connection. It is possible that, as Waterman pointed out, “Musicians predictably suggest that their performances attract customers, creating profit for the hotel managers, most patrons with whom I spoke did not list music as a major reason for going out” (Waterman 1990, 169). So the connection between the hired entertainment and the turnout of the audience may not always be immediately obvious. But a culture of expectation supported by an increase in capital investment each year undoubtedly has some effect. The AD however may become trapped in a game of out doing themselves each year which can normalize a culture of headliners. Some AD’s attempt to retain control of this culture as Doug Cox, the AD of the Vancouver Island Music Fest described:

The music is wonderful and its always wonderful but you can see the music in other situations where that spirit doesn’t exist and as the artistic director I like to try to remind the musicians of that sometimes if they show up in their...well they think its all about them and its their own place...it’s a great lesson to see them go through it sometimes too.

I learned it back then that it is the volunteers that make this thing run. It’s about them more than anything. It’s something that I learned through decisions that were made in Edmonton back in those days. And just basically learned as I grew older and going to all these festivals watching that philosophy happening over and over and over again.

Unfortunately, that’s changing in some cases...it has to...to a degree. We have a couple of performers that come every year that we have to separate from our volunteers as much as possible because we know that their demands are going to be not necessarily part of the philosophy of what we are doing and rather than put our volunteers through that we have a very tight team that might pull in and deal with those people...but we need them here to sell tickets.

It's different than years ago... Yeah I think so. The headliner mentality wasn't always there. I mean there were always names in the music world but it wasn't as big of a mentality as it is now. The concert bowl out there basically sets the limit for how many people can come to the event. (Doug Cox Interview: July 5, 2007)

In the case of the VIMF the struggle to maintain the culture of the festival, which is established through the carnival, is mediated by the economic necessities of the festival. The bowl is filled with spectators and it is the spectators who exchange their financial capital for the festival experience. But as Doug Cox pointed out the festival is made possible by the social capital of the volunteer. The festival balances between satisfying the needs of both.

But it is unfair to talk about spectators as a block. As I suggested in the last chapter the assemblage that is referred to as spectators is far more complex than this. Small pods of friends, families, neighbors, lovers, tourists, and strangers make up the ticket buying assemblage. Meg Cursons of the VIMF described the variety in this assemblage and the variety of relationships they have with the festival:

I think there's a crowd that totally gets it and a crowd that is totally oblivious to that kind of stuff. But at least were speaking it to the people here that are wanting an integrated experience. You can't reach everybody with that kind of shit right. But the people that are into it and want to believe that what they are doing is beyond just consumption or beyond just buying the ticket and being a consumer but that they are part of a physical environment that they are supposed to care about. I mean that not totally outrageous break of consciousness but it's just not the majority.

So we give a handful of examples about how they try to go beyond just the messaging in the program book and lectures from the stage. But towards participatory learning at displays set up around the site.

Don't do it as a blah blah blah talking head, do something that is experiential.

Diversity is the second major theme and that we wanted to acknowledge that our audiences are innovators as well and that they represent innovative and diverse families. There's different genders, different dynamics, different relationships and blended families, and really reinforcing that this festival is made up of people who come from unique families and so the whole thing about innovation is that not only are we innovating artistically and structurally but we are also innovating socially and

culturally by honouring the diversity here and welcoming diverse families and really promoting the concept of tolerance.

Using the circus arts. We comp'd them in to be here in character all weekend and they are roving and they are all just performers from the local community who have this crazy thing that they do with stilts and it's creating that magic vibe and moving from that industrial stadium model to "oh my god" there's gypsy's roving through and it keeps people's spirits light - When you really get into concert mode I think it really helps to turn around and see a pregnant hoola hooper with glow sticks right...it lightens the mood. A little different than a dude with slushy cup with vodka in it. (Meg Cursons: July 6, 2007)

Again the participatory aspect of the festival is highlighted. Once the spectator purchases a ticket it does not mean that this one aspect of consumption limits their participation in the event to one dimension. If the architecture of the festival is constructed in an open way to allow for participation, then social capital can be developed with the spectator. The economic exchange that is made by the spectator is now coupled with the exchange of social capital within the festival and potentially within the community. A great example of this is again at the VIMF which has developed a relationship with local wild fishers. I am going to include the conversation I had with the local fishers at length because of the complexity of issues discussed while the wild fish vendor hands out free fish burritos on Sunday morning:

Commercial fishers and we all live in the Comox Valley, that's where we tie our boats up. And our companies and friends have donated all this fish for the weekend and we spend a week preparing it, smoking it, dicing, chopping, making fresh Halibut burritos, to smoked halibut curried salad to, 50 gallons of westcoast seafood chowder, all natural and all wild. We all work on quotas to preserve our resource, our countries resource.

Q. Why is it important to have a booth here at the festival?

To let everybody know who comes through here that there is a wild resource and that we are preserving it and presenting it to them.

Q. Megan said that she would prefer to have you here than a local hatchery? Why?

Well hatchery Salmon is not native to here. It is an Atlantic salmon and its mostly subsidized by the government and even if you trace where the feed comes from...we're wiping out that which is another natural resource. It takes 2 pounds of feed to make 1 pound of farmed salmon. Where ours are wild. And they are also introducing sea lice as our boats are driving by their pens.

What's fabulous are the relationships that get built by people who come here for the first time and they try sea food and they come back and come back and then they've got a link on a lot of different levels. The people who come back here year after year.

You've got five generations working here in this booth.

For six years the same crew has been coming to work the Sunday morning shift and making Fish burritos. We just love the gospel.

Q. What would you like people to take away from this booth?

That fisher people are local people. We are not all members of the big industry. We are trying to keep our resource viable because if we don't we just don't work. We are all environmentalists and we do a lot to protect the stocks, we work on stream keepers, we work at the fish hatcheries, and we volunteer in all of these other sectors too to keep the resource alive. (Marine Harvest Interview: July 8, 2007)

Tickets can be used as a means of excluding or controlling the attendance at the festival. The tickets at the WFF camping site were limited to 6000 in order to control the impact on the camping site. The attendance at many rural festivals is set based on a mix of environmental impact and space. Some festivals have considered limiting tickets in other ways:

Smithers actually seeded other festivals as well. It was one of those rare festivals that makes money...most of the time. They have years where they don't but it isn't very many. So it was growing too big for our community so there were ideas like only selling tickets to your friends and not telling anybody, but that's just exclusionary so us unexclusionary members of the society fought it tooth and nail and we decided to come up with other things and one of the things we came up with was to seed other festivals. Give them some of our money. To start a festival the next weekend so maybe you couldn't go to them all. It didn't really work because festival people go to festivals. I come to this festival and I see people who are at every other festival. You know that's part of the interest of festivals. Like Kispiox Music Festival...they were already into doing it we just gave them a hand. (Terry Hilton July 7, 2007)

The Bulkley Valley Folk Music Society, which runs the very successful Midsummer Festival at Smithers, have used the economic capital that they were collecting to seed a number of other festivals. They invested in the Kispiox Folk Music Festival BC, the Edge of the World Music Festival on Haida Gwaii BC, and the Robeson Valley Music Festival at Dunster BC. The economic capital that has been invested into these festivals has had many spin-off effects on all of the festivals. Human and physical capital have been amassed by the festivals and the volunteers. Local performers have been able to develop their performance skills and festival volunteers have been able to travel between the festivals thus sharing lessons that have been learned at the other festivals. Capital purchases like tents and sound gear can also be shuttled between the festivals. All of this was made possible because of socially oriented investments made possible through the strategic use of excess economic capital.

