

**WHAT IS MUSIC FOR?:
UTOPIAN ECOMUSICOLOGIES AND
MUSICKING HORNBY ISLAND**

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Abstract

This dissertation concerns making music as a utopian ecological practice, skill, or method of associative communication where participants temporarily move towards idealized relationships between themselves and their environment. Live music making can bring people together in the collective present, creating limited states of unification. We are “taken” by music when utopia is performed and brought to the present. From rehearsal to rehearsal, band to band, year to year, musicking binds entire communities more closely together. I locate strategies for community solidarity like turn-taking, trust-building, gift-exchange, communication, fundraising, partying, education, and conflict resolution as plentiful within musical ensembles in any socially environmentally conscious community.

Based upon 10 months of fieldwork and 40 extended interviews, my theoretical assertions are grounded in immersive ethnographic research on Hornby Island, a 12-square-mile Gulf Island between mainland British Columbia and Vancouver Island, Canada. I describe how roughly 1000 Islanders struggle to achieve environmental resilience in a uniquely biodiverse region where fisheries collapsed, logging declined, and second-generation settler farms were replaced with vacation homes in the 20th century. Today, extreme gentrification complicates housing for the island’s vulnerable populations as more than half of island residents live below the poverty line. With demographics that reflect a median age of 62, young individuals, families, and children are squeezed out of the community, unable to reproduce Hornby’s alternative society.

This dissertation begins with theorization that connects music making to community and environmental thought. I then represent the challenges Islanders set for themselves and the

struggles they face, like their desire for food sovereignty, off-grid energy, secure housing, protection of their aquifers, affordability of ferry transportation, ecological waste-cycles, and care for each other's mental health. I bring attention to unique institutions that Islanders have created to better manage their needs and desires. In response to the island's social and environmental dynamics of justice, I argue and demonstrate through ethnography that music making is an essential communal process that brings people together to dialogue about their needs and advance their goals to establish a more equitable and environmentally responsible community.

Dedication

For Tempest Grace Gale: You are on the lips of everyone who speaks of music herein. And for Hilary Newitt Brown: Hornby could have never become the case study of this dissertation without your influence. The politics of these two individuals were astonishing, unflinching, and embodied. They are also well remembered, cherished, and contain so many of those things I would like to see grow in my selves in place.

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This dissertation is a product of process and people. I want to acknowledge the dissertation defence taking place on the traditional territories of the Mississauga of the New Credit First Nation, the Huron-Wendat Nation, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and the Metis Nation of Ontario, and locate of the dissertation's subject community of Hornby Island on the traditional territories of the Pentlach, the K'ómox, We Wai Kai, and Klahoose First Nations. My thanks to Meredith and Olin McEvoy, and all my family for your sacrifice and encouragement. My thanks to Ken McEvoy and Judi McCallum in particular for your welcome, your home, your childcare, and your support whenever we needed it. My thanks to all my friends and peers at York, Amanda Di Battista, Sally Morgan, Sonja Killoran-McKibben, Ellen Sweeney, and David Font in particular for your respect and console. My thanks to everyone on Hornby and in particular all the musicians and artists who directly contributed to this research and the people who made our stay on the island so worthwhile. Without the sponsorship of the Martens family, this research would not have ever come about. My special thanks to my supervisor Peter Timmerman, and to my committee members, Catriona Sandilands and Gage Averill, and also to Rob Simms for your genuine tireless support and belief in the value of my work. Thank you Angie and Charlie Keil, and Albert Chimedza for your wisdom, friendship, and love. My thanks to ecomusicologists everywhere for helping to create a home for this work and to Tyler Kinnear, Mark Pedelty, and Aaron Allen in particular, and to Mark Pedelty again for being my external examiner. My thanks to Sherry Johnson for being my internal-external examiner, and to Leesa Fawcett for representing our faculty at the defence. My thanks to my faculty for taking a chance on what I trust I have convinced you is a worthwhile and proliferating pursuit within the world of

environmental thought and our community at York. Most importantly, my thanks to the ancestors for lending us your charge. Michael Marcuzzi, Christopher Small, are you listening? We are lost, and we are playing for you to help us.

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Introduction

I think it's great that there's mystery in life, and this is one of the things that I don't waste my time thinking about, like, "how does it work?": I don't fucking give a shit how it works. As long as it works, I'm happy. I really don't care about how it works and as much as even a [formal] music education, as much as it's been a great thing [to create music schools] because it exposes more people to the possibility that they might see something great in this thing [called music], it also cheapens it, and codifies very important spiritual things, in a way, into formulas. And this is always a dangerous thing, I mean, in anything in life not just music, wherever you "get" something...you're treading on dangerous ground a bit, because you're taking something that's beyond that, and you're distilling it into a very small part of what it is...I still think the best way to learn anything is from the hearing, or orally from someone you know or by a record or CD or... because these are things that get right inside you. You have to do the work; to learn. When you learn something from a piece of paper you're always going to need that piece of paper probably to pull it off. (Wilson 2013)¹

It's always hard to put it into words, that's why I play music sometimes. (Law 2013)

To begin, I wish to emphasize how seriously I take Tony Wilson's caution about codifying the musical and spiritual through educational institutions.² Truly—though I know he was not speaking about this dissertation—how much closer to the mark could he have been? Am I not mired in his concern? In the spirit of his admonition, I have tried to "do the work," and it is more than these following "piece[s] of paper." What follows is an ongoing iterative process; something that Tony Law, one of Hornby's Islands Trust representatives, knows is really beyond words. If there are moments when the narrative is challenging or poorly articulated, they exist not because the work is necessarily complex, or because I am hedging, but because I am advancing a search for things that aren't well articulated and do not have much of a discipline. And so, in my process here, I varyingly succeed and fail to articulate such mysteries. My editors and advisors have very different disciplinary backgrounds, and so I try to make as few

¹ In order to bring attention to and distinguish the voices of Hornby Islanders, all Islanders are cited in grey or, occasionally noted in grey to provide missing context.

² I have published and forthcoming work on just what a problem this is for Zimbabwean music in particular: this was the focus of my M.A.

assumptions as possible about what disciplines my reader brings to the text. As such, I regularly restate my goals so as to keep various readers on the same page. One result of the editorial process is that perhaps while the whole improved in wonderful ways, everyone is left feeling a little short-changed. Why is this?

Because of the nature of environmental studies, and because this began as an ethnomusicological intervention into environmental thought, there are some rather large interdisciplinary gaps to span. As such, I insert my subjectivity into every aspect of the work and regularly address my reader to summarize the shifting footing of interdisciplinary scholarship I use. From beginning to end, this dissertation is a chronicle of my struggle to demonstrate that environmental activists need art for much more than a soundtrack to our revolution and a samba band to march beside. By the end of the dissertation, the vision of easy youthful ecotopian music making that Hornby Island initially appears to offer develops into something much more complicated, troubled, and hopeful than what at first feels like hallucinatory transcendentalism.

This dissertation is about some of the relationships that I see between environmental thought and music making. In particular I discuss the importance of making music for building community solidarity. In order to flesh out my argument, I develop ethnographic documentation of the importance of music making for the community of Hornby Island in British Columbia, Canada. In this small and isolated space, music making plays an essential role in social life. This community expresses concern for issues of social and environmental justice, and tries to put their beliefs into action in their daily lives. Relative to the rest of North America, some of their accomplishments to this end are remarkable. Islanders deal with the same problems other North Americans do, and sometimes with less success, but they also deal with a variety of issues that their geography determines, a geography that is a relatively closed loop: a planet of their own.

This dissertation speaks to themes of justice. I invoke social and environmental justice to describe Hornby's central problems by arguing that the local year-round human population is rapidly losing its capacity to govern and perpetuate Hornby Island's unique social and environmental cultural complex and institutions. Hornby Island currently faces pressing challenges of social and environmental reproduction. Gentrification on Hornby Island is at an all time extreme. The cost of living, the cost of ferries, and the insecurity of housing have combined to drive young people and children off of the island, preventing them from returning, from investing, and from establishing themselves. Currently over 20 adults and 10 children are searching for secure, stable, indoor housing on an island with about as many children in the entire K-8 school: this in a place where over half of all houses are empty for 10 months or more a year. The conditions for encouraging the culture of alternative and ecological thought that people come to the island to experience are rapidly falling away. As more homes are bought and built—and these homes are not mere “cabins and cottages” but are large multi-room dwellings—with owners who do not care to see people live in their second, or third investment homes, there are fewer and fewer places to house people on the island who might contribute to the social existence of the island in any way, including care for the now dominant elderly resident population. This comes as a direct consequence of conflict between: a) the desires of off-Islanders for housing that is not intended for renting, and b) the capacity of permanent residents to retain a local income that can allow them to purchase property in an escalating housing market. Hornby is losing the legitimacy and functional capacity of its unique governing institutions because it cannot renew itself. The subversive Hornby of embodied social and environmental thought and critique is faded. Established newcomers are generally wealthy retirees who have the time and resources to steer Hornby's future. “Amenity migration” (Gosnell

and Abrams 2011) is putting privatization, relaxation, rentals, and retirement above the priorities of young and more diverse people.³ The exclusive privileged gaze and experience of Hornby’s natural and cultural attractions is suffocating the social diversity the island requires to democratically protect, monitor, use, and care for the island: to be the place people migrated to.

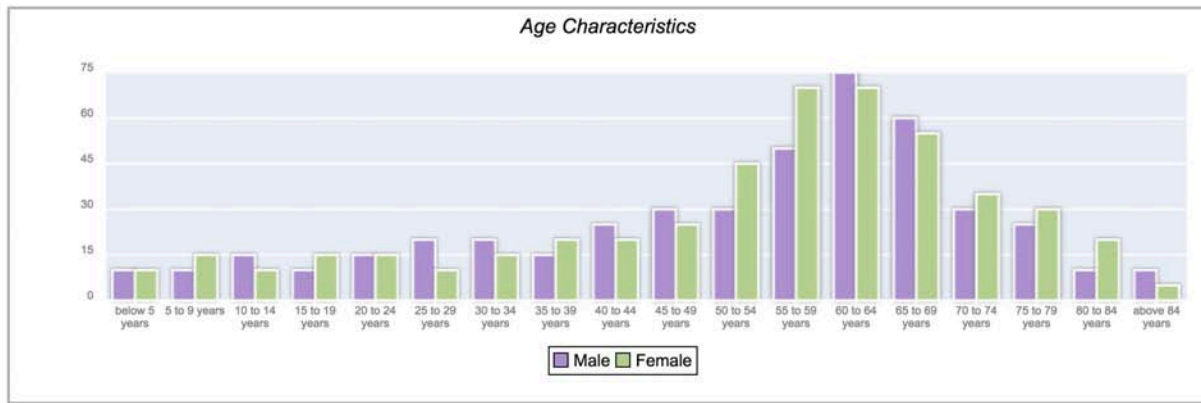


Figure 1: These Hornby Island demographics represent data from 2006 and 2011, and the curve has continued to shift upwards. For comparison, the median age in the province is approximately 42 (City-Data 2015).

Additionally, increasing reliance on and promotion of tourism is eroding the island’s environmental attributes, stressing its resources, and has resulted in questionably legal and precarious real-estate and housing norms. Such extreme reliance on tourism to offset the cost of living is damaging any hope of a sustainable year-round economy, and is gutting the capacity of Islanders to respond to these same problems by silencing younger voices through exclusion. The vagaries of fickle tourists, the value of the Canadian dollar, and ferry fees dominate the community’s discourse of the future: not a plan for resilience. As I demonstrate, these problems are not merely the last gasp of the 1960s and 1970s counter-culture movement on the island, where the histogram bars will literally march off the right side of the graph in Figure 1, but rather, these issues amount to the wholesale spatial purchase and ownership of the available year-round residential capacity of the island to repopulate itself physically and therefore

³ McMahon describes similar conflicts on other Gulf Islands, where newcomers want idyllic local produce and markets without the reality of next-door farm smells and noises (2004).

ideologically. Some local Islanders are working very hard to respond to these problems and all seem aware of it. Most of them have a detailed appreciation of the problem. But the speed of gentrification far outpaces the growth of new opportunities and wider realization of the situation, particularly for Hornby's land-owning, absentee members, doubly so for those who have inherited properties that they visited in their youth when demographics seemed balanced.

By invoking the concept of “justice”—for all species—it is not my intention to misrepresent the historical and current primary elements of the conditions that readily come to mind when considering environmental and social justice. Though my study is focused on White, rural North Americans and their relationship with their island, I am within the parameters of justice discourse, particularly with reference to gentrification and displacement:

Gentrification issues are intimately connected to environmental justice, as community stability and access to neighborhoods are at stake. They are also the quintessential case of the growth machine in action. Since disinvested [rural] areas are the places where rehabilitation [and building] is most profitable, they are particularly vulnerable to development pressures. Therefore, the low-income and minority residents of these places are likely to be concerned about displacement and the effects of development on their quality of life. (Gin and Taylor 2010: 83)

Within Canadian environmental studies, the gentrification of more remote rural spaces is not well considered as I suspect housing density transforms visibility. On Hornby Island, properties may be large, but space and building possibilities are highly constrained.

Within this context of an uncertain future and fragmented rural island society, I investigate the importance of music making in close detail. I examine the role of music making for solidarity. I find that the strength of bonds and experiences that Hornby's musical community shares keep people invested in the island through what are trying times of insecurity. Music making provides much needed glue, solace, and purpose. I focus on musical participation and the participation of the community in making music a really important part of life on Hornby. I

emphasize dialogue and inclusion, hierarchy and ego, and the interpersonal negotiations required to make music. I reveal the social networks needed for rehearsals and for the production of shows. Finally I detail the minutiae of conflict over the smallest of aspects of musical groove. My intervention shows how almost any act of music making sets an entire community to vibrating, improves solidarity, and involves so much more than who is on stage.

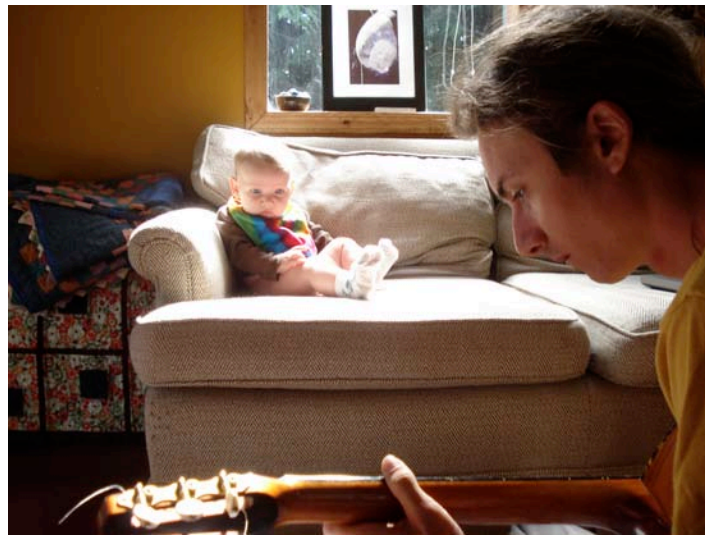


Figure 2: Brett Martens and his 3-month-old daughter in June 2011. After Brett had lived on the island for seven years in different spaces, tents, trailers, caravans, and homes, with his new partner, Faith, and baby, they were able to secure very modest year-round housing by making a desperate plea to the community in the local paper.

While the setting of this dissertation may be within the complexity of British Columbia's notorious coastal gentrification, in the main, the two academic discourses I contribute to are concerned with a) linkages between environmental practices, ethos, and consciousness and b) musical habits, musicians, and practices. The substance of this dissertation involves an ethnographic account of life on Hornby Island, the utopian elements of that community's background, and the importance of the arts generally on the island. I theorize the importance of music making for society and environment generally and universally, and then investigate my

theory locally by showing how music making responds to the conditions of the moment on Hornby. My conclusions bring home the relevance of justice for this research.

To restate, the dissertation begins with an argument for the importance of music for community solidarity and the environmental movement generally. I then move to a description of Hornby as my case-study community that struggles for solidarity. I end by highlighting the manner in which music making on Hornby offers a collective response to conditions of social and environmental injustice on the island and elsewhere. Figure 3 provides an overview.

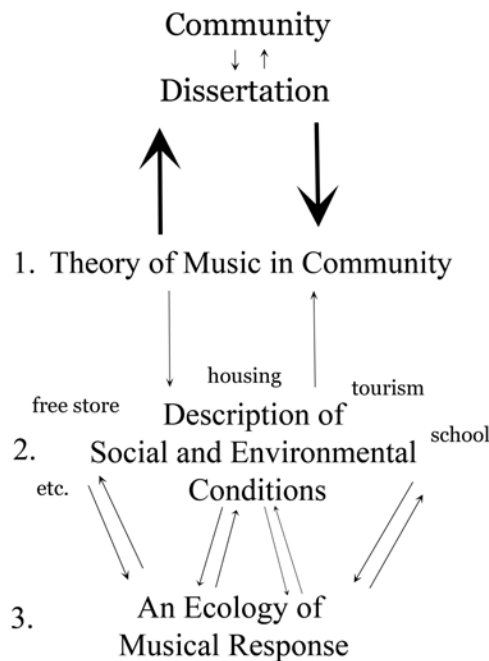


Figure 3: This chart represents the idealized organizational flow of this dissertation moving from Section I to II and III, suggesting reciprocity with Hornby Island and other communities.

This dissertation is divided into three main sections. The first section deals with theory, the second offers ethnographic details of Hornby, and the third situates music making and thinking about music making on Hornby as a response to the island and broadly to our society.

My goal in Chapter 1 is to demonstrate that from a critical phenomenological perspective, music making is an important practice of individual/community negotiation, and therefore helps

build those skills that are needed for cooperative endeavor, including the pursuit of (ecological) utopia, however elusive it may be. I approach music primarily as a method for communication, and I assume communication is requisite for human group life, where our being, our reality, and our meaning-making capacities are constructed as we grow through social interactions and encounters with institutions and environments. At its most fundamental, music making communicates that: “we are communicating together here in this moment.” I describe the essential role that music making has for creating and maintaining community and the ways in which music making can influence our experiences of environment. I lay the groundwork for my assertion that music is a practice that requires and promotes meaningful social activity and negotiation. I tie together the manner in which utopian movements of community and utopian practices of music making intersect and reinforce one another to produce moments of actual communal unity and (human) utopia, particularly in communities like Hornby Island. Within such context, I show how Hornby’s culture can be compared to a variety of utopian movements.

While explaining my theories of utopia(s), I also theorize the kinds of participatory and dialogic experiences that musicians negotiate in order to practice their art and come to consensus on meaning, group identity, and musical purpose. I describe the height of utopian musical encounter as a blended self-and-Other. This liminal space is important for understanding how people experience music making change in relationship to one another and their environment. Because this dissertation is about a small island, where space is literally signified and re-signified by musical occasions and encounters, I also take the time to highlight the ways in which the geography of isolated spaces and rural communities constrain spatial signification, where place takes on multiple layers of memory and meaning. I suggest that such processes of

recursion tie Islanders, islands, and island musics together in a density of spatial signification that is quite thick (Dawe 2004): a (musically) intensified experience of and attachment to place.

Moving from the theoretical to the actual, Chapter 2 describes the recent settler history of the island, emphasizing representations of Hornby that explain its current reputation as an artist colony, a refuge for American armed forces defectors and draft dodgers, back-to-landers, and hippies. Given my social constructivist leanings for honoring Others' ontologies, including the experiences of more-than-humans, I then explain my reliance on ethnographic research methodologies for uncovering how Islanders understand, experience, and use music on Hornby for community change.⁴ I position my subjectivity and positionality as ethnographer, relating my history to the island, and I also discuss the obligation to respond to my findings and mobilize this knowledge to bring attention to Hornby's problematic social and environmental conditions.

Section II of the dissertation, beginning in Chapter 3, details the ethnographic-present of island life, working to situate my reader in the experience of Hornby to understand how music-making on Hornby responds to the conditions Islanders experience. This section highlights many of the island's remarkably subversive institutions in (in)action, from work ethic to policing, from blessingways to The Free Store.

Chapter 3 describes the Islanders' relationship with the mainland and various emic and etic ideologies of distance and resistance. I offer up what it can be like to travel to Hornby, sense the local aesthetics and "vibe," integrate socially, and attempt to live on Hornby all year-round, not only in the summer as Hornby's reputation is most popularly imagined and misunderstood. Chapter 4 describes the economic conditions of living and working on the island, the current housing crisis, the management of tourism, the self-policing and violence, and the challenges of

⁴ Including descriptive work that demonstrates this claim in Chapter 11.

mental health. In Chapter 5 I turn to some of the practical observable social practices of environmentalism or lack thereof on Hornby. Building on the discussion of ferries from the previous chapter, where materials are mediated onto and off of Hornby, I consider the flow of materials and ideas on the island as observable expressions of environmental ethos.

Chapter 6 is a lonely chapter in that it attempts to bring attention to the animation and experience and cycles of the lives of more-than-humans on Hornby. Humans on Hornby have important seasonal relationships with other species, and I discuss what role the island's Other life may have in transforming island musicking. Split into two (7.1 and 7.2) and yet taken together, Chapter 7 complicates the experiences of gender, reproduction, and women on the island with subsections on themes like playing music with women and men, the division of labour on Hornby, and parenting. It also offers three short biographies of women who have made remarkable contributions to Hornby's musical and cultural heritage. The timing of these biographies in the flow of the dissertation illuminates how making music on Hornby is clearly in conversation with social and environmental issues on the island.

The final section, Section III, is dedicated entirely to the institutions, practices, and ideas that give rise to Hornby's musical culture. This section deepens and solidifies the attention to music in Chapter 7, showing how music making is more than a pastime, and how it should be understood as an essential element of community and ecological outlook. Through observant participation and phenomenological description, I represent what it can be like to take part in Hornby's musical community. Chapter 8 reviews venues for music making, and in this chapter I develop evidence for my idea (see Chapter 1) that making-music can signify the synecdoche relation of part (the band) to whole (community). Most importantly, I represent a variety of constructions of music, community, and environment as communicated to me by Islanders: how

their musical practices inform and are informed by their environmental ethos. Chapter 9 describes Hornby's community radio, a thriving independent institution for communication. Chapter 10 details the experiences I had putting together a band, an experience that encapsulates the theories I advanced in Chapter 1. I look closely at the life of bands to see how they work within, reflect, and negotiate Hornby Island's wider communities.

Chapter 11 brings together theories from Hornby Islanders that represent grounded insight into how musical "vibrations" can be theorized as a force for changing one's community and environment. In this formulation of music making, Hornby Islanders develop a consensus that relates how they feel their environmental consciousness and community ethic is impacted by their experiences of music making, and I call these theories "ecomusicologies."

Finally, I demonstrate the capability of my initial theorization to adequately address the findings of section III, dedicated to music making on Hornby. I suggest possibilities for the extension of this research including recommendations to Hornby Island for better recognition, institutionalization, and support for the presence of music making on the island, especially as means for retaining young Islanders and attracting more of them.

PART I

Chapter 1: Preface



Figure 4: Reuben Wier at Ford's Cove, Hornby Island.

Halfway through my initial research trip, on Tuesday July 26th at about 6:30 pm, we drove most of the way around the island down to Ford's Cove Marina from our forest campsite with a car packed with hitchhikers. Reuben was playing a set or two, and he is an old friend from a band in Nelson, B.C. Feeling a little too short on funds to splurge for dinner from the up-scale summer chip truck at the marina, we settled for the salad my partner Meredith brought home

from work on Dan's Farm. At the performance, above the Ford's Cove store, and below the rental cottages, we sprawled on blankets on a grass landing with friends. Tourists took up the picnic tables and brought lawn chairs. They also brought beer and wine, and even champagne in flutes. Behind Reuben, the sun pushed down over the ocean, Denman Island, and the Strathcona mountains on Vancouver Island. It was breathtaking.

In the previous year, Reuben had begun singing to accompany himself, and this was my first chance to see him and his new repertoire and to hear his singing voice. His specialty is gypsy jazz guitar, or gypsy swing, and prohibition era hits. This mixture brings to mind phrases like "boogie woogie" or "barrelhouse shuffle," yet is combined with the swingin' style of that iconic guitarist, Django Rheinhardt. For the pleasure of his Hornby audience, Reuben pulled out controversial hits from the 1940s like "The G Man Got the T Man"⁵ or "Who Put the Benzedrine in Mrs. Murphy's Ovaltine." Reuben had a few island guest stars up as well, including our friend Brett Martens, who also plays gypsy jazz guitar. Reuben egged on participation, passing out laughs. He made over \$300 in tips and pay for perhaps an hour and a half of playing, earning the particular favour of not a few wealthy vacationers who kept demanding more encores while promising private gigs.

Reuben's sets that night were very unusual actually. He had two amplifiers and a loop pedal. One amplifier was for his vocal mic, and the second was for his guitar. For quite a while, Reuben had been working at using a loop pedal to replace the need of a second guitarist on rhythm, an essential element of his chosen genre. Reuben would step on his loop pedal to begin recording his guitar at the head of a verse, where he would then play rhythm guitar while singing. At the end of a verse, he would step on the pedal again, and the rhythm guitar loop

⁵ Read, in jive-talk: "the federal agent caught the marijuana supplier."

would begin as he began soloing on his guitar above it, straight out of a verse. When he finished soloing, he'd step on the loop pedal again and go back to playing rhythm and singing. The system wasn't perfect, but it was adequate for busking, and it was a novel combination of historical pop songs and totally modern technology. It also effectively cut out the need to split any income with another musician or go through the exercises of coordination making music with others requires: rehearsal, appointments, agreements, set lists, etc.

Reuben finished the night with a rousing rendition of "The Sheik of Araby," where the audience was asked to respond to his lyrics by chanting "with no pants on": a move that got Don Albert's band's version taken off the radio in 1936: "I'm the Sheik of Araby—Your love belongs to me.—At night when you're asleep—Into your tent I'll creep.—And the stars that shine above,—Will light our way to love..." While the song goes on to reflect remarkable female objectification and male sexism, not to mention issues of consent and even moments of racist Othering, for an audience that did not know what the next line would be, but appreciated the context of the song as historical, problematic, delivered by an absurd chauvinist (the narrator, not Reuben), and something to poke fun at, we did have a laugh imagining ourselves heading back after a night of music to quite literally creep into each other's tents on an island that, at least for a time, led the way in experiments in 1960s and 1970s free love.

I include this little vignette to prompt some questions now that I hope to be able to wrestle with in the following; questions such as: How is this musical event representative of music making on Hornby? Who are these champagne sippers? Is it really worth playing alone when there are so many good musicians around (in the audience)? Why was this performance so successful? What was the connection to the spectacular setting? Just how complex is the (eco)system of this performance?

On the surface, my reader might correctly come to look back at this story as one that encapsulates the contradictions of life on Hornby Island and the bipolar quality of the summer and winter months, but also reveals theoretical intervention. This glimpse of musical life on Hornby above only involves one musician. That's not very participative. My intervention then is to show how almost any act of music making sets an entire community to vibrating, improves solidarity, and involves so much more than who is on stage.

By looping himself, Reuben created a static rhythm guitarist. An imperfect second guitarist would have improved the groove, able to adapt and dialogue with clever phrasing. Nonetheless, the vibe of the musical evening was fantastic. The groove was enough to have us tapping along, but the musical vibe included the breeze keeping mosquitos away and cooling us while the sun dipped down. It included the laughter and local food. It included Mt. Geoffrey and the ocean: Reuben brought all of it closer together.

Chapter 1: Theory

In the following chapter I tease out how I see the importance of cultures of music making for environment and community, theorizing the relationship between music making and environment largely without reflecting on Hornby Islanders; however, I do begin to relate my theoretical grounding to the experiences and interviews of my fieldwork.

I do not define or describe the wider world of environmental thought or environmental studies but rely on the assumption that my reader is aware of or can guess at the interdisciplinarity of a field that brings all sciences, humanities, and arts to bear on the question of human physical and moral interaction with all life and the material world. I begin by describing a field of study that links environment and music, ecomusicology, and I locate this field as part of the discipline of environmental thought. I locate this dissertation within the overall context of ecomusicology and sociomusicology, and I underscore the importance of musical community for the environmental movement (see Figure 5 below for a schematic visualization of this chapter's contents). Beneath my construction of community, I locate the essential element of utopia in theory and practical movements and describe the importance of musical participation, and by extension, musical dialogue. At the root of all of these subjects are processes of meaning making. Meaning making involves context, place, or environment, culture, and community. As such I discuss phenomenological environmental signification, meaning from interaction, semiotics, the importance of geography, and musical semiotics in particular.

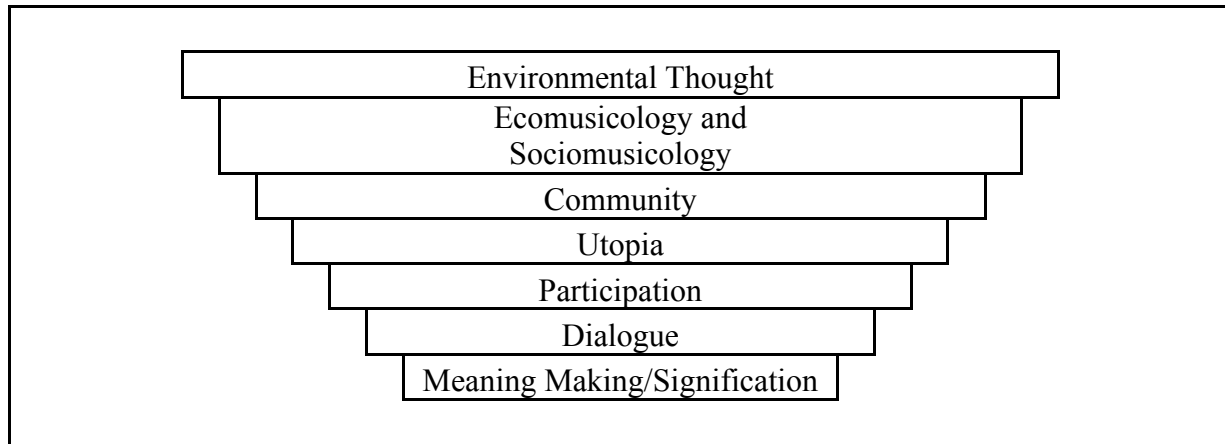


Figure 5: This table represents the levels of theoretical intervention of my dissertation into environmental thought, offering a bottom-up, not a trickle down visualization.

