When Performers Have Led the Way: Research, Collaboration, Performance, and Ethics¹

Anthony Seeger

Abstract. Some musicians were acting as applied ethnomusicologists long before the words "Ethnomusicology" and "Musicology" existed. Some musicians without university training or degrees have done excellent field research and collaborated with local musicians to introduce their music to new audiences in ways that would be familiar to 21^s-century applied ethnomusicologists. Some performers have arranged and performed local musical forms with the intention of reducing social marginalization and acting for political change. Applied ethnomusicologists seek to apply their skills outside of academia, and also to contribute to changes in the field of ethnomusicology itself. There are, however, a few serious ethical issues associated with some musical performances that include musical and cultural appropriation and stereotyping. This chapter gives a short examination of musician-"ethnomusicologists" and then focuses on some strategies that Pete Seeger, Mike Seeger, and Peggy Seeger used in their performance-based applied ethnomusicology projects in the United States and England during the second half of the 20th century. Some of their actions may still be relevant to applied ethnomusicology and musical performance in the 21st.

The Applied Ethnomusicology Study Group defines applied ethnomusicology as an "approach guided by principles of social responsibility, which extends the usual academic goal of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding toward solving concrete problems and toward working both inside and beyond typical academic contexts" (ICTM Study Group for Applied Ethnomusicology 2020). While a few music scholars have been working at solving concrete problems outside of academia for over a century (A. Seeger 2006), musicians have been doing something similar for much longer. Performers and composers have been guided by principles of social responsibility and have acted toward solving concrete problems through their music for centuries. Not all of them, of course. And music has been used to repress and control people as well as to mobilize or liberate them. I suspect there are examples of engaged musicians to be found in every country, but I have not done any comparative research on this and restrict my examples to a small group of family members and acquaintances. Readers may know of similar groups of musicians in their own countries or research areas. Since I am speaking about such a broad topic and using only a few examples, I probably do an injustice to

^{1.} I prepared this paper in response to the themes of this conference and the missions of the different institutions involved in this study group meeting: the ICTM Applied Ethnomusicology Study Group, the Lucerne School of Music, the Department of Composition, Electroacoustics, and Tonmeister Education of MDW–University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, and the Swiss Society for Ethnomusicology. In my keynote I wanted to address a topic that might be interesting to all the participants. Because libraries were closed due to COVID restrictions, this presentation is more of a "thought piece" than a broadly researched paper.

musicians, composers, and ethnomusicologists. My apologies in advance.

What, then, is the difference between an ethnomusicology that is guided by principles of social responsibility and a similarly guided composition and performance practice? Are they the same thing? While the social commitment of using one's professional activities to address concrete problems is found in both groups, the two are not the same. Ethnomusicology is a field of investigation, and applied ethnomusicologists are trying to change and improve the discipline of which they are a part and the attitudes of the institutions in which they work in addition to effecting changes outside academia. They are committed to the critical examination of their methods and achievements and to improving those methods through comparative study. Composers and musicians with similar values are more often trying to change the attitudes of audiences toward music and social change. They have their own struggles to be heard. They may agitate for changes in the institutions and industry of which they are a part—the media outlets, booking agencies, Internet restrictions, and of course censorship and violence (see www.freemuse.org).

The difference between an applied ethnomusicologist and a musician is not always large. Many ethnomusicologists are also performers and some performers have done extensive research on a musical tradition they admire and wish to learn. Their research and publications have contributed to thinking about music as well as to performing it. This chapter will give some examples of musicians who used their skills to create meaningful social change and also of musicians/composers who did extensive research in order to clarify the similarities and differences between applied ethnomusicology and socially engaged musicianship.

I will begin with the most popular U.S. singing group in the mid-19th century, the Hutchinson Family (performing 1840s-1880s). Then I'll move to three of my relatives: Pete Seeger (1919-2014), Mike Seeger (1933-2019), and Peggy Seeger (b. 1935). I present them as examples of specific kinds of musical and research activities. Pete is an example of a musician, songwriter, and activist who used music to further political causes and social agendas. Mike is an example of a musician-collector who sought to bring regional music styles and performers he admired to new audiences for renewed appreciation and revival and to ensure their transmission to younger performers. Peggy is an example of a musician living in a land different from that in which she was born. She is a topical song writer, and women's rights activist who also studied vernacular US and UK music traditions and performed many traditional Child ballads. Pete was an uncle, Mike a half-uncle and Peggy a half-aunt of mine.² Each of these three represents a

^{2.} These descriptions are very incomplete. There is an extensive bibliography on Pete Seeger (see Dunaway 2008), who wrote several books of his own. There are books about Mike Seeger (Malone 2011) and the group he played with for many years (Allen 2010). Peggy Seeger has written her own memoir (Seeger 2017) and is the subject of a biography (Freedman 2017).

larger group of musicians.