The economic exchange that takes place when a ticket is purchased from a social enterprise has the potential for a much larger and far reaching social impact than a ticket purchased from Ticket Master for a touring private sector show. These folk music festivals are an example of the social economy applied to the music industry. The most basic act of capital exchange, so familiar in the music business, takes on a profound and socially engaged role. The spectator, imagined in many cases to be a neutral or minimally engaged player, becomes recast as a participant. Programming is often open, inclusive and participatory instead of closed and only valuable as something to be watched from a distance. Folk music festivals can be described therefore as being oriented towards participation, diversity, and social

action. It is also evident from the examples above that the relationship between the ticket and the volunteer requires that the exchange the volunteer makes to the festival be accounted for.

FESTIVAL EXCHANGE II: THE VOLUNTEER

The volunteer is central to the operation of the social economy. But since the concept of the social economy is not clearly held by any of the festival organizations I have researched the defining role volunteers play is not unanimously acknowledged. This is due in part to two different forms of tensions that are at play. The first is the struggle between private and public sector philosophies. Since the social sector is not clearly identified each of the festivals in this study move between these two poles trying to find their place. This is complicated by the inner workings of the festival organization itself that is further pulled between the professional staff and developing folk music industry on the one side and the local non-profit community music association which is at the base of the entire enterprise. This makes the employees of the festivals answerable to their local board while the festival directors of the major festivals schmooze with members of the professional music industry. This tension is played out in the relationship the festival has with the volunteers who participate in the running of the event and the maintenance of the music society. The festivals in western Canada are unique in the way they have built a very strong volunteer structure as the engine of the events. Trudy Schroeder the former executive director of the WFF put it in a national perspective:

I think on the first level – not many organizations or community arts festivals engage volunteers that the WFF or this model of folk festival does. So I attended a national festivals meeting about funding in Montreal a few weeks ago and we talked about the role that volunteers play in different organizations. And they were all shocked! The jazz festivals, the world music festivals and those kinds of things were just shocked by how much trust we give to our volunteers. Oh they said, “You could never have

volunteers doing the money functions”. Well you know we have volunteers doing the box office, paying out all of our artist cheques – all of the income that comes in is all handled by volunteers at our festival with very little staff oversight. So in some ways just that community - if it weren’t for the community part the organization we wouldn’t exist. And that is true in our extended programs as well – our folk exchange and the ways in which we’ve branched out to the community. It’s all very people oriented. And not as add ons. Volunteers don’t come in here to lick and stick envelopes together and do peripheral things. They are actually a core part of the function. (Trudy Schroeder Interview: July 9, 2008)

Volunteers are central to the operation of the event at large. This distributes a great deal of power into a great number of hands. The festival organization with its very limited number of professional staff has developed a great deal of faith in volunteers. However some festivals choose to give preferential treatment to corporate sponsors. This includes privileged access to restricted areas of the site and special backstage access. In some cases this even includes, in the case of the CFMF, a separate event just for corporate sponsors. Corporate sponsors who provide a comparatively small amount of economic capital investment are recognized with very publicly displayed corporate banners. So on the one hand while festival directors generally recognize the role volunteers play in the organization, economic corporate capital still carries a significant weight. It would be an interesting comparison if the festival worked out volunteer hours as in-kind donations calculated on the per hour wage of each of the volunteers and then compared that figure to the corporate sponsorship. If one also considers the community connections brought to the festival it further complicates the equation:

If you went through our volunteer ranks I couldn’t even begin to count the number of nurses and teachers and union members who are part of our volunteer structure – so I guess that opens the door for the conversation about that organization putting dollars behind an event like this – and clearly as a group of people they believe in it

so it's an easier ask in those situations. (Caroline Bashaw Interview: July 7, 2008)

It is not just tension between corporate advertising and volunteers however. The power balance within the festival structure often tilts away from acknowledging the festival's place in the social economy. The former artistic director of the Vancouver Folk Festival explained:

I think like a lot of organizations in the cultural sector it began with the Sun God structure – which is a very steep pyramid – with a very clear indication of who was in charge and who was not – the irony of presenting all of this music about the evils of bosses and such was something that we were able to enjoy to a greater or lesser degree...especially if the boss is a communist...what's up with that? But then I think we've overcompensated as an organization and went to what might be called the sun queen school - and that paralleled a growing emphasis from funders – with an emphasis to become more corporate as a model. Much like the rest of society. We were not immune to that. But with that came the rise of the administrators. As opposed to the visionaries and now I think we are swinging back to a balance where we have a team of people and we've brought in somebody specifically to work with the community, with volunteers, the members of the society year round, and that dynamic number three, which is the beginning of a complex system where all the voices are at the table...so I think we are moving towards a kind of balance. (Dugg Simpson Interview: July 15, 2007)

What Simpson seems to be suggesting is the growing awareness of the festival's role as a social enterprise. The sun king model which has the AD director at the top of the organization gets replaced by the sun queen model or singular leadership by the Executive Director. The three part organization has the AD and the ED at the table with the volunteer coordinator as the leader of the social energy of the festival. But this model is not widely accepted. Since Simpson's departure from the VFMF the volunteer coordinator's role in the organization and the ED role have been diminished. The VFMF hired an experienced AD to run the operations of the festival and a short time later eliminated the ED position.

Volunteers continue to dedicate enormous hours to the festivals. At the larger

festivals one has to apply and get accepted to volunteer. At Winnipeg, Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton there are waiting lists for volunteer jobs and elaborate systems for moving young volunteers into the organization and training them for age specific tasks. Young volunteers are often put on “environmental” teams and travel around the festival in groups picking up litter and keeping the site beautiful. At Vancouver this works particularly well which has by far the youngest environmental crew of any of the western festivals. Nearly all of the teenage crew members study environmental sustainability in outdoor programs in their high schools and contribute this knowledge to the festival each summer. After a few years on this crew these young volunteers may move to some of the other crews.

While these young volunteers are inspired to work on environmental projects overwhelmingly people keep volunteering for the community that the festival provides and the feeling of contributing to the community. The volunteer is charged with a responsibility to the festival community at large and is tasked to get something done. Podolak claimed that the ‘devolution of authority’ ensures that volunteers commit to the successful running of a festival. It is the volunteers’ individual commitment to the success of community that drives the festival forward:

If people in the upper echelons are cool then things get done, if people are touchy and constantly coming and asking why you did something nothing gets done. Volunteers get so excited approaching the festival and counting down by the time the festival time is here they are out of their minds. (Arlo McGowan: July 9, 2007)

The founder of the Edmonton Folk Music festival makes it his mission, even today, to remind volunteers how important their role is:

I think it’s the feeling of people working together as a community. A common purpose. To move away from the rat race and move away from the day-by-day stuff and focus on the cause that benefits everybody. They can enjoy themselves and see other people enjoying it. It’s the commonality. The music brings them together but it’s more than music. It’s the way it’s presented. It’s the attitude. It’s how they are

treated when they come on site. Whether they are the public or they are volunteers. It is so important to treat volunteers like they are worthwhile and I came in the gate today and this girl said, “I met you last year and you chewed me out because I said I’m just a volunteer”. And I did...because anybody who says they are just a volunteer I let them know that they are not just a volunteer you are an important person and part of this festival and if you weren’t you wouldn’t be here. So give yourself credit for doing something meaningful and for being a part of it, be a part of it, and let yourself identify with being a part of it. Not *just* a volunteer, I *am* a volunteer and be proud of that.