Ecomusicology and Sociomusicology

“Do you know music?” Well, not enough to hurt my playing. (Rabena 2013)

It’s music if you listen to it in a way that makes it music. (Becker 2014: 126)

It doesn’t really matter that [particular] academic disciplines have tried to insist that music is only music, that it cannot mean anything else. In the social world, music achieves these effects all the time. (McClary 1991: 21)

This dissertation contains how I understand my contribution to the field of

“ecomusicology,” a term that in small ways I helped congeal at the start of my PhD studies. My contribution is to ethnographic ecomusicology and sociomusicology. My research responds to a difficult question: how might live music making, listening, and dancing, in and of themselves, influence our attention to our environment? I began asking this question in response to a problem Charles Keil raised in 1998 in “Applied Sociomusicology and Performance Studies”:

Save the world for posterity? Is that really the responsibility of music makers, dancers, performers and performance theorists, ethnomusicologists and the like? I think that is the safest, sanest, and finally a very humbling assumption to make. While we are losing species diversity and cultural diversity, as we lose life on earth and our diverse human capacities to be a continuing part of life on earth, we have to encourage each other to dance, drum, sing, and dramatize sustainable futures or pleasurable paths toward sustainable futures, with ever-greater energy. Not that expressing ourselves beautifully is what will “save the world” all by itself, far from it. But I intuit that restoration of grooving-capacity and expressing ourselves beautifully may indeed be a sine qua non, a

necessary condition: if we can't manage to reclaim musicking for the vast majority, "keeping together in time" (McNeill 1995), building solidarity in each and every ecological niche or local "topia" now or soon, then the human variety of consciousness capable of utopian thinking, abstract "placeless" thinking, may not be around much longer. If we don't "lively up" ourselves, then boredom, anxiety, consumerism, and business as usual will kill us. (Keil 1998: 304)

Referencing this quote, after a presentation, I once asked ethnomusicologist John Miller Chernoff what the point of his research was if humans weren't going to be around to play or even read what he documented. He told me something like, "Charlie thinks that if everyone just picked up a tuba, we could turn this ship around. I can't answer Charlie, but I can tell you he and Angie [Keil's partner] are always right" (2008). Here, in a way, I try to answer my question to Chernoff.

The crux for me, in my answer, is to get at Keil's "sine qua non." How can I explain why I agree with Keil that as "musicking"⁶ goes, so goes all life? What about the way that the "[un]making of musicians" (Farmelo 2006) through childhood and into adulthood in North America is for me the unmaking of the world as fit for human and many more-than-humans' habitation? Further to Keil's call to arms: what about "musicking" apparently gets us to abstract utopian placeless thinking, and why would one ever want to promote abstract placeless thought in order to "save the planet," a place-based reality with concrete needs?

Keil presents a utopian paradox. He promotes the abstract thinking of "musicking" for combating environmental alienation, admittedly, an abstract proposition. Keil says we need art for environmental change, and this is a troubling combination for modern Western society. For me, and I think others, the risk in focusing on live music making appears to be that we may fiddle while Rome burns. I may drum while glaciers melt (Mark Forthcoming). The divisions of

⁶ A term coined by Christopher Small (1998) I will help define for my uses shortly.

society and environment and music, however artificial I will show them to be, remain powerful conceptual walls that promote anxiety and ambiguity about the relevance of art for change.

In my dissertation title, I pay homage to Wendell Berry's question, "What Are People For?" (2010), by asking with his very same emphasis, "What Is Music For?" This question to me frames late modernity's current mistrust of leisure, slow things (food, work, thought, etc.), and the role of the artist and the arts in society. In North America, artistry holds contested value as a social problem or need, a potential negative influence or deviant, a terrorist, a product of the welfare state, and only a potential fringe colourful contributor to any serious social movement (Sandstrom et al. 2014; Becker and Wiens 1995; Maritain 1972). Patriarchal constructions of musicians in Western society frame and dismiss them as emotional and physical, feminine and intuitive rather than masculine and rational (McClary 1991: 17, 25): capable of emoting about but incapable of addressing environmental issues.

I infer from Keil's assertions that he sees the purpose of making music as an activity that is moral in abstraction from the morality of a given musician (Maritain 1972: 23–4). If this is so, what moral code does music making teach? Further, art is a problem because if beauty is in the eye or ear of the beholder, then how do we know what kinds of art (or morals) are valuable, important, meaningful, authentic, and expert (Fine 2004: 2)? How do we credential an artist?

Given these ambiguities, I outline aspects of culture in community that are not well considered in dominant environmental discourse and yet have profound importance for realizing environmental ethos. My research co-locates a variety of common concerns across disciplines like anthropology, sociology, environmental thought, and music, pulling together the social sciences, humanities, and fine arts. I document strategies for solidarity like turn-taking, trust-building, gift-exchange, communication, fundraising, partying, education, and conflict resolution

as plentiful within musical ensembles, the environmental movement, and in any strong (environmentally conscious) community. I document these processes on Hornby Island, my “local ‘topia.’” I reveal the invisible animate world of beings and processes that support what can appear for audience members to be “mere entertainment.”

Ecomusicology is a burgeoning new field of academia bringing together ethnomusicologists, musicologists and others to contribute to its development; scholars such as myself from outside musical departments are relatively rare. Ecomusicology has also been described as ecocritical musicology (Allen 2013) and seems to be shifting towards a more inclusive “ecomusicologies.”

The boundaries of ecomusicology are very difficult to delimit as compared with literary ecocriticism and its centralizing focus on works of fiction or poetry, even while it may happily admit other inquiry (Buell 2005). “Ecomusicology” can appear an unwieldy device in its more-than-musical aspirations (Perlman 2012). There are a number of papers that attempt to define it (Taylor and Hurley Forthcoming; Allen 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; 2013; Forthcoming; Titon 2013; Perlman 2012). Some examples of specialized ecomusicological pursuits might include noise pollution, activist artists, soundscapes, bioacoustics, soundwalks, sound and field recording methodologies, issues of sustainability (instruments, festivals, equipment, tours), but also less quantitative inquiries into acoustemology, theories of composition and landscape, and understandings of place (Feld 1996; Feld and Basso 1996).

On the one hand, the task of defining *Current Directions in Ecomusicology* (Allen and Dawe Forthcoming) is another “Harmless Drudge” (Nettl 2005: 3). However, any definition must run the same risks of generalization that apply when defining environmental studies, as ecomusicology appears to welcome any environmental subject with a musical or even aurally-

centred focus. One way to understand ecomusicology is to examine what academic activities have taken place, are annexed as ecomusicological, and are unfolding right now rather than propose or promote a restrictive intellectual definition. Below, I provide a brief literature review of some of ecomusicology's interests using the following categories in this order: sound studies, anthropological sound studies, musical activism, ecocritical musical analysis, sustainability of musical cultures, sustainable organology or musical instrument manufacturing, and biosemiotics.

There are many people and works that have been annexed as important early contributors to the now branded world of "ecomusicology." R. Murray Schafer (1977) is cited as an essential author, credited with developing the concept of the "soundscape" in constructive conversation with growing environmental concern for "landscape" in the 1960s and 70s. Apparently, the first use of the term, "ecomusicology," was in reference to his work (Allen Forthcoming; Troup 1972). With clever intellectual flexibility, he developed a rather comprehensive and substantial vocabulary for revealing the importance of the invisible phenomenon of sound for environment. Like Rachel Carson, he combined both rigorous quantitative study with compelling prose. He announced to the public the importance of issues like noise pollution and its exponentially increasing volume and ubiquity. Schafer consolidated an intellectual home for concerned audiophiles, sensitive listeners, and activists who wished to better document, preserve, and monitor acoustic intrusion and acoustic (bio)diversity. As an active composer and musician, he created a foundational bridge between musicology and the study of sound, acoustics, and the sounded environment. His work not only considered wilderness and urban space, but the aesthetics of pastoral sounding.

As represented by the number of sound-centred papers at the most recent ecomusicological conference in 2014,⁷ I would venture that sound studies as a centralizing focus of study represents at least some portion of the interests of perhaps a little over two thirds of the population of self-identified ecomusicologists, and in many respects, this interest has the longest and most clear intellectual history. Much of this field is based upon applying, extending, refining, and critiquing Schafer's taxonomical work as it moved from "soundscape studies" into "acoustic ecology" where biodiverse acoustic communication became a priority.⁸

Sound studies as a field continues to progress (Pijanowski et al. 2011). For example, Barry Truax (2001) and Hildegard Westerkamp at SFU have expanded the field to construct theories of acoustic and electro-acoustic communication, and Bernie Krause has taken Schafer's technological use of spectrometers to demonstrate what the loss of acoustic niches and acoustic (bio)diversity looks like, advancing totally revolutionary techniques for quickly taking the measure of ecosystem health with minimally invasive and destructive methods (2012). If Truax and Westercamp can be said to carry on the SFU tradition of combining Schafer's musical focus on composition and sound through advancing electroacoutics, creating space for contributions from people like Chris Bocast (2012), Krause has advanced the activist and environmentalist aspect of Schafer's work. Leah Barclay (Australia), Peter Cusack (U.K.), and Gordon Hempton (U.S.) are other notable international figures that connect sound studies and artistry.⁹

⁷ As of 2015, there have been three rather autonomous conferences organized by the AMS Ecocritical Study Group and SEM Ecomusicology Special Interest Group: <http://www.ecomusicologies.org/>

⁸ A running joke at the first "ecomusicologies" conference in 2012 was to see if a presenter could get through a paper without mentioning Schafer, or worse, repeating a just-heard praise-filled biography. The paucity of notorious and substantial contributions to Schafer's work for ecomusicology is testament to the significance and breadth of his initial research. Schafer was aided by extraordinary funding, teams of researchers, and the support of Simon Fraser University where he established the World Soundscape Project. He did all this while continuing his career as a composer.

⁹ Canadian public application of Schafer's work has included sound installations and soundwalking, where practitioners undertake individual and group exercises in bringing their attention to their acoustic environs. Andra

Breaking from Schafer's focus on Western sonic aesthetics and musical cultures, and yet still bound to his initial advances, Steven Feld helped to integrate sound studies and ecomusicology in ethnomusicology. His early work focused on the importance of the co-created musical and sonic environment of the rainforest for Kaluli lifeways in Paupa New Guinea (1982). In conversation and combination with Keil, who published a series of casual collections under the title of "Echology" (1987–1991). Feld coined one early use of the formation "ecomusicology" by suggesting the importance of "echo-muse-ecology" as a construction of reality as a series of repetitious echos within one's environment where rhythms combine, repeat, cancel out, and amplify the material world (Feld 1994; Feld and Keil 1994). Feld eventually settled on "acoustemology" as a useful construction for describing acoustic knowing and epistemology (Feld and Keil 1994), and this is now a common subject in sound studies. More recent anthropological approaches to sound, music and environment include Nancy Guy's "Flowing down Taiwan's Tamsui River: Towards an Ecomusicology of the Environmental Imagination" (2009), Tina Ramnarine's "Acoustemology, Indigeneity and Joik in Valkeapää's Symphonic Activism: Views from Europe's Arctic Fringes for Environmental Ethnomusicology" (2009), and Robin Ryan's "'Not Really a Musical Instrument?' Locating the Gumleaf as Acoustic Actant and Environmental Icon" (2013).

In addition to sound studies, ecocriticism plays a role in sound studies. For example, Debra Rosenthal's analysis of "Hoods and the Woods: Rap Music as Environmental Literature" (2006) offers an early bridge between poetic ecocritical analysis and musical analysis of songs.

McCartney at Concordia University is particularly prominent in this field and has leveled very revealing critiques at the gendered, class oriented, and implicitly racialized undertones of Schafer's definition of the ideal sonic environment: the neutral silence of a recreational winter rural Ontario farm that reflects the aesthetics of male, monied, and White privilege. Janet Cardiff has worked with her partner Bures Miller to produce some of the world's most famous sound installation and soundwalk pieces. John Luther Adam's works occupy a similar space in the importance of installation environmental sound-art (Kinnear 2012).

In the field of ecocritical approaches to popular music studies, popular artists, and practices, Mark Pedelty is one of ecomusicology's leading scholars (2012). His is the first book to use "ecomusicology" in a title, and the book is primarily devoted to considering environmental activism conducted and communicated through rock and folk by both local and famous bands and by individual musicians, in their lives, their songs, and in their habits of performance. An upcoming book details the exploits of activist musicians on the Northwest Coast of the U.S. and in Canada, including activists from the Salish Sea. In 2010, David Ingram published *The Jukebox in the Garden* reviewing American pop music since the 1960s through an ecocritical lens (2010). Pedelty and Kristine Weglarz also produced an edited collection, *Political Rock*, with notable ecomusicological influence (2013). Both Pedelty (2009) and Ingram (2008) share an interest in Pete Seeger and Woody Guthrie and American Folk traditions for environmental activism. My own work on Bob Wiseman could be included in this ecomusicological pop-artist focus (Mark 2014), as perhaps Travis Stimeling's work on "Music, Place, and Identity in the Central Appalachian Mountaintop Removal Mining Debate" could be (2012), following the suggestive work of collections like *Music and Social Movements* (Eyerman and Jamison 1998).

In addition to popular music, this variety of ecocritical ecomusicology has analysed the lives and compositions of Western Art musicians. The Ecocriticism Study Group of the American Musicological Society represents a body of scholars that have been steadfastly establishing predictable space for the support of ecomusicology. Alexander Rehding (2002), Daniel Grimley, Denise Von Glahn, Holly Watkins, and Aaron Allen all participated in a published colloquy in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (Allen et al. 2011). Denise Von Glahn's work is of particular note, including her book, *Music and the Skillful Listener: American Women Compose the Natural World* (2013), as is Holly Watkins' work

(2007). Though more varied in subject and musics, David Ingram put together a collection of articles (2011) that take similar ecocritical approaches to specific musical works, with the additional focus on musical cultures, and with contributions from Brooks Toliver (2004), Aaron Allen, Matthew Clements, William Echard, John Parham, and James Edwards (Ingram 2011). This particular collection is rather unique in that it appears in *Green Letters* which has an audience that is normally focused primarily on literary ecocriticism, as the title suggests. The *Journal of Musical Research Online* out of Australia has a forthcoming issue with similar focus. Tyler Kinnear (2014) recently put together a collection of articles in a special edition of *Music and Politics* with Travis Stimeling, Rebekah Ferugia, Kellie Hay, Louise Epsteine, and Jeff Titon, Aaron Allen, and Von Glahn, and it brings a variety of ecocritical approaches together from musicological to ethnomusicological and critical popular music studies.

Ethnomusicologist Jeff Titon has emphasized the importance of applied ethnomusicology, the work of putting ethnomusicological findings into action, with a particular interest has been in “sustainable music” (Titon 2015). By borrowing and applying themes of preservation and resilience, environmental economics and greenwashing, and the importance of archives and public programming, Titon investigates what insight environmental studies can offer ethnomusicologists in their pursuit of identifying and protecting sustainable musical cultures that are threatned by modernity. His work links up with that of Keil: that in order to succeed, environmental sustainability must march hand in hand with attention to the politics of cultural heritage management. Like Allen and Pedelty, Titon has helped define the parameters and purpose of ecomusicology (2013). In 2009 Titon put together a special issue on music and sustainability for *World of Music*, with contributions from Mark De Witt, Tom Faux, Lois Wilcken, Janet Fargion, and Thomas Turino. Blending soundscape, public planning, and

advocacy, the work of Canadian scholar Kate Galloway has roots in Schafer's opus but is focused in part on how public experiences of environmental sound and music are shaped by institutional funding, intentional advocacy, and social and environmental justice movements (2014), and some of Robin Ryan's work is similar (2014).

A survey of ecomusicology is not complete without consideration of the rebirth of organology—the once popular and obsessive material physical study of musical instruments and their attributes—now in vogue through a material analysis of the resource extraction and globalized labour practices of the musical instrument industry. While Pedelty and others have dwelt on the environmental impact of musical performances, the ecological footprint of stages, touring, etc., there is a strong and growing body of scholarship devoted to the environmental practices involved in creating instruments, including the social consequences of musical instrument trade. Jennifer Post has offered numerous paper presentations on the subject, Aaron Allen's contributions are exemplary (2012), and Kevin Dawe has been forwarding this field for some time. David Ingram has a piece on the true cost of artistic production in *Green Letters* (2007), and there are a range of papers from engineering associations to magazine articles and the more familiar academic sources (Barclay 2009; French and Hand 2006; Libin 1994; Russ 2004; Welch 2001; Yano, Furuta, Nakagawa 1997). In fact, Post, Allen, and Dawe are writing a book. In several case studies, researchers have shown how, like so many modern commodities, there are worlds of intersectional violence that combine when something as simple as a guitar string or complex as a violin are produced and sold. *Musicwood* (Trump 2014) is a particularly compelling documentary film that covers the tensions between the desires of indigeous Alaskans, the lumber industry, and the guitar industry as they attempt (and fail) to forge an alliance to sustainably harvest increasingly rare sitka spruce trees.

Finally (though by no means are my depictions of ecomusicological areas of focus comprehensive) there is the field of biosemiotics, which evolved in simultaneity with sound studies and shares many insights in common (Mundy 2009). There are so many publications in this field. Most famous are the Paynes who discovered,¹⁰ with the help of army sonar stations, that whales sing to one another and have complex and changing cultures of sonic communication. This field, sometimes called zoomusicology (Martinelli 2009), tends to be dominated by ornithologists, but it is not exclusively focused on sounded communication. While definitions of ecomusicology are inclusive of such work, people in biosemiotics may be less certain of their place in the field, or even aware of it. Similarly, people like David Rothenberg (2005) who play music with other species are both in and outside of ecomusicology.

Having described just some of the readily identifiable realms of ecomusicology, I locate my own interests at the very margins of the field. I am concerned with the social lives and environmental impacts of vital and important but ubiquitous musicians generally, not only prominent artists and activists. I am concerned with the environmental outcomes of everyday music making. I consider the social lives of bands and ensembles with what Finnegan calls “micro-sociology of amateur music” (Finnegan 1989: 4). There are no authors I am aware of that point to the inclusion of exchange with the more-than-human in the particular way I am articulating my research. Ethnomusicology has long involved accounts of musicians’ lives in communities, their music making and grooving, and their communities, however, not many I am aware of concern themselves with what one can call an environmental sociological focus.

¹⁰ Bizarrely, Roger Payne is provided all of the credit for this work and his ex-wife Katharine Boynton Payne has been written out of the history, however, her work is equally compelling and exclusively her own in the field of elephant communication.

This dissertation is ecomusicological in the sense that I develop an argument that locates musical practice as an essential thread in the fabric of human group life. With greater focus, as a case study, in the following I investigate a single community, a community of humans that at a minimum, express desires for environmental change, and when most potent, effect that change. My definition of “environment” in this case is holistic, incorporating the experience of daily activities, repetitive and singular encounters with reality, the more-than-human world (Haraway 2008), one’s family and friends, “sustainability/resilience,” and the ethics of a just world to name a few elements. To my mind, there is never “such a thing as something which is separate from something else” (Gregory Bateson in Bateson 2011). I also use ecomusicology in my title as somewhat synonymous with “cosmology”: an entire understanding of life, reality, and the universe that is informed by musical and ecological and even spiritual philosophy which I find prevalent in the manner in which musicians come to construct their sense of reality (see Chapter 11).

Aside from, or, underneath ecomusicology, I could also describe the focus of this dissertation as a product of “sociomusicology” (Keil 1998), what Stanfield calls the final resting place of ethnomusicology (2014). Sociomusicology, as claimed by Keil, is not necessarily the sociology of music or music sociology, which is robust and involves a wide variety of sociological methodologies and theories as they pertain to musical phenomenon (Horsfal, Meij, and Probstfield 2013; Martin 1995; Clayton, Herbert, and Middleton 2012).

Keil’s sociomusicology has an agenda and history, and it is centered on bringing attention to the meaning of music making if and when it promotes common feeling or solidarity. Keil asks what a given music communicates relative to “togetherness,” and then arrives at his answers through sociological phenomenological and ethnographic examination of what people appear to

do, socially, when they make music. Why might my research also rely on sociology, and not simply ethnomusicology, ecomusicology, or plain musicology?

If sociomusicology existed, and it does not exist even in the sense that ecomusicology does,¹¹ nor does it have a clearly known body or disciplinary focus, we might say that it evolved from a response to the insularity of historical musicological studies that promised to analyze “pure” Western art music in absence of “contaminated” society. In the following, for narrative ease, I pretend that “the sociomusicologist” does exist, if not as a person or field, as a perspective that many a musical academic might have and allow to voice opinion. While one could argue that ethnomusicology arose in part as an objection to the notion that different musical cultures could be meaningfully compared or ranked based on musical truths—an idea that arguably the institution of historical musicology and music studies in universities once perpetuated (and probably quietly continue to)—sociomusicologists, though few have ever labeled themselves such, took an interest in how different musics served different social purposes within Western countries. Early sociomusicologists like Keil and Becker focused their research on American cities somewhat in the same manner that 1950s anthropologists and ethnomusicologists went abroad and sociologists stayed put, each using ethnography to his or her own ends. Like many ethnomusicologists, sociomusicologists question the underlining, potentially colonial, agenda and assumptions of practices that codify oral traditions. Sociomusicology inhabits a “Chicago school” practice, but also developed in response to Raymond Williams’ influence on cultural studies in England (Shepherd 1991).

¹¹ I am certainly not inventing the possibility of sociomusicology or conjuring a new term. There is a substantial history to the concept and authors have used the construction for some time. However, there are no meetings, no journals, no tomes, not even a newsletter under the title: just a loose affiliation of scholars and papers.

As an unsurprising result in its urban focus, sociomusicology grew alongside and with critical popular music studies with work like *Urban Blues* (Keil 1966a).¹² Authors like Philip Tagg (2013) and Simon Frith (1998) sought the sociological meaning of pop music. Inevitably, for those who ventured out to study popular music with serious intention, “the aesthetic dimension of popular music becomes visible at the moment that the social and political functions of ‘serious’ music [became] unavoidable” (Leppert and McClary 1987: xv–xvi). To be more clear, sociomusicologists often take aim at Western art music not because individuals may pretend it is the only “real music,” the kind of accusations ethnomusicologists have leveled at historical musicology, but instead, because at a phenomenological level, Western art music in its process of being appears to operate in a military fashion where lowly instrumentalists experience extreme pressure to produce the idealized written texts of great White men, where rigid hierarchy is the norm (Small 1996). When examining the kind of patronage that Western art music receives, and the kind of social order that such a class and music generally requires to maintain itself, and the history of colonization and the role of European music in it, it is no wonder that sociomusicologists find themselves with Marxist conclusions about how more free, improvised, and participatory musics encourage more egalitarian society. It is worth noting that sociomusicologists like Keil also deplore institutionalized jazz studies in fine arts academies¹³ and the more recent codification of pop music by performance studies.

I for one am not so interested in carrying on with Keil (1994) and Small’s (1987) tactic of promotion of Other music by castigation of Western art music; however, I was raised in the classical tradition, performing in and trying out for orchestras, and even academic jazz bands,

¹² A book accused of promising to be all about music, and yet not containing a lick of musical notation or theory!

¹³ See the Academy Award winning *Whiplash* (Chazelle 2014), about a character that psychologically terrorizes his jazz students in America’s top music school, apparently causing some to even commit suicide, a la *Black Swan*, another recent film that glorifies the making of genius.

and as I play with professionally trained musicians frequently, I am all too familiar with the harmful potential of institutional music making. What I appreciate in sociomusicology is its insistence on a holistic view of music making and its accompanying political and critical insight.

From the second issue of Keil's edited journal, *Echology: A Green Annual of Theoretical and Applied Sociomusicology*, John Shepherd essentially reviews sociomusicology for 1988, suggesting that in the 1960s and 70s, middle-class men who grew up in the post World War II era became academics and began trying to explain the importance of the social power of the music of their youth for the counter-cultural movement, their personal "values and concerns" and biographies (1988: 102), and "have thus been faced with a number of difficult questions as to exactly how 'music' and 'society' relate in the cultures of industrial capitalism" (ibid). Steven Feld and Charles Keil reproduce this narrative precisely when they speak of their shared experiences of youthful obsession with Black music and how it politicized their lives (1994). Shepherd asserts that those sociomusicologists with a musicological background have focused on finding answers within musics as texts that communicate messages of cultural retention and power, and those with social sciences backgrounds have focused on the "relationships between social, economic, and political contexts and various musical practices" (1988: 102). Such analysis tends to posit musical cultures and their musical texts as expressions of more fundamental social processes, where music is a means to an end. A classic example of an adopted argument in this discourse includes Adorno's critique of popular music as highly repetitive, and therefore, part of the armature of industrial capitalism where workers are habituated to repetitive labour (2002). The vantage point is almost ecocritical. Even in the 1950s and 1960s there was a sense that one could study people in order to better understand art (Harrison 1963: 79–80; Kerman 1965: 62).

This emphasis is the nexus of sociomusicology, a moving target between society and music. Keil actually lays down a trump card in 1979 with *Tiv Song: The Sociology of Art in a Classless Society* by pointing out that some people do not have a word for music, do not abstract art from society, and are astonished that other people believe they can. Sociomusicology's focus on the people involved in musicking creates a crisis for evaluating universal musical aesthetics in absence of (the presence of) the world. With an activity that, at a sonic level, appears at first unable to signify things externally, and therefore communicate very much beyond its own form, how can one evaluate music's meaning in any comparative way?

Keil and Small and Sheppard insist that the highly social activity of music making and its accompanying social consequences are the significations and meaning of music. Locating the social meaning of art as extrinsic to the art, as I have explained, can lead one to rather Marxist conclusions about distributions of power that the social practices of a music communicates and requires to produce. This vantage point reveals the social order of the audience and hierarchy of musicians for different kinds of music, and it reveals the composer and audience as based within a specific set of (external) trained culturally relative tastes and experiences (not universally held truths) (Shepherd 1988: 106–7). Sociomusicology critiques the practice of 'serious' Western art music as the maintenance of hegemony (as Keil does 1969b; 1995).

Shepherd cites Williams, “[For colonialist mentality] [i]t was certainly an error to suppose that values or art-works could be adequately studied without reference to the particular society within which they were expressed, but it is equally an error to suppose that the social expression is determining” (Williams 1965: 61). Williams continues,¹⁴

I would then define the theory of culture as the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life. The analysis of culture is the attempt to discover the nature of the

¹⁴ I include this because in view of the whole it resonates so strongly with this dissertation.

organization that is the complex of these relationships. Analysis of particular works or institutions is, in this context, analysis of their essential kind of organization, the relationships which works or institutions embody as parts of the organization as a whole. A key-word, in such analysis, is pattern: it is with the discovery of patterns of a characteristic kind that any useful cultural analysis begins, and it is with the relationships between these patterns, which sometimes reveal unexpected identities and correspondences in hitherto separately considered activities, sometimes again reveal discontinuities of an unexpected kind, that general cultural analysis is concerned. (Williams 1965: 63)

Broadly then, Shepherd as a sociomusicologist describes patterned context as inextricable from the full meaning of music, including what each individual brings to listening, agreeing with Keil that “society” and “music” are already and always collapsed together, superstructure within infrastructure (1998: 107), but he also notes that music has inherent qualities (1991; Shepherd and Wicke 1997).

As part of the ongoing sociomusicological deconstruction of music as an autonomous object, Christopher Small collapses music making into “musicking” (1998) in order to capture the inextricable link between listening and performing where a human is always tied to the experience of music. “Musicking means that every time humans interact with each other through music, they are engaged in social relationships that also carry ritualistic meaning. The meanings are constructed when one individual interacts with music alone or when several individuals make music together” (Froehlich 2007: 71). As dance is to dancing, music is to musicking; musicking is a live process involving participants, more than a mediated product or musical score as the term “music” can connote (Small 1998). If I can dance, surely I can music. Musicking retains activity and process: “Fans are much more likely to say ‘I’m a rocker’ than ‘I like rock’” (Hennion 2005: 136). Musicking is fundamentally a sociomusicological insight.¹⁵

¹⁵ From here, I use this term “musicking” throughout the dissertation to retain society.

Finally, this dissertation is sociomusicological in its focus on people making music. I embrace the constructivist leanings of authors like Howard Becker who made his claim that it takes a village to make a symphony by studying pot-smoking deviant adult-socializing jazz musicians (by being one of them). Early on, Becker paid close attention to not only the melding of musical context with performers and audience members in order to find musical meaning, but later he attached all of the workings involved in producing a musical event to the full meaning of music, including those that span in space and time and material well beyond a performance. This move leaves ample room for what we might now identify as an ecomusicological turn,

[I]nstruments must have been invented, manufactured, and maintained, a notation must have been devised and music composed using that notation, people must have learned to play the notated notes on the instruments, times and places for rehearsal must have been provided, ads for the concert must have been placed, publicity must have been arranged, and tickets sold, and an audience capable of listening to and in some way understanding and responding to the performance must have been recruited. (Becker 1982: 2)

As I demonstrate throughout the dissertation, but particularly in Section II in Chapters 8 and 10, a complete ecomusicological approach needs to take Becker's artistic "collective action" insight to heart and improve upon his list by including more-than-human environmental actors and details including a focus on justice. Becker described the result of his approach as a description of networks of artistry in *Art Worlds* (1982). Later, Ruth Finnegan adopted this framing to describe "music worlds," and rather than advancing "ecomusic worlds," just as Finnegan finds connection to "world views" in this discourse (Finnegan 1989: 21), I tie this musical artistic networking to "cosmologies" and "ecomusicologies" as I discuss in Chapter 11, which is more than a catalog of relationships, but a complete view of musicking for explaining social and ecosystemic consciousness. The social division of labour and consensus needed to build "music worlds" impacts the environmental meaning of musicking (Shepherd 1991: 84).

In the following, I focus upon the process of socialization in music making, upon amateurs, upon the everyday, and upon ideas that may have universal applicability. Though not explicitly, I adopt a perspective that borrows from symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionism locates meaning in social interaction, in contrast to the idea that reality might be an objective place where meaning is stable (Sandstrom et al. 2014). I have paid closer attention to the on-going nature of what people do and how they interact when they make music than to what they are actually playing as artifacts for ecocritical analysis.¹⁶ In many ways, this research is not about music, and it is certainly not about any reified imagining of “music” as object-ive.

While I do explain Hornby Island cosmology and music making as internally relevant and culturally relative, I also search for larger social “laws” about music making as a social practice, though they present in relative fashion depending on context. For example, however facile the observation, musicking requires coordination and planning with others, and this is, for all intents and purposes, a universal requirement of musicking. Such an inquiry necessarily has roots in both anthropology and sociology, through their shared methods of ethnography and the assumptions of their founders like Mead (both of them) and Boas, Weber, Durkheim, and Malinowski (Hadden 1997; Sandstrom et al. 2014). If my research is sociological in its focus on a theoretically contained practice like musicking, it is also anthropological in linking that practice to a culture and location with a history of engagement with environmental thought.