Singers and composers of songs of protest and struggle in the USA: 1840-2000: Creating and performing music for social change

Composers and performers in the United States (and in many other places) have a long history of writing and performing songs of protest, and struggle, in an effort to convince people to change their lives. Songs have been written to unite the nation for war (Kraaz 2019), to elect politicians (Silber 1971), to mobilize union organizing (IWW 1923), to obtain equal rights (Carawan & Carawan 1990), and to highlight the concerns of marginalized or oppressed communities and individuals (Peggy Seeger 1998 and 2001 among others). Large concerts have been used to raise money to support social justice and relief efforts. Applied ethnomusicologists and musicians alike have used radio programs, record companies, festivals, and other performance venues to pursue social agendas.

Why are songs powerful? The labor songwriter for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Joe Hill, probably described the power of song best in 1914: "A pamphlet, no matter how good, is never read more than once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated over and over" (cited in L. Taylor 1990:1). He went on to write "I maintain that if a person can put a few cold, common sense facts into a song and dress them in a cloak of humor to take the dryness off them, he will succeed in reaching a great number of workers" (ibid). A catchy tune with clever lyrics can carry ideas directly to people's physical beings and minds.

One of the best ways to make a song easy to learn is to write new lyrics to the melody of an already popular song. People can learn it quickly and teach it to others. Many 19th and early 20thcentury song sheets and books of topical songs did not include musical notation but instead gave the name of the well-known song to which the lyrics could be sung. In the 20th century these were sometimes known as "zipper songs." You took an existing song, zipped it open, took out the old lyrics and put in new ones, and zipped it back up. The result: Instant song! The U.S. National Anthem was one of these. Originally a poem, it was sung to the melody of a popular English drinking song in the midst of a war with England. Composers also wrote original melodies for protest music, especially after the middle of the 20th century.3

The tradition of using song to express political ideas has flourished, declined, and flourished again in the United States during the past two hundred years. The socially conscious songs of such songwriters and performers as Jesse Hutchinson, Joe Hill, John Handcox, Aunt Molly

^{3.} Music is also composed and performed to incite change in a more banal way: to motivate people to buy certain products. Timothy Taylor opens The Sounds of Capitalism with the observation "Music has power. Musicians know it, listeners know it. And so do advertisers" (Timothy Taylor 2019: 1). Motivating people to make certain choices is as important for selling ice cream as for electing a president or ending a war. But this is too large a topic to cover in this paper, which will focus more on social and political engagement than commercial motivations.

Jackson, Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, Malvina Reynolds, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, Gil Turner, Jim Collier, Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Holly Near, and Bruce Springsteen, among many others, have had a powerful impact on those who listened to them, as have the later rhythmic speech, beats, and sampling of hip-hop artists and rappers more recently.

The Hutchinson Family Singers, mid-19th century musician-activists

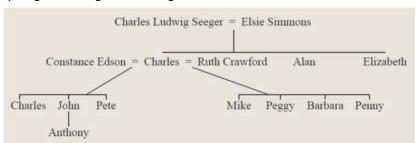
The Hutchinson Family Singers was one of the most popular vocal groups in mid-19th-Century United States and became an outright campaigner for the abolition of slavery, the election of Abraham Lincoln, temperance, and other causes (Cockrell 2001). A large family of 11 boys and 2 girls originally from the State of New Hampshire in the northeast of the USA, they were inspired to perform after seeing some Austrian Tyrolese traveling minstrels in a nearby town. Their first concert was in 1840. They were admired for their close four-part harmony and helped to popularize the style. At first, they sang mostly European songs. In 1843 they expanded their repertoire and added anti-slavery songs for which they became famous in the North and lost favor in other parts of the country. They wrote a famous election song for Abraham Lincoln's 1860 presidential campaign, called "Lincoln and Liberty Too," and set it set to a popular melody, "Old Rosin the Beau." During Lincoln's election campaign they sang at political rallies and later at the White House. Other performing artists, of widely different political persuasions have participated in election campaigns and performed at the White House over the 160 years since.