I was asked to describe what a folk festival is at the first Edmonton festival. I don’t know what came over me but I said, to me a folk festival is a dream. It’s a dream that we can all be part of. A dream we can all share. And I still believe that. (Don Whalen Interview: July 6, 2007)

It is the social energy of the carnival machine that is being described. The development of social capital is often difficult to identify but the experience of it keeps people engaged: “I don’t know exactly...that’s kind of tricky – I guess it felt good to know things. To be involved in things. It feels good because you are part of something. Being part of a positive, music filled, positive energy” (Megan Brady Interview: July 25, 2008). When social capital is developed it binds individuals to a community. This is manifest as a “feeling” but it is also manifest in material ways as well:

It was the being embraced by people who had a similar mindset. People who had one goal. To get something done. It’s the comradeship of course and the music as well. I think all of us came for the music first and then the family was created out of that. Like I said there are some of us here for 29 years, three generations of volunteers, from meeting their husbands to having their children to their children now volunteering their parents have been 29-year volunteers. We’ve had weddings on this site performed by Solomon Burke...on one of our day stages one year...that was pretty special. And we’re all very close. We’ve become a knit group and its not just the four days of the festival. It’s people who have been there for us through the thick and thin.

If someone is going through a rough time we’ll throw a party for them and it will be a fundraiser for that person. If somebody needs to move we’ll get the site crew. Don Snider will phone up site crew and they will be there. It could be January but we’re still site crew or stage crew and we’re all really proud of what we do and we’re all proud that we’ve built of festival that started off with 2 or 3 hundred volunteers which is now close to 2 thousand. It’s become huge. I don’t know everybody’s name

anymore. It was pretty easy to know everybody's name the first few years.

I couldn't see a year without being here and it doesn't matter. I've gone through divorces, I've gone through cancer, I've gone through a lot of things and everybody else has as well. But there is that one thing that draws us here every year and it's to be together, to give each other a big hug. It's to reminisce, it's to catch up and it's to feel...together. (Connie McColl Interview: August 7, 2008)

The community solidarity that is expressed in feeling "together" is the articulation of social capital at work. This is precisely what makes the discussion of social capital so complex. It is the desire for social solidarity established through the combined effort of a community which provides the inertia for the festival. The generation of social capital creates a density of social relationships which seems to create a form of social magnetism which draws more people to join: "It's the thing that you want to break into, it's the thing that you want to volunteer for, it's the thing that the community is proud of...and a big chunk of them come and there's a big chunk who never come but they're really proud of that music fest where all the freaks are at" (Megan Cursons Interview: July 8, 2007).

For many of the volunteers it is the experience of being part of the event community that is so important. But it is also playing an important role in the event which drives people to contribute more. For many it is the opportunity to do things they normally would not get an opportunity to do. The side effect of this is the development of skills, or human capital, that they have no access to in their regular work world. During the year a volunteer may be just about anything and come festival time the doctor can become a security guard or the security guard a first aid worker. Bakhtin's concept of the carnival as--a space for becoming something else--holds true. But that becoming is much less exotic in many cases than Bakhtin

imagined. For many it seems that becoming a different kind of citizen is enough to stimulate increased participation:

It was all volunteer...in the day...no one was paid for any position and the festival was a free event...it was just a more innocent time (smile) um so I went to a volunteer meeting and after the meeting they said alright what would you like to do? And I said I would like to work on the technical side. And they said well would you like to be site manager – and I said I don't know what does a site manager do...and they said we don't know we've never had one before - so for four years I was the site manager for Northern Lights Festival Boreal. (Luc Corbeil Interview: July 14, 2007)

The collective experience of learning and developing new skills that can be brought to bear for the good of the community is central to social capital at the festival. Part of the “feeling” of the event is an aspect of the carnival experience or the experience of being in the center of living. Volunteers know that they are charged with making the festival happen. They know that if they are not successful at their jobs then the festival will suffer. Knowing that you are part of an experience and knowing that your job is immediately useful seems to eliminate alienation and enhance the development of social capital for the festival. This is certainly a place where great lessons and sometimes, hard lessons are learned:

I remember talking with Gary Cristall our founding artistic director about that at one point and one of the things that occurred to us is that in people's day to day working lives they rarely get a chance to run on all 8 cylinders - that's flat out and “I don't know what's going to happen next” and the adrenaline is flowing and you have to be as smart and respond as quickly as you can so it is a nice change of pace for some people...maybe they don't want to live there and they are mentally healthy enough that they know that this is not what they want but they enjoy it once in a while. I think again, backstage, a lot of people in their day-to-day life if they are going to go to a concert they are going to go buy a ticket they are going to sit in a theatre they are not going to be part of making it happen. They can see that their work is part of a larger whole and they can see that they are making a large thing. There is a real impact on people's lives and the city that they live in. And I think there is some pleasure in that. But when I was volunteer coordinator the thing that kept coming back, because we have a question “Why do you want to be a volunteer” and the most common response by far to the point where all other responses are statistically insignificant is “ to meet other people” and I think that is part of living in a large city

and such, people still want that simple folkie thing. (Dugg Simpson Interview: July 16, 2007)

The impact of this “simple folkie thing” for the folk festivals is enormous. As a social enterprise the folk festivals in the west have certainly found a way to capitalize or harness this desire. It seems that the festivals from the beginning were willing to incorporate ideas from the community. Podolak’s admission that the best ideas came from the volunteers is likely part of the secret of the success of his festival model. Like an old-fashioned barn raising every member of the community is asked to contribute in the way that they are able. Skills are taught and shared and new ideas are considered and solved together. Community life is lived as a community. The imagined sociability of rural life is lived and the very real social capital of community is developed. The aesthetic of folk music plays a direct role in communicating the ethics of community behaviour. Since Herder folk music has been imaginatively bound up with the expressive culture of rural social life. The BwO of the folk has been constructed in a variety of ways since Herder’s concept. But it seems that it was not until festivals put the emphasis on community stage raising that the BwO of the folk could be completely lived. Staging the presentation of folk music, as history has shown, will symbolize the social bonds imagined in rural social life. But to build the social capital that is the cement of sociability requires something far more than mere symbolic gestures. The contemporary folk music festival has built into its structure the needs for community participation and therefore the possibility for the development of social capital. The proof of this concept is in the numbers of people who have become directly involved in participating in these activities in the last thirty years. Not only have the older festivals become extremely large and successful, but

since 1974 many more festivals on this model have also developed. Currently no one knows how many there are in western Canada alone. Dugg Simpson reflected on the growth of the VFMF:

No single person designed the festival. I think that the way it is-- is the way that we have collectively visioned it. When I was the volunteer coordinator in the early 80s when I started there was 300 or 320 volunteers. The first festival was about 150 and while there is certainly an interesting study that someone could do about the evolution of a bureaucracy and how it happens the growth has largely been fueled by suggestions and ideas that have come forward from people in the audience, by other volunteers, or by other artists. And it has been a response to either a really great idea or a demonstrated need or a belief in the way we could do something better. And I like the fact that we have that many volunteers because we want community based to have meaning and to me it is the most profound example there so we get to three generations of a family that are volunteering together. Right now there are about 1200 volunteers that are about evenly split between what we could broadly call audience services and performer services. (Dugg Simpson Interview: July 16, 2007)

Volunteers are by far the most important aspect of the folk music festivals in western Canada. Not only are they the engine which fuels the festival structure but their exchanges, which take on an incredible variety of forms, permeate all aspects of folk music. Volunteers live out the dramas and dreams of the folk on community field. The community stage raising replaces the community barn raising as a major social gathering. A type of community cohesion takes place that not only powers the festival but also empowers the participants. Personal transformation happens along with and because of community building. The social energy that is created through the exchange of social capital in the folk festival is much different than any of the other areas of the social economy. The folk music festivals, as I have pointed out, have established an assemblage of exchange that reaches around the globe and is powered by individual desire to have “that feeling” of community. The rest of the chapter will sketch out these implications.

FESTIVAL EXCHANGE III: THE COMMITTEE

Individual volunteers working together create flows of social energy which are harnessed by committees. The committee is the permanent articulation of carnival energy. Many of the committees for the festival begin as ideas that often emerge on the fly in reaction to immediate needs. Often individuals who decide a particular need must be met will invest their social capital into group formation. Committees are not created from a master list of necessary committees generated from a bureaucratic center. They develop out of the specific requirements of putting on a community concert in the community in question. There cannot be a general structure that all communities follow because each must develop specific structures to respond to local circumstances. The interface between people and their natural environment produce specialized pods which organize around a demonstrated need. Each of these pods develop into formalized committees or tribes. These committees, as has often been the case since the early WFF, have their own emergent leadership, customs, and colours. Committees often have a specific coloured shirt with the committee title that identifies them. But at rural festivals this may not be the case. The committees may only be a couple of people who then ask for help as required from a pool of volunteers who show up and migrate between temporary task oriented tribes. In these cases I have noted an interesting social phenomena. Work tribes of volunteers are held together throughout the festival by a developing comradeship. The festival is able to harness these spontaneously formed and unassigned work tribes to accomplish large jobs quickly. This tribe tends to stick together throughout the festival. This approach is not practiced at urban festivals which are organized into occupation tribes well in advance.

While the urban committees may be organized well in advance it does not mean that they have taken the time to develop specialized skill sets with their volunteers. The “seat of the pants” approach, discussed in the previous section, is the guiding model for the committees. As one volunteer admitted, “I’m on the box office committee and I’m going to be a cashier and I’ve never done this before...so I’m completely green. We got an orientation last night...and we were told not to worry about forgetting things...there is lots of support here (Unidentified Volunteer Interview: July 14, 2007).

But that is certainly not true of a vast majority of the urban festival committees. Many of the large festivals have nearly 80% volunteer retention and some even higher. This allows for a very tightly organized community with a high degree of professionalisation, or human capital. This has begun to create an interesting power shift. Once the professional staff of the festival had more experience than the volunteers but this has begun to change in many cases. The administrators that are currently being hired have much less experience than the volunteers who put the festival together. The larger urban festivals have developed a very specialized culture of committees and since many of the committees emerge from the specifics of the local geography and culture no two structures will be alike:

There are nearly 40 different committees that are organized to run the festival. Some of them more logical than others. We have some obvious and immediately important ones like medical and security. We have some that are unique and interesting and fun like the massage committee that massages our committee coordinators, artists, and staff members. The tea bags committee which is a committee of two people that make a special blend of Jamaican spiced ice tea, they’ve been doing this for years and the volunteers just love it. It’s one of those interesting organic folkie traditions that came about sometime in the 70s or 80s and just kind of stuck with us.

And you also get committees like the stage committee who has their volunteers working for 12 hours a day straight for no pay and they have their food and water brought to them. And it’s all non-paid. It’s a lot of committees. It’s an interesting set

up but the festival really runs itself. That's the amazing thing about my job and I work really hard to connect all these people...I used the metaphor last night about me being a switch board operator, I just connect all of the coordinators with each other and all of the staff members with their volunteers or whatever and then I get to the park and it just sort of runs itself. It's just this system that works...a well-oiled machine. (Kate Lasiuk Interview: July 15, 2007)

It is even impossible to suggest that there should or must be a specific role like an Artistic Director or producer at all festivals. Some festivals have developed a committee, like at Ness Creek: "We have an entertainment committee which ranges from 5 to 9 people and that's really how we differ from many other festivals. Volunteers are encouraged to bring suggestions of bands they really care about and we try to come up with a schedule for all of that. The concert series is also booked by the entertainment committee" (Debrah Aitken Interview: July 18, 2008).

The impact that a committee may have on the shape and scope of the festival is sometimes hard to discern. Sometimes the entire future direction of a festival will begin to take shape out of the efforts of a small committee. The process is instructive and quite musical. The social energy collects around an idea and then, like improvisation, that idea becomes a core motif that is played with, altered, and experimented upon. Other times a core motif may be improvised upon by different committees at the same time and merge together like a jazz ensemble. Sometimes along with the emergence of the motif there is a realization that others are also having the same conversation. This is indeed what is happening at Ness Creek where sustainability has become a significant motif for many committees and groups. Community sustainability, festival sustainability, environmental sustainability, and folk culture sustainability have all merged. But as the following example shows these ideas may have very humble beginnings:

The job that I had from early on is to remove dangerous trees. We now have 11 or 12 people who go through the entire site trying to identify those trees and removing them. I started doing that job myself and I started to get youth involved. My 11-year-old son and his friends have been coming and I've been doing it for 5 years with them. In the process of that I went to Ness Creek and suggested to them to consider land stewardship as part of their mandate because here we are making buildings and having all these people here but are we really paying attention to what kind of impact we're having on the forest ecosystem here? So we started up the land stewardship committee. As I was doing this education work separately what would you think of running some programs here. Because Ness Creek wanted to become more horizontal. One way they could do that would be to have a Boreal forest learning center. It would generate income but we also do thousands of dollars worth of work for them looking after the forest. I made up a 6k invoice for them last year for our work here in the forest. So there is a give and take...and trade back and forth. None of that would happen without Gordon owning the land. I think all of us at this time struggle with how do we look after the earth that we live on. How do we do that well? As groups I don't really think we have a sense and governments and industry fail often miserably at attempting to do that because they are afraid to make bold moves. On this land here we have the potential to make some better decisions about how we look after the land so it is incredibly exciting to be in that position and to figure out how to do that. (John Murray Interview: July 19, 2008)

The committee develops out of the social energy created around participation. The participation is sustained by the exchange between participants. Father, sons, and friends spend time in the woods making the festival safe. Informal assemblages begin to regard themselves, and be regarded by others, as contributors. The informal group, held together by internal exchange, becomes a formal group able to exchange with the outside. The group is articulated as a committee and becomes an official assemblage of the Ness Creek Festival.