My overall critique of ecomusicology, even as I participate in it, is that its current output relies heavily upon defining itself: literally relating song texts to political environmental movements or themes, finding analogies between musical scores and landscapes, carving out a new organology based on material sustainability criticism of instrument components, and

¹⁶ McClary argues that for feminist musicology along the same lines (1991).

discovering a new language for the preservation of “endangered musics.” This said, the field is evolving and presents an opportunity to bring attention to the relevance of sociomusicology for ecomusicology. Again, at the risk of fiddling while Rome burns, that fear of Schiller’s, who was wary of devoting himself to a critique of aesthetics while France revolutionized (Beiser 2005: 123–4), I feel ecomusicology must confront the relevance of musicians making music for the environmental movement. We need to confront the ambiguity society holds for musicking and arrive at the centrality of ordinary art for environmental studies. Treating music(s) as object(s) will detract attention from the social power of music in community and risks playing into the commodity-driven market place, in the same way that cheap solar panels offer promise in North America and poison in China. To reiterate: some of the most difficult and pressing questions ecomusicologists pursue must include: why should environmentalists desire more musicking? My next subsection answers this ecomusicological question with: “community.”



Figure 6: A jam following Glen Rabena’s CD release party, hosted at his home on the High Salal common property development in Hornby’s fragile oak grove off of Helliwell Park. Earlier, Glen, playing fiddle on the far right of the photo, performed a series of duos and trios. Marc Atkinson, pictured here with his son, both playing guitar, produced Glen’s album. Several of Hornby’s most active musicians are present in this photo, 11 of whom I interviewed.

A Musical Theory of Community

O’Donnell: Community has been a big part of my life...That’s probably what led me to Hornby...I feel that artists really need to band together. I feel that the age of the individual brilliant artist is passed. That’s more romantic or something. It’s important to

collectivize...to effect change, and use art...for provoking thoughts...

Author: Tell me more about that collectivity. Why the collectivity? What's changed?

O'Donnell: ...A lot of "being geniuses" or a lot of brilliant work has to do with programming or the way that systems unfold...partially...because of the internet and because of globalization...Art these days has to do with referencing, like tipping your hat and pointing fingers back to where things came from, beyond the post-modern age where there's just all this stuff, all this information. So when people played music 100 years ago, they would just play the music that they heard, but now the music that we've heard is coming from plastic and metal, and there's just a lot more of it, and it is all appropriated and out of context. Or it's a different context, and it's beyond the individual...I was going to school and studying composition, and then I realized that...I didn't want to get heavily into debt and wasn't crazy about being an academic so...I kind of just opened up a free academy...that space became like a hotbed for musical creativity in Vancouver and that seemed very important...There wasn't a lot of money to be made, and it was basically music for musicians. And some of the best things about that place were what happened after the shows, like the music that went on till four or five in the morning and the conversation. And I guess that's what [community] is...The conversation can be words, it can be like after the concert talking and just the feeling...it's something that grows...It's similar to love where you can have strong feelings and...connect with other humans and relate to other humans. That sense of humanity is extremely valuable. (O'Donnell 2013)

Unfortunately Matthew O'Donnell and his young family had to leave Hornby during my research because, after years of trying, they could not securely reproduce housing and work on the island. His sentiments about conversation strongly resonate with what follows in the rest of this chapter. The capacity of our species for musicking (Small 1998) is readily observable as innate (Blacking 1992: 302–3; Reybrouck 2001). Blacking suggests that musical ability is inherited genetically in the way that language is in addition to social transmission (1992), but I do not believe this is quite correct. I am not convinced that language, essentially symbol making, is possible without socialization; in other words, while it is genetically innate, that is not all it is. However, I do believe that, given a world, with or without humans, an individual would develop skills we might call musical if the individual was enabled to socialize with that world. In other

words, I believe that the capacity to music¹⁷ is perhaps more fundamental to our humanity than many communicative propensities.¹⁸

My concern is for how musicking creates community and whether or not the sense of community that musicking creates might include attention or response to one's environment, other species, place, the more-than-human. My work resists dominant assumptions about how "real music" works, i.e., where there are individuals who have professionally studied instruments for long hours and perhaps been trained in reading and translating symbol systems into soundings: noise made into order. I am concerned with music as a relative and universal human process, which is broadly based on ideas like our shared capacity for musical memory, rhythmic entrainment, and pitch discrimination. In less technical terms, I believe this story I am trying to tell, from individual to environment, originates in the capacity of almost any person to stand in front of almost any group of people and teach them to clap and sing a simple song in minutes. This ability for humans to immediately appreciate many kinds of musics across cultures speaks to the limits of the assertion that music's only purpose is to reproduce specific latent, contextualized, or prior social goals and values. Rather, such human capacities for universal appreciation of music are as powerful as any that determine our ability to get along socially and to interact with our environment.¹⁹

Whereas typically musical studies are broken down by kinds of genres, classical or Western music (musicology), "ethnic music" (ethnomusicology), or popular music (the same),

¹⁷ "To take part, *in any capacity*, in a musical performance" (Cowdery et al. 1995: 90).

¹⁸ The primary function or purpose of musicking is certainly debatable.

¹⁹ As I have mentioned earlier, the field of biomusicology actually produces research and maps out the capacities of other species for such comparative biological musical biases. Also, allow me to stress that just because one may "appreciate" another's music, I am not suggesting that the full meaning of such music can be deciphered externally to the social context of the music in question; I am noting that one cannot pin down the entirety of the power of music to location and people.

my research could be described as leaning towards a sociology of music (sociomusicology).

There are pitfalls for considering community:

On the one hand we have sciences of the object rejecting social “aspects” of music as a secondary environment of the work, basically confusing music with the written score...on the other, a sociology of music that, lacking specific affordances to grasp musical objects, has been content to turn around them, giving music a context of transforming it into a pretext for games of which the real determinations are social...it is still very difficult to take into account in which ways “music itself” matters [for community]. (Hennion 2005: 133)

Leaving Hennion’s concern for “music itself” until later, I can begin by answering my earlier question, “why should environmentalists want people to make music?,” by claiming that musicking is all about joining and building human community (and even includes the possibility of interacting with other species). Although my story may begin with observable facts, like arms and legs coordinating precisely in time and space while walking, as if by magic (McNeill 1995), these facts are only a springboard. Using this capacity to respond to music and exercising it with more secondary cognition to form musical desire, intention, aesthetics, practice, and planning, people are able to create musical events with significant and specific complexities that communicate correspondingly dense information about community. People do this with groups of individuals, ensembles, and whole communities. In between the processual positions of: 1) Blacking’s innate individual capacity to produce organized sounded products; and 2) Becker’s formation of groups to produce greater musical complexity and meaning, I locate an ecosystem of potential activities that tap, engage, and reverberate throughout community and environment. I describe these happenings as mini-utopian movements, a suggestion I will return to at length shortly.

Again, although one could argue that our innate musical proclivities are rooted together with the foundations of all social coordination and organization through processes like rhythmic

entrainment that allow for synchrony, turn taking, empathy, etc. (Gray et al. 2001), this dissertation is not about individuals' capacity to music (Stahl 2003). My primary concern is with groups, including soloists and audiences, but mainly socially complex musical ensembles and how the interpersonal dynamics of musicking—the group utopian work needed to coordinate and stage attempts at idealized songs and performances (Small 2011)—produce community solidarity through communal effort. Coordinating the performance of any ensemble does rely upon the individual musical capacity of humans and audiences, but I think this is a rather small and obvious point.²⁰ I offer a resounding “YES” to Finnegan’s question: “[Do] the many many small acts and decisions which, however little recognized, lie behind the continuance of music making [offer] any wider significance for the fundamental experience and reality of humankind?” (Finnegan 1989: 295). Negotiating the coordination between multiple egos to arrive at sonic consensus involves so much more than the “games” Hennion is worried about above (2005: 133). In fact, musicking involves community dynamics that are informed by climate, lore, religion, governance, the world, history, the universe, and even fate.

What does it mean to come into communion to rehearse and perform ensemble music in today’s world, relative to growing environmental concerns? I think the answer should reflect that musicking is much more than the will of our DNA, our bodies as environments, a truth in our souls, but should illustrate what an outstanding distillation of community concerns the ensemble represents. In effect and essence: the band is one powerful means to know more about the community. The extent to which that community includes our environment is questionable.

²⁰ To me, the visual images produced by fMRI machines attached to the heads of musicians (firefighters, pot-smokers, drivers, Sting, etc.) exemplify this limited individualistic obsession. Their findings may tell us more about our epistemological biases and mediascape than they do about what is in (f)actually going on our minds in what is after all, a social world. In the same vein of inquiry, there appears to be no end to hard scientific evidence that demonstrates how absolutely beneficial learning to play music is for the growing mind, but not enough is focused on the social significance, instead focused on individual skills that reflect a valuation of knowledge that contributes to economic growth and personal gain.

As I have just intimated, my theory of community is then the band-as-community, and the band as a body that taps upon and vibrates the taut surface of community-as-environment. All bands strive towards an ideal working relationship between members that provides a mutually satisfactory outcome in the temporary moments of making music. What is satisfactory is relatively determined based on the desires of groups and individuals, but that the purpose of the band is to work towards (an) ideal(s) of (im)perfection in the rendition of their music is given, even if a band has set about to make music that is “bad.” To different degrees, members share the responsibility of pursuit of that temporary musicking. In many instances, the given scenario of instrumentation and skill could designate each member as equally co-dependent in the ultimate and relative success or failure of the group in the moments of performance, in the planning, rehearsing, and execution of the group’s goals. Within this egalitarian notion of musicking, one can also find ideals of balance, support, and reciprocity, or the oft cited, harmony.

Collective musical *pursuit* is part of why I describe participation in bands as utopian. Musicking is utopian in pursuit of a future ideal using the material conditions of the present. But surprisingly, unlike most utopias, musical utopia can actually manifest and offer glimpses of a temporary utopian state of a unified present (Small 2011), “the immediacy of the present, being totally present, dropping everything” (Dominiak 2013). Musicians can not only aim for this particular kind of utopia, but also produce it for themselves and others, if only temporarily. Its rewards and vision of a more perfect world are possible to experience and to attain now.

If I describe Hornby bands as a singular utopian movement, responding to a discomfort with the present moment, the “unbearable Now” (Bloch 1977, 22) they face with their community the possibility that the island will not be able to reproduce itself and maintain a sense of self in place (Leopold 2001; Cantrill and Senecah 2001; Plumwood 1993: 141–164; Warren

1999: 255–269)²¹ or retain its cultural tastes (Hennion 2005: 132). The fears are existential, ranging from a variety of melancholic environmental concerns in addition to mourning for a time when social life on Hornby was brimming over (Mark and Di Battista, forthcoming). The overarching problem facing the community is that too many challenges prevent young people from making a life on the island. There are fewer and fewer young people to work jobs, care for the elderly, maintain the actual numbers needed to keep Hornby’s extraordinary social services going and commit to live out N. Scott Momaday’s belief:

Once in [one’s] life a [person] ought to concentrate [her/his] mind upon the remembered earth, I believe. One ought to give [oneself] up to a particular landscape in [his/her] experience, to look at it from as many angles as [s/he] can, to wonder about it, to dwell upon it. (Momaday 1969: 83)

The evidence of Hornby’s subversive past stands promisingly in the present, in the communal properties, buildings, social norms, in the elders—and musicking serves as a process to better achieve “synchronicity” (Zabel 1990, 82–84) with that imagined past-time: “[We can] help make that [synchronicity] happen so that [the young] are on the beach playing music all night, and bringing that, and giving that. And that lives inside of the children that are asleep on the blanket under the stars. That’s how my kids were raised, going to sleep listening to that” (Cronia 2013).

The choice to perform music on Hornby is certainly made by individuals, but it is also made for the community. Without each other for audience, without good community, no musicking can happen for anyone. When it does, generally by and for Islanders, people affirm their commitment to each other and to the promise of the idealized ecotopia they seek to create where the arts are valued. Musicking helps resist the erosion of Hornby, strengthening community solidarity.

²¹ As I use “sense of self” or “sense of selves,” I am not indicating Lockian self-interest. In widening *collective* “field of care” (Golden 2011), the individual becomes a piece of an ecosystem.

Above I have touched upon the importance of utopian thought for building community, and in particular, communities that must struggle to persist. I have linked individuals to bands as communities, as societies in miniature in pursuit of utopia. However, I have not yet given full attention to what I understand utopia to be in the context of this dissertation, though I have made clear that I see it as an essential aspect of community, and community as a central aspect of the environmental movement. I now turn to my ideas of utopia more explicitly.

Utopia

Whole lively-hood for me is doing what feeds my soul, and that is not running around in the freaking car out there, running around to jobs that mean nothing to me. That is just paying the bills to get more and do more, so there used to be a lot of people like that on Hornby [people who want whole lively-hood], and now all the places that they could live have been bought up by the wealthy, the retired, and there is no place for the people like us to live to get together and be creative...my kids were raised on Little Trib sitting around the campfire and playing music late into the night. [I hope] that they are coming home to come back [to that]. (Cronia 2013)

People on Hornby do not contend that they live in utopia, nor do I, though we both do acknowledge the role of utopian thought in their community. As you will see, many of my interviewees actively set about dissuading me of some of the tourist and media-driven marketing that suggests Hornby might be utopia. For example, there is a Hornby Island community school promotional video that downplays many of the dire educational problems the community faces in terms of enrolment, funding, and pedagogy. Like most people, Islanders play with the abstract aspiration of particular utopias all the time. Islanders speak to the specialness of the island through deliberate reasoning for why they have chosen to live there, and why they continue to live there. Perhaps it goes without saying, but a strong and clear pursuit of utopia arises from a strong and clear dissatisfaction with reality. As Clair Cronia demonstrates in the quote above,

Islanders are quite dissatisfied with how things have regressed from what was once an imagined closer proximity to utopia.

In the following I discuss three varieties of utopian consideration for this dissertation: 1) Hornby Island as a legacy of older utopian movements; 2) the importance of mechanical solidarity for utopian theory; and 3) music making as a universal utopian practice.

North American Utopias

The colonial history of Hornby and the current political and ideological history of the Salish Sea begin far from the local environs. Generally speaking, through colonization North America has been host to a wide variety of Western, religious, and White utopian movements. At the root then, of many North American utopian movements, are acts of colonization, privatism, extraction, and genocide (Ahmad 2009: 10). Additionally, as Carol Kolmerton argues, “utopian visions, with few exceptions, have always been grounded in one of the most obscure abstractions of modern history: patriarchal power” (1990, 2). These movements began in Europe, landed on the East Coast of North America, and slowly spread to the West. The first colonialists were in search of material goods, and many of them returned home with descriptions of where they had been, what some Christians hypothesized as the original utopia: the Garden of Eden, intact, in North America (much later, the Mormons adopted this belief). Many of the first colonists to North America were persecuted in Europe and Eastern Europe. They emigrated in search of a perfect place to establish and pursue their religious freedoms in response to the Protestant Reformation, corrupt monarchs, and the persecution by the Roman Catholic Church. Some of these groups included the Puritans, Amish, Quakers, Doukhobors (Hawthorn 1955; Sulerzhitsky 1982; Scott 1997), Mennonites (Urry 2006), Hutterites (Hostetler 1972; Janzen 1990), and Inspirationalists (Nordhoff 1993). Some of these groups had long histories before moving to

North America and still maintain their overseas ties. Others came to North America for similar reasons long after the Reformation such as the Owenites (Bestor 1959; Harrison 1968; Taylor 1993) and Harmonists (Duss 1972; Pitzer 1997).

In addition to these original North American utopian movements, a second wave began in the late 1700s in the “burned over district” of Northern New York State. These groups can be described as “rebirth” movements that sought to renew the original spirit of commitment that the first wave of Western religious communities in North America surely fostered for their very survival and explosive growth. Much of America was colonized by Protestants, and after the American Revolution, some settlers felt the need to revitalize and discover new depths of piety. A strong belief in the millennial return of Christ bound these peoples together including the Shakers (Gutek and Gutek 1998), Mormons (Foster 1991), Millerites, and Oneidans (Webber 1959).

While it may seem to be a stretch, these religious movements are in fact the practical and ideological predecessors of the 1960s and 70s counter-culture and back-to-the-land movements. All of these movements sought particular kinds of relationships with nature, and with clear continuity, they experimented in economic collectivity and reorganized gender relations, including focus on reforming ideas of wealth, success, sexuality, family, marriage, and the distribution of (domestic) labour (Wagner 1982; Unger 2010; Kolmerton 1990). Most of these communities had clear spiritual or religious grounding. Some of them were focused on arts (Miller 1998), ethics, and the environment (de Geus 1999). Some of these modern communities included experiments in mass revival-like gatherings, akin to those in Northern New York a century and a half earlier, including Haight-Ashbury and the East Village (Fairfield 1972), The Rainbow Tribe (Niman 1991), and The Farm (Fairfield and Miller 2010) to mention just four.

There were many others that began earlier in the 20th century like The Aquarian Foundation (Oliphant 1991) and Sointula (Wild 1999), and these two communities settled in the Gulf Islands, though Brother XII's Aquarian Foundation failed spectacularly, and the Finnish communist settlement on Malcolm Island, Sointula, slowly acculturated into the modern Canada. Today, North America still contains visions of European modeled utopian movements that have been attempted since colonization began. Most of them have specific ideas about nature and stewardship. Hornby's utopian heritage is not at all without precedent.

In the case of most North American utopian movements, one tends to encounter a single charismatic founder and leader. Not infrequently, that leader comes to wield astonishing power within their movement, hailed as both saint and prophet. Often the long-term success of a given movement is determined by the group's ability to transition to meaningful and sustainable social reproduction without the founding leader. Those groups that could point to essential texts for guidance, often produced by their leader, ended up faring better after their leader's death.

Communal living and resource sharing is a distinct aspect of utopian movements. Contemporary North American communes and land co-ops like those found on Hornby, the current physical products of this history of utopian movements, are somewhat unique in that they lack government support and tend to be isolated physically and ideologically from mainstream culture. These qualities are not the rule elsewhere. Those that have arisen since the 1960s have been based in the rejection of the dominant ordering of material and social life. This has included a rejection of war, the privatization of nuclear families, and the destruction of the environment, but also common religious beliefs including varieties of millennialism in particular.

Though many communes were and are located in urban spaces, the seat of Western power, a specific variety of utopianism has involved a focus on escape from urban space as a

corrupting force of materialism and immoral greed. On the one hand these projections include visions of romantic and bucolic imaginings of rural spaces, leisurely work, and fantasies (premised on the assumption that the rural is not already shaped, constrained, and marketed by capitalism); while on the other hand, cities are full of cars, politicians, visible crime and poverty, high costs of living, riots, and pollution (Miller 1999: 152). As Nancy Nesbit described the idealism of 1970 in *Modern Utopia*,

Although it seems hard to imagine, we can survive without electricity, central air conditioning, and modern plumbing facilities. We can move into the woods with nothing but a few basic supplies such as we would take on an extended camping trip. Plant a garden, get up and watch the sun rise, open your head to what Nature has to say. Create a new life and home where a truly peaceful existence is possible for yourself and a few friends.... Let's stop and look at Nature and our earth NOW before we are so far away from her that we'll never get back. Invest in some land in the country, build a log cabin, grow your own vegetables, forget that future vice-presidency at the local computer programming office. (Nesbit 1970: 15)

Though in some instances these back-to-the-land communes failed when they learned of the hard work their intellectual beliefs led them to, many of these communes survived and even thrived.

The North American tradition of communal living is long, and there have been literally hundreds of small communes in North America for some time (Miller 1999: 7–9). While Hornby may only have a handful of such communities that survive today and no core identifiable “movement” that produced them, important dominant cultures on the island can be contextualized within this tradition. I show in Section II of this dissertation that as individuals, families, and communities, Hornby Islanders reflect what in *Commitment and Community* Rosabeth Kanter identifies as six essential qualities required for communal success: sacrifice, renunciation, investment, communion, mortification, and transcendence (1972, 72–5). We might also add to this list a need for social reproduction and adaptability.

Mechanical Solidarity

The dynamics of utopian movements are well documented and theorized. European utopian movements arise in response to moments of alienation from other and/or previous communities and communal ways of being (not unlike rock fans—see Pedelty 2012: 14). They are a reaction to the present-past. Modern North American utopias of individual freedoms began in some ways with The Enlightenment in the mid 17th century that legitimized, encouraged, and made greater self-determination possible in society generally. These possibilities arose in reaction to and in conflict with the mores of what was that time and place’s experience of communal “traditional society.” What was once a “natural” hierarchy between more homogenous classes became more visible as a social construction: groupings that were possible to intellectually deconstruct and physically leave. Individuals vied for freedom from community demands, duties, and governing structures, taking to “Darwinian” competition as money flowed into lower classes in ways that had not been previously possible, including the pursuit of occupations that had not existed or were once available only to a few (Hadden 1997, 15–38).

Comte saw the connection between alienation and utopia. The industrial revolution increased labour specialization, promoting non-identification and non-sympathy within communities that once understood their member’s occupations (Comte 1975, 270–7). People lost understanding of the context in which neighbours and (previous) class members lived. They lost their “adequacy at the level of meaning” for social cohesion (Weber 1979: 11). As people became more mobile and no longer identified with the inherited aspirations of their communities, they loosened their attachment to place and community. These changes were unprecedented.

Because new communities came together and dissolved with increasing, dramatic, and alarming speed, and the scientific revolution produced progressively more successful means for

describing truths about natural laws, scholars began searching for analogous scientific “truths” about human nature in relation to communities and society that could help predict social life. Emile Durkheim believed collective behavior is enacted to produce identity and solidarity: “for Durkheim, there exists a realm of relatively autonomous collective representations resulting from the group life of those individuals and which, in turn, effect the conduct of those individuals” (Hadden 1997, 90–1). Emergent collective life actually produces norms that ultimately come to govern collective life, allowing ease of interaction and greater togetherness. Durkheim actually supported the rise in specialization that drove the turnover of utopian movements. He supported developing new norms for his new society: even now for example, we are figuring out new norms required for polite cell phone use. This dissertation is critical of Durkheim’s faith in organic solidarity. I do agree that social interactions create “moral mass,” where interacting individuals encounter one another and refine their meanings and ethics, but I don’t believe that specialization is a good in and of itself.

Durkheim believed that dissolution of uniformity in labour actually marked criteria for progress for humanity and increasing community cohesion. For him, increasing specialization created mutual co-dependence (Durkheim 1997, 39). As a lawyer, Durkheim felt that as society moved towards specialization individual agents within society would have increasingly complex interactions that required the creation of useful laws for restoring order and guiding growth in specialization. Such was his ideal “organic solidarity” which leaves “mechanical solidarity” to “primitive” societies with individuals that have close understandings of each other’s work and lives. Sensing the limits of his position, in response to the increasing rates of suicide Durkheim noted in society, he hypothesized that if specialization happens too fast, outpacing the ability of social norms to develop and govern communities (opening the doors to fascism), then, we lose a

feeling of purpose and unity (Durkheim 1997, 291–309).²² Indeed, not a few utopian movements have appeared clearly fascist and/or unable to assimilate new norms with sufficient speed.

Following Durkheim’s logic but pushing back against it, Barbara Ehrenreich (2007) posits that mechanical solidarity is essential to community. Her work also locates the connection between alienation and specialization through practices of unification and utopia.²³ Part of the idea of mechanical solidarity is that individuals really know one another quite deeply. This is rather more than shared values and norms that arise from interactions, and the idea of mechanical solidarity opens a possibility for troubling the subjectivity of the individual in the community and in the environment (Barfield 1965), something that interests my research. Ehrenreich posits that activities of mechanical solidarity, like musicking, are essential for society because they allow for actual dissolution of self-hood and individuation. Astonishingly, Ehrenreich provides evidence from a survey of ethnographic literature in 1963 that 92% of the world’s small-scale “mechanical” societies engaged in religious trance and ecstatic group ritual involving music and dance for solidarity (2007, 5). I do not point to this evidence to suggest that musicking on Hornby normally reaches the intensity of religious trance, but, I am certain that it does and has approached such moments at times, and that it is providing an analogous—if lesser—function in Hornby’s culture. Working against individuation, rationalization (Weber 1979), self-interest, and separation is exactly what the utopian impulse offers as it has for centuries.

My dissertation suggests that mechanical solidarity is a limiting requirement for ecologically sane being. Mechanical solidarity is theory and biology. In *Art and Intimacy* Ellen Dissanayake (2004), who specializes in evolutionary aesthetics, connects bonding between

²² He could not have anticipated the kind of knowledge specialization that would produce, for example, say poisons which we may buy over the counter, but do not actually understand how to use (if they should be used at all).

²³ In a way, Weber’s notion of “rationalization” also fits here, where communities are dissolved by the power of bureaucracy (Schroeder 1992: 153).

mother and child with encouraging capacities for intimacy, love, and artistic capabilities. “For most of us, love and art are our closest encounters with perfection, experiences that may be likened to ideas of heaven and bliss” (2000, 4). For Dissanayake, “Art and love may be exalted as divine gifts or reduced to male competition and brain chemicals” (2000, xii). My agenda connects Dissanayake’s speculations about the universal experience of mother and child to the mechanical solidarity of the band-as-community.

“Adequacy at the level of meaning” for bands begins early. Dissanayake uses the terms *rhythm* and *mode* to describe both the process of experience and the grouping of experiences during the period of development for children when movement and sensory overlapping is the norm, a state akin to ecstasy during a child’s first years. However, Charles Keil (2006) and Patricia Campbell (2006, 156) believe that even the developing fetus, which has all the apparatuses needed for feeling and hearing at six months, is actually awash in a kind of sensory based womb drum, where breath, heartbeats (mother and child), talking and walking, and the sound of white noise, the ocean, surrounds the fetus in overlapping polyrhythmic sensations of warmth and movement, love and security. For Campbell, Keil, and Dissanayake, it is society’s job to welcome children into this world by maintaining the experiences of the wombdrum, by further ordering the sensory wash of childhood to find more communal mechanical solidarity.

Dissanayake’s argument is that our genetic heritage requires repetition and patterning in order to learn through rhythm and mode. Patterning is how we come to find meaning in the world and the way in which we are able to understand each other. The exquisitely patterned interactions and play between mother and child become the synchronicities we learn to express in life (Dissanayake 2000, 14), our making meaning. Dissanayake’s deft contribution to thinking about human evolution and the nature of cultural development is that we are too obsessed with

the selfish Darwinian interpretations of evolution to realize that we have a primary psychological and emotional need for mutuality (2000, 8): mechanical solidarity. This impulse is at the heart of particular kinds of ecological utopian desires and where I locate desire for band-as-community.

Whether it is turn taking, play, social synchrony, or participatory discrepancy (which I will shortly introduce), we learn to mirror one another in order to achieve attunement, oneness, and feelings of fun and pleasure. We do so to understand one another (Golden 2011: 34–5). When babies are first spoken to, the delivery of words is stylized, rhythmic, and repetitious. They are rocked to sleep and pressed to our beating hearts. Dissanayake has many examples. Culturally, we continue this proto-communication through music and dance. Searching for universal truths about our genetic inheritance, Dissanayake maintains 6 main arguments (2000, 129): 1) We are born with an unlearned readiness to seek and respond to mutuality, 2) we are social beings who are designed to work in groups, 3) all societies seek to make meaning out of reality, 4) we all enjoy the pleasure of working with our hands, 5) we all seek to embellish and elaborate creatively, 6) we all used to take “art” and life very seriously. She feels we repress what our bodies and minds are designed to do at the peril of our society and environment.

Collapsing the conceptual parameters of utopia for particular movements and utopia in the development of the individual in society, in my experience, utopia is generally constructed as an imaginary place and is only available in the past, through nostalgia, the present in the mind, or in the future through promise/change/travel/work/material intervention. In academia, the desire for perfection—a force to describe and explain human actions—is another construction. My formulation of the utopian is informed by Ernst Bloch’s “synchronicity.” Utopian communities try to make the present as perfect as possible as a means to experience utopia in the “now,” or as means to ends to experience utopia in a potentially timeless afterlife. Utopian communities

negotiate the “unbearable Now” by dealing in time (Bloch 1977, 22). Surrounded by the Nazi party—which Bloch abhorred—that suggested an Arian ecotopia, Bloch’s scholarship detailed the importance of “synchronicity” for utopian thought. One way of examining utopian thought is to evaluate the degree to which a community’s members are on “the same page.” After all, though people may be physically together in the present, aspirations, signifiers, and objects from wildly different places and times also float about in the present (Zabel 1990, 82–84). For example, the Amish reject aspects of the present and seek as much as possible to maintain the aspirations, objects, and signifiers of another time, a synchronicity that promotes enhanced collective action and identity: literally, “being together.” Taking a Blochian approach, the environmental problem includes being dislocated from the conditions of the present. “Synchronicity” is relevant to Hornby’s aspirations, but also to the process of musicking. Utopia in Bloch’s theories is a—perhaps unattainable—notion where people are together and synchronized in their priorities and referents, not unlike the assertions of other authors when discussing embodied synchronicity (Hall 1977, 71–84; McNeill 1995).

In sum, intentional communities are the practical manifestation in the present of a desire for a future utopia. Above all, there is pursuit, which distracts a community from the unbearable Now.²⁴ The entire environmental movement could be described as a utopian power that suggests particular kinds of relations between humans and the environment as ideal. Those relationships are imagined as ecologically sound, reciprocal, and mutually supportive in the furthest projection into the future we can conceive. What interests me most is the idea of practice for utopia: there

²⁴ The idea that the present is unbearable does hint of a kind of negative Nietzschean outlook that I do not believe all people and communities experience. I am not certain if I subscribe to the idea. For example, I believe elements of Hornby’s society subverts this possibility because some Islanders operate from “positivity” and would not characterize themselves as dissatisfied.

are activities people use to taste perfection now, and by developing a desire for it, they work harder towards it.