Hybrid musicologists: Applying music and applying musicology in the USA

Charles Seeger

Musicology took shape as an academic field in the late 19th century and ethnomusicology emerged in the mid-20th century. Some individuals mixed composition, performing, and scholarship. Charles Seeger and his son Pete were good examples of a mixture of applied ethnomusicology, composing, and performing.⁴ Charles Seeger (1886-1979) trained as a composer and created the first musicology course in the U.S. at the University of California, Berkeley (Pescatello: 57). He lost that job because of his opposition to the US involvement in

^{4.} Simplified chart showing the relationship among the Seegers mentioned in this presentation. Read left to right for eldest to youngest marriages and siblings.



World War I. He spent the next thirty years doing what can be described as applied musicology and composition. He composed a complex jazz-influenced song praising Lenin in 1919 and rounds about the very rich in the 1930s. He and a group of composers founded the Composer's Collective in 1933 to prepare music to inspire the proletariat and to replace the old music. C. Seeger was also one of the founders of the American Musicological Society, the International Music Council, and later the Society for Ethnomusicology. He delivered a pioneering paper to the American Musicological Society on music and government that described opportunities for an applied musicology (C. Seeger 1944). Arguing that many government programs could use music, he criticizes musicology for being too backward-looking to be of help and asks two questions:

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

He doubts that many musicologists would be interested. Yet many ethnomusicologists are making that reorientation. Charles Seeger stated something in a short 1939 article on applied musicology that I believe to be true for the role of applied ethnomusicology within the larger field of ethnomusicology:

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

Charles Seeger based his call for an applied musicology on his experiences in the social transformations of the Great Depression and the New Deal policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He was aware of the dangers of government regulation, and his argument was subtle. His short article is still well worth reading. Jeff Titon has suggested that the political manipulation of music and social engineering in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s may have led post-World War II ethnomusicologists to distrust applied work and therefore ignore C. Seeger's more optimistic framing of the opportunities for professional involvement in applied projects. The Applied Ethnomusicology Section of the Society for Ethnomusicology was only formed in 1998, though it is now among the Society's largest sections (Titon 2021: 115).

Pete Seeger

Charles Seeger's third son, Pete, was also a creator of organizations. In addition, he excelled as a

performer and songwriter. Like his father, he had a long and committed life (see Dunaway 2008, Pete Seeger 2009). He took an activist approach to music, but also did research on the songs he was singing and would often present them in their historical contexts in his famous sing-along concerts that were also a bit like illustrated lectures. Pete attended occasional meetings of the Society for Ethnomusicology. He was a founding member of successful musical groups, founding editor of several song publications, a booking agency, a folk festival, and an environmental project. His life was a constant application of music and words to move people to political action or understanding. He successfully withstood the political and financial pressures of government investigations and industry blacklisting for his political beliefs in the 1950s, but only with considerable family sacrifice and the success of his songs when they were recorded by other artists.

Mike Seeger

If Charles and Pete Seeger can be described as a combination of musicologist and composerperformers, Charles Seeger's fourth son, Mike, was an example of a performer who devoted many years to research with largely rural musicians in the southern United States and brought the results of his research to the public through recordings, films, tours with traditional artists, and solo performances (see Malone 2011). He was one of the founders of The New Lost City Ramblers, a trio that specialized in performing and calling attention to what they dubbed "pre-Bluegrass" string band music. He produced many LP records from his field recordings. Later in life he systematically, in audio and video productions, presented what he had learned of the musical styles he had researched (Smithsonian Folkways Recordings published most of his recordings). Mike did not have an overtly political agenda, but rather a cultural one of celebrating the artistry of vernacular southern music and musicians and encouraging younger generations of musicians to respect and play it.