The committee is therefore an organization held together by an assemblage of exchange within itself and held within the festival community by the bonds of exchange that it establishes. Again the ethics of social capital exchange, community development, environmentalism, and community participation are central shared elements of the festival. The ethics of the folk music festival are once again shown to not only exist on the stage but are a central component to the mechanism that

sustains the community organization and the environment on the land where this yearly music festival takes place.

FESTIVAL EXCHANGE IV: THE COMMUNITY

The exchange of capital between the festival and the community that surround the festival is complex. The Ecotone, introduced in chapter four, is a useful conceptual model for this back and forth flow. There have been economic impact assessments undertaken which unsurprisingly indicate a positive economic impact. But as social capital theorists have pointed out the net value of the development of social capital far exceeds the economic bottom line. This is especially obvious, as I have already shown, in rural communities where historic ethnic tensions have been calmed. Other studies have indicated the impact that back-to-the-land movement has had on rural communities in various parts of Canada:

[T]he back -to-the-land movements of the 1930s and 1960s...has been responsible for raising issues about the sustainability of rural economies and communities, the plight of rural women, youth, and seniors, and the need for improved access to educational facilities in rural areas. More recently, it has been associated with various efforts to encourage the local production of food and to minimize impact on the environment. (MacPherson 2010, 42)

The North Country Fair is an example of just this sort of community exchange. Members of the back-to-the-land community were unimpressed with the local grade school education that was available so they started the North Country Fair School and created a festival to fund it. This arrangement continued until all of the young children of the community were educated and then the school building incorporated into the North Country Fair grounds. The focus on the local community was not a side project for the organizers of the NCF. The NCF was the mechanism through which community members were able to harness their collective energy for

community use. The goal of the NCF was not to become a large and successful festival, it was instead:

- 2.To provide and arrange for musical, dramatic and other entertainments and to arrange for lectures and other public gatherings on social, environmental, political or economic issues or on other issues which the Association decides appropriate.
- 3.To use Association lands, buildings and infrastructure for the good of the community including, but not limited to, one or more libraries, playgrounds, camping areas, picnic areas and areas suitable for workshops
- 4.To promote organic gardening and responsible sustainable agriculture
- 5.To demonstrate and promote the use of alternate energy systems
- 6.To encourage responsible economic development in the Lesser Slave Lake area
- 7.To help meet the social, educational and recreational needs of members of the Association
- 8.To help foster respect for self, family, community and Earth
- 9.To help foster opportunities for volunteer involvement
- 10.To promote and encourage appreciation of the northern boreal forest (Colin Ross Personal Correspondence, July 3, 2009)

The ethics of the NCF are actualized in the creation of the fair and in the running of the school. This description of the school is also a good description of how the fair, and indeed all of the festivals I have researched, run their affairs:

The school itself attempts (cannot avoid the pressure) to reduce consumption and certainly does that better than any other school around. We are now powered entirely by the sun - computers, copiers, the works. Students designed and actually built the solar array support, reflecting the school's belief that learning takes place in all kinds of environments. What is done in the course of an ordinary day at the school constitutes learning and that the role of the teachers is to find the curriculum connections for that process, rather than starting with the curriculum and staging the activities. The connection between the Fair and the School has always provided us with the stimulus to stay active artistically. We do that. (Colin Ross Personal Correspondence, July 3, 2009)

The relationship with the outside community is structured to maintain the culture that the back-to-the-land community have independently developed. But this is not an approach only found in rural festivals. The current executive director of the WFF Tamara Kater continues to protect festival values: "No, we don't actively try to get new people in through marketing, we're really conscious of the 'bring a friend' nature

of our audience development. Our marketing is more about reminding, messaging about the experience, retaining, rather than converting” (Tamara Kater Personal Correspondence: February 17, 2010). Kater and the WWF organization have consciously chosen to use their developing social capital as advertising. This is an interesting strategy that requires more research but it seems that social capital may not only help to establish assemblages of reciprocity but may also reduce the need for financial capital. This has been suggested by Lertzman (Lertzman 2005) as a method for controlling consumption and limiting the impact on natural capital but it has not been explored to any degree. This would be an interesting area for future research.

Kater is also concerned about cultural sustainability in a unique way. Instead of protecting cultural norms for the sake of “conservation of tradition” Kater is interested in protecting the cultural ecology of the festival because it works so successfully. There are a great many reasons to protect what is seen to be the fragile social ecosystem of the festival. Protecting the social architecture of the festival is synonymous with protecting the economic interests of the festival bureaucracy. The professional staff is able to extract economic capital in the form of salaries and benefits and surplus economic capital is invested into real estate projects to serve the needs of a growing community. This is made possible through the continued health of existing social capital. The festival staff that guide the flows of the festival machine are completely aware that the social flows of the carnival machine are essentially tied to economic capital. This relationship is dense and convoluted but is nonetheless palpable on the ground during the festival. So festival growth has to be gentle so that this complex system does not get disturbed too quickly: “And it’s

generally accepted that slow audience growth (replenishment is part of the growth, replacing those who drop off) is best to preserve the culture. Like max 10% new each year, or the culture shifts too much without newbies having time to acclimatize and learn the traditions/rituals”(Tamara Kater Personal Correspondence: February 17, 2010).

The festival is able to harness the social energy that is created and make this exchange with the general public in a few ways. The ticket is the most obvious point of contact. While it is true that a great number of people purchase a ticket for the entertainment that is presented it is smaller than might be expected. According to statistics collected by the Calgary Folk Festival only 26% of the audience purchased a ticket to see a particular artist.⁵³ This suggests that there are a variety of other things that audience members come to see and experience: “Sometimes its about the party and the music and sometimes that means getting messed up and at other times it’s about the music. I think here its more about the music. And especially in Vancouver it’s the sense of community and shared values that keeps bringing me back – it’s those shared values and that unified vision about how they want to see the world” (Robbie Adleman Interview: July 13, 2007).

The celebration of shared values is essential to the success of the folk music industry. The folk festival certainly could be, as Robert Cantwell observed of the folk revival, “a subjunctive life, full of ideas and images, often dim and unrecoverable, of what seemed a historically verifiable alternative culture... a coherent program for personal, domestic, social, and political life” (Cantwell 1996, 355). The festival experience is of moving through dense assemblages of symbolic and material

⁵³ Kerry Clarke Personal Correspondence: February 16, 2010.

exchanges. These assemblages of exchange create a palpable atmosphere that becomes, if the AD does their job, a coherent space. Sounds from the stage and the human sounds of conversations and exchanges create a meaningful assemblage of activity. New research on sound studies have pointed out that, “from a psychological perspective, we do not so much hear sounds as perceive sonic events, with sounds transporting events into our consciousness” (Blessner 2007, 15). The events presented to our consciousness at the folk festival are coloured by the ethics of folk exchange. This ethics is textural in the way that Charles Keil suggested “textures are as important as processes” (Keil 1994, 153). What is exchanged with the community therefore is a multitude of ways and feelings of being in local community. Kathleen C. Stewart recognized this in West Virginia, “The local finds itself reeling in the wake of every move and maneuver of the center of things. It continually reconstitutes itself through a ruminative re-entrenchment in local forms and epistemologies” (Stewart 1996, 137). The local therefore is wrapped up in the performative texture of the festival. The community, or an aspect of it, is able to see its moral self embodied in codes of socially sustainable exchange. This is the code of the folk which is taken out of history and incorporated into social exchange and social capital. It is also the code that is used by the festival machine to harness and direct social energy back into itself. Folk becomes a code for local creativity. Attali reminded us that “to express oneself is to create a code, or to plug into a code in the process of being elaborated by the other” (Attali 1999, 143). Exploring the concept of the folk through the lens of social capital and the social economy we can see that the folk has become a code for local participation in community minded activity. Participation is the significant aspect. John Dewey suggested that “The expressions that constitute art are

communication in its pure and undefiled form” (Dewey 1934, 254) and these expressions and codes articulate the local and the folk to the participant of the festival and to the community that moved through this densely textured space.