Musicking Utopia

Musicking brings us “together” with interplay between what Turino calls “the possible” and “the actual” (2008). Producing sound with instruments develops essential functions of our minds as we grow (Campbell 2006, 29). We have to integrate looking, listening, and doing all in fine-tuned co-ordination. Barbe and Swassing allow that musicking can help bring to equilibrium the three modalities in which most people learn: tactile/kinesthetic, aural, and visual (1979). After unifying ourselves internally, we can expand our cohesion outwards to include community (Farmelo 1997). However, the hopes Dissanayake and I share for the biological capacity of musicking to overcome alienation are only aspirational,

Ethnomusicological research, it so happens, has raised more problems about the biology of music-making than it has resolved...chiefly because it has revealed a diversity of human perceptions and definitions of music and of affective responses that cannot be explained in naturalistic terms. (Blacking 1992, 301)

While it may be that musicking is part of evolutionary aesthetics and our genetic heritage as a near universal inheritance, certainly, as I have admitted elsewhere, the cultural expression of sound and music is too varied to suggest more than what it can do for or to mechanical solidarity:

Although there are attractive arguments in favour of the biological foundations of certain human behaviours that may be called ‘musical,’ there are serious problems with identifying their forms. The complication is caused partly by the diversity of musical systems ethnomusicologists have found, partly by the difficulty in pinpointing any musical universals and partly because it seems to be necessary to show that special muscles and cognitive capacities have evolved suitable for music. If speaking were simply a matter of using the organs for eating and breathing to enhance communication, there would hardly be a case for the biological foundation for language. Likewise, similar relationships between form and behaviour are necessary for any theory of the biological foundations of music. (Blacking 1992, 312)

The biological foundations of musicking remain indescribable without some reference to a set of cultural norms. Neuropathologists and psychologists alike appear to be unable to fully articulate music's place in our brains, in fact, calling it a uniquely "global" activity when we make it (Collins, Gendler, and Graham 2014). But it is precisely this holistic capacity to create and to connect that is the location of music in the mind that gives it power for utopian consciousness. Creative interconnected left-right brained imagination cannot be overstated as key to utopia and building community. This need for context explains my drawing together utopian movements, mechanical solidarity, utopian biology, and utopian musicking for examining Hornby.

The most important insight I believe I have to offer concerning how musicking brings attention to our environment through utopia comes via Christopher Small's somewhat unfinished thoughts towards the end of his life (2011). He suspected that the utopian nature of music making is most easily identified in its temporary manifestation. Like most art forms, music is a practice of perfection,²⁵ but unlike some others, its residues can be fleeting and unfixd, best found in the moment of enactment or in memory. I find this notion of temporality translates very well between the theoretical and the practical, especially when musicians are working towards some kind of ostensibly replicable ideal like a cover song of a recording, something that requires rehearsal to glimpse perfection or in this case perfect rendition. My research on Hornby bears this theory out, where people are able, if only temporarily, to practice the kinds of idealized relations they would like to have with one another while musicking. Music making charges the communal battery of good, "bringin' us together," making positive vibrations (S. Crowe 2011).

Musicians and audiences experience this sentiment in a variety of ways. In rehearsal, a good session will inevitably improve people's relations, at least temporarily, but will also

²⁵ And by "perfection," I do mean Keil and Feld's "in-synch but out of phase" (1994).

challenge participants to overcome problems together. Musicking then is a practice of good negotiation, and ideally, feelings of mutual reward. Further, it is an opportunity to practice idealized versions of the self, a self that is part of a whole as represented by an ensemble in a dramaturgical sense. Each band member has a specific and often essential role to play, and band members are equally dependent on each other for the success of the performance. On the dance floor, audience members interact in a highly ritualized space where socializing, touching, intimacy, and muscular synchrony are both permitted and essential. Audiences are equally responsible for any glimpses of utopia and for knowing what the members of the audience and stage are experiencing. In a sit-down situation, movement is sublimated into intense attention bringing collective focus to the minutiae of a performance. Together, the audience and performers attempt a melding, an overcoming of individuation, a perfection of unity through simultaneous experience, together in time for a span.

With respect to utopia and the universal, in *Musicking* Christopher Small provides a helpful reminder when faced with the dilemma of musical diversity in presentation: “Music is...something that people do...‘[M]usic’ is a figment, an abstraction, whose reality vanishes as soon as we examine it closely” (1998, 2). *Musicking* challenges the abstraction of “music” from people (Small 1998). However, Small’s own focus inadequately addresses all of the other things that are involved in making music. While Small gestured towards a world outside of the theatre of performance, I am referring to those “music worlds,” those acts of negotiation that make the event of music and listening possible: getting to practice, having dinner, going to work, setting up the venue, finding a babysitter, etc. I will return to this expanded sense of “music” presently.

In my construction of musicking, hearing, or “here-ing,” I argue that the temporal utopian nature of the performance experience can expand outwards to include everything within a

community, human and more-than-human. Musicking is a manifestation of much more than audience and performers, but includes everything involved in the temporary experiences of perfection. Musicking resonates outwards from the band and into all facets of life (Farmelo 1997). It does so not only in the moment of performance, but in all of the activities that produced the event.

Returning again to Hennion's complaint (pg. 41) that sociomusicology deals with music as a game for social ends without dealing with music—the object—I propose that the game of music is all of the sociology that goes into making the musical event, the community, and the musical group function, but that the object of musicking is utopia: a disruption of the alienation between self and Other, a move towards, if only temporary, more mechanical solidarity, a meeting ground.



Figure 7: Opening for the 2013 Hornby Island Blues Fest at The Hall, the heart of Hornby's community. Tony Wilson on the left, me in the middle, and Dana Inglis on the right: all in our own headspaces, eyes closed, and yet trying, and succeeding for the most part, in being together. Daryl Bohn, their regular drummer was out of town so

they asked me to sit in. Note the fake brick backdrop and posters from older island gigs made to look gritty and faded. Also note the casual presentation of Inglis and Wilson, the cable wiring and open case, and my somewhat more reserved sense of “being hired” with a white shirt and slacks. Photo by Bill Smith.

Participation

“Doing culture” (as opposed to merely consuming it) has been declining. Take town bands or jazz jamming or simply gathering around a piano, once classic examples of community and social involvement. 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 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. We certainly have not lost our taste for *listening* to music, any more than watching sports, but fewer and fewer of us play together. (Putnam 2000: 115)

I think I’ve met one person who doesn’t play music on this island...Not that he doesn’t like music. (Clark 2011)

One of my friends actually said to me...“I feel like a drug addict. It’s great when you’re there, and the more you get, the more you want. And you, you’re like the ultimate pusher,” she said, because...the first fiddle lesson was free. And she said, “the first lesson is free? You hook them right away, and then you’re the only dealer in town.”...That’s why you desire...to play, because it’s like a drug. You think it’s good and clean, the kids are playing music: “isn’t that nice they’re playing music?” They’re drugged to their eyeballs. (Cannon 2013)

The division of labour has gone this far. And we participate in it, encourage it, when we imagine that the social responsibility of the artist addresses only those who name themselves artists. (duBois 1995: 20)

While this dissertation advances research into participation by including consideration of more-than-human participants in the description of musical communities, my focus in musicking begins with humans. When discussing the phenomenon of musicking, rather than expressing ideas about the individual, this dissertation is for the most part about bands and ensembles of non-classical but western influenced musics. Given that my ultimate focus is on groups in pursuit

of musical perfection (though satisfied with the process of the work) and utopia, I am also interested in how participation changes an individual's attention to the whole.

How do communities and groups form and why? How are communities essential for the environmental movement? These questions that perhaps frame my questions for musicking and ecomusicology also assume that alienation might disserve our communities and environment. Such questions are somewhat biased towards positive forms of participation, where negative versions involve situations in which people are forced to participate or coerced through fascism. Groups form because of shared frustrations with the present, from concerns with mundane boredom and loneliness to intense shared political values. In dealing with powerfully repressive political agendas as perpetrated through music, I reject the notion that in order to focus on what music can do, we must first outline all of the things that music does do and has done. Such work is essential and cannot be ignored, but there is not space here to do justice to all the things good, bad, unforeseen, that music can do before proceeding. Other researchers present wonderful examples of this spectrum in their work, from Nazi Germany to the US Civil Rights Movement (Turino 2008). Ultimately, communities begin with participation of some kind.

With respect to imagining the place of the individual in a group musical setting, musicians might say that a person must be able to direct attention to the self before considering others. Musical participation can at times appear to bring one's focus to the very immediate, away from the whole. Music making for novices might not seem to provide very tangible outcomes for a community. Practicing (not) alone offers an opportunity to commune with nature, with non-human communities, with focus, with the self in a busy day full of others.

However, more tangibly, practice generally derives from instruction, which permeates self-centering. Hornby Island instructors like June Cannon and Marc Atkinson certainly derive

income from their lessons which they feed back into the community (Cannon 2013; Atkinson 2013), and with private instruction many teachers encourage students to attend group lessons, recitals and the like (which interested parents and community members attend). For June Cannon in particular, these initial lessons become tied to larger events, e.g. an annual fiddling camp and family dances. Solo practice is rarely an entirely solitary endeavour.

Tony Wilson, like many musicians, will inhabit at moments what can appear visually to be an inward-looking stage presence. Yet musically, in the few open sessions I have had with him, he provides a stable core that actually makes sense of what, in an open jam full of musicians with a huge variety of abilities, can be a complete mess. Without individual self-organization, it can be difficult, particularly on a rhythm instrument, to really converse with others. Visually, many musicians curl into themselves with a kind of internal sonic gravity, protecting their selves. This betrays self-discipline for the benefit of the whole, not alienation from it, though many performing artists insist that anything less than perfect posture and intentional attention to the audience is just lazy. It might seem at times nothing else exists for Wilson in performance, perhaps only sound. This could describe many musicians (see Figure 7 above). Here Marc Atkinson describes his experience practicing on his own:

When I practice an instrument, I start off really slow...I did talk to a martial arts expert one time...he said [becoming an expert is] the easy part...The challenging part of the journey that the black belt person is now faced with is how to return to the white again, so you go all the way back to the beginning of your innocence, and you're just pure... It's like when you smell a flower for the first time or, you remember what beer tasted like when your dad gave it to you: it was weird stuff. So you have to return to that, but now you have all the technique in the world...you re-discover that playfulness...that's the difficult part because once you have that technique, it's very hard to slow down and get back to that space again. So when I pick up my instrument on my own, and I'm going to properly practice, I just want to just start really slow with a G chord and...tune that guitar, take my time, and then start to put in a simple note...up to the four chord, back again, and just ease into it...it just starts to open up...with that subtlety...that's really hard to maintain in many

environments. (M. Atkinson 2013)

Atkinson explains just how difficult it can be to musically organize the self when alone, and then, alludes to how much more difficult this can be in playing with others in “many environments.” Atkinson would agree with June Cannon as she describes that working with a musician of any skill can provide moments for deep connection: “You can get it with a kid playing Dancing Bear...I’ve had many connections with people with that tune. On all levels...with one of my top hero fiddlers [Martin Hayes!], we’ve played that tune, and it’s like wow, a religious experience” (Cannon 2013).

Making music at the individual level can be a meditative practice that requires sustained focus that at first builds an internal space, away from the whole, apart from it. Thomas Turino, an ethnomusicologist and possibly a sociomusicologist, connects Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi’s concept of flow in sports to musicking to describe this mental state (Turino 2008; Csikszentmihalyi 1990). As a requirement of flow, there is also that constant possibility for improvement, that reaching for utopia, “the desire to get better and to improve; it’s a craft and an art form that you can spend your whole life practicing, and there will always be new things to learn no matter how efficient you become” (Tanner 2013).

Musicians warm up and stretch, go through their paces before putting “their heads in the game.” While initially a group of musicians might “skate with their heads down,” ideally they will lift them up to see connections and communicate more transparently for audiences and others—but not always. Quite literally in many cases, musicians will only make eye contact with each other when the self is adequately organized. For me, when playing, in some ways I do not wish to influence others with the look of internal effort my thoughts may project while “getting into the groove.” When able to really move beyond the self, the sensation is an awakening to the

whole, looking down from above, to hear all and see all that can be taken in. Darryl Bohn describes his experience this way, playing at The Thatch, Hornby Island's bar,

On the good night...I can get [into the zone/flow]. And it's when the room's fading away...The sound's coming in my ears...I got Nick on one side of me [tenor saxophone]. I got Tony and Dana on the other side of me [guitar and bass]...it's travelling through my body and coming out my hands. And the room is gone...I'm just lost in the music. Not lost, but travelling in the music...I'm not even a surfer...but I describe it as catching the perfect wave...And it wouldn't matter if there's three people in the audience, or if there was an audience, or there was a coliseum...It's one of my favourite sensations...It's what keeps me coming back. Those moments where you just know everything is right. (Bohn 2013)

Bohn's experience is not at all unusual. Countless musicians use this language and testify to this "expanded sense of self" (Golden 2011: 37) that causes boundary loss and fellow feeling (Mithen 2006: 209), moments of perceived temporal distortion (Zagorski-Thomas 2007: 330).

Bohn's description of utopia might appear to stand in contrast to my notion of one's environment becoming more present or connected when musicking. In a way, it might sound like Bohn's musicking gets him away from social and environmental concerns. If musicking is the intoxicant Cannon claims and Bohn describes, how can I posit that the environmental movement needs this participatory addiction that apparently removes attention to reality? Here are the rubs: for the purposes of rejuvenation, affirmation of the past, and celebration, community needs positive practices of mental and physical refuge from individual struggle (Durkheim 1995: 374); such socially constructed musical events enable strong community through a chain of eco-systemic activities. Further, musicking actualizes a theoretical solidarity that is carried forward into "normal reality." Musicking sublimates the negative consequences of group life and translates them into something more manageable through what amounts to changing the narrative the community tells itself about itself (Mark and Di Battista Forthcoming).

For Bohn, at first read, in his “altered state of mind” (Zagorski-Thomas 2007: 330; 2004; Becker 2004) it might appear that all else has disappeared. But then again, upon reflection, Bohn is testifying to the presence of others, others that are with him on his wave. The other band members, right next to his ears, are essential for his almost therapeutic transport to happen. I have interviewed quite a few musicians who testify to the importance of being able to block out an indifferent, inattentive, or even unsupportive audience at a paid bar gig, a job. However, while it is nice or even essential to imagine that the audience may not matter elsewhere, on Hornby the bar gig would not exist without the audience and venue, the community; and audiences do matter greatly to musicians (as I will show in Section III). Ideally, because this is about utopia, the appreciative audience improves the capacities of the band for unity, but if perfection is not possible, they are still present and essential to the public attempt, and of course, they are also there to see one another and talk, an essential utopian communal activity.

To begin then, one does need to find internal musical coordination. However, when playing with others, the connections must eventually expand outward from the self to inform collective experience (Farmelo 1997; Durkheim 1995). Musicians who are open to others, who communicate creatively and comfortably, can achieve this effect remarkably quickly. What Bohn describes could take emerge in a second, half the night, or not at all. The collective experience is initially within the band, and then moves to the audience and possibly the dancers.

Cannon explains this *co-hearing* phenomenon quite well (Farmelo 1997),

Cannon: If I’m playing for dancing...[I’m] trying to connect with the dancers...That’s what you’re trying to do, as a dance band...You’re trying to connect the musical energy to the dancing energy and have something greater than the sum of the parts...Occasionally it happens at those New Horizons nights with those little scratchy fiddlers...and it’s just one of those highs.

Author: And those folks in the room, too, aren’t really dancing, either, so that’s

interesting in that they somehow connect. The people just watching at New Horizons.

Cannon: ...Often they're just watching...there were a couple of nice moments at that last one where the kids got up and played...Skye Boat Song and Finnley just spontaneously sang the verse of it, and then you feel like they have the audience connected with them...it's a connection with the people out there. (Cannon 2013)

The moment Cannon is referring to, where Finnley got up and sang was astonishing. Without prompting, he let out an entire verse: we were all there with him, though, he was "alone," like Reuben Wier in the opening story of this chapter.

Experience alone does not account for the successful participatory coherence of an ensemble, and an ensemble with an audience. Things like courage, trust and the day's events all matter as well. Obviously confidence in one's own abilities, in bandmates, and in past successes helps too. All of these things and more affect participation. It's also important to question how we measure successful participation, where I and others (Turino 2008: 33; Korszynski 2014: 52) would argue that degree and intensity should inform evaluation. Participation requires initiators who are unafraid to make mistakes, people Korczynski calls "cultural instigators" (2014: 53). One could consider such people as the leaders of mini utopian movements, little Mother Ann Lees (the Shakers) and Prophet Joseph Smiths (the Mormons). Participation also requires a receptive audience.

My focus on participation in utopia, community, and environment is not only pragmatic, based in my own experiences and others, but theoretical. Perhaps ethnomusicology's most recognizable, adopted, and well-known theory of participation is Charles Keil's theory of participatory discrepancies, named as such in 1987, the same year he began collecting and publishing informal essays in *Echology*. The theory of participatory discrepancies is so well known that ethnomusicologists simply speak of "PDs." PDs are offered as the phenomenon that

explain the feeling of a song, its groove, its “vital energy,” its capacity to create emotion. PDs primarily concern micro variations in timing, tuning, and timbre, and how musicians, when grooving, instantaneously negotiate these changes through time when playing. Keil suspects that these micro-grooves reflect macro-power-dynamics in groups and in society, but he does not offer clear evidence of how PDs show this, something I try to help with in this dissertation.

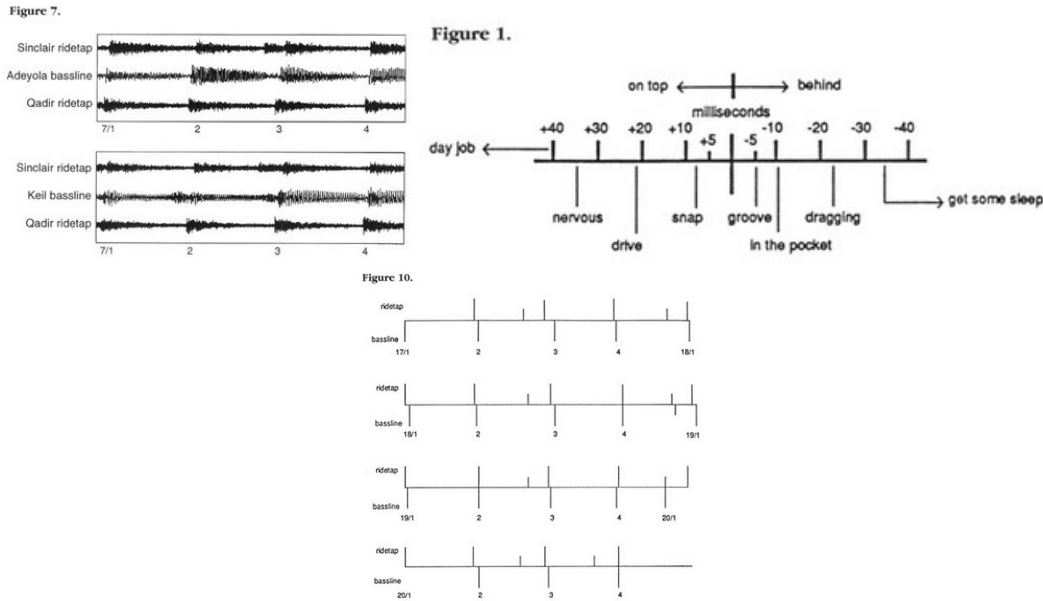


Figure 8: These figures are taken from Prögler’s piece in *Ethnomusicology* for the 1995 special edition on participatory discrepancies. They visually illustrate the manner in which bassists and drummers deviate from absolute time in dialogue with each other. Figure 7 (above) shows the way that two drummers would participate with the same bassline but with different discrepancies. Figure 1 offers some of the language used to describe a musician’s timing in relation to absolute time. Figure 10 represents 4 bars of conversation between a bass player and drummer about time. Both of them appear to be driving the beat in this example.

The generation of Keil’s theory began in 1966 in with “Motion and Feeling in Music” (1966b), a response to Meyer’s ideas in *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (1956) that locate emotion in (Western art) music in response to syntax and product, a musical culture and idea Keil does not support. Keil is concerned with process. When I cite Keil, and Small, and Feld, and later Turino, I am pointing towards a definite group of scholars (including others like Blacking,

Shepherd, Kerman, McClary and more²⁶) that search for processual musical insight (Mowitt 2002: 40; Everitt 1997). Keil's PDs go a long way towards explaining the excitement June Cannon finds here below. PDs explain that because these fiddlers are trying to be in perfect unison, *but are not*, their playing is therefore all the more "perfect,"

There's something really cool about two fiddles playing together, I think... Either if they're playing in perfect... unison or a nice harmony. Just off is just off [this would be too discrepant for Keil: an divisive argument, not a constructive conversation]. But certainly there's an excitement when you're playing with another person or two or three other people, and you're right on it. (Cannon 2013)

Keil used his insights into jazz to claim that emotion and meaning in music might not only be a product, but much more importantly (1995), a processual engendered feeling which he eventually described as a tension and propulsion that musicians improvise and evolve from instantaneous moment to moment: elsewhere called rhythmic entrainment. PDs visual analogue might be Edward Hall's slow motion films of the micro-timed dance between conversing individuals (1977). Keil literally feels that encouraging musical PDs are possibly the best way to connect us to nature, our true primal mimetic selves, and forestall ecological apocalypse (1995).

Acknowledging the insights that PDs offer and imagining others does not require one to draw the same Marxist and "primal culture" conclusions Keil does. For example (in Cowdery et al. 1995: 79), Kisliuk accuses Keil of the exact same kind of colonial romanticism Bakhtin is here:

[A] yearning for the immediacy and close personal contact characteristic of a pre-capitalism, primarily oral culture, where hearing is the primary sense and where timbre, intonation and so on are the most important elements of human communication—roughly, in short, what Jacques Derrida has termed 'phonocentrism.' (Gardiner 1992, 171)

²⁶ Notably, a number of these authors refer to Gregory Bateson in their work. Also, note that Keil's emphasis on group over individual can be represented as a feminist assertion (Green 1997: 74).

I have to agree that Keil wants PDs to bring us to an ordinary primal experience, but feel uncertain that his interpretation is a perpetuation of colonialism. The existence of PDs does not necessitate any particular interpretation. For me, the existence of PDs does not provide any clear explanation for the connection from musicians report having to their community and nature in the following. However, by a) examining the “non-musical” social processes involved in getting to the point of making PDs and by b) examining the kinds of altered solidarity that musicians report experiencing as a result of having grooved, we may follow a much messier, and yet essentially sociomusicological path from music—to community—to environment.

There are three primary PD additions of my own that I offer here to augment Keil’s timing-tuning-timbre²⁷ PDs: they are structural-social-(eco)systemic PDs. My additions address the difficulty in scaling Keil’s ideas from the “bottom up” (1995) beyond singular instances of “groove” in which one might normally apply the theory, a groove being a specific identifiable repeating rather stable musical pattern involving participants.

Keil’s theory focuses on the importance of the unconscious in creating PDs for groove, represented as the first level in Figure 9 below. Keil’s classic example is the play between a drummer and bassist as they create a specific “feel” through musical dialogue and discrepant articulation of downbeats, i.e. the bassist and drummer do not actually keep perfect time by landing with mathematical precision, but rather, create perfect time by conversing about where the time might be. With Prögler’s help (see Figure 8) and Alén’s (1995), Keil scientifically proved the existence of PDs in 1995. However, even as Keil explicitly recognizes the need to scale up from micro-musical pushes and pulls (1994), he never sufficiently discusses in academic

²⁷ Keil explicitly does not limit PDs and invites others to expand them (1994), but he locates these three as his core.

publications the importance of all the work that requires taking conscious practice into the unconscious realm when it comes to groove, songs, bands, communities: Becker’s “art worlds.”

Level of Participatory Discrepancy	Scope of Participatory Discrepancy	Location of Participatory Discrepancy	Power Organization of Participatory Discrepancy
1. Micro PDs in music	“groove,” music as music, timing-tuning-timbre	unconscious, microseconds, primary	(more) egalitarian
2. Meso PDs in music	“structural,” music as music, introductions, bridges, chorus, verse, outro, etc., lifting songs, making set lists	conscious, rehearsal, rational	(more) hierarchy
3. Macro-Personal PDs in musicking	“social,” friendship, conflict, ego, hierarchy, identity, reputation	Conscious and unconscious, rehearsal and community, emotional	interpersonal
4. Macro-(Eco)system PDs in musicking	“(eco)systemic,” managing equipment, dinner, babysitters, weather, venue, month of year, audience	Conscious, rehearsal and community, rational, environmental	community and environment

Figure 9: This table offers a tip of the hat to Keil’s table in *Motion and Feeling Through Music* (1966b). His PDs are of the first level. Of course, I do not imply ranking, only orders of abstraction.

Normally with this focus, under a microscope, PDs appear to miss all of those other parts of playing that are conscious and yet are ideally made unconscious. Here, I am speaking of things like intros, breaks, bridges, choruses and verses, modulations, and outros. Having played music with Keil, I have few memories of his worries about such details. He probably rightly conceives of them as having secondary importance to groove. But bands do not generally just play singular repetitive grooves, even as they attribute the success of “tracks” or “joints” to groove. Bands spend enormous amounts of time rehearsing “how the song goes,” and PDs do not capture this. I call these structural PDs, labeled as second level meso PDs in Figure 9 above.

I do not mean to suggest that by appreciating structural PDs we should set aside process. I do mean to suggest we need to look at the PDs involved in the processes of creating structure. When Keil critiqued the primacy of syntax and structure in what makes music meaningful, he was referring to classical music and scores handed down from elite composers to lowly

musicians. He was not referring to the discrepant and dialogic process of a rhythm section deciding where the bridge goes.²⁸ The theory of PDs still works as it is, as producing a tangible musical object, as an aesthetic theory for evaluation—I think it works well—but in terms of what bands actually phenomenologically rehearse and work on to get into that place of unconscious groovy connection, the list of timing, tuning, and timbre needs to expand beyond Keil’s focus on the democracy of the moment to include focus on what musicians are deciding when not only grooving, but while resolving structure, from wherever it may come. I am not proposing to further or widen Keil’s aesthetic theory, but I do propose to explain the production of his theory using the same laboratory of a rhythm section (see Chapter 10) and the same sociomusicological focus on social meaning to continue emphasis on process over product.

Structural PDs demand recognition of another level of PDs. Bands work towards temporary (im)perfection. They do this through a variety of means to generate sonic consensus including employing varying systems of decision-making. A consistent flaw in attention to Keil’s work on consensus-making through musicking—in the theory of PDs as it is popularly interpreted—is a neglect of the social emotional details of musicking (not Meyer’s emotion). Band and jam members interpersonally communicate to achieve sonic consensus in the moment of play, but their interpersonal relationships exceed the boundaries of jamming. Though Keil wants to reject the power of the composer, even while citing James Brown’s grooves, he neglects the power of leader(s), the scenarios in which musicians have negotiable freedoms of expression. I call these social PDs, represented as the third level in Figure 9. The true dialogics of bands being wonderfully “in-synch but out of phase” balloon far beyond groove, structure, and song, but include the emotional PDs of interpersonal power.

²⁸ A process that is particularly relevant when trying to copy Other’s songs, when doing covers, when uncovering the particular PDs of a groove, when enacting the very mimesis Keil claims restores primary experience (1995).

Finally, Keil's theory of PDs is thought to apply exclusively to music, the abstract, or, a limited kind of musicking-musical processual dialogue, a temporal micro-focal unfolding participant exchange, but it is not carefully imagined as the negotiations needed to get people to rehearsal, to dinner, to house the community, to find a day job, to sustain the local economy, to keep one's environment. Keil claims his PDs get one closer to environment through a primal experience, what is something like Durkheim's effervescence. But I am reminding us of the more obvious end of the spectrum of PDs: that one needs an environment to music in, that our systemic environment allows PDs even as PDs connect us to it. To happen, musicking requires PDs of negotiation with one's community.

I am not suggesting that Keil's original PDs, my structural and social PDs, and what I am now calling (eco)systemic PDs in Figure 9 at the fourth level, are all on the same phenomenological order as those of micro timing, tuning, and timbre. However, my PDs are consistent with the general ideological heritage and emphasis of Keil's PDs because I am focused on sociomusicological process, participation, and discrepancy. I am suggesting that these levels of PDs are intimately connected, that (eco)systemic PDs operate as the substrate upon which social and structural PDs form a home for the PDs of timing, tuning, and timbre. In keeping with Keil's PDs, I also find a connection to nature with mine.²⁹

While Keil's theory does bring one into conversation with musicians about how macro processes make music possible at micro-musical levels—for example, his work on Balkan musicking follows the lives of musicians (Keil and Keil 2002)—scholars seem to not show interest in expanding the theory of PDs to include how bands make non-musical decisions and how their systemic decision making as a mini-community, extra-musically, is

²⁹ Keil does not view his PDs as the only PDs: quite the opposite. He encourages exploration of what his PDs mean and what other PDs exist. I hope it is clear I am not criticizing Keil's efforts, only the attention they have received.

transformed by their musicking, which in turn, transforms their community and environment. This is precisely what I do in this dissertation. More succinctly: Keil's PDs are not (yet) iterative enough in scope to handle questions of environment. Keil grasps Bateson's "difference that makes a difference" (1972), but then fails to fully engage Bateson's larger recursive view where micro-differences mirror the larger (eco)system.

PDs have stalled. In an entire "Progress Report" issue of *Ethnomusicology* devoted to PDs in 1995, contributors offered scientific evidence of PDs (Alén 1995; Pögler 1995). Since 1995, Keil's work has not birthed a robust study of "groovology" (Feld and Keil 1994), where musicking is linked to the social sphere using PDs as I try to do in the following. What scholarly focus on participatory discrepancies there is has mainly focused on further microscopic forensic investigation of the timing, tuning, and timbre of sign waves and fMRI evidence of PDs existence: literally an inevitable positivist overshadowing of Keil's social hopes for such concepts. The original potential validity and insight of his attractive theory brought attention that post-modern ethnomusicology tends to avoid. It appears people are too caught up with the empiricism of PDs to bother asking what their existence might mean, if not validation for Keil's ecocritical disdain for elite musical institutions of "snivelization" (1995). PDs are mistakenly used to study what Keil calls the footprint rather than the surface step of groove,

I would characterize Keil's approach as the study of the social, cultural and psychological processes that produce participatory discrepancies (PDs) in musical performance. The measurement of these PDs is useful only in as far as it can be used to illuminate the processes that generate them. It would seem, however, that the majority of the subsequent research into groove, microtiming or expressive timing has continued to be primarily concerned with measurement and description...Groovology, although it in no way seeks to negate approaches based on measurement and neurological explanation, is working with a different agenda. When Keil wonders why the discipline of groovology has failed to take off (Keil and Feld 1994), I would suggest that this is related to the development of

Kuhnian paradigms (Kuhn 1962) that inhibit cross-disciplinary practice through the use of incompatible methodologies. The tools that exist for studying the ‘footprints’ (measurement of ioi’s in recorded performance, etc.) produce very different types of data than the tools used by ethnomusicologists for studying the process (e.g. observation and questioning of the performers). Perhaps the positivism that seems inherent in these processes of empirical measurement is viewed with suspicion in this post-structuralist world. (Zagorski-Thomas 2007: 237–8)³⁰

The quote early in this chapter, under Ecomusicology and Sociology, is from Keil’s final contribution to *Ethnomusicology* and captures his frustration, two years before retirement.