Peggy Seeger

Peggy Seeger (b. 1935), Charles Seeger's oldest daughter, is also a professional musician. Like her brother Mike, she grew up listening to her mother transcribe early field recordings for John and Alan Lomax and her own song collections for children. Like her older brothers, her performance style draws on the vernacular traditions of the Southern US and the UK. Unlike Mike, she did not do extensive field research on southern musicians. She composed and performed topical songs in a variety of styles. Politically engaged from an early age, Peggy visited China against the wishes of the US State Department in 1957 and had her passport withdrawn. She managed to settle in the UK, where she married the political songwriter and performer Ewan MacColl. They were both part of the folk music revival in the UK. Her repertoire extends from unaccompanied ballad singing—she and Ewan recorded over 15 LPs of ballads—to sophisticated piano-accompanied topical songs of her own composition. She has participated in

protests and written songs about nuclear weapons, women's rights, prejudice, environmental degradation, and many other issues. After the fall of the USSR, she was among those offered an opportunity to apply for her US passport and moved to the US for a while before moving back to the UK. In the 21st century she began to tour with her son Calum MacColl. Like her father and brothers, Peggy brought to her songwriting and performing an analytic mind, historical awareness of the songs she sang, and consummate musicianship. She writes with incisive wit and passion and describes herself as an eco-feminist. She recorded several albums with Mike Seeger and occasionally performed joint concerts with Mike and Pete. During the COVID epidemic in 2020-2021 she created her own short-form online concert series and released a new CD, First Farewell.

An idiosyncratic view of Applied Ethnomusicology

What is the difference between what the musicians I have mentioned have done and what applied ethnomusicologists do? All three may do research and perform music for political, educational, or cultural reasons. Ethnomusicology is an academic discipline whose roots and practices vary in different parts of the world. Ethnomusicology combines the study of the sounds of music with the study of the social processes in which music is created, performed, heard, and interpreted. In the United States, many ethnomusicologists in the 1950s and 1960s focused much of their energy on institutionalizing ethnomusicology within university structures. Ethnomusicologists sought to broaden the study of music, especially in music departments that had previously focused almost exclusively on the concert music of Europe. Ethnomusicologists, like scholars in other emerging university disciplines, established their own journals, held their own academic conferences, and developed distinctive graduate programs. Getting a job in academia was encouraged, and doing anything else was considered less prestigious (Titon 2020: 87-119).

Applied ethnomusicologists, meanwhile, wanted to take the insights of ethnomusicology and use them for other purposes than college teaching. But the biggest difference between applied music and applied ethnomusicology is that applied ethnomusicologists want the results of their work to beincorporated into and to change the field of ethnomusicology, its objectives, methods, and the way it is taught. I, for example, have written about the largely ignored history of applied ethnomusicologists within the Society for Ethnomusicology and argued for the importance of the subfield for the field ethnomusicology (A. Seeger 1996). Many applied ethnomusicologists would agree with Charles Seeger's adage from 1939 I cited above: "Without an applied [ethno]musicology, the pure study [of music] must of necessity know less well where it stands, where it is going, where its weak links are, what motivation lies behind it, and what ends it serves" (C. Seeger 1939:17). Applied ethnomusicologists are always listening to one another to improve their understanding of the methods and challenges of what they are doing.

That is one reason the ICTM study group on Applied Ethnomusicology exists. It is a meeting place where we learn from one another and through which we hope to shape the field of ethnomusicology. Musicians collaborate as well, but most of them are not interested in changing university curricula and academic structures Both ethnomusicologists and musicians share concerns about the efficacy and ethics of what they are doing.

An ethical issue facing musicians and ethnomusicologists: Whose song is this?

One of the issues confronting musicians and composers today is about the use of the musical ideas of other communities in their compositions and performances. Who owns music? If you learn a traditional song from a local artist, is it ethical for you to copyright an arrangement of it without crediting the source of your inspiration? Is it ethical to make money on your arrangements and not give some of it to the sources of the song? Under the copyright legislation of the United States, it is legal to copyright arrangements of traditional material. But what is legal may not always be ethical, and what is ethical may not always be legal. The 1996 issue of the ICTM Yearbook for Traditional Music was largely devoted to descriptions of these problems (see also A. Seeger 2012).

One of the reasons I used my family members' work as examples above is that I know more about their actions regarding traditional musicians and their music than I do about other musicians. Pete Seeger did not usually copyright his arrangements of US traditional music. 5 He stated that he was just passing the songs on and likened the songs to pebbles in a stream—he was just polishing them as many others had before him. He did copyright his own compositions. He also took musicians he admired on tours with him, or shared concerts with them. Mike Seeger was even more scrupulous. He arranged performances for some of those he worked with and drove artists - Dock Boggs, Elizabeth Cotton, and others - to their concert and festival appearances (M. Seeger 1988). He gave credit to the people from whom he learned the songs he performed and as far as I know did not claim arrangement credits or copyright traditional material in his name. Peggy Seeger did not copyright arrangements of traditional songs but did copyright her own compositions. She wrote: "The temptation to plunder folk music, to change it into something else seems universal. It's a process that can totally alter the meaning and the social—i.e. political—purpose of folk song" (Peggy Seeger 2017: 407). Many folk revival musicians copyrighted their "arrangements" of traditional songs and failed to credit the sources.