Products that satisfy the codes of the folk however are no longer rustic wood cut and rural handicrafts. Instead folk products are socially conscious and community minded. The folk is a growing assemblage of socially sustainable and economically sustainable social enterprises held together through the developing social economy. These businesses take on a variety of forms. In these final pages of this chapter I will describe how folk music has developed a type of shadow popular music industry using the social economy as a guiding mode of conduct instead of the centralized industrial capitalist model that has been the basis of the popular music industry and the state or public model through which the art music industry has been sustained.

The folk music industry, which has always been a type of musical third sector has finally, after hundreds of years, become articulated, not so much as a style of music, but as an approach to creativity. What is so interesting about the larger question of aesthetics with regard to folk music is the way in which most business practices, even off the stage, are undertaken in very much the same way. The aesthetics of folk music therefore emerge out of the complex social and economic textures of community exchange. Waterman argued much the same for Jùjú: “Social power, musical sound, poetic rhetoric, and sentiment are woven via performance into whole experiential cloth” (Waterman 1990, 187). This short description of one such vendor and their relationship with their local festival is not unique. In fact I had heard this type of story often during the course of the research:

At the Burnaby association we support adults with developmental disabilities. And we have a woodshop which is a day program and we make all of this furniture. And so I suggested that maybe we should talk later in the year about us maybe making some chairs for them. And then by coincidence I was at a social enterprise conference in February and I was sitting having lunch with this woman who turned out to be Heather Knox who is involved here (VFVF) and we got talking about performers and she said that she works for the festival and that we need to talk.

What I didn't want to do was make chairs and sell them chairs...what I wanted to do - what our association is up to is partnerships and alliances - and getting out into the community - so I suggested a partnership where we get space to show everything we do. We'll make the chairs and sell them and then give them so much a chair. And they loved that idea and from there its been great. So since then we've been talking to Ethical Bean (local coffee company) who they've also partnered with here about doing some work for them and making some racks for their retail. (Dave Woolcott Burnaby Association for Community Inclusion, July 17, 2007)

The festival becomes a type of machine for community exchange and like the image of the barn raising or community picnic is a place where community groups can exchange materials and ideas. The relationship between the ethics of certain kinds of music embraced as folk music by these festivals and community is very clearly the most significant defining aspects of the music:

Well the music draws people into a community. It brings a community of people together that year after year you meet people they have kids, their kids grow up the kids start to play and hang out together at the fair. There are certain rules. So people kind of learn to live in a small manageable community. They get exposed to music that they may or may not have heard. They very often get exposed to ideas and conversations and ways of being that may not be what they are used to. And all of those things are really good...to challenge people...especially in Southern Alberta because there are not a lot of opportunities for that to happen as a community here. When you get to larger communities or urban centers...what I suspect happens... like minded communities kind of naturally evolve and look after each other and kind of grow up together but when you get to southern Alberta there's no real mass of like minded people in anyone spot. So this kind of brings everybody together...so yes the music is important. (Glenna Westwood, July 21, 2007)

FESTIVAL EXCHANGE V: WRAD

It is telling that the Artistic directors who are members of the Western Roots Artistic Directors refuse to define folk music. They do not simply refuse to come up

with a definition but argue that folk music cannot be musically defined. As one member pointed out:

With WRAD we had conversations a few times about trying to define folk music and it's just...I'm very curious to know what it is...and to try to get somebody to talk about that or to get enough liquor in there to sit and sort through it with you...I just love that. But we've just not been able to get anywhere with that. The one thing that folk music does not seem to do is sell carpet for commercial radio. And that's for sure but that's not really a definition. That's not one of the qualifying factors, that's a phenomenon of it. (Trent Moranz Interview: July 22, 2007)

Members of WRAD have simply not been able to come up with a musical definition for what they consider and program as folk music. Instead, as is pointed out here, it is an approach to musical creativity that defines it. This approach is widely shared among all members of WRAD. In the beginning they accepted by challenges about traditional music and indigenous music traditions. But they would challenge my preference for acoustic music or non-professional musicians and ask me to explain what changes in the music when the traditional music stands on stage and gets paid. Their argument was difficult to counter and their business practices were equally difficult to condemn. Instead of conforming to the centralized music industry approach of industrial capitalism these ADs were hired by a non-profit volunteer community board interested in providing a unique cultural experience for their local community. In the process some of the members of WRAD were able to make a living in the arts sector but many of them were also volunteers. Being a member of WRAD provided an opportunity for these arts professionals to get together and share experiences and develop strategies for coping with community stress and for staging the show:

One of the things is that when you're the volunteer coordinator no one complains. You don't get people telling you you should do this or do that. They're just happy

that you're doing it. So the artistic director you have to be able to deal with more...what's the word...criticism. You know...why did you hire this person and not that person. Why did you hire so damn much. But it's a pretty interesting thing to do and it's not something that there is that many people doing. This is why we have that WRAD meeting in September because there is this group and that you can only really talk to another one who will know what it is that you are dealing with. Even talking to a lot of the people here they really don't know the extent of what's involved with it. (Carol Witherall Interview: June 22, 2009)

WRAD has allowed western ADs to develop some social capital and to enunciate themselves as a region and therefore as an assemblage. This articulation was quite powerful. Before WRAD existed many members felt that they were the only people facing these sorts of stresses and these sorts of issues but by forming the group individuals were able to derive some support from membership:

I love WRAD. It's one of my favorite things in the whole world and I'll tell you why. A group of people who have never met before. Some of them knew each other sort of and they meet for the first time and what they have in common is the ability to book a show, the love for the festival, and the love for music. So the first time we met we had that awkward dance when you're sharing about your festival and what it is about and theirs and the first was magical. And we will be meeting again in September for the ninth year in a row. (Maureen Chambers: July 22, 2007)

Sharing and exchange is emphasized as the most significant reason for the existence of the group. Because of the exchange and the growing social capital in the group economic capital and human capital exchanges were able to take place. Smaller festivals were able to partner with larger festivals and get price breaks that would not have been possible before membership. They would also get unprecedented access to government information as the group as a whole represented a significant geographical base. It is not unusual for officers from Heritage Canada and Canada Council for the Arts to be invited to the meetings to make presentations about funding programs. This is a type of contact with government funding agencies that

individual festivals would not have been able to organize. WRAD was a stepping-stone towards a unified regional music industry:

We've learned more shared some and just have gotten a different sense. It's like hilltop forts in days of yore and we're trading accoutrements. It's like working in a bell jar we've got no role models but we've got impressions of what were heard about Oregon Country Fair and Mariposa or North Country Fair. Having been to Edmonton Folk Festival and just trying to emulate what they are doing and trying to do it for the right reasons. So when WRAD came along it really helped us to see how big the community is and how many people are involved in working for it, preserving and creating. This beautiful bubble and trying to make it last longer and longer every year. And since WRAD we've come to realize that there are organizations like it across the country, OCFF, one in Quebec or at least one and of course the folk alliance in North America and it seems that everywhere you go there is something like that and they are all connected. (Trent Moranz Interview: July 21, 2007)

It is as if strata, once they reach a certain geographical or representative size, emerge above their local communities and are able to look over the geography of North America and see other assemblages that have emerged beyond their individual communities. At this point each of these assemblages are able to join together and work together. This is precisely what has been happening since 1989 in folk music in North America.