This gap in scalar attention to the power of PDs is one place in which I locate my research. I wish to explain how we get from groove, to utopia, to community, to environment:

I think that’s where most of the fun comes in. Like when I used to go to Bluegrass festivals, when we’d get together to work out what we were going to do, that always seemed to me that’s when the music sounded the best, that first time through it where you’re just really excited about doing this. (Rabena 2013)

Rabena agrees with Keil and me that serious fun is “the best” place for groovological inquiry, but it is difficult to be certain that groove is a useful metaphor when what Keil wanted was an emphasis on whatever made music the most participatory in any society.

In my models of musicking and PDs, the groove, the emotion, feeling, the song, the ABABC, and meaning—*the vibe*—these are products of and for the entire community, from the chickens to the day’s gossip, to the plans for changing the ferry schedule. I am more curious as to how musicking expands outwards, from the “bottom up,” rather than how larger social forces produce specific kinds of musicking: punk, reggae, EDM, etc.: another important pathway. There are certainly qualities to specific participatory musics that invite greater and lesser forms of participation and dialogue with community. There are PDs and an associated ethos for every genre. However, I submit that playing music generally practices certain kinds of temporary

³⁰ I should point out that in the 1995 special issue of *Ethnomusicology* on participatory discrepancies, Keil is positively roasted by a series of invited responses with authors who appear to take Keil’s barbs very personally.

utopian participatory communication that inevitably bleed into other forms of more everyday communication and ultimately communion with one's environment. A performance then is a snapshot of the community that the community carries forward to integrate into itself, in some part, preparing for the next performance: exactly what I found on Hornby. This cycle creates a kind of musical vibration that is place based.

On Hornby, as elsewhere in my musical career, a given set of decision making processes, hierarchies, and communication methods for attempting musical perfection prevail. Such seemingly non-musical decisions impact the transformative power, the vibe, the PDs of the music as much as any other factor, sometimes more. There are so many factors that will influence the success of a band that have seemingly nothing to do with musicking, and yet here I tie those factors tightly to what music means for community in a more holistic sense of PDs. For example, though with elite artists one might assume that non-musical issues of feelings and organization are less influential for performance, in the majority of music made, people will not endure unhappy social situations for a gig without some exceptional circumstances, a sense of learning, teeth-cutting, or high pay. Extra-musical communication within one's environment is as important and complex as any other form of musical communication, and for this work, extra-musical communication is central to understanding how music and environmentalism become attached. My argument is that those skills learned through musical communication and work towards publicly sharing musical skill translate into other realms of communal activity.

Describing the amount of effort involved in musicking, Mark Pedelty documents many of what I would call "expanded PDs" that he encountered trying to become an "environmental musician" in the fourth chapter of his book in revealing ways, sometimes in the Salish Sea on Orcas Island

(2012: 129–198). This kind of theoretical intervention begins with participation, and at the heart of participation is dialogue, my next subsection.



Figure 10: Dialoging about what we are going to do, how the song goes, when we will next meet (structural and systemic PDs): not playing, what a whole lot of rehearsals look like. From front to back and left to right, Ted Tanner, Silas Crowe, Ken Clark, Marc Atkinson, Dean Samuel on the far right, and Brett Martens in the middle. I am behind the drum kit. These are the members of The Hornby Island Rudiments reggae band in early 2013. We rehearsed in this small room on a property on the Downes Point communal land. Almost weekly for several months, we spent about a third of our time listening to and talking about the details of the music we were covering, a third of the time actually playing music, and another third hanging out, enjoying each other’s company. Note the Diane Smith silk and denim quilt and Anne Ngan painting of Hornby vistas; several other works from island artists are in the room, but are not in the frame.

Dialogue

[Hornby is] like a landing pad...as though Sun-Ra came from Saturn. We’ve all come to Hornby. It’s a safe haven in a way, and you can participate as much as you want or as little as you want...A lot of people that live here probably don’t even think Hornby has anything to do with Canada. (Smith 2013)

My ideas about how musicking furthers dialogue as essential to participation and community rely primarily upon focused conversations with living people. The notion of music-

as-dialogue follows from attention to music as, essentially, a form of communication. I could also frame this dissertation by asking: “What does music have to tell us?”

For the most part, the theory of participatory discrepancies addresses the dialogic elements that performers experience on stage, in-the-moment, but also with attention to song structure, rehearsal, and community in the expanded sense I just argued above. However, I feel more can be said about the dialogic PDs between artists, their family and friends, and their audiences, before and after the moment of performance within cycles of larger recursion which are too often limited to “[when you] come off the stage and thinking, ‘oh man, we were great,’ and the other people, hardly react, and then you come off thinking, ‘oh God, that was horrible,’ and then all of a sudden everybody comes up, ‘that’s the best I ever heard you’ ” (Rabena 2013).

Recently, Professor Norman Cornett has re-entered my consciousness. His classes are the most memorable of my B.A., and I reached out after watching Obomsawin’s film about his firing from McGill, “Since when do we divorce the right answer from an honest answer?” (2009).

From promotional material for a recent “dialogic session” with Cornett:

Donald Woods Winnicott (1896-1971) conducted seminal research in pediatrics and psychoanalysis. He endeavored to understand how a newborn relates the womb to the world, the internal to the external. He proposed that a transitional object, such as the mother's breast, enables the newborn to make such connections. Based on this concept Professor Norman Cornett maintains that the, “arts create a transitional space between the material and spiritual realms so that aesthetics constitute the threshold of spirituality.” He concludes that, “the arts thus provide a paradigm whereby we may develop a postmodern construct of spirituality.” As a result, “the arts serve as the axis of his dialogic philosophy of religious studies.” (Cornett 2014)

Cornett’s is obsessed with music as his central vehicle for enquiry. I build on his suspicions by suggesting that not only do the arts generally present a kind of postmodern aesthetic between the material world, and for the lack of a better word, the “heavenly eternal,” but that the praxis of the arts is *the* transitional object, the dialogic connection, between Islanders and their island.

With a brief explanation of Cornett's pedagogical dialogic philosophy, I might better rationalize my reliance on him. His classroom practices involve(d) ongoing dialogue with artwork and artists, co-present with students, in almost every class. Cornett has an ability to draw otherwise reluctant very famous artists into the classroom, and he has built up quite a list of references. As a student, there were no assignments or exams, but missing a class or being ten minutes late guaranteed a loss of 10 percent of one's mark. My connection to Cornett and dialogism is not a lofty discursive intervention, it is to the pragmatic power and co-present nature of artists and their artwork, inseparable, available for constant dialogue in community.

On Hornby, conversation with artists is at a critical mass. Practicing artists make up a substantial portion of the population. They practice transitional aesthetics—between environment, community, and the self—on an hourly basis. Cornett's classroom is made living. Connections between aesthetics and the island are made dense through the highly repetitive experience of art and artists in place. Community communications carry into print, radio, and online universes where community members constantly share, consume, and reflect on aural, visual, textual, and digital(ized) art in an artistically saturated experience.

My extension of Cornett's ideas involves geographic considerations, how musicians contribute to what I am calling spatial artistic semiotic density. People are in conversation with the arts on Hornby because they cannot avoid them. People encounter art and artists multiple times in a day, thousands of times a year. The community's giant water cisterns for fire fighting provide unavoidable murals. On the day of a gig, I might have seen each of my band mates on multiple occasions: on a morning walk, passing in a car, at The Co-op, at work, at the dump/free-store, at the radio, at The Co-op, etc., and eventually at the gig. Such repetition confers the dialogic experience of a gig as taking place far beyond the boundaries of the stage. Spaces are

visited so often, transformed so frequently to host new art, that they become heavy with artistic semiotic content. The Hornby Hall is thick with signification and “symbolic” PDs. Spaces become deep with memories at the rate at which they are encountered, experienced, and used.

The opposite of my proposal of semiotic density through participatory dialogue might reflect life choices that see more spaces and more people with less frequency and greater infrastructural/geographic change. Here, the dialogic element in semiotic density is that the construction of personal geography relies on the most memorable elements of spaces that are intertextually interpreted by groups and individuals. This helps explain why instrumental music becomes particularly political on Hornby, without the need for lyrics: “I think the text that isn’t words is actually the people themselves” (Smith 2013). Because places are dense and layered, their fixed nature is surprisingly flexible and in constant negotiation, where the Bakery (see Chapter 8) could be a place of work, a place to shop, to perform or watch music, or an expensive night out, all in the same moment, not just by a few people, but an entire and consistent audience.

Another dialogic influence includes Soper and Sandilands’ presentation of the importance of literature for environmental thought. Their proposition is that while people may be reluctant to offer up opinions about complex environmental information, the public is ready to argue the meanings of works of art (Di Battista and Mark 2012). Their hypothesis is that through dialogue about art work, readers encounter and arrive at ethical positioning. Soper and Sandilands are careful to point out that people do not necessarily do anything beyond considering a position.³¹

³¹ I sought to find a parallel connection between musicking and environment in a paper I have on Bob Wiseman’s piece, *Uranium*, where I analyze his lyrics (Mark 2014). Soper and Sandiland’s insights also point to how (instrumental) musicking is interpreted by audiences on Hornby, especially when one considers Islanders as texts (see Chapter 7.2 on Tempest Grace Gale). Further, instrumental musics and genres are ascribed moral traits. Becker cites John Cage as claiming, “music is a moral evaluation of noise” (Becker 2014: 125). On Hornby, musicians are

My observation is that musical events create spaces for dialogue about community issues on Hornby, including environmental ones.

Most importantly, musicking requires decision-making dialogue. I will discuss this in greater detail in Chapters 8–10, and in 11 in particular with respect to vibrations, but I wish to recall to my reader that fundamentally, musicking requires the negotiation of self with others through communication and dialogue, and this is what my PDs in Figure 9 describe. To that end, in keeping with a practice of constant quoting and dialogue with subject(s), Islanders are cited at length and frequently in this dissertation as a deliberate tactic to privilege their voices and thoughts, recognize their ownership of this research, and not at all as an attempt to somehow pad or incoherently integrate their importance to the work. I wish my reader to feel deliberate dialogue with Hornby, though it is staged.

Dialogue, beneath participation, utopia, community, and environment, is about signification and communication. Inevitably my discussion of signification has bled into the above, but now I will turn more directly to the subject of what I could call symbolic PDs.

Thick Place, Semiotic Density, or Deep Signification

The consciousness of people [non-humans, places, and environment] cannot be perceived, analyzed, defined as objects or things—one can only relate to them dialogically. (Bakhtin 1984: 68)

[We engage the] outdoors because of...how it is in the Ley lines of the world...how special we all feel right here on this rock. So every original composition, every song, every spontaneous event that happens is a direct correlation to Hornby Island and the environment, and that has to be in all the past, that has to be my own experience as a singer, as a drummer, as a musician, [that] was all absolutely fed by the second [as in seconds or minutes]. I was in a number of punk girl bands when I was about 34-35-36, and we were doing the first spoken word [inspired by Lillian Allen]. We were doing

in dialogue with their setting more so than a traveler like Wiseman. Artists become subjects of community dialogue, as politicized members, as representatives of ideals. There is much musical morality to dialogue about to arrive at opportunities for ethical reflection.

spoken word before it was spoken word at all. And I mean giving it, because we were all struggling... You think... housing is an issue now? You should've heard us back then, because there were many more of us very much affected by it... We were trying to find homes for 50 families. (Cronia 2013)

There's a much closer sense of community here, I think [than elsewhere]... The drawbridge goes up at six o'clock: here we all are; better get on with it... You see people more casually than you would in a bigger place. I might see you to play music with, but then I might see you in The Co-op store, and you'll be at the same concert at The Hall... so it pulls it tighter... You've all seen the same movie; you all do your shopping at the same store... You have that group-effect anyway... You don't have to... invent ways to have social interaction [as a band]. (Cannon 2013)

Because [Hornby] is so small, nothing can go down without people noticing it. In the city... you could pass a bill to put up a hotel without anybody knowing before it is done. [Reflecting on a CBC broadcast about Toronto] You can put up a casino that 90% of the city doesn't want there, and get it up because there is so much ambiguity. (Martens 2011)

As I and others have alluded to above, repetition and patterning are key components of meaning making, of achieving meaning consensus, and when the available geographic area one has to encounter is restricted, place and reality becomes repetitively, rapidly, and deeply signified. This process in and of itself is a form of participatory and discrepant dialogue and communication where humans shape and are shaped by the environment they encounter every single day. The stump that was recently removed from outside The Co-op was *the* town stump. People have left cards, photos, and memorials for where the stump was. HIRRA had an entire meeting dedicated to the unannounced removal of important trees by BC Hydro where people testified to their relationships with the trees. This spatially conductive soup is the medium in which musicking reverberates on Hornby. This thick signification not only impacts place, but people also become rapidly signified.

Imagine knowing members of your working community not only as colleagues, but also as artists, as fellow musicians, as dissidents, as consumers, as wasters, as farmers, grocers, as parents, drinkers, entrepreneurs, encountered all day long. Keeping lines of communication open

on the island is very important for individuals as there really is no where to escape to. People have close relationships with many people, with mentors “for 30 years. It’s not just a passing thing where, oh, I had that professor in university for four years, and I’ve never seen him again. These people, you still see them in our community” (Candlish 2013).³² Similarly, a tree or sound or landscape experienced 100 times might not be as meaningful as one seen thousands of times. Not only does spacial restriction determine where people can go physically, but also the experience of deep spacial signification amplifies itself by re-territorializing the geography of the mind,

You do keep seeing the same people over and over, and [then] you do reflect on them. Like I saw somebody on the ferry two days ago, an elder...we had a conversation on the ferry because I write in the First Edition, and he was commenting on my writing...I thought about him yesterday too, so it wasn’t just that time...And now I’m talking about him today too, three days after... [When originally] I just saw him on the ferry, we [only] spoke for five minutes. But you’re thinking about these people, and they’re part of your community, and...influence...how you think, and how you behave, and how you learn. And of course it inspires me to get feedback on...a creative expression I’m doing out in the community and putting myself out there for people to read what I’m writing. And so when I get feedback...it gives me more impetus to write more because he’s saying he enjoyed it...I’ve got an audience, and I want to write more, so it’s this whole circle. (Candlish 2013)

Again and again, Jill Candlish would impress on me the importance of both repetition and long-term investment in affecting how one sees a community. Candlish has watched generations of Islanders grow, and that continuity gives her a sense of the phases of human life on the island. Her corollary to density included honesty, a theme I will return to often,

Like having affairs. I’ll say everybody has the propensity, and they might not act on it, but they will become attracted to somebody else in another relationship. So let’s just talk about this, and let everybody know—our children, our young people growing up—that this is normal, so they’re not afraid of themselves. Oh my God, “I don’t love

³² It’s likely these processes reflect Max Gluckman’s multiplex (1973:19) relationships, where people know each others and carry their own multiple identities. However, in this case I am also pointing to the animation of all island life as multiplex. Later in the dissertation, this theme arises with respect to a lack of privacy, including the subsection on Melisa Devost in Chapter 7.2.

my husband anymore because I'm attracted to this other guy"? No!...saying "No, this happens"...I've always been like that, not trying to hide things, because I think it perpetuates the ignorance about it. (Candlish 2013)

Though the earlier portions of this chapter consider theorization that could be described as more universal in nature—for example, the dialogic elements of participatory discrepancies as they contribute to a sense of utopia, community, and ultimately one's experience of environment—in this final subsection I am concerned with details of musicking that are particular to confined rural spaces. In order to understand how musicking impacts the solidarity of Hornby Islanders, one must always keep in mind the extraordinary and repetitive intimacy that Islanders share with all things on the island: ideas, friends, institutions, events, seasons, plants. They have comparatively strong mechanical solidarity for North American settler society.

For my readers who have not lived this intimacy in real life, who are at all unsure about the experience of the rural, it can be difficult to hold in one's mind the dramatically different dynamics of consensus and meaning making that even a more urban setting of 10,000 people provides, where Hornby has about 1000. Processes of signification, symbolic PDs, are at the root of my explanation for the power of music to change any community, and there are processes of signification that are unique to small towns and particularly islands that determine the expression of human group life and culture. Musicking in this context can be surprisingly divergent from North American norms as I will show in later chapters.

The following details actually comprise some of the most complex theoretical contributions to this dissertation. Let's begin with popular encounters with rural signification and communication about rural spaces. To reveal rural signification, I begin by contrasting it with the signification of place in urban spaces. Against the idea of the rural as a pure place, a place of natural beauty, there are tall tales of small towns housing the small minded, the mysterious, and

dangerous, places like *Jamaica Inn* (du Maurier 1936) or David Lynch's *Twin Peaks* (1990). No one knows what happens in these small places. By contrast, in the Canadian media, cities dominate the news, and it would seem everyone is privy to the same narrative. It remains astonishing to me that just about anywhere in southern Ontario, at 4:00, people can tune into the CBC to hear about the traffic on the Don Valley Parkway in Toronto. In the city we have the machinations of bureaucracy or the exciting dramas of big crime and politics. In the cityscape, I am not certain the rural exists beyond trivial correspondence from Canadian out-post journalists.

On Hornby news about Toronto, about Vancouver, or even Victoria does not hold much interest with many. My in-laws were visiting Hornby when the Boston Marathon bombings occurred, and they were simply shocked to learn of the details days after the event occurred. They felt out of touch with "the world," though they were engrossed in life on Hornby. My mother in-law posited that knowing what was happening in the world was an issue of ethics, to which my partner replied, "what would you have done differently for knowing?" Just because news about "the rest of the world" does not occupy the same position it might in dominant Canadian urban discourses, that does not mean people on Hornby replace such national discourse with silence: Islanders do not talk less because the city is not listening.

My simple examples allude to the subject of how and what information moves on Hornby, how communication happens, because again, musicking is a form of communication. It is true that ideas about the rural inform important aspects of utopian movements in North America, but here I am merely addressing what it is actually like to communicate in a rural space where everyone knows everyone else. As one person reflected, "If you've farted at The Co-op, people will say you crapped your pants by the time you make it to Ford's Cove" (five minutes down the main road). Every town has a "rumour mill," and communicated information impacts

relationships that are dense and layered, personal and emotional. The significance of misunderstandings have a way of being amplified out of proportion to other larger problems the community, other communities, and the world faces (Law 2013). But rumours are simply manifestations of ongoing conversations about the local. Local news is of immediate consequence to the people and places one meets. Island thoughts become comprised primarily of island content and context without conscious effort. The same is true for the music on the island, where personal interests and capacities determine what is played and by whom, where the radio extends your close friend's living room listening party to the entire island (see Chapter 9).

The First Edition is the island's monthly newsletter. It covers local and off-island topics, heated debates, community announcements, fiscal reviews, and requests for help. For example, the 2013 April edition includes columns discussing the practice of anarchy in the Comox Valley, why the new cable ferry will be a disastrous experiment, a piece about discarding the petrol state, the problems of corporate governance, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a report on the herring population, the fire department, and the depot, and many announcements and schedules: this is standard fare. However, what most readers are interested in is what their friends have written. The mediator is the message, and as you will read, when people go out to music, they may consistently prioritize the mediator over the medium or the message. The rural has always been a space for critical theory, where a writer is understood to write primarily about her or himself and secondarily about the topic at hand.

While on the one hand the internet has brought information and music to anyone on Hornby who can pay to access it, or who chooses to visit the access centre, in fact, a large portion of the conversations my Hornby Island Facebook friends have online are about things happening on Hornby. For those who do go online, and I suspect many do not, their time on the

internet is significantly comprised of communications with other Islanders. The Hornby Word of Mouth Facebook page includes community announcements, heated debate on local political issues and community infrastructure (ferries, firehouse, governing bodies and institutions), and is a place to air complaints, dispel rumours, and render public thanks. Similarly, the Buy and Sell page sees exchange of commodities and services which hundreds of Islanders keep an eye on. Even if there is less commerce and exchange on Hornby than in urban spaces (see Chapter 5), by contrast what does go on captures people's interest, and they have the capacity to note.



Figure 11: A cover of the First Edition. “Watch me kiddies, Granny is going to show you how to keep the beach clean.”

Brett Martens explains how he sees various contrasts between relationships on Hornby in comparison to other places, careful to note his own generalizations. Note his concern for “seeing things as they are,” in other words, making meaning, signifying, and then his turn to what is being signified in the city and on Hornby:

Martens: [For example] This is your project, and we are all supporting you, and you are asking for interviews, and you're saying, "I'm doing this."...If I were living in the city, and I didn't know you...I might think:... "I don't know if I can trust this guy: do I really want to go to breakfast with this guy and tell him all my personal information?"...But no, I support you, it's Hornby...we're all together...When you are in big cities...there's more people around, but there's more distances between each other...Everybody has created up his or her own shell, and you walk down the street and don't say hello to anybody or look anybody in the eye...I'm casting big blankets here...People...don't reach out to each other as much and support each other. You see somebody playing on the street, you rarely give them any time to listen...But here, it could be anybody, and, "ohh, sure, I'll give you a listen. You're probably pretty cool."

Author: Yeah, well you have the time too.

Martens: Right, and there's not as much stimulation here so, you can actually see things for what they are...you can see the one candle. Whereas, trying to see the one candle in a million candles [is difficult]. In the city you have advertisements and cell phones and everything going on around you all the time...We're going on a Hornby rant here, OK?

Author: Yep, that's the idea.

Martens: So I have friends come and visit, and...the first thing they do is they go to sleep...They were all gung-ho to get to the beach...My interpretation is that because there is so much stimulation in the city...when you arrive on Hornby, everything is slowed down, and your body just realizes that... "I just need to take a little hibernation time, and then I can rejuvenate." And it usually takes people weeks to months to relax from all that stimulation. It's like quitting any habit...It's just, easier to see things for what they are [here]. You can appreciate the blackberries on the side of the road...We're slightly removed from popular culture...You can be in it because we all have internet, and we all have newspapers...but...it's not like in the city where everybody is talking about the same thing. I find that when I go to the city, everybody says the same thing to me. It's as if someone started this chain...the royal wedding or whatever, and it's stuff that I don't really care about...Here on Hornby...we can actually keep track on a focus... We can continue walking down the street and continue talking about the project, but maybe if we were in another place it would be harder to do because we'd be thinking about what bus and what cell phone plan to get and everything. (Martens 2013)

This explanation by Martens covers many ideas, but I think the root theme in this discussion is the importance of what repetitious and dense place provides with respect to meaning making and communication. One can "keep track on a focus." The sameness can be calming. Everybody knows each other, people try to support one another, and discourse will primarily concern the

people present and involved in the discourse of the subject rather than the subject as a topic abstracted from the people at hand, on the island. “The media” as a force does not dictate public conversation in the same way. This condition of sameness is the context into which musicking on Hornby happens, and this condition is what directly informs the capacity of musicking to take on such considerable meaning in the community.

My sense of dense semiotics, thick place making, or deep musical signification relies on people that are present in place, stationary, caught up in the ecologies, economics, the musics and peoples, the ecomusicologies of their homes. This is a theory that transforms “rural backwardness” into a deeper negotiation with the local: what and who are proximately available. In Chapter 11, Islanders in fact deliver their own ecomusicologies based within such a construct.

The exchange with Martens above demonstrates his experience of urban environments where it is difficult for him to maintain focus on the immediate and present, where people are unknown and alienated. He begins by suggesting that his sharing with me is indicative of Hornby somehow, and, the subtext here is that by virtue of my efforts in coming to Hornby, a place that takes effort to reach, that this genuine interest allows (local) people to make enough assumptions about a person like me so as to be willing to do a cold-call interview. It is the geography and agency of the island that allows relations to become thick. Truly, not all Islanders are so generous with their assumptions, but, in contrast to an urban environment, it’s true that people might be willing to trust each other more on Hornby. In responding to my mentioning time, Martens suggests that control over one’s time is informed not only based on one’s choices, but on available distractions. These distractions are both draining in terms of energy and in terms of time for Martens. In the vacuum of time and energy that billboards, bus schedules, and cellphones represent for Martens, I suggest he inserts more experience of repetitive Hornby.

So how does art in particular transform the repetitive encounter with environment on Hornby? This is where my theorization turns dense. My awareness of such thick PDs symbology, or symbolic interactionism, stems partially from Thomas Turino's presentation of Peircian semiotics and Gregory Bateson's explanation of the importance of the arts for environmental knowledge. This trio informs part of how I understand the integration of musical signification into the confined geography of Hornby Island. For Bateson, artistic patterns can create a *moiré* (Harries-Jones 1995: 202–206), an overlay or summation of smaller patterns that can activate or reveal larger systemic consciousness and patterning: an awareness of the whole. As a cyberneticist, Bateson believed in the capacity of art to serve environmentally integrative purposes. In contrast to the idea of art as an autonomous aesthetic object, one of Bateson's proposals is that art can be an expression of grace, of depth, the interconnected, what Arnold Berleant called "the sublime" (Charlton 2008: 150–156). For me, this expression of grace does not only take place in the work of art but in the larger processes that create the work.

Art works can socially, psychologically, environmentally, and systemically help to mitigate overly rational short-circuited and potentially destructive thought with more recursive "wisdom," i.e., in correcting a too purposive view of life and making the view more systemic" (Bateson 2000: 147). That wisdom includes the social lessons learned through creating the work, my PDs. To summarize, Bateson posits that good art engages longer relay "primary [mental] processes" from the unconscious and environmentally embedded mind and ties them to the shorter "secondary processes" of the immediate phenomenological. These primary processes are carved grooves and are the result of repetitive participatory discrepancies, the difference that makes a difference. He insists that for ecological purposes we should search for "what sorts of correction in the direction of wisdom would be achieved by creating or viewing the work of art?"

(Ibid: 147). I argue that the social processes of making music are varieties of repetitious experience that engage both long and short mental relays of environmental awareness, and, that on Hornby, these relays are bound within the dramatically repetitious island geography. Sheer numerical encounter melds musicking and environment on Hornby.

In the following chapters, I present just how social musicking is during this melding. The social dynamics in service of musical art are made up of little interactions of musicking that feed into larger social dynamics. As June Cannon answered my question about social justice and musicking, specifically with respect to how she teaches violin to her very young students, “how you treat one person you’re dealing with...it’s either a little miniature version of social justice, or it’s a little seed of social justice I think...it either boils down to the little interpersonal moment, or it seeds from the interpersonal moment” (Cannon 2013). This is just one small example of how musicking presents an opportunity for wisdom in creation, where on Hornby the student ties Cannon, the violin, the day, and the lesson to some deeper ethical urge for dialogue, and then is constantly reminded of the lesson as Cannon and the space are repetitively encountered, a processes involving all levels of PDs.

The possibilities for ecomusicology to advance the usefulness of musicking for deeply signifying environmental meaning and attachment to place are very promising. Turino explicitly agrees with Bateson that art engages “primary processes” through symbology and metaphor (Turino 2008: 1–22); however, Bateson’s ideas are insufficiently developed for appreciating music as an integrative and transformative social practice. Music is an unfolding aural temporal process, and Bateson’s arguments were focused on the primary immediate experience of visual art. Following Bateson’s musings, but extending them to musicking, Turino proposes semiotic categories to consider “how dance and music create and communicate emotion and meaning”

(ibid: 5). He does so by explicitly describing how musicking promotes thought that is in dialogue with environment. These categories are clearly Peircian, but are refined specifically for the analysis of social musical analysis and participation (ibid: 5–16), something Peirce had not considered in this way:

1) icons: signs conveying correspondence directly between the sign and the object; i.e., a picture of a horse indicating an actual horse, the sound of a steel guitar and country music, a whistle sounding like a train, or a predictable verse-chorus song form.

2) indexes: signs that link signs, objects, and experience by co-occurrence; i.e., smoke indexes fire, jingles index products on TV, a wedding song, thunder before a storm.

3) symbols: signs that are used through a mutually agreed upon linguistic system like musical notation. Symbols use other symbols as objects and allow us to theorize and generalize about things that may not be present or available to our immediate senses.

The fluidity between these categories—between what a composer or musician hopes to communicate and what an audience or band member interprets—presents the possibility of dialogic meaning-making and multiplicative interpretations when musicking while contributing to thick place.

Turino's observation is that musicking relies heavily on iconic and indexical communication that he posits is a good thing for social change. By contrast he ties the use of symbols in semiotic communication to Bateson's "too purposive view of life," metacognitive rationalism, and secondary consciousness, because with Turino's symbols, "as the levels of abstraction increase, so the difficulty in understanding the premises on which the messages are based, and in understanding the nature of the communication, increases" (Harries-Jones 1995: 202). He picks up Charles Keil's castigation of Meyer, Small's mistrust of the symphony, and sociomusicology's burden, but without explicitly relating classical music to class issues and fascism or Durkheim's organic solidarity gone too far. Turino describes modern life as over-

indulgent in symbolic (category 3) communication generally, almost like Brett Marten's anxiety for the city: "Iconic and indexical signs are signs *of* our perceptions, imagination, and experiences, whereas symbols are more abstract signs *about* things as generalities" (Turino 2008: 13; emphasis added). As Tony Wilson describes his playing,

I never really think of music as the notes on the page. Obviously...that's a different thing, that's like language...It's very much the same as, when you email someone. You can give some of yourself in there, but it's only so much, because I can't see your eyes. I can't see how you're moving your hand. I can't get any of these other human qualities I look at. I can only get the words, and so music is the same. (Wilson 2013)

For Turino, the corrective wisdom element of musicking, the opportunity for grace (as he and Bateson and even Aldous Huxley use the word), is in the activity's ability to express a balance between sign categories, giving better measure to the communal material—the ecological present—the iconic and indexical: the environment. On Hornby that includes everything from the venue to who is in the audience, from the farmers market to the tourists, from the housing crisis to the loss of Tempest Grace Gale as I will show. Additionally, Turino shows how instrumental musicking is an art that is, compared to written or spoken communication, semiotically dense with respect to “melody, rhythm, instrumentation, harmonic settings, vocal style, and sometimes even choreography, and that different layers of [musical] text can be linked with different meaning frames” (Korczynski 2014: 10; see also Turino 2008: 108).