The question of who may use which aspects of music of communities other than the ones they were born into remains a challenging one for musicians and ethnomusicologists alike. When is the use of another community's sounds, forms, and melodies exploitative, orientalist, or simply

^{5.} Music from other countries presented different issues, as in the South African "Mbube" and the Cuban "Guantanamera." Pete has been criticized for how he used some of these songs and how his publishing company credited them.

objectionable? When is it admirable, respectful, and appropriate? On a very basic level, whom should you ask for permission? Attitudes of respect and active collaborations among musicians and across musical communities are a step in the right direction, as are written contracts or recorded verbal agreements. But once financial benefit is a consideration these relationships become even more difficult. So far there is no single answer. Pete, Mike, and Peggy Seeger struggled with this issue as do many musicians today.

International copyright conventions and national legislations generally benefit literate, urban, market-oriented composers and musicians. They rarely benefit colonized peoples or nonliterate traditional musicians in rural areas. In the 19th century, folk music was thought to be "communally composed" or anonymous and was excluded from copyright for most of the 20th century. Further investigation showed that in many cases local musicians know very well who created a certain piece, but it may be too long ago to benefit them financially. As ethnomusicologists, musicians, and legislators examine White privilege and colonial assumptions in the aftermath of the upheavals of 2020, the issue of who may properly sing whose songs will probably change further. Ethics are shifting sands, and what was deemed right at one time and place—whether justifiably or not— may be deemed criminal at another (A. Seeger 1996). Musicians, composers, and ethnomusicologists need to be attentive to issues of ownership, recognition, and who benefits from their activities. But the correct and consistent attribution of sources is a good place to start, and an equitable division of benefits from joint projects seems now to be an obvious necessity.

Applied Ethnomusicology and engaged music in 2021

In 2021 applied ethnomusicology is having a profound impact on the field of ethnomusicology. The two-volume Transforming Ethnomusicologies, edited by Beverley Diamond and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo Branco (2021), and Ethnomusicology Matters: Influencing Social and Political Realities, edited by Ursula Hemetek, Marko Kölbl, and Hande Sağlam (2019) both grew out of ITCM and SEM sponsored events that focused on transforming ethnomusicology by applying it in new contexts. Both the Society for Ethnomusicology and the ICTM have recently approved new statements about ethical professional behavior.⁶

In 2021 there are some financial resources for undertaking applied ethnomusicological work, though support varies by country and political context. Agility, ingenuity, and fundraising appear to be required almost everywhere in order to obtain them. Although the US government may not be providing the large sums of money for applied ethnomusicology projects Charles Seeger

^{6.} Of the two, the 2019 ICTM Declaration of Ethical Principles is more general since it is formally an international organization and it must respect the diversity of the situations in which its members work and research: https://ictmusic.org/documents/ethics. The SEM "Position Statement on Ethics" approved in 1998 is available at https://www.ethnomusicology.org/general/custom.asp?page=EthicsStatement.

described in 1939, ethnomusicologists are deeply engaged in bringing more musical diversity to all levels of music education, organizing events to bring musicians to new audiences, and defending the rights of musicians to benefit from their performances.

Ethnomusicologists and musicians in 2021 face many of the same challenges with respect to funding, ethics, and the application of their ideas and art to the difficult problems of our times. This paper can do no more than highlight some of the long history of socially engaged musicians who have sought to change their worlds through music and some of the efforts of ethnomusicologists to change their field and their worlds. This paper is like the simplified family chart in Footnote 4. The full story is much more complicated. I have left out of the chart all of my many cousins and their families and the spouses of my father's generation. This paper is a bare-bones treatment of just a few of the issues faced by applied ethnomusicology and socially engaged musicianship. I have been thinking and writing about music ownership and applied ethnomusicology for many years. In fact, three generations of Seegers have thought or written about music ownership and engaged musicianship. Perhaps readers of this chapter will be able to take our ideas further or criticize them into an historical footnote. I hope so, and good luck!

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