FESTIVAL EXCHANGE VI: WESTFOLK

The solidarity that has produced WRAD is not felt by all of the folk music festivals in western Canada. WRAD is a collection of roughly twenty-one member festivals but there are many more festivals that are not members. WRAD represents the largest festivals in western Canada who hire the largest and most prominent acts on the global folk music circuit. Under these major urban festivals are smaller fests that hire less expensive global and national acts. Below this is a non-centralized assemblage of small festivals that develop relationships through the performers who

help establish assemblages. These assemblages take a variety of forms. Sometimes they are more formal assemblages like the one that the Smithers festival has created with seed money. Other times festivals seek out partners that run a similar festival just before or just after so as to help establish a logical tour structure for regionally touring artists. This assemblage is usually started when artists are booked into a small festival and then look for a logical next festival location. When a number of these artists are booked into or come from the same festival then a relationship tends to develop. Again, in very much the same way as the orchid and the wasp, festivals and artists develop assemblages that help funnel social flows and economic flows for the benefit of both the festival community and the independent artists that work on the circuit.

The smaller festivals allow artists the opportunity to develop regional fan bases whose social capital they can use to help get them into the larger festivals, bigger money, and larger markets. The independent music festival scene in western Canada, which seems to be dominated by the folk festival, has established a dense assemblage of just these sorts of connections. My research has only begun to uncover the apparatus that is at the basis of this assemblage. A great deal more research must be done to systematically sketch out this new approach to the music industry.

FESTIVAL EXCHANGE VII: FOLK ALLIANCE

The non-centralized and sustainable business practices which have emerged alongside the ethical aesthetics central to these folk music festivals suggests a new production of culture model. This approach, to channel flows of social, economic, and artistic capital through non-centralized assemblages, has grown directly out of folk music festivals. This exchange between assemblages is called *Folk Alliance*.

Regional territories are not subservient to a centralized international organization but are members of a large international non-profit assemblages of folk music enthusiasts who get together a few times each year to share, like WRAD members, information, contacts, skills, and strategies. Folk Alliance members are partners in an international folk music community who gather together and share once a year. This cannot be more different than the contemporary industrial capitalist music industry that is currently suffering so much. As the industrial music industry crumbles the folk music community gradually grows larger. Festivals are more successful each year and more and more are started. Artists continue to scrape by and barely make a living or perform music, like many in the folk music world, as a passion or avocation.

FESTIVAL EXCHANGE VIII:

NON-CENTRALIZED GLOBAL CAPITAL OR FOLK GLOBALIZATION

But Folk Alliance does represent an important international assemblage. Members of FA are able to look not just across a country to recognize peers but are able to look around the globe for partners. In the early years of the VFMF then artistic directory Gary traveled on his own to find talented “folk” musicians from around the world. These were nearly always local traditional musicians who had rarely played outside of their own country. But now, thirty years later, traditional musicians from around the world have access to computers and telephone and are applying for performance opportunities at festivals around the world. Through organization like FA booking agents who specialize in representing music talent from their region of the globe get together to share their musical culture. FA is a market place for AD’s to sign performance contracts with musicians from nearly anywhere. WRAD members are able to travel to FA in Memphis or Celtic Connections in

England or WOMAD and hire talent from nearly anywhere. The infrastructure that FA has created allows for the sharing of global music capital through the social economy. But it is also more than this. It is more than just traditional performers becoming artists in a western sense it is cultural capital that is generated when people get together in a market place and exchange their goods in a place of equality. This form of exchange may be similar to what Feld hoped to achieve with *Voices of the Rainforest* when he wrote “we must be equally mindful of the precarious economy of songs, myths, words, and ideas in these mega-diversity zones...The thinning out of ecological systems may proceed at a rate much slower than the rubbing out of culture, but cultural rub-out is a particularly effective way to accelerate ecological thin-out” (Feld 1994, 289). It may be an unexpected place for a response to environmental and global industrial degradation to emerge but this non-centralized association of creative people has defined folk music as just this response.

CONCLUSION:

THE FOLK, SOCIAL CAPITAL, AND THE SOCIAL ECONOMY REVEALED

Deleuze suggested that desire bound social assemblages together. He argued that the BwO was a shared concept and object of desire. Throughout this work I have argued that for the folk music community the folk is a BwO. In chapter one I argued that the BwO of the folk was articulated in a variety of ways and these ways had a direct impact on the shape of the organization which celebrated the folk. Herder’s articulation of the folk and its subsequent transformation into a tenet of nationalism has eclipsed other ways of appreciating the BwO of the folk. The BwO of the folk and the nation were made to be complicit and a variety of assemblages argued this from different point of view. Shaping the BwO of the folk would have

the effect of also shaping the conceptual look and feel of the nation. The importance of the folk revival therefore lies in the fact that the folk was broken away from nationalist discourse and the BwO of the folk freed from its role as the nation personified. The BwO of the folk was freed to be able to serve another role.

By the 1970s the BwO of the folk began to be constructed in a new way. Embraced by a new generation that constructed personal BwO based on a new notion of the folk as community minded and self-reliant festivals to celebrate this BwO began to develop all across western North America. This new model of the folk began to take hold of the imagination of many but seemed to never lose touch with the local, community minded, self-reliant, and sustainable ethics that were part of its first enunciation. Independent music and crafts were mixed with environmental and anti-corporate politics. Community exchange became the guiding principles for this new approach to folk music. Small groups held together by a common purpose began to have small celebrations and build social capital. In larger centers small groups of young people gained access to government funds and established a festival structure that was able to harness the raw social energy of the time. Back-to-the-landers celebrated their carnivals, which for a variety of reasons would harden into festival structures. The wild carnival energy would create social capital and these flows would be harnessed and stored by festival structures. In time these structures were able to harness an increasing amount of social capital and began to exchange social capital for economic capital and were also able to expand their social capital assemblages. Small social gatherings built upon the ephemeral architecture of the carnival were able to produce enough social capital to form the permanent architecture of the festival. This process would happen again to produce

an assemblage of regional size. Again ephemeral social architecture would be turned into permanent architecture. The local festival led to the creation of the non-profit which led to the creation of a regional non-profit which led to the further creation of a national and then international non-profit. Each step allowed for the further exchange of social, economic, and creative capital. Ultimately these assemblages were established to allow independent music to flow through from community to community.