For these reasons, I see Hornby's deep signification and geography transforming the role of musicking on the island, and vice-versa, where travel to music, the experience of music in place, and the memory of past experiences of musicking are linked to a concern for the well being of the community. As Tony Law relates, repetitive mechanical solidarity of place is a defining aspect of life of Hornby,

We all go to the same store; we all ride on the ferry; we all get exposed to the same

weather, the same road conditions. And so there's a commonality of experience that everybody knows they share. Whereas in the city, people's paths don't necessarily cross; the experiences [don't] cross to the same degree. So I think, you can be at the store or be at the pub or be at the ferry and there's that foundation of experience that everybody shares of island living. And I think that when it gets right down to it, that counts for quite a bit. Yes. (Law 2013)

All of Hornby then, is crammed into experiencing Hornby musicking:

Taste is discovered precisely from uncertainty, from variation, from a deepening of the effects of the product—and these effects do not depend only on the product but also on its moments, its deployment and circumstances. We should say “objects” in the plural, then—a score, a piece, a guitar, a rock record, a soundtrack, and so on—rather than Object with a capital O that the work of art model privileges. The plural is more appropriate: loving music is not simply a matter of a particular piece; it passes through a multitude of mediators (Hennion, 1993) beginning with the present (the sound of an instrument, the atmosphere of a hall, the grain of a record, the tone of a voice, the body of a musician) and in the duration of a history (scores, repertoires and styles, genres and more or less stable forms), as well as for each individual—a past, works heard, moments lost, desires unfulfilled, roads travelled with others, and so on.

With less emphasis on musicking than I use, Hennion continues by describing the difficulty in the musician-researcher linking music with tangible objects, like the environment,

On this question of the object, a very simple experiment during our study on amateurs concerned individual singing lessons that one of us (a musician, “nothing more”) observed over a long period. The problem was not listening but hearing: the very fact of perceiving what was happening between teacher and pupil. At first all the [field]notes concerned postures, gestures, incomprehensible words, hesitations, signs exchanged between the teacher and pupil. At the end there was nothing but voice, sound, effects on the listener, quality of vowels, relative beauty (“that’s better,” “it’s not as nice as just before”), smiles during a particular passage, success or failure of a particular repetition, with frequent use of singers’ own terminology: overture, covering, closure, resonance, and so on...[W]e go from a report that is 100 percent social and 0 percent musical to the exact opposite. The experiment demonstrates the perverse effect of a sociological theory that transforms all activities into indifferent pretexts of games, the most important of which is social. The less we know, the less we risk “being had” by the actors’ belief. That is what transforming ignorance and insensitivity into sociological competence is all about! But there is no “object” of music, so obvious that it would no longer be seen as such from the inside, by the initiated, and so easy to isolate that sociologists would have nothing else to do but the social work surrounding this issue. The object is not “the music,” a given, that could be isolated from the activity; it is what arises with it, through it. Sensitivity to differences of quality is not given from the outset; it is acquired with time. The

observer learns to hear at the same time as the singer learns to sing. Reciprocally, once she hears, she pays little attention to what struck her exclusively at first, when all that gesticulation seemed largely arbitrary, concerned with showing that actors' objects are but tokens made by beliefs and conventions. The means we give ourselves to grasp the object – to be able to listen to it, in the case of music – are part of the effects it can produce. (Hennion 2005: 140)

For this dissertation, the means or new theory for grasping musicking for environment involves a contemplative focus on repetition. Hornby is a place that repetitively trains the player and the listener, the consumer and producer of art, to share in glimpses of utopia, and the effect is a thickening or reification of Hornby Island as utopia. Other places involve musicking and signification in other ways. In addition to structural, social, and (eco)systemic PDs, I could describe these processes as engaging symbolic PDs. My hope is that another effect of what “we give ourselves” by understanding the importance of musicking for Hornby, in addition to understanding its relation to the future of Hornby, is that we may achieve a better understanding of the importance of musicking for the future of our species.

Conclusion

My original and theoretical contributions to ecomusicology and sociomusicology do not roll off the tongue in a single complete effort, like for example, “the theory of participatory discrepancies,” or even my presentation of “deep signification,” though I like the formulation of “band-as-community” to capture the essence of my research. Keil might chuckle at a structural-social-symbolic-(eco)systemic response to his timing-tuning-timbre call, perhaps tacking on texture for balance as he sometimes does. In responding to potential criticisms of my grounding as too complex or shifting, using an inverted pyramid of ecomusicology and sociomusicology, community, participation, dialogue, and “thick” semiotics as theoretical grounding for this research, I retain some solace in the complexity that is needed to even comprehend basic

environmental systems, let alone describe their processes. After all, I am not a disciplinarian, and while we may poke holes in missing the trees for the forest, we can also readily see just how well the siloing of disciplines has improved communication to the public, something I feel the humanities must be earnestly consider. To restate and invert my theory as a series of musicking trophic levels (as in Figure 6 at the start of this chapter), semiotics feed dialogue, dialogue feeds participation, participation feeds utopia, utopia feeds community, and community feeds society and environment. Linking music to environment through the transitive powers of “community” is not so simple as this. My reader might ask: so what is the Hornby community glue from music to environment? Well, the glue is the subject of my next 100 pages. To properly play out my arguments, the ethnographic case study of Hornby Island brings my theories of “band-as-community” into sharp focus. My aim from here then is to remind my reader—along the way of telling this story—that as I have just argued, musicking is a sine qua non for Hornby as it is for our species.

Chapter 2: Ecoethnography

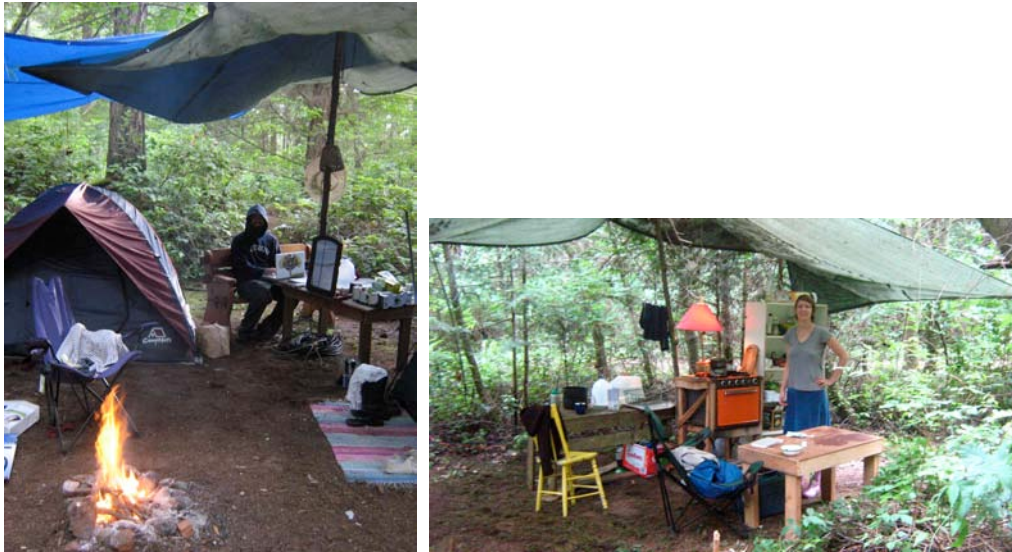


Figure 12: Here on the left I am entering notes at our campground under the giant tarps that covered our communal area. **Figure 13:** On the right, my partner stands in our outdoor kitchen, complete four burner stove, dish rack, water dispenser, two tables, a pantry, and a standing lamp, in the forest (staged gendered presentation well-noted).

In this chapter I situate Hornby Island’s oral history since 1960, bearing in mind that,

“You only like what you were,” I once heard a rock fan say to another whose rigid tastes irritated him. The comment is profound. It indicates awareness of the fact that taste is a history determined by a past, but also that it is negotiation in the present with that past which can and must be left behind. (Hennion 2005: 137)

I explain the methodologies I developed to conduct my research in a place with such history, and

I discuss some of the challenges I faced completing the work I set for myself. I outline the

parameters of my inquiry, as Tony Wilson does for me here,

It’s a very interesting thing when you delve into those realities like what you’re doing...Every person’s thing is just as important as the next...And what you’re trying to do is get a cross-section of it right?... I think when you get right down to it, most musicians honestly don’t know what it is. And if they think they know what it is, they probably don’t know, because I don’t think you can know, or maybe that’s the beauty of what music is, and I think there’s a lot of different activities that are the same. But, once you get serious about music, and you start devoting your time to it, and your life to it, which I’ve done for many years, you start to realize the bigger picture, and the picture is very big, and it’s like you’re never going to know what it is. (Wilson 2013)

Hornby Island: History, Setting, and Context

Author: Pretend I am an Alien. How would you describe Hornby Island?

Klone: Community. An island in the middle of the ocean. With lots of trees.

Clark: A conflict of interests surrounded by water. (Klone and Clark 2011)

Well, I think it's an artist colony really, yes. I mean, artists of many different kinds, but basically an artist colony, I would say. (P. Gordon 2013)

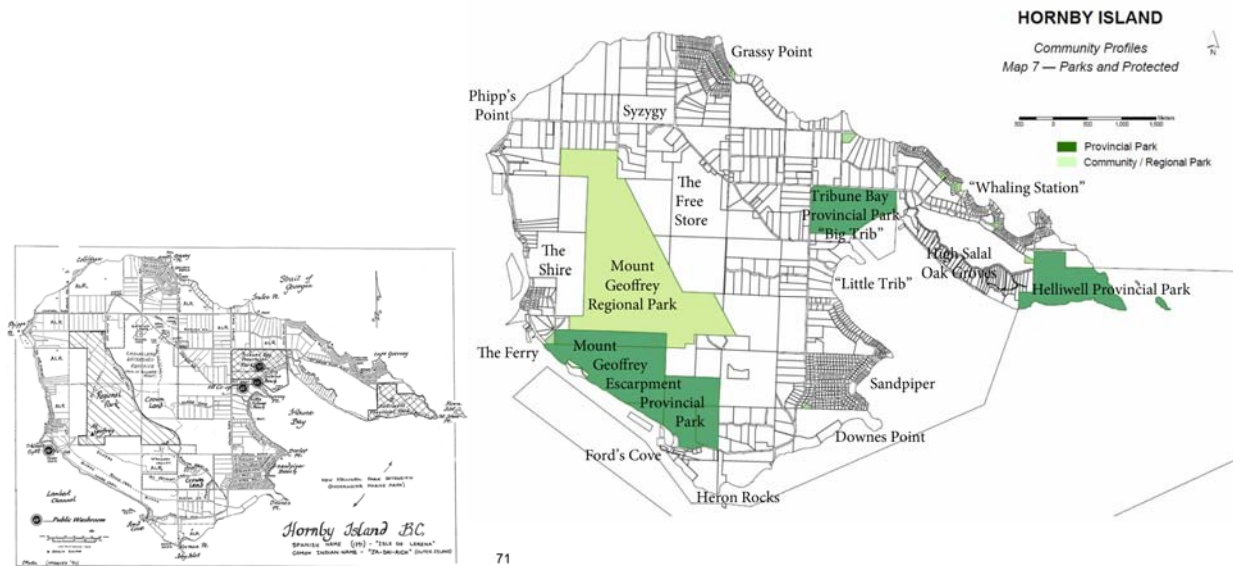
It's about 10 kilometers across, quite dry. It's in a rain shadow, so it has a Mediterranean climate...It's a bit park-like in that, it doesn't have anything that will hurt you, and, it's very easy. Even in the winter...everything just sort of works out. (Wier 2011)

Hornby is a place that I feel is kind of past its prime. It had its heyday, when the hippies came and took over...[Previously] it got settled by a whole bunch...well, essentially...rednecks, and they all still live here...[My parents] kind of had its days as being a kind of wonderful free, free place, and then it got discovered as a summer destination, and then a retirement destination. (F. Crowe 2011)

[The opportunity to purchase a share of Downes Point] was...a normal Hornby kind of connection [between people of vastly different classes and through the arts], because...as early as the late teens and early 20s of the 20th century, this was a destination for artists...That is a phenomenon that you've seen in other parts, like Big Sur and Ibiza, places which have a certain natural beauty, attract artists. And of course, once that process starts, there's a certain gentrification that occurs. (Payne 2013)

It's like the longest lasting art colony I've ever seen. Art colonies are like dandelions on a lawn. Like "poof" goes the wind, and they spread out to the next place. (Gale 2014)





Figures 14: Hornby Island. Note the three dense areas of subdivision. Also, do note that there are many smaller islands in the Salish Sea between Vancouver Island and the mainland, not only Denman and Hornby.

Hornby Island is the setting in which my research into community building through musicking takes place. While this dissertation has a great deal to say about Hornby, it does so in service of the question: how might musicking change our social and environmental practices? Hornby is framed here as containing rural resistance to or residue of urban and centralized gentrification, and music is my primary actor in this stand against dissolution into a vacation town and playground of the retired and wealthy. The island also exhibits resistant mourning (Spargo 2004), dreaming of a time when the community will flourish again, when the commons will expand (Williams 1973: 96–7) and young people will not be “driven from the land...by the continuing process of rack-renting and short-lease policies and by the associated need for greater capital to survive in an increasingly competitive market, as by explicit enclosure” (ibid.: 97).

Hornby Island is one of the more northerly Gulf Islands in the Pacific North West of North America. It is between Vancouver Island and the mainland of British Columbia in Canada. It has several picturesque long sandy beaches, old growth forest, several parks, and a small

mountain. It is easily accessible by boat, but requires two ferries and a trip across Denman Island to reach from Vancouver Island by car, bike, or foot. Hornby Island has a total land area of approximately 30 square kilometers, or 12 miles (Smith and Gerow 1988).

Politically, Hornby and some other Canadian Gulf Islands are governed by not only local and regional government, as well as provincial and federal, but are also overseen by The Islands Trust. Recognizing the unique communities, cultures, and environments of the Salish Sea (Strait of Georgia and Howe Sound), The Islands Trust Act was created in 1974 and governs the development, preservation, and protection of its islands. Its mandate is,

To preserve and protect the trust area and its unique amenities and environment for the benefit of residents of the trust area and of the province generally, in cooperation with municipalities, regional districts, improvement districts, other persons and organizations and the Government of British Columbia. (Islands Trust 2015)

Islanders would contest that this special institution works for and against subjective local interests,³³ but agree that it ultimately protects the island from the kind of condo development Salt Spring Island has or the resource extraction one can see on Texada Island from Hornby.



Figure 15: Mining on Texada Island as seen from Hornby Island (Rachelle Chinnery Photo Credit). Also the future primary site for coal loading and export from Western North America to China.

³³ For example, if someone on Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) wants to create a space to rent for low income Islanders and young people, or for tourists, there are people on Hornby who see it their business to harass such living arrangements as well as they are able: part of policing their real estate investments.

The creation of Sandpiper and Galleon Beach, Hornby’s only “neighbourhoods,” were the result of the exact kind of unthinking development that was going on in some of the Gulf Islands before the Islands Trust came into power,

The Islands Trust I think was mainly a result of a sort of runaway development...this Sandpiper development, for example...there was a piece of the landscape in Sandpiper called Sandpiper Ridge. The vestiges of it are there. It’s the road that goes up right next to our property. Well, that was a kind of, really, an ecological niche. It was beautiful. There were little cliffs, and it was a whole ecosystem on its own there. Little springs and everything. Well that was blown up with...tonnes of dynamite, and a D9 [a tractor]. It was blown up and flattened out, because the [development] map that produced the [property] grid was done by somebody who had never been here. It was just laid down on a piece of paper in Nanaimo, right?...Basically what happened was a whole landscape was destroyed. Another landscape has replaced it. It may be hard to imagine this, but if you go out the gate to look down at Sandpiper, you could see right down right to the end. It was all open. It was a farm. It was grazing land. Or hay or whatever... There were little clumps of trees here and there. But this other landscape that’s grown up, that’s all new, in the last 45 years. (Payne 2013)



Figure 16: Here is a copy of a brochure from the early 1970s for the very property development Gordon Payne is speaking of, Sandpiper. What is difficult to imagine is that one could have ever purchased a property on Hornby for \$25 down and \$25 a month, or 1% down and 1% a month for the ocean front properties. **Figure 17:** Note that Downes Point is immediately to the West, off the bottom edge of the map, and this is where I was living while interviewing my neighbour, Gordon Payne, also a resident on Downes Point. Without any municipal planning, this density resulted in wells competing for water, water that had often passed directly through a neighbour’s septic field. Several other roads have sprung up with corresponding density in this map.

In terms of community controlled amenities, Hornby has an elementary school, a library, a community hall, a network of trails for hiking, walking, and biking, an employment centre and internet access space, an outdoor market, a summer farmers market, Joe King Ball Park (a recreation space with showers and laundry, a gym, the radio tower (CHFRfm), tennis courts, a baseball diamond, bike course, and a water tower where many community members get their water), a recycling depot and free store, a soup kitchen, a medical clinic, a pre-school, archives, a volunteer fire department, and a co-op grocery, hardware, and liquor store. Hornby also has a privately owned harbour, general store, mobile dentistry, nursery, bar (The Thatch), and several campgrounds. BC ferries runs a 30-car ferry and docking station, BC Hydro provides electricity (on the grid), TELUS provides phone and internet, and the provincial government maintains the roads. Of course, there are many more associations on the island that are more or less public including several unique instances of collective land management and stewardship.

Islanders believe that Hornby was used seasonally by First Nations like the Pentlatch, the K'ómox, We Wai Kai, and Klahoose, mainly for fishing and gathering (Fletcher 2001). However, this narrative betrays an erasure of the First Nations who clearly did use the island regularly as part of their territory. Islanders appear to be very welcoming of a land claim that the K'ómox have in process as it is on Crown Land (HIRRA 2008). Hornby was “discovered” by the Spanish, and renamed by the British after Rear Admiral Phipps Hornby. Europeans came to Hornby with the gold rush after the 1850s and cleared land for orchards and farming while spreading disease to First Nations and expropriating lands for the English Crown. In addition to introducing domestic farm animals, and numerous other species, mule deer were brought for hunting. In the early twentieth century, most of the land changed over into more hands or went back to crown lands, split into 10 acre plots (Smith and Gerow 1988). Aside from farming and

fishing, coal mining and logging occupied the region. In 1905 there were 32 people living on Hornby (Weaver 2010: 23). Gordon Payne, an established Canadian artist, explained the historic role of the arts on Hornby to me. Charles H. Scott, the first principal of the Vancouver School of Art, now the Emily Carr University of Art + Design, would come to Hornby and bring other instructors (Payne 2013). Payne's opportunity to buy land on Hornby came through Bob Phillips, a retired stock-broker turned potter, and a figure in Hornby's arts community, once the president of the Vancouver Symphony Society. Phillips bought Downes Point with two architects and UBC instructors, Bud Wood and Bruno Freschi, and Jack Shadbolt, another famous Canadian artist, whose house is now inhabited by Scott Watson, the director of the UBC Belkin Gallery, neighbor to Tom Burrows, yet another famous Canadian artist.

In the early 20th century, visitors would bring provisions, but at that time, Hornby was exporting their produce to the rest of the province, and so feeding oneself from the land was not very difficult. The first half of the century saw the creation of The Co-operative store, the school, the community hall, and various advocacy associations as the community slowly transitioned from a conservative farming island to a seasonal home for artists and the vacationing middle class. By 1960 Hornby had some kind of regular ferry service and electricity. In 1967, 10 shareholders created Hornby Island's first land co-op, registered as a corporation, Downes Point.

During the Vietnam War, many draft dodgers moved north into the Canadian Gulf Islands (Barman 1991: 314-15; Brown 1995: 7). As on Malcolm Island (Wild 2007) some of them came to Hornby and brought what one might call hippie or new age sensibility. Here is Gordon Payne's depiction of the arrival of the Americans, and their inevitable integration,

Well, people change. For example, the Americans...when they came here, I found them totally arrogant...They had escaped the war. They were this, or they were that...They'd

walk over your property, “Hi Man, what’s your problem?”...[However] They became polite, non-righteous. They’re my friends now. (Payne 2013)

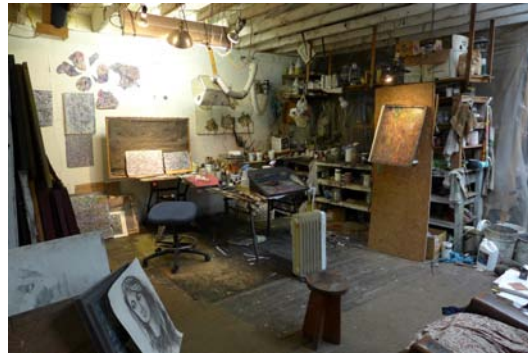


Figure 18: Gordon Payne on his deck hundreds of feet in the air, which precariously hangs above the beach. His house is almost invisible as it is built literally into the side of a cliff on Downes Point. The window of his living room looks out to the ocean and is framed by the trees that hang over his deck in the photo. **Figure 19:** Payne’s studio where he spends most of his time, interestingly, inside and with artificial light.

Here also is Judith Lawrence’s recollection of the mentality of the American arrivals,

A lot of the draft dodgers had no political analysis of anything, when all they wanted to do was not go to war, but they hadn’t thought it through in political terms, and they weren’t particularly interested in being political. I mean, Hillary [Hillary Brown, see Chapter 7.2] was always trying to organize everybody into political activity or action, but a lot of these guys didn’t, they weren’t interested at all, but they knew they just wanted to get away from where they were. (Lawrence 2013)

The “hippie invasion” brought nude swimming, drugs and dope, alternative social activities, and a general disrespect for private property (Weaver 2010: 16). So many people came at that time, most of them without property, that it caused considerable conflict, especially as to who was allowed to vote within governing bodies (ibid. 24). Hornby was not imagined as a “back-to-land” utopia for Hornby’s first White settler residents, but instead, a place for economic growth and independence. For early artists and vacationers, a few recluses and political individuals, Hornby was a beautiful utopia. For the counter-cultural movement, Hornby was yet another kind of utopia.



Figure 20: Neville lives on The Shire, and he has several large outdoor tents he has rigged up that house some of his enormous works. **Figure 21:** He has many piles of paintings and prints of originals in his indoor upstairs studio.

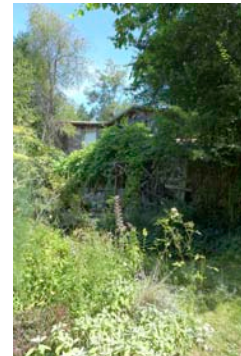


Figure 22: Neville built his house by himself, his second on The Shire. The first made it into Architectural Digest in Europe on the back cover, but has since disintegrated. **Figure 23:** Walking up to his home feels like a journey through a Dr. Seuss book.

Vaughn Neville is one such American draft dodger. In fact, Neville was born in Hamilton Ontario in 1948. Neville moved to California when he was 12, and by the time he was in his late teens, he was part of a rising pop band that had an appointment with Capitol Records: “I took enough drugs to open a pharmacy, and I survived it. I don’t know how the hell that happened” (Neville 2013). Knowing the danger of the behaviour of these times with respect to intoxicants, Neville took care to point out that he does not recommend or practice such indulgence now, but that it was true of the times. He and another band member were drafted for Vietnam. It was a chaotic period. When he arrived in Victoria at 20 years old, he took to farming, kept musicking, and in 1970 at a coffee club he heard about,

This commune that was going on here, there was about 35 people on this piece of property, and this woman from Texas had a lot of dough. She bought the place, paid for it with cash in a briefcase...one winter went by, and I think I showed up...in the winter. I

[had come] earlier, but [when] I came back [for good], there was only three people left. Everybody bailed, because these were all people from the city and stuff. (Neville 2013)

Ann Parker had a dream about an island with a roadway lined with roses, and when by chance she visited Hornby, almost right after the ferry landing on the “sunny side” of the island, she soon found herself at what would become The Shire, with only \$55,000 needed for 180 acres in 1969. Adjusted for inflation, that sum is about \$360,000 with which one could buy only 10 acres in a much less desirable plot today. In other words, the value of such land has risen perhaps 18 fold in 45 years. When Neville arrived on Hornby at 22, he had the capacity needed to actually make a go of farming. By the time Ann Parker sold the property in 1978 to the occupants, there were 12 shareholders. The Shire is one of two important utopian communes on Hornby of the back-to-land variety, in contrast with the earlier summer artist corporation on Downes Point.

In the 1970s, several developments and subdivisions were created on Hornby allowing for inexpensive ownership of half-acre lots. Several land co-ops also popped up. The Syzygy Cooperative Community land co-op was purchased in 1974 by eight families. If one can describe Downes Point as a corporation started by (rather famous) artists, including Wayne and Anne Ngan and others mentioned above, The Shire as a commune started by younger hippies, one might say that Syzygy is a cooperative started by intellectuals and academics including Serena and Richard Laskin, both sociologists with Chicago-school training. Richard Laskin has testified to the degree to which the counter-culture movement really was a destructive force for the island’s older conservative community. Tensions were high. In my research I uncovered several stories of real rifles being leveled at genuine hippie trespassers (Weaver 2010: 24), often assumed to be American anti-militants. And Americans did make up a significant portion of the membership of these later two housing groups (Weaver 2010).

The Sandpiper subdivision joined those few other places on the island—Whaling Station, and Grassy Point/Galleon Beach—where higher density “traditional” single-owner living was possible around this time (Lawrence 2013). All of these traditional and non-traditional housing developments were either grandfather-claused in, or were initiated before the subdivision freeze in 1969 which eventually led to the creation of the Islands Trust in 1974. Division of any properties into parcels less than 10 acres became extremely difficult to manage. However, there are still quite a number of land-partner arrangements on Hornby which test the letter of the law, many of which were threatened with official Islands Trust investigations during our stay on Hornby. There are also scenarios in which people have gone in together to jointly own the mortgages for lots that are 10 acres or larger that cannot be subdivided, but are allowed to have two complete homes on them. This last scenario can be precarious and does not always end well.

People also established campgrounds for day and weekend visitors in the 1970s. While prior to and during the 60s perhaps 100 people occupied the island and various lodges in the summers, the 70s brought the possibility of Hornby as a temporary seasonal place for many more tourists, cottagers, and artists, and the annual population grew quickly. In 1971, Hornby had a population of 161 (Weaver 2010: 16). Through the 1970s and 80s, land on Hornby remained relatively inexpensive if not extraordinarily so as it was in the 50s and 60s, but generally scarce.

As tourism increased, so did Hornby’s more radical reputation,

The joke about Hornby when I got here [1968] was that there was the communist side of the island and the catholic side of the island. They didn’t get along terribly well, but they had to of course. There weren’t many of them. You can still see vestiges of that today in the old families. They’re not all catholic, but there are still the conservatives on one side and the rabble-rousers on the other. (Lawrence 2013)



Figure 24: Judith Lawrence, Recipient of the Order of Canada, of Casey and Finnegan of Mr. Dressup, a famous Canadian puppet TV show, co-founder of the Voice of Women in 1960, early member of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, outside her home on Downes Point.

Since the 1970s, musicianship and musical activities have increased on Hornby,

I had to leave Hornby because I had other aspirations. I had other things I wanted to do, and I could see how limited it was here, financially...but [also] musically. I wanted to play with people that were better than me, and when I moved to the city...I saw what it meant to be a real jazz musician: I mean of course you can't achieve that kind of stuff on Hornby Island. Well not in those days. (Wilson 2013)

In 1981 Jill Candlish met and was working with "about 30 families" at the pre-school (2013).

With adequate government assistance, people with lower incomes were able to move to Hornby and make a life, although it has been described to me as one of relative economic poverty.

Government assistance played a large role in keeping the community going. The annual population peaked at perhaps 2000, but settled between 1000 and 1200 till the present,

I remember when I first got here. I guess it was in the early 90s. There were a lot more young people, and the elementary school had 140 kids instead of 40 kids. And, there were big dance parties at The Hall all winter, twice a month, and we'd have big reggae bands rolling through. There'd be, there was just a lot more going on" (Wier 2011).

Bee Wolf-Ray explained her experience of the late 1980s and early 1990s this way,

About the [Hornby Island Ratepayers and Renters Association]: I started going to meetings, and before I knew it ended up being the president. Somebody like me at that time was a single mom on welfare. I can end up, just by opening up to the possibility, being allowed to guide this community? There is something really different going on

here because I would never have imagined...I've always been a pretty radical person in terms of my look and my expressions and my opinions and if the community was willing to trust that I could do that?...That changed my life...And it gave me a sense of authority that I could also own a certain grounded voice that could be taken seriously and that really has informed my song writing too. (Wolf-Ray 2013)

Through the 1990s, land became more difficult to purchase, gentrification increased, homeowners shied away from renting, and the island shifted from a more subsistence and local economy to an economy of tourism and weekend travellers. In talking about this period of time with Wolf-Ray and Panjoyah, they explained the kind of stigmatism people with precarious and temporary housing might encounter. They mentioned a term I had never heard, “shrubbies,” “people who live close to the land who don’t have much money...camping or living on the beach...it was originally specific to the young travelling kids who would come and camp in the shrubbery” (Wolf-Ray and Panjoyah 2013).

Beginning with what Weaver calls the “so-called ‘hippie invasion’” on Hornby (Weaver 2010: 16), the tradition of land-owning distrust continued while people feared newcomers might “pitch up in your yard and not respect your boundaries and your property line” (Wolf-Ray 2013). The concerns today are but echoes of the past:

[On Hornby] Laskin remembered an incident in the mid 1970s when he, his wife, and another couple were walking to the water but in choosing to skirt the road, walked across private property and “there was one of the old Savoie families, Frank saying “STOP!” And he was leveling a rifle at us.” Serena Laskin argued that at the time she and her husband did not believe in the existence of private property, and furthermore, did not feel that they were harming anything, so they would disregard the signs and walk across property boundaries.

On Hornby, in the early years of this influx, “transient” hippies would squat on the beach and build rudimentary shacks. This angered local residents, as Michael MacNamara explained: “The beach is everybody’s so the hippies would come and build these shacks on the beach and the guy who was running the lodge at the time was just obsessed about it; so he took his bulldozer down and cleaned up his beach.” Within a fairly short period, “the young people who were coming here on a sort of lark and weren’t committed to the back-to-the-land thing in any serious way, moved on.” To the long-term residents, however, the back-to-the-landers and the transient

hippies would have been indistinguishable. (Weaver 2010: 24–25).

Today, contrary to popular notions about Hornby's affluence, better than half of all Islanders make less than \$20,000 a year, almost half are self employed, and the arts, culture, and recreation sectors comprise the largest field of work (Hornby Island Community Profile 2010). However, in 2006, with a 52% respondent rate, unemployment was reported at 3% (ibid.).

Over 50% of the houses on the island remain vacant through the fall, winter, and spring, 10 months of the year, and are semi-occupied or rented for July and August. The governing bodies and organizations of Hornby are well aware that the economic viability of a year-round existence on the island has become increasingly difficult for younger people. These problems are explicitly detailed in mission and vision statements, and yet there seems to be little short-term strategic movement to address the problem in a concrete way, aside from the long-term goals of Islanders Secure Land Association (ISLA 2015). As the average age of the year-round population is above 66, and about 44% of homes are one-person households (City-data 2012), there are twin concerns for the care of community elders who cannot afford the skyrocketing property taxes, and the relevance of institutions like the elementary school with a student population of 20 or less for K–8. Who will care for elders, and who will populate the school? There appear to be no simple solutions (see Chapter 4).

Residents on Hornby Island today participate in barter, alternative, and business economies, service trade, collective food management, resource and waste cycling, and a variety of rural environmental practices that are rarely concentrated elsewhere in North America. Like many isolated and remote rural areas in affluent nations (Bruckmeier and Tovey 2009; Marsden 2003), Hornby is dependent on distant resources. Today, Hornby hosts a divided society where

wealthy land-owning vacationers, tourists, and a small middle class, are drawn to a “scene” that is in part sustained by less wealthy Islanders and low-income nomads, though there are aspects of commercial operations that aesthetically indicate a higher class of clientele. Annually the island receives 50,000 visitors, and during summer festivals the population reaches between 5,000 and 8,000 people (Hornby Island Local Trust Committee 2010). This flow of people is also something that can make Hornby an attractive place for newcomers because the community is so open to and interested in and used to accepting new members, something that can be more difficult in settled communities. However, this openness to an outsider with an off-island history also has its limits, as without a strong shared foundation to fall back on and without knowing each other’s past, community conflict and mistrust can be difficult to manage. As such, Hornby’s governing bodies have adapted processes to handle newcomers who passionately wish to contribute but may not understand how things work (Law 2013). What is truly remarkable then is that this community has a very strong and even fierce sense of identity, but, it does not share a unified cultural upbringing in that place, the kind of homogeneity one would expect of places that give distinct cultural impressions and have strong mechanical solidarity.

In the winter the total population can reach as low as 300 to 800 people, demanding resilient environmental and economic practices. Housing (Eberle Planning and Research 2008) and water management strategies offer significant environmental challenges, and the island’s ecologically closed-loop system and geographic isolation demand self-sufficient innovation and entrepreneurship (Hornby Island Local Trust Committee 2010), especially for musicians who need inexpensive, reliable, local resources. In spite of the above factors and because of them, there are a remarkable number of people on Hornby Island working towards ecologically sound ideals and self-reliance to achieve a strong and independent community. Some have opted to

withdraw from greater society because of their fears about its unsustainable nature. Some simply want to live in a place free from excessive capitalism, fast food, and street lights. Others are U.S. draft-dodgers and escapists. This mentality of preparation and flight bears examination as experts forecast a dire post-fossil-fuel era, one in which climate change predicts unpredictability, especially for island dwellers (Islands Trust 2010). With the idea that “the earth is not dying, it is being killed” in mind, we might ask what Hornby Islanders think they are doing about it.

Bailey Gordon well represents the goals and abilities of young Islanders who are working hard, now, to make a life for themselves on Hornby, despite insecure housing,

I work on a farm, and I work at the recycling depot, and I’m pursuing woodworking which is what I went to school for. I went to BCIT and did joinery and cabinetry there. So I’m, sort of, an apprentice who doesn’t call in her hours or do any of the official paperwork, but I might in the future. It may be for better or worse. And I’m building a caravan. I’m building a tiny home for myself so that we can own our own home, and one of Hornby’s main issues is housing, like, that is *the* issue on Hornby, so if we own our own tiny home, and it’s portable, then we feel like we’re pretty well set up, and it’s going to be off grid. So we have a lot of work to do still. We’re just at the electrical right now, and we’re about to put in the insulation. (B. Gordon 2013)





Figures 25, 26, 27, 28: Bailey Gordon and Scott Towson have built their caravan on the Savoie farm where they have a work-trade to pay for their parking. They both volunteer with the fire department where they can shower and do laundry, and they hold down several jobs. The bottom two photos comprise the two sides of their caravan. They're dressed in their finest following Silas and Kari Crowe's wedding.

While it is true that Hornby's rhetoric outpaces its delivery, history demonstrates that Islanders have been able to accomplish impressive feats, and that the promise of the past is part of what keeps Islanders creating new topias. What remains is for Hornby Islanders to decide the fate of their unique traditions of social and environmental thought and activism.

Methodologies

Cannon: When you sit around, we've sat around this table a few nights now, and played music, getting ready for the dance, and there is a closer connection than...

Author: And that's part of my research process. I am going to have to get to the point where I talk to people I haven't played music with. But it's very helpful, because then I can say, "I'm this weird person who wants to do this thing. Will you let me into your home and talk to you for a couple of minutes?" And then it's not so strange, right?

Cannon: Yes, because we already know you're a weird person, so it's... the ice is broken.

Author: And I am... but there is something funny there [in your acceptance], too, because I don't know how to do more than play some tunes, really, right? I don't know. It's funny.

Cannon: Exactly, yes. But if you go to somebody's house four or five times and play some tunes, it's somehow the equivalent of knowing them for a lot longer or something. I guess you've been conversing the whole time, that whole evening you played tunes, there's this connection. It's more than just an evening where there's conversation that

goes a little bit here and a little bit there. It's more than that, because you're all connected for all that time that you're playing the music. (Cannon 2013)

The findings of this dissertation are based primarily upon 40 guided interviews with individuals, most of which involved multiple sessions, collected over the course of three separate stays on Hornby Island, comprising roughly 60 hours of recorded material. Some of the interviews involved two people simultaneously. I give a great deal of space to the words of my research participants and to pictures of Hornby in this dissertation. I want my reader to feel saturated with voices and place, repetitively encountered, and I find many Islanders have sophisticated and articulate understandings of their being on Hornby. Most of these interview participants were or are active public musicians on Hornby, but many are also artists and community members generally involved in the arts on Hornby. The preliminary visit for my research was from late June to late August in 2011, and the primary visit was from January to July in 2013. While I participated in a variety of musical activities during my preliminary visit, on my second visit I helped form an ensemble and performed entire sets on ten separate occasions and sat in or played with others on numerous less formal occasions. I also attended many musical performances during my stays. On the whole, my family and I made a concerted effort to take part in the everyday activities and life on the island. As an embedded researcher and participant observer, I feel I could not have made a more successful effort to come to know my target community, musicians on Hornby, with the time I had. On a three-week stay in late August and early September of 2014, I was able to witness a second wedding, get in a few more interviews, and see the wave-off celebration for the final extra ferry of the summer season, and also, play a wedding and another gig.

Although I began my research with the intention of practicing daily note-taking, this became difficult during my primary stay due to demands of publishing, my infant son, and increasing feelings of alienation when over-analyzing and over-documenting events and interactions. Thankfully, I did maintain a practice of photographing, collecting documents at every opportunity, keeping my emails organized, and noting significant activities on a calendar. My subscription to Facebook group announcements, newsletters, and private Hornby list-serves allow me to go back in time to note some activities that transpired while I was on Hornby and refresh my memory. I also collected many field recordings, some of entire shows, and with these various aids and my ability to converse with Islanders through feedback about my memories, I am able to represent experiences on the island with what I feel is satisfactory rigour.

I have attempted a variety of means for creating more participatory research. In my interviews I begged my participants to tell me what they thought I should know about Hornby and music, but initially I also asked them if they thought this topic was of value to them, or if I should not simply focus on some entirely different topic more relevant to their lives. I sent each of my interview participants copies of the transcripts of their interviews and asked them to reflect on what they said with me. I have carefully confirmed with each of them that my representation of their words is accurate (enough) and reasonable according to their own perspectives. I also posted requests for participation and feedback in the local newspaper and in online forums, letting people know I am interested in what they have to say. Additionally, I asked three different islander-critics to review my dissertation and provide feedback for my defense: Jules Platt, an artist and craftsperson, mother, active farmer's market vendor and community member, Rachelle Chinnery, an accomplished ceramicist, instructor, writer, and budding environmental academic, and Tony Law, one of Hornby Islands Island Trustees for over sixteen years, a musician, and a

respected political and environmental activist. Following my defense, I have plans to present my findings to the community and invite their feedback to incorporate into future work and a book manuscript.

In conducting my dissertation research, I chose to work towards developing and practicing what I call an “ecoethnographic justice” methodology. Perhaps my reader is familiar with the suspension of disbelief one must beg of a “traditional” ethnographer when claiming to do “musical ethnography” (Seeger 1992). I am not asking for any greater patience. By attaching “eco” to ethnography, I signify that such an approach might attempt to incorporate critical environmental views of ethnography, historically an anthropocentric practice with colonial roots involving researchers and subjects with vast differences in life experiences (Smith 1999). I intend “eco” to de-centre humans as exclusive research subjects, to qualify the environmental footprint of the researcher, to centre ecological criticism of the subject(s), and to interrogate the power dynamics between researchers and subjects. Similarly, by placing “justice” after ecoethnography, I point towards those aspects of environmental thought that explicitly frame environmental problems as products of social and environmental injustice, and I position such justice-research as attempting to contribute to the kind of positive change subject communities desire for themselves in search of environmental justice.

I developed these methods in theory and put them into practice as best I was able in a deliberate fashion on Hornby. I began by carefully selecting Hornby as a research site, a place that I knew I could move within, understand, and be understood as well as I could hope for given such a short stay. I saw my own complicity in the Canadian colonial state reflected back to me as a white settler male in North America, and I tried to maintain such awareness of my positionality in my interactions with other Islanders who are also in the main, white settler North Americans.

More practically, while searching for visions of utopia, I maintained no illusions about the deeply unsustainable nature of human life on the island and the ecological impact of my presence and research. While I could have chosen to focus on communities that are more foreign to me and that face, for example, more obvious and primary corporate intervention and resource exploitation, I picked a place where the CEOs of such organizations might own their second, third, or fourth homes, where people consume the secondary or tertiary goods of businesses but also try to resist them. These are places where locals siphon this cosmopolitan wealth through services and products and are simultaneously oppressed by such wealth. I chose a place where I might look inward for solutions to problems of ecological self governance, from inside a dominant nation instead of turning towards an ethnography of Other places for instrumental purposes. Rather than plunder the world to find medicines to cure North America, I thought I might look for an internal response, a lived environmental reaction. In conducting my research, I worked towards understanding the motivations of a comparatively privileged people for choosing low-impact behaviours, towards addressing the connections between Hornby Island's density of artistry and Islanders' very active political interrogation of their relationships with each other, their island, and with "all their relations."

These aspirations and grounded methods, borrowing from anti-racist research practices, participatory action research, indigenous research methods, multispecies ethnography, and similar critical perspectives towards ethnography suggest how ethnomusicologists can enhance their critical awareness of their research practices when they pursue environmental thought. As part of my research design, paying attention to the ample community dialogues about housing needs, food security, fresh-water management, the resource extraction happening and proposed all around Hornby, the frequent organizational AGMs, the lives of indigenous and invasive

plants and animals, the negotiation of treaty claims by First Nations, the active discussions of chem-trails, smart meter invasion, and out of control tourists, all while harvesting and canning wild berries, vegetables, oysters, fruit, and nettles—this integrated approach allowed me to better apprehend the densely interwoven tapestry of environmental meanings of musicking on Hornby.

By attempting to incorporate indigenous research methodologies that emphasize significant investment in feedback, in taking time, and in ethical conduct (Smith 1999; Magnat 2012, 36), and by prioritizing critical reflexivity and positionality into my work ethic (Kindon et al 2007, 9; Kirby et al. 2006), I also encountered the kind of environmental thinking brought to multispecies ethnography and critical animal studies (Kosek 2010; Fuentes 2010; Kirksey and Helmreich 2010, 554; Buchanan 2008, 25–8; Tyler 1987, 213). To a very limited extent, I worked to note not just the relationship between humans, the environment, and other species, but the lives of these species and the degree to which we can understand them.

At first, following the ethic of my ecoethnographic justice research practice, responding to the island's most apparent, documented, and expressed concerns, it seemed I should focus on helping develop knowledge that community members could use to enhance the retention and housing of younger Islanders. However, I was forestalled by musicians who explained to me what their work already does to improve their community's ability to deal with island problems. As my research progressed, it became apparent to me and my research participants that investigating the role of the arts and music in determining the future of ecological governance and community solidarity on the island was a worthy cause. Feeling under-acknowledged, island musicians asked me to focus on what they contribute to Hornby's ability to reproduce their society, and I took this as my mandate, though I was certainly prejudiced.



Figure 29: This is Jill Candlish’s home on a small shared property. The upper left photo is from a work party where we helped put in Dean Samuel and Andrea Rutz’s beds as they had been recently forced to move out of their home. **Figure 30:** The upper right photo suggests the field one must walk through to reach Jill’s home. **Figure 31:** Jill and Tom Candlish built their home together and learned as they went along. **Figure 32:** Jill well remembers living with no electricity, hand sawing and chopping her firewood, cleaning diapers in the stream, using no fossil-fuel powered machines, and describes herself as a “nature girl.” Over time and with age and need for economization, as well as generally changing attitudes towards things like “noisy” chainsaws, she and Tom have allowed greater technological intervention into their lives.

Barriers

[To be a musician is] a gateway to something that maybe a lot of people don’t get to experience... That doesn’t mean your contribution is any greater than anyone else’s... That’s where people get hung up... It creates a lot of... unnecessary, cataloguing of people, what their use is and how valuable they are... Why don’t they just realize that it’s all working together? We’re all making our little contribution, and to... prioritize it or place it on a scale, that’s a pointless endeavor. (Wilson 2013)

Ambiguity can be uncomfortable and anti-dualistic, like the suspension of judgment.

There are anxieties of ambiguity I worry my reader may have for my research. The first springs from the idea that to investigate “small” art in the context of the massive environmental policy change we need is misguided. In my experience with this line of criticism, the kind of art that is

presented as more relevant to “big environment” is paradoxically financially successful art, famous and popular art, or institutional art, gallery worthy art, city art, practices that often reproduce the status quo: giant rock concerts. What means are there for evaluating small art? The arts evade quantifiably measurable traits, and are, therefore, experienced with intense subjectivity. Tracing the quantifiable impact on society from small art may be as elusive as determining the confluence of environmental factors impacting cancer rates.

In North America our subversive, non-normative, and counter-cultures are delegitimized by dominant discourse. We don't sweat the small stuff. However, the tiny community that forms the centre of my dissertation poses difficult questions about what matters in life that are hard to ignore. There is “less judgment about how you choose to structure your days and what you value” (Tanner 2013). Further, my study questions what we commonly constitute as valid political response, which often involves some notion of “action,” or for our purposes, “action music.” Island rejection of normative career aspirations and political resistance can appear to be the opposite of action: an easy target for the expert in best paths towards revolution.

In addition to these popular critiques, because of the manner in which Islanders express particular kinds of attachments to nature, to vibes, my reader may have concern for fantasies of “participation mystique.” The separation of nature from culture can be both false and problematic (Cronon 1992), and when Islanders literally voice a Georgian desire to be “closer to the land” or magic and myth, readers may react with skepticism. Islanders choose Hornby because of its natural beauty, the human population, less commerce, less concrete, and less hegemonic social influence because of the capacity of such spaces to improve their lives. Their desires reflect experiences voiced through time about *The Country and The City* generally (Williams 1973), but also with respect to the back-to-the-land movement

specifically (Bunce 1994: 1–3, 141–165). Few would say that the feeling of disconnect some people express to feel with nature is false. However, some might challenge the authenticity of connection to nature some Islanders claim to feel.³⁴

Dominant North American norms prejudice those who choose to not visit the doctor, use electricity, have indoor plumbing, and choose to not participate.³⁵ In an effort to explore what people mean by “grounded,” without rejecting the experiences of Islanders who call themselves “nature girls” (Candlish 2013) or musicians who extemporize the vibe, I demonstrate how Islanders have reflexive appreciation of their own positionality, their consumption, and their privileges. I commend my reader to keep an open mind about how Islanders understand their relationship with nature and society, and keep these ideas in balance with the accomplishments, struggles, and efforts of the community that exceed stereotyping. I argue that some of the possibilities for endurance against the power of dominant consumptive Canadian lifeways are found in places of exception to the centralized, urban, and affluent determination of social and environmental trends, when four out of every five Canadians live in city environs. “The Hornby Way”³⁶ is a compelling response to capitalism. As Rachelle Chinnery suggested to me (2015 email), Islanders are having phenomenologically new encounters with nature and governance that some have simply never accessed before or been given the means for grasping. Without norms and models to feel secured by, Islanders can come of as hallucinatory in their love of nature.

³⁴ In my experience, people on the coast are popularly stereotyped as politically unrealistic, smug about their social and environmental accomplishments, and blissfully unaware of their own entanglement in neoliberal capitalism.

³⁵ “The Shire” on Hornby is named after the home of mythical hobbits who live barefoot, literally underground, as close to mother earth as possible! I also wonder how urbanization, gentrification, and ghettos became so natural. As Ted Tanner pointed out to me, “when I was living in the Toronto area if you didn’t work at least 48 hours a week in a nine to five job there was something wrong with you...So that mindset is just not at all, doesn’t even exist on Hornby” (2013).

³⁶ The title of a guide for newcomers and visitors.

The subjectivity of Hornby should be understood as internally accountable to itself, though provoked and fed by outside society. It is a two-ferry-terminal-double-island. People do not go to Hornby to get somewhere else. It is a place to be. Just as the ideas of “non-human” and “non-White” ultimately service the categories that they are meant to trouble (Haraway 2008), I do not reduce Hornby to the non-City and reinforce “Othering” of Islanders, though they do construct themselves in opposition. They are “home” in a profound geographic manner.

As a foreigner, I am the filter, framer, and narrator, and to acknowledge the post-modern turn in ethnography and indigenous research methodologies (Turino 1990; Smith 1999), through subjectivity, my writing style attempts an honest accounting. Given the incorporative capacity of hegemony to consume and market the subversive, my aim is to provide a document that the community can interpret *and enjoy* for its own ends, a mirror of possibilities for change:

It’s a healing place... [But] once you are healed you have to do something for the world; you can’t just be healed and sit here and be healed... [Hornby is] the type of place people should experience, just so that they can see that the world can be something other than city busses and flat screen TVs. But it’s also not somewhere that you should stay forever...because the rest of the world needs to realize too. We can’t all fit here. So, you’ve got to take your turn and get off and go change the world in some small way or big way... You can’t hog it. And everyone wants to hog Hornby... (F. Crowe 2011)³⁷

As to the value of any kind of music now relative to other concerns: “Boy, if you had no music, and we’re trying to deal with the world the way it is now, it would be pretty darn grim” (Rabena 2013), in answer I will turn to the findings of my fieldwork.

³⁷ Faron Crowe, at 18 years old, about to depart from the island, suggests that Hornby’s community might be a resource for missionary-like transformation, an echo of my own experience and the purpose of this dissertation.

PART II

Chapter 3: Island Time Keeping



Figure 33: This is the front entrance to the Hornby Island Community Hall.

There isn't a lot to do in the winter. So, for the year-round people, they are into the arts, into music, into doing something proactive for themselves and being creative. [Hornby] gets this creative vibrant feel because of that. And I don't think that the creative vibrant feel is because the summers are so beautiful, and you can hang out on the beach. I think it's because it's hard. It's hard to keep yourself busy doing something in the winter, so you kind of have to express yourself. (Wier 2011)

At the start of Section II, let me remind my reader that this portion of the dissertation is primarily ethnographic and sets the stage for musicking on Hornby—the subject of Section III—to respond to the conditions of the island as I describe them. In this section, I begin to reveal the appropriateness of my theoretical foundation in Section I for describing Hornby Island. More specifically, in this chapter I dig into what Hornby Island's vibe is: that word and feeling people use all the time, and yet question as reality or fantasized, objective or constructed. I depict what

it can be like to arrive on, spend time with, and leave Hornby. I explore what it is like to experience the weather and passing of seasons and what it is for people to come to Hornby and decide to stay or leave. I outline some of the senses of nature one will encounter and the physicality of Hornby. I describe some of the ways in which life on Hornby is quite different from the mainland, and how people feel accepted or rejected by the vibe. I focus particularly on the pace and rhythm of life on Hornby in the winter:

It's really still. It goes quiet. There are no birds. There is no sound. There are coniferous trees, and you are at the bottom of this vertical environment...I think that the people who really lose it, they don't have an introspective practice. They don't have something that is engaged and alive...I think it would be different for the music community because you seek each other out. It would be different for me because I don't. People who have studio practices, we are in our own world, emotionally, socially, mentally, in every way. I think that is where people do tend to lose it here in the winter time. (Chinnery 2013)

My hope is to bring my reader to Hornby. I conclude by describing the impulse many Islanders have to remove themselves from society at large, and I begin to describe what the consequences of such actions may entail.

Counting Time

Panjoyah: Getting enough money together to be able to take care of your survival needs so you can play and be creative and have fun: that's how I've lived my life now for 14 years since I've been here, and I'm enjoying that approach, but a lot of my family back East cannot understand me and in some cases have cut me off. Because I'm not chasing the dollar. And putting that first.

Wolf-Ray: And there is a thing about living standards too. When you grow up outdoor[s], no electricity, and no decorative stuff: we never had anything of value ever. The concept of owning a valuable thing is like: what?... And I don't feel like it's a step down to live in more marginal circumstances. Not that I am. Actually I'm living very well on Hornby these days but...our first few years here was extremely marginal, and for me that was familiar, and OK, and for you it was a whole new world.

Panjoyah: Yes, I was terrified. (Wolf-Ray and Panjoyah 2013)

Philip Conkling, founder of the Island Institute, might call it “islandness”: “a sense of place that is closer to the natural world...absorbed by islanders through the obstinate and tenacious hold of island communities... [islandness] helps maintain island communities in spite of daunting economic pressures to abandon them” (2007: 191). Above, referencing survival and the outdoors, Wolf-Ray and Panjoyah testify putting values like play, creativity, and fun before valuables like the dollar, living standards, and decorations. Hornby Islanders will claim that there are some who cannot live on Hornby because not everyone can tune to the local vibrations. Individuals suggest that Hornby, like Nelson, B.C., is a place that indigenous peoples would only move through seasonally, but rarely live year-round, a troubling narrative of colonization. They posit that this is because of the powerful intensity of the energy of these places.³⁸

Islanders will also speak of how some people are meant to live on Hornby, some are attracted to it for brief spells, and others are simply rejected by the island, in part because, “it’s easier to wind up than it is to wind down” (Chinnery 2013). I spent enough time on the island to gather a sense of what these possibilities meant in practice and why Islanders observe these trends. The way that Islanders animate the consciousness of the island is profound given a constrained number of factors that habitually influence people’s experiences. In other words, inexplicable, diverse, outside, and diffuse influences on daily experiences (i.e., traffic in Toronto, a confluence of local and international politics to elect Rob Ford) do not come into play as often as identifiable and repetitious phenomena on Hornby (the ferry schedule, the daily events). Theories as to why people react to Hornby as they do are based upon comparatively bounded

³⁸ It helps that Nelson is known for its surface deposits of quartz crystal, known to impact energy. It is rather difficult to substantiate projections onto the past lives and intentions of indigenous populations, or onto stones, but it does appear that Hornby was not normally inhabited year-round by large groups of people until the 1800s.

evidence. While some explanations sound mystic, they are also practical: “there is a lot to releasing from the drive to just move forward all the time” (Chinnery 2013).

In the most basic sense, Hornby is a place with strong seasonal migration and weather pattern. People who come for the summer on a whim, on vacation, or even own property on the island may never stay before or beyond July and August. Those who have only visited in the summer and are used to tanning on the beaches, walking through old growth forests under the stars, and catching four bands in one day are in for a surprise when winter storms hit. By that time, in November and December, the days are short, and the population of the island has shrunk dramatically: “There are some that do come and [try to] live here year-round. But I think lots of people are going on that “it was a beautiful place in the summer and so we’ll go live there”...but year-round...I don’t know if they are completely disillusioned or what exactly they are thinking” (F. Crowe 2011). In the short-term then, some people discover that the Hornby they love is a fleeting one, only present for summer weeks. Islanders will talk of the island as bipolar, or “multi-polar” in its psyche. When I would ask, “How does Hornby maintain its identity?” many respondents would immediately answer with, “Which one did you have in mind?”³⁹

The availability of amenities on the island also contributes to the island’s personality. People who work at The Co-op market and hardware store—one of two stores one would

³⁹ While camping in the forest, I found myself working on my third comprehensive exam in Room To Grow (the public resource centre and computer lab) in mid July when an entire family came in to use the phone to cancel their kayaking trip while it poured outside. Room To Grow is one of the few public spaces that can hold a number of people and has heating. The building houses a multipurpose space, a computer room, and the island print shop, and was built after the formation of the Hornby Island Educational Society. The visitors had rented a rustic and close cabin at some expense, and had a week-long kayak trip planned, but the sheets of rain that fell the week previous to their arrival and after were constant. I spent many days typing in Room To Grow at this time. The tourists felt rejected, and the island was held accountable because without a proper home, and no real network on the island, there was little for these people to do. In this instance, a natural phenomenon was animated as “the island.” Predictable seasons and unpredictable weather keep people on and away from Hornby, and reflect the island’s character and it’s ability to slowly send people packing. For these people, Hornby was a disaster, and a difficult one to exit.

recognize as relatively “predictable” by North American standards—report vacationers asking for help with all manner of “dire” needs, from electrical repairs to water delivery, asking if someone can kindly be sent over, as if the island society was one organization of collective responsibility and The Co-op was the space from which to dispatch workers. These reflections to me speak to the degree to which Hornby can be imagined as a giant resort where the wealthy need only make their demands known. In the summer of 2013, an enormous old growth tree fell across Hornby’s main road and power lines. This prevented people from accessing and leaving Hornby’s wealthiest settlement along Whaling Station beach. It was a fiasco! The tree was cut up by local road crew employees as soon as B.C. hydro employees got to the site to shut off the live wires (several hours later), but in the meantime unpaid local Islanders scrambled to direct traffic and provide a safe means for emergency access. In the end, that part of the island lost power for an entire week at the height of summer tourism. People demanded (and were denied) refunds for their rentals. In these cases, in contrast to the weather, vacationers give the technological public works of the island a kind of agency and person-hood: “Hornby is the worst!”

There are some individuals who move to Hornby knowing the length and intensity of the winters, the limitations for water, plumbing, etc., perhaps even having stayed one year, but then they underestimate how the repetition of the seasons will impact them in the long run, a difficult thing to gauge from the present. *Rachelle Chinnery* spoke to me at length about the seasonal nature of Hornby mental health (see Chapter 4). Some people will enjoy their time on Hornby less with each passing year, coming to dread the winter months, seasons of quiet and grey. In worst case scenarios individuals turn to drink and drugs or amplify their existing habits. The apparent frenzy of social activity, from farmers markets to festivals winds down by January, and without strong socially networked bonds, newcomers find themselves with few invitations to the

private gatherings that provide the majority of the social activity for the winters. While my family and I had a very strong connection to a set of friends that kept our social calendar quite full, others are not always so lucky. Music is key here, “like every night, and everybody’s house, over the winter when everyone is bored and psycho and cabin crazy, then you have potlucks and music, and you’re all a little bit saner” (F. Crowe 2011). The radio helps too,

I see [the radio] promoting...more of a continuity to the whole year...[The radio] doesn’t have to [be] the feast and famine thing. It helps to balance everything out...by doing your show once a week, fifty two weeks of the year...It helps to give you a sense of stability that’s not really present [in the rest of life of Hornby]. (Sweeney 2013)

Like a radio show, musicking creates groups one is accountable to, again fostering stability.

Additionally, taking musicking seriously, and yet without primary concern for income interrupts the time one might otherwise devote to working towards more economic ends.

The Thatch, the pub, and Ford’s Cove, the general store, they are the only locations that are consistently open on specific nights through the winter, and they are not always the most convenient places for socializing. There are no cafes or restaurants that are open through the winter, only events that include meals. When initial hopes of social integration fail this can lead to feelings of rejection and depression, and not just because of social stigma, a topic I handle elsewhere. The island in this case can be surprisingly uncaring.

What I wish to dwell on here is a more striking phenomenon, and that is of immediate rejection, not short or long term. In Chapter 11, with the aid of Islanders I theorize “vibration” as friction between the experiences of the mainland and Hornby, and sometimes that vibration is too strong. To begin, for many travellers, Hornby is a difficult place to get to. Unless one lives on Denman or on Vancouver Island, getting to Hornby will involve not only two smaller ferries, but an additional larger ferry or flight from the mainland (see the maps at the start of Chapter 2).

Add driving, coach, transit, and bus time to these factors, and one can easily spend an entire day just getting to Hornby from somewhere like Vancouver or Seattle. In fact, one might fail to catch the last ferry to Hornby at 6 pm on most nights, and have to spend the night on Denman or even in Comox on Vancouver Island. What is striking is that as a crow flies, Hornby is actually close to Vancouver, perhaps two hours by boat. Arriving on Hornby from some place further than Victoria, totally exhausted, leaves people feeling they have come quite far. And so, quick rejection begins with a feeling of tiresome travel, anxiety to get on ferries, wild speeding on highways, perhaps multiple two or three ferry waits at the peak of summer, expense with extraordinary fees and food for the day, and all that comes with sitting and waiting in line, from dead car batteries, overworked or no air conditioning, to running out of fuel and cash.

That sense of physical distance for some is confirmed by experiences of cultural and technological difference upon landing on Hornby. Hand painted signs beg a variety of things from visitors immediately after they arrive, from sales pitches to pleas for considerate behaviour. Water use may be severely restricted, access to amenities like showers and laundry may be communal, less hygienic, and coin operated, and outhouses are a norm, both permanent and portable when the tourism season peaks. There are few visual distractions, relatively less anthropony (Krause 2012—human sounds), no street lights, and at first glance, very little happening without careful investigation. Space is generally secluded, whether by trees, fences, boulders, or geography. There is a sense of insider knowledge, secret locations, and potentially, for those looking for things to do beyond exploring nature, a fear of missing out. For those with little time to visit, they experience an anxiety of the need to pack in adventures that may not be realistically achievable in the time they have, or may require significant down time in between. One cannot hope to visit all the artist studios on Hornby in a month without seeing three a day.