Forty years later I believe we are able to see for the first time a global non-centralized assemblage dedicated to the exchange of independently made music performed for the benefit of local communities and dedicated to the sustainability of the community and to creative expression. What has also occurred is that folk music has been redefined in the process. No longer is it within any of the descriptive frames which have provided some orientation in the past. Folk music, if it is accepted as that which is part of the folk music industry, and there is no reason why this should not be so, then it is any music that is produced by independent creators to be shared within this assemblage. There are plenty of instances where artists play through this assemblage and then become mainstream commercial successes. They rarely come back to any but the largest folk festivals. But does it really matter what the artists do at all? All of the definitions provided for folk music have focused on what the artists do. It is time, as I have shown, to focus not on the individual artists but on the system through which their art is shared and the social impact that system has on the participating individuals and communities.

I have shown that local community not-for-profit organizations built with local volunteer labour and connected internationally for the success of independent

creative artists has great social impacts on western Canadian communities. But maybe mainstream commercial artists coming to town to play giant arenas, backed by a professional touring staff, and supported by a multinational and centralized ticket agency also have positive impacts on local community. But then again maybe not. This is one of the many questions that I will have to leave unanswered.

CHAPTER SIX: THE NEW GARDENER

FUTURE RESEARCH: OH THE FOLKIE PLACES YOU WILL GO!

This study has only begun to scratch the surface of the work that can be done on folk music festivals in western Canada. It seemed that at the festivals I attended I would hear of two or three other smaller festivals that were in the same general area or region. This survey is only the first piece of the much larger puzzle of cultural assemblages. Much more research must be done before anything close to a definitive picture of folk music festival activity in western Canada can be drawn. But even this is only part of the picture. The folk and roots festivals that happen in Ontario, Quebec, and the Atlantic provinces could also get the same sort of treatment that I have demonstrated for western Canada. There are a number of very active community organizations in Northern Canada which must also be included in any survey like this. But even if we could, as a collection of Canadian scholars, map the dense assemblage of folk and roots music festivals the impact had by the federal and provincial ministries like Heritage Canada and the Canada Council for the Arts would also need to be considered. Further, there is an assemblage of radio presenters, booking agents, promoters, folk clubs, and house concerts that are part of the larger folk music assemblage. If these structures were documented then the interface that the musician has with this assemblage could be more clearly explored.

Currently no one knows if the assemblage as it exists can support the development of a folk music artist. The most recent examples -- Ani DiFranco, Feist, the Duhks -- suggest that independent musicians can develop out of the festival assemblage to make a professional living in music beyond this scene. But it is currently unknown if the average musician is able to make a professional living

working only within the folk assemblage. It would be a very interesting study to explore the strategies that folk musicians have to develop in order to navigate the territories I have begun to outline.

Once these have been explored this is still only one aspect of a larger assemblage that exists within the geographical borders of Canada. These territories are connected south of Winnipeg to Minnesota, south of Vancouver to the Pacific coast, south of Ontario to the eastern Coast and east of Quebec to France and east of the Atlantic provinces to Europe. Each of these assemblages has developed its own histories and exerts its own pressures upon the Folk Alliance assemblage. I must admit that from my perspective I only have the faintest impression of how European assemblages operate and have no idea how similar or dissimilar they are from North America.

If this work were to be attempted, a more complete image of the art world of folk music could be articulated. This map would begin to fill out an aspect of the contemporary cultural industries but it could not stop here. Jazz organizations are also cultural assemblages. A national jazz organization also exists in Canada which competes for federal and private funding with folk festivals. I have not discussed the organization of the jazz festivals in this dissertation because it would open such a large door that it would be nearly impossible to close. The jazz festival works alongside the folk festival organizations and puts a significant amount of pressure on some of the larger folk festival organizations. They work closely enough together that the national jazz organization had heard about my research and approached me early on to undertake the same sort of research project for them at the conclusion of this one. The indie rock scene, the blues scene, and the electronic dance music

scenes also require a more systematic exploration if we wish to have a better idea of the operation of the independent culture industries that have been emerging.

Beyond the business of music this project has brought up issues of cultural sustainability that must be considered. Currently, there has not developed any single definition for cultural sustainability but certainly it would begin, like much environmental sustainability research, with a study of the cultural impact of the development of cultural sector. With a base line established one could begin to articulate positive and negative cultural impacts. Copyright, for instance, seems to be a tactic for business to extract a cultural commodity from a community. Under the pretext of promoting innovation multi-national entertainment corporations stripmine culture unchallenged. There may not be a monopoly on the industrialization of culture but there has, until recently, only been one way to do business. As I have illustrated, the folk festival assemblage has begun to articulate an alternative approach to the mainstream culture industries but it remains to be seen how successfully these new industries are able to move wealth into the hands of the community artists themselves.

BACK TO THE GARDEN AND THE NEW GARDENER

In the introduction I discussed the changing role of the gardener. I suggested that the ornamental garden of the 19th century was being replaced by a new approach to urban gardening. During the course of this research I have become much more optimistic about the development of some aspects of youth culture. I have met a large number of young people who were inspired by the work that the hippie generation had undertaken. But this new generation differs from the last in their approach to business. Hippies generally eschewed business for art and community

arguing that the two are mutually exclusive. This bias, as I have tried to point out, has a long and unproductive history that is only beginning, I think, to be overcome. The current generation of politically engaged youth is not dropping out of urban society to create their own rural communities in the way the back-to-the-landers did in the 1970s and 80s. Instead this youth movement is taking the tribal ethics that the hippies developed and are applying it to a new form of culturally oriented business practice that engages with social, cultural, and environmental sustainability. These new business models are built upon social assemblages that neo-tribes have been developing both online and in cultural communities. Some of the more senior members of these communities are working as consultants for larger business to develop their ethical approach to business. No longer is it enough to call yourself organic or fair-trade. It seems that this new community will support locally produced and distributed goods over anything that is imported. Local markets, urban gardens, recycled fabrics used by local designers, and local artists at local events are all much more interesting than big name artists or products.

The exception and irony here is computer technology. This is the Mac savvy generation that is interested in anything that Mac sells. This is a rich area for future analysis. But beyond the Mac phenomenon the aesthetic of local and participatory culture seems to be the most important to the youth with whom I have spoken.

If the garden is a good metaphor for a new type of world than the garden that these youth want is the one that they will build themselves with what they can find. But it will not be a free garden for disinterested contemplation. The new gardener is someone who grows their own foods, plants, and talents to sell at a local market. The new gardener thinks that beautiful is something that is done together

not something that someone else made for you to appraise. The new gardener is critical of government money and skeptical of professional media and is more interested in creating an assemblage themselves to help local artists make a living. The new gardener is interested in participating in the world exchange not in world trade. The new gardener is suspicious of nationalism and prefers a new form of postnational internationalism. The new gardener spends the winter building new tools and then in the summer heads back to the garden.

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APPENDIX 1



-  Vancouver Island Music Festival, COMOX
-  Vancouver Folk Music Festival, VANCOUVER
-  Salmon Arm Roots and Blues, SALMON ARM
-  Canmore Folk Music Festival, CANMORE
-  South Country Fair, FORT MACLEOD
-  Calgary Folk Music Festival, CALGARY
-  Winnipeg Folk Music Festival, WINNIPEG
-  Ness Creek Music Festival, BIG RIVER
-  Edmonton Folk Music Festival, EDMONTON
-  North Country Fair, DRIFTPILE/JOUSSARD
-  Robson Valley Music Festival, DUNSTER
-  Kispiox Folk Music Festival, NEW HASELTON

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