The physical distance of Hornby from dominant North America is also expressed in aesthetics, which can be alienating. Architecturally, many of the important and most prominent structures on the island seem to move against right angles and straight lines. With a historic lack of building codes, Islanders have made grand experiments with their common buildings, as well as building their own homes themselves by hand. The sensation can be unmooring to the eye at first, without clear aligned corners to direct one's gaze. The disorder of recently treed lots and cheek by jowl trailers next to million dollar homes can be confusing. Many buildings suffer from the weather and their construction methods while they slowly give in to gravity. They smell of wet earthy decay. Other homes appear to be mansions of absurd opulence, overbuilt sheds and cabanas. By contrast, architecture that seeks to mimic or even work with the land can appear untrustworthy, fragile, or needlessly complex. Additionally, the outstanding natural beauty of Hornby is rather overwhelming. Looking at the teeming life in the ocean at one's feet, it is possible to forget the giant gyres of plastic in our oceans and dream that in fact, the ocean might just survive. There are many enormous trees, thick forests, pristine beaches, and bucolic fields. The bark, form, and colouring of Hornby's arbutus trees as well as the number and health of Hornby's bald eagles make particularly striking first impressions of Otherness.



Figure 34: This is the inside of the Dominiak home on the Syzygy Co-op. In the main body of the home, designed by an ex-engineer, there are no right angles.



Figure 35: This construction method, of stacking 2x4s on top of each other to build a wall was a classic technique in the gulf islands during the 1970s when there was so much lumber that people were practically paid to take it off the wharfs. People would stack up their walls and then cut their doors and windows out with chain saws.

As important as I feel it is to acknowledge the built aesthetics of Hornby’s architecture, I would like to point out that green and growing life is not an aesthetic, but a default. In other words, while it is true that people craft their lawns, their trees, their gardens, frankly, whatever they do or don’t do, the natural environment will take advantage. The speed at which green growth will consume a driveway, path, or home is overwhelming on Hornby, but the same is true in rural Ontario when weather permits. In my photographs, the prevalence of green growing things is not so much a choice as it is a reflection of how things are when concrete is not everywhere. And so, “natural aesthetics” is a troubling concept when one considers that most of the time on Hornby, people are just trying to carve out a space to move through functionally with whatever free time they have to invest. A path through the forest is only as large as a person needs it to be. Does it form a pleasing elven-like mossy be-mushroomed tunnel? Fine, so long as one is short enough to make it through it unscathed.



Figure 36: A trip to artist and musician Vaughn Neville’s home and studio reveals as much about the influence of nature on his work as it does about the sheer amount of yard work he must have to do to keep things functionally useful, visible, and accessible.

There is a wonderful feeling and aesthetic that overgrowing plants communicate. On the one hand it might seem to some an intentional and managed choice to have such growth, however, what I am suggesting is quite the opposite: that the choice humans make is to have unnatural aesthetics, and that in many cases natural aesthetics simply reflect a path of least resistance, of prioritization and time management. Plants crowding out everything is a choice only in so far as we wish to not do anything to them as humans. The distinction is subtle, but profound. Visitors to Hornby may take in this green encroachment as intentional, or even threatening, but in most cases there is only so much anyone cares to manage. Such aesthetics are a path of least resistance.

Socially, many Islanders have a tightly knit insider knowledge comfort-ability that can appear unrealistically familial to outsiders. For example, an outsider might have trouble identifying the parents of children at a given gathering, given the flexibility of non-nuclear Hornby “families” (see Chapter 7.1) and the disproportionately affectionate attention that children receive from the entire community. Babies are well known mascots, and their parents may not be nearly so well known. Within a week of our arrival on the island in January 2013, unbeknownst to us, my wife and child were put on an agenda for the Hornby Island quilters gathering because every baby on the island must receive a quilt, and someone had identified

Meredith and Olin as newcomers, sighted in The Co-op, in need of a quilt.⁴⁰ The overall effect when first encountered is one of what might otherwise seem an unrealistic level of communal attention, feeling, caring, and love. Another example might be the degree to which Islanders share work and commerce, where people frequently pool their resources, from clay purchases to jobs that need extra hands. Conversations about these experiences and prospects make up a good deal of social exchange. The intensity of these shared bonds that an outsider witnesses can leave one feeling not only surprised but also confused and comparatively unattached, unable to follow the references of a discussion and unable to feel the concerns and bonds of others.

The speed at which social conversation will move through local gossip, politics, and legend is alienating, even while people may make special effort to include outsiders. In these instances, I am describing individuals who might visit the island and encounter year-round Islanders. Certainly, many thousands visit the island and never meet people who reside on Hornby. These experiences on Hornby deviate from normal gatherings elsewhere where one is an outsider because of the sheer intensity of the connection the insiders share. It can be uniquely powerful. In some instances, people do not keep abreast of events off the island, and so, a common discussion about national or international interests may be difficult to foster at all. Hornby's cliques are confluences of work, social, volunteer, recreational, commercial, and kinship networks that overlap simultaneously, repetitiously, and constantly, every hour.

Like many small towns, the pace of life on Hornby is comparatively slow. Clocks are only used to mark work hours and make appointments. Time is measured in distance to known destinations on foot, bike, or car. People mark the passage of the year according to the moon and

⁴⁰ My partner Meredith contributed a panel to the annual quilt, which has been sold in a raffle for the last twenty years or so. These quilters have raised a total of well over \$350,000 dollars that they have donated back to various community organizations over the years.

solstices. Everyone is aware of what phase the moon is in and how this could theoretically influence people's moods and practically influence whether you might need a flashlight to make your way at night. There are always well advertised full moon walks. Getting somewhere off-island takes careful planning for timing, ferry schedules, when stores are open, and once one leaves Hornby, sometime racing across Denman to make the ferry, the speed at which everything moves off-island actually does appear quite frenetic, seemingly unbounded and wild.

And so the effort of travel, the physical distances and aesthetics, and the social dimensions of Hornby can make initial encounters with the island rather disorienting. The slowed speed of transaction, and reduction of anthropogenic attention-grabbing sounds and sights will leave some urban travellers feeling underwhelmed and restless. Without good internet connectivity, without action, the process of "winding down" can be awkward. Turning inward without stimulus, time can feel wasted. Moments for contemplation compound as boredom threatens. Unable to turn away from oneself, unable to focus on natural beauty that presents as non-participative, and unable to integrate so much difference at once, individuals feel out of synch and out of phase with the vibrations of the island. This experience is felt in the long and short term, not only through Hornby's physical and environmental feedback, but socially as well,

The longer you live here, the more you realize: "there are people here who hate me, who really don't like me. There are other people who maybe might want to connect with me, but feel like I'm unapproachable in some way,"...but things keep changing and evolving...It just feels real. It feels like you can't get away from your reflection here.
(Wolf-Ray 2013)

Though I have heard stories of individuals needing to get off Hornby, and I have witnessed others, we did have one friend come to visit us who was going through some difficult life changes. He has spent almost his entire life in urban spaces, and in combination with our need for rest upon arriving back to our adopted home with him and his need for action on visiting

Hornby for the first time, he lasted under 36 hours on the island until he felt absolutely driven to leave. Though happy to see us (we had already spent three days with him in Seattle at another friend's home), he could not appreciate the value in watching the sun go down or come up, to sit on a beach, naked, and read, and to generally slow down. "This place is like a gigantic mirror," as Chinnery pointed out (2013) and Wolf-Ray suggested above. Islanders struck our friend as ingenuous, overly emotional at reuniting with us, and in "too good a mood" to be realistic, to be part of "the real world." Islanders will admit that it can take weeks for some visitors to come down from the alienated pace of life they experience elsewhere, and certainly, on my second visit, it took months for me to relax from what was a particularly hyper-active fall of 2012.

Musicking, as you will see, takes advantage of or is co-emergent with Hornby's vibe. People have the time and space to listen, to practice, and to perform. Spending a whole day doing nothing but music, from personal practicing, to doing a radio show, to rehearsing with a group is not an abnormal scenario for a day for those with lesser responsibilities to others. For those who can handle Hornby's vibe, musicking plays a large role in creating stability and for tuning in.

Chant Down Babylon

If you lived in a big city...you might have it ingrained into you that, "I'm just one little needle in the haystack, and I can't make a difference. So, I just give up and let the developers ruin the local business and put up giant corporate stores and Walmarts and things, because I don't feel like I have any power." And that's part of what I feel, the giant big machine in Babylon, what wants you to feel what they want you to feel: that you have no power...But, living on Hornby, living in small communities is really awesome because you generate a lot of good energy for yourself, and it has that power of...local is global, you know?...I know lots of people doing great things in the city. It's just like *my* personality tends to be rural...I don't work well under the stress of cities...It's too much for me...I'm a little too sensitive to it. Other people work great under and with all that, and those people are the people that should be in the city that can actually move and make things happen in the city, so, as long as they are affecting, they are local. They are doing stuff, bringing people to know their own power. (Martens 2011)

Marten's complex understanding of his positionality vis-à-vis possible places to live and

affect positive community change reflects both a common and deep culture of reflexive contemplation on Hornby.⁴¹ Given the influence of reggae culture and reasoning (see Chapter 10) and the general sense of apocalyptic spirituality and real Judeo-Christian ethnicity on the island, I will work with the grounded metaphor of Babylon to describe the retreat to Hornby. I could just as easily work with the Virgilian pastoral, the “middle landscape between the city and the wilderness (Marx 1964)” (Bunce 1994: 26), where cities offer disturbance and war and the country contains peace and quiet (Williams 1973: 17). However loaded the notion of “Babylon” may seem, I feel it aptly fits how Islanders describe their experience: “our society is set up in North America so that immoral behaviour is rewarded” (Tanner 2013). In some stories Babylon was a place of paganism and fornication. In both historical and biblical stories, the Tower of Babel was a large structure in Babylonia, and within its urban environs, many cultures collided. The tower represented the ambition and hubris of Babylonians to reach the heavens. The Tower of Babel is as a place where a once unified people were punished by god. It was an originary urban space for commodification and consumption.

Representative of the many varied stories and factual histories of Babylon and how it was conquered, razed, and resettled multiple times, within Rastafari culture, Babylon is a place where humans, specifically Israelites, were captured or held in exile. They were held through the mechanisms of unethical trade and usury. Babylon is described in Rastafari culture as a place of sin, decadence, wickedness, and corruption, but most importantly, as a place where one can lose oneself. This loss of self is to lose subjectivity, to become “me,” instead of “I.” There is no stretch to imagine the Rastafari Babylon as a more modern urban, alienated, policed, and

⁴¹ I admit that I identify with Martens’ sentiment above. Coming from a small town where I felt I was able to make a difference in my community, where people knew me and I knew them, when I began living in cities, experiencing the sheer permanence of structures and the machinations required to keep those structures working, I felt profoundly alienated and totally disempowered.

confused place, where money or gold and silver are all, a place of “governmentality.”

As I suggested at the end of Chapter 2, I think it is essential to validate the genuine wish of Islanders to be more free from the hegemonic realities of modern Canadian urban centres.⁴² Most people on Hornby have chosen to move to the island from elsewhere, though not necessarily from urban spaces. “Back-to-the-land” actually signifies the nefarious idea that only urban hippies moved into rural communes and onto hobby farms, either because the country is not imagined to have counter-cultural agency, have a culture one might reject as normative, or the rural is not actually imagined to have intellectual agency of any kind. People migrate physically and mentally to Hornby. Few people living on the island were raised on it, but quite a number have generations of family ties. Why would one choose to move to Hornby, and what are the consequences of doing so in relation to Babylon and one’s construction of the outside world?

Truly living on Hornby, only leaving the island every few months, does reveal the degree to which transactive capitalism is present in everyday reality off-island. Many interviewees would comment on their relief at coming home to where they could put away their wallets. Months will pass and nothing will seem to change on Hornby besides the weather, and yet, on a visit to town, multiple structures may have been built, whole forests clear-cut, much as has been the case in history (Williams 1973: 142–52). Mitigating their sentimentality, Islanders are well aware that life on Hornby is dependent on off-island resources, governance, and systems of oppression. Islanders appreciate that they and their island are shaped by human management, where any “real nature” in the sense of “wilderness” is unattainable. However, the density and speed of capitalism off of Hornby does appear comparatively out of control.

⁴² Here I am referring to centres of organization large enough to legislate concrete sidewalks, not only Canada’s governance of primary cities.

The size of buildings, the intervention of technologies, the uniformity of agriculture, relentless advertising and demands on attention, all of these things are revealed as powerful when living on Hornby and then travelling elsewhere. Going into nearby Courtenay is an intense experience of economic exchange. People describe the experience as a genuine holiday. The number of cars, the options for food, the institutions to patronize: it is overwhelming, but also exciting and a welcome temporary change. Life on Hornby reveals how everyday life elsewhere in Canada can desensitize one to the enticing Babylon-frenzy. Huge grocery stores and parking lots become alien spaces, bizarre in their design, not at all “trendy.” Architectural interventions reveal their disposable nature as structures that a bounded community would contest,

I almost loathed going to the city to go and visit the relatives, and we’d walk through suburbia: this is just dead, nobody’s home, nobody’s out in the yard, nobody looks at you in the street, you’re completely incognito in the mall or wherever you’re shopping. And I really don’t like that...I’m pretty much greeting almost everybody anyway now that I’m older and more mature about it...I mean my family doesn’t like it so much when they come and visit me because they want my attention, I guess, and if we go to The Co-op, I am totally talking to other people. And I thrive on that. (Candlish 2013)

For Islanders, in cities, public libraries, hospitals, and homes appear these exceptional places that do not always require funds for use. My experiences on Hornby gave credence to recent research that demonstrates that contrary to popular representations of life in rural spaces as more consumptive of the products of capitalism, leaving a larger footprint than one might if one dwelled in concentrated urban space, in fact, the opposite can be true when the entire equation is properly accounted (Heinonen et al. 2013). Certainly, we drove around the island, but the trips were so short and infrequent that we filled our car with gas perhaps once a month or less while in Toronto a monthly excursion would require almost double such consumption. While food was expensive, we almost never ate out. Comparatively we lived on a very small monthly budget that was energy efficient. With nowhere to shop and virtually no advertising, the desire

for, awareness of, and consumption of products became a special activity, perhaps concentrated on a “trip to town,” to Courtenay, to find a used stroller or cloth diapers.

Arrival and Escape

I feel like I am doing the right thing for the planet Earth by living here, by gardening, by making a home, by making a family...I don't feel like I am doing something that is really bad for humanity. I could be working at some job with crazy different chemicals in town, building a giant empire for Walmart or something like that, and I wouldn't feel good... Most things here have the intent of bettering Hornby. It's not for the better of one person or corporation...If you want to improve the planet Earth, you have got to start looking locally...and if everybody would do that, then we would all be great...rather than raping the Earth of its resources and thinking of ourselves and being selfish and...that's where the root of all evil is. Selfishness...that's why so many bad things and wars are happening and people have separated themselves from each other. (Martens 2011)

By contrast to the beginning portions of this chapter that have dwelt upon how people might be rejected by the island or disoriented, in equal or greater portion, most permanent residents share stories of immediate acceptance and integration. They find they simply knew they belonged on Hornby, like a calling. “Came for a beer, stayed for a year” as June Cannon quipped (2013). By now I expect my reader can identify some of the things that are attractive about life on Hornby, but for a number of people who visit, they simply could not imagine leaving,

I just got tired of half the year being snow, so, at that point it was just my son and myself...I sold my place in Quesnell, I bought a small little school bus, fixed it up so we could live in it, came to the coast, and we just toured all around, and I looked at a place on Cortes, and I was kinda headquartered with a friend in Shawnigan Lake area, and I was gonna go back to Cortes to get serious about this property, and [the friend] said, “you've got to take a look at Hornby,” and I did, and I bought a lot the next morning...it just seemed like...this is where I got to be. It just seemed really magical. (Rabena 2013)

Staying on Hornby requires finding a good fit, but deciding to move is the first large hurdle: “What do you have to offer the community?...The big thing is making the decision to move here [not figuring out what you will do after you arrive]” (Clark 2011). In many ways, there is so little happening on Hornby that it might seem difficult to miss out on opportunities for

socialization and work when one is new to the island. Yet people have deep and lasting relationships and circles of friends that can be hard to join and break into. One has to work to develop friends and relationships that move beyond superficial acquaintance. However, when a new community member appears to have something to offer, they are quickly scooped up. People recognize that not everyone enjoys Hornby, and that in order to keep the island going, a certain amount of wooing is needed. At times, my partner and I were constantly being taunted about staying, about finding a wheel missing on our car before we were to leave.

On the one hand, arriving on Hornby can feel like coming home to a place that really offers something different, but as my notes show here, whatever is different about Hornby butts up against some rather intense other ideas:

We stand in a ring above Little Trib to witness and support the union of Ken and Jala. In the circle is a labyrinth of sea shells they have walked, and in the four directions, there are altars. As we hush to hear the words spoken that testify their love, an army green helicopter circles above, dipping down so that armed and helmeted soldiers may gaze from the open door through mirrored lenses. The mechanical thumping beats against our eardrums. From above, we must have looked a fair spectacle. Stoically, we wave and smile, all of us resisting the urge to curse, shake our fists, give them the finger, and tell them where they can go. The helicopter is so loud, one cannot hear anything else. Some of the smaller children cry. Eventually, they move on, and the ceremony continues. Then they return again. (Fieldnotes 2011)

Talking to Rachelle Chinnery, she explained that there was a moment of realization for her that Hornby would never offer refuge from the world's ending, nuclear fall out, and the rest of it: "I realize we have that military [in Comox] where jet fighters fly in and out. It would be a huge target, the first to go, and we would all go with it" (2013). Arriving on Hornby is not an escape from the world.

Another concern in the community is preparing for what will be the next "big one," an earthquake and tsunami and/or fire that will destroy much of the island's infrastructure. Such

sensibility contradicts the attitude of a number of opinions I encountered that live in almost ebullient anticipation of the failure of capitalism and the collapse of the mainland. As Chinnery sees it, things will not go well for Islanders as the rest of society collapses unless the island moves towards significant food security and improved systems for dealing with community conflict.



Figure 37 and 38: On the left, Ken and Jala are wed before us. When the helicopter circled, it was directly above their arbour. On the right, Reuben Wier, Meredith my partner and I sit to watch the wedding musicians. Photos by Jennifer Armstrong Photography.



Figure 39: Rachelle Chinnery methodically working in her studio while I interview her.

Non-Participatory Discrepancies

Abstinence is a negative choice within neo-liberalism. Removing oneself from participation seems a counter-intuitive activism. Such notions are in dialogue with Babylon. And yet hopeful action can also be a means for turning away from environmental problems (Cronon 1992). Funding pressures the production of new solutions, new discourse, and positivity in a post-sustainable world. Perhaps the most common critique of the environmental movement is that it is not positive enough. Activists are depressed not only because of the outcomes their research predicts, but because gloomy findings and outlook is inadmissible and unrecognizable.

Here, I pathologize hope. Hope can be a reaction to the cognitive dissonance that occurs when ideas of the self and society conflict with ecosystem limits. Hope is the manner in which the mind leaps from the extinction of species to the possibility of a laboratory resurrection of the western black rhinoceros. It is the leap from the collapse of New York City's twin towers to shopping on Fifth Avenue. Rather than face complacency in hegemony (King 2006), it is simpler to insist that the consequences of progress are justifiable and a solution (Urpelainen 2012).

A truly radical position might be to dwell with loss to support depressive positioning (Di Battista and Mark 2012). Spaces of retreat are not just valuable as areas for "recharging one's batteries" to fight to the good fight, but also to remove consumptive temptation. In conclusion of this chapter, it is important to consider why Islanders leave the mainland, and why they either feel at home or rejected by the island. In this chapter I covered the kind of experiences that individuals share in their decisions to live on Hornby. Many of the musicians featured in this dissertation could make a better living in an urban environment. Having made the decision to leave larger society, they turn towards the larger question of how they can help maintain their community's ability to replicate and continue on, as I discuss in the coming chapters.

Chapter 4: Tourism and Other Costs of Living

It is very sad to me, the loss of the family farm. But, you know, we've got to face it; it's a way of life that's gone...—and it's not coming back. (P. Gordon 2013)

There's growth and acquisition and gain, and that's what's promoted, and that's what...almost everyone on Hornby is resisting, you know? And I guess that that's also why there's such reaction to these big second homes—*second homes*—that are being built that no one can live in because they're reserved... (Chinnery 2013)

From my Master's research into North American Zimbabwean music in the Northwest, I know that there was a time, however brief, when marimba bands were doing extraordinarily well in terms of financial income. In the late 1990s and early 21st century, the music seemed new and exciting, the people playing it were devoted, relatively young, mobile, and affluent, and were able to tour between each other's communities with success. This trend does continue on the mainland, but on the islands, tourism has changed dramatically over the last 20 years. I know of one marimba band that for a time, made over \$100,000 dollars cash a year busking in downtown Victoria, selling CDs and keeping their income off the books. It is no longer so.

During this same timeframe, housing prices and gentrification on Hornby began to soar in concert with urban encroachment. Nearby, in 1990 an average single detached home went for perhaps \$300,000 in Greater Vancouver Area. Today that average Vancouver home would cost \$1,360,000 (Jang 2014). It's true that as Clair Cronia points out below, Hornby really always had a serious housing problem. However, as elsewhere, the income gap between owners and renters has never been so large before, and the absence of children is coming to wear on the morale and conscience of residents. To be dramatic, it is almost as if people are watching their community die in slow motion. In fact, there are more deaths than births every year. This may sound extreme, but if one keeps my notion of semiotic density in mind from the end of Chapter 1,

Figure 40 below is particularly revealing as people begin to no longer encounter or see children, a startling concept in the age of overpopulation. This resident population that struggles to make a living, or to live on a pension, that is becoming less mobile with age, cannot afford to breeze on and off island as ferry costs spike, and so the economy is progressively removing meaningful year-round contact with youth: a force needed to upkeep Hornby's institutions.

Here, I turn to some of the most serious problems that Hornby faces in achieving cultural and environmental reproduction. I examine processes of hegemonic neoliberalization and globalization that have begun to actively erode Hornby's radical, utopian, and ecological practices. In another effort towards the reciprocal methodological aims of this dissertation, I might have focused all of my research entirely on the issues in this chapter. However, I have come to understand how musicking works to respond to these issues by fostering community solidarity, and I now ultimately see Hornby's vibrant musical culture as threatened by the same processes the rest of island society faces.

Housing the Revolution

You come here. You buy a piece of land. You join a committee. You make the laws. That's the way it works. (O'Hearn 2011)

Sweeney: I can't separate housing from environment... That is part of what makes it possible to live on this earth... The more continuity that we have with our shelter, the deeper we get to sink our roots into the earth and develop as a human being... The fact that Fukushima is leaking radioactive water into the ocean as we speak is not removed from the fact that it's getting increasingly impossible to find sustainable year-round affordable and livable accommodation in small communities, because of the market forces. The force of the internet and all the money that comes to bear with those investment portfolios in the market. It's just insane, that whole beast over there.

Author: Draw that out a little bit more, maybe for folks who are listening [on the radio]...

Sweeney: Well, it stems from the whole notion of how we power our lives, the energy we consume as we exist as human beings. The more we centralize... the infrastructure of a community's existence, and community lives—by way of having these massive power

plants, massive manufacturing plants, manufacturing all kinds of goods from the dark satanic mills that produce “hell on earth” as Roger Waters would say. Those kinds of things, that enable humanity, or societies to be so disconnected from a day to day sustenance, or day to day existence, what it takes to actually keep yourself alive for the day, to the next day, sheltered, what it takes to build shelter that will be durable for the environment that you can live in, and acquiring the food stuffs that you need to keep yourself and your family alive—the more we disconnect ourselves from those things, the weaker we get as human beings. So that when something goes wrong, which it inevitably will within anything that is a massively centralized kind of organism, like a power plant, or a power grid, or a market, the markets, then, when those hiccups happen...when things start to fall apart, the less capable we are of dealing with it. (Sweeney 2013)

Though Scott Sweeney’s articulation is sophisticated, on Hornby, such analysis is the stuff of everyday conversation. Suggesting to Sweeney that he might be talking about resilience and reliance, he quipped, “think about this one: affluence and effluence” (2013). People talk about housing and real estate constantly, and they frame it within a larger system of social and environmental oppression. I do not exaggerate. Here are some statements from Hornby’s own ISLA, the Islands Secure Land Association, which is a group of volunteers that incorporated in 2005 to establish a land trust on which to erect year-round housing. They received a 18.5 acre gift in 2010 and will eventually develop affordable housing options where the land is leased:

Property on Hornby and Denman Islands has become increasingly attractive to non-resident buyers, driving home prices ever higher and limiting the availability of secure rental accommodation. It is now very difficult for Islanders living and working in the community to achieve stable year-round housing. Valued community members are leaving. Businesses are having trouble recruiting employees. Property owners are having to pay more for help. Volunteers required to keep community services going are getting harder to find. School enrolment has plunged.

Accessible housing is essential for the community's economic, social and cultural well-being. It is hard for residents to fully participate in community-building when their housing situation is constantly uncertain. It will be hard for other residents to continue living here when there is a scarcity of people to provide the services we all need and to keep businesses going, community culture alive and activities happening. (ISLA 2015)

The people who get ISLA housing benefit through stabilizing their lives with secure housing. The community benefits by keeping people on the island who are able to put energy into other things besides moving/finding housing multiple times a year. These are

the workers and volunteers who keep our community running smoothly, and the parents of our school children. Fire fighters, home care workers, co-op staff, trades people, people in all phases of life, but especially the younger workers, are finding stable year round housing difficult or impossible to obtain. We cannot afford to lose more of these valuable Hornby citizens. (ISLA 2015)

People are passionate about housing, and the issue speaks to them as much more than a local phenomenon where moving a little further away seems possible. One is either on or off Hornby Island, and so “if we can’t bring our own children home and make room for them wherever we live, we’re all fucked up” (Cronia 2013). In this expression, Cronia is of course speaking of Hornby, but she is also speaking to the problem of gentrification everywhere, of landlessness, and our capacity to destroy and/or render places such that human and more-than-human life cannot return. She is speaking as someone trying to become a full time farmer, someone who has dedicated most of her life to the island, someone who sees Western society perched on a precipice that will bring all human society to its knees.

Cronia remembers an island that had not decided to make tourism its primary economic foundation, but eighteen year-old Faron Crowe does not, “It’s been a long time as a summer thing now. Like, my whole life it’s been two places. You live Hornby in the winter, and then you live in the psycho-tourist place in the summer...[To put a positive spin on it] you get to live in two places” (F. Crowe 2011). Many Islanders have great nostalgia for the Hornby Island of the 1980s and early 1990s. During this time, Islanders claim that the school population peaked at 143 students, and in 1987, the year of the rabbit, some 23 babies were born to the community, many birthed on the island by midwives I interviewed. That is a new person in a community of perhaps 1,500-2,000 every 2-3 weeks at the time, and currently such a scenario is simultaneously unimaginable and dreamed of on Hornby. Just as Raymond Williams offers reports dating back to the middle ages that the English country-side is on the brink of vanishing (1973: 1–12), what

Bunce calls “sentimentalisation” (Bunce 1994: 26), I encountered many memories of how Hornby’s best days are in the past.

However, in reality, during this time when the atrium in The Hall would be full of children in sleeping bags while parents danced (see Chapter 8), the housing crisis on Hornby was more pronounced than ever. The reasons are at the heart of Hornby’s current trouble finding viable maintenance of a more balanced society in terms of age and economics:

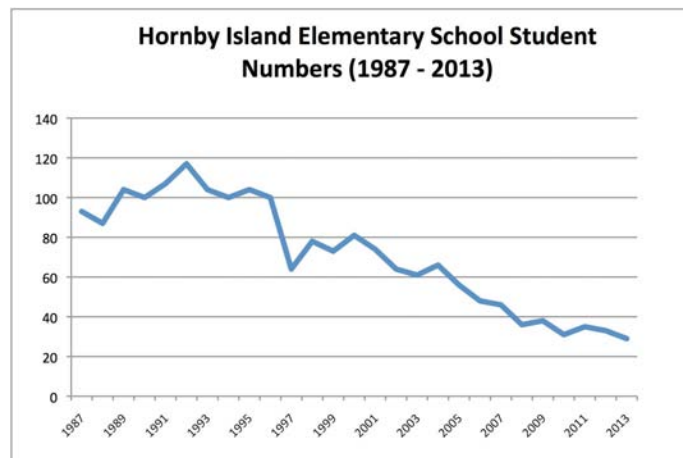


Figure 40: Stan Combs made this graph based on class photos showing the decline in school enrolment.

Yes, we had a large population in the school, and we had to build a new school. That was really exciting, and that happened mostly because retirees came and bought up the land. Well, they were not retirees at that point; they were working people, and they bought up the land for their retirement. And so they rented the places out, and so we had this population of young people and lots of kids. And that was a very happy, wonderful time, but then the retirees got to the point where they were indeed retirees, and they wanted their places back. And that of course made an awful change in the housing situation, because there was suddenly nowhere for these families that had lived for ten, 15 years, renting these houses that were now occupied by their owners. So that is still going on and it’s a very... it’s a very unfortunate situation. (P. Gordon 2013)

Since the 1980s, there have never been numerous affordable homes for sale or for rent on Hornby that lower income people might access. Demand has generally outpaced supply,

[30 years ago] there were more people, and more families, and more young families, and more of a resistance even to year-round houses being rented to those young families...It’s still the mentality here. You know how many homes are here that...are locked up for all year and the number of young families that are looking for homes!?...You’ve been one of

them, trying to find affordable housing. Of course, if you've got \$1200 a month support for rent, then you won't have a problem, but if you are struggling family and close to the \$5-600 what you can afford because minimum wage is what people get paid here, which is 12.50 hour or 15 hour, you can't afford rent over \$600 a month. (Cronia 2013)

While on the one hand people have made fortunes flipping properties, subdividing, or making strata developments, many of such individuals began with enough capital to speculate in the first place. In terms of finding rentals on Hornby, through the 1980s many land owners slowly stopped renting to Islanders, to the point where hundreds of young families simply left Hornby in the mid 1990s. "At one point, people rented. People don't really rent any more. People aren't willing to rent their houses. And now, so it's people who come here on holiday getaways and [those tourists] want Hornby to be nothing but a holiday getaway" (F. Crowe 2011). Why did a culture of renting change? Perhaps for the same reasons that people in North America are safer than ever and yet feel more fearful. However,

There was a large or a strong profile of people who were hard to house, and it wasn't that everyone was hard to house, it was that there were high-profile problems with some people, enough that most people decided, "well, we'd rather rent for \$1,500 a week in the summertime than we would for a reasonable amount monthly, and then when we come here for two weeks in the summer"...[As a response] people were living...with small children, camping, and that wasn't good either...We don't have those supports here...There weren't any kinds of safeguards for anybody...not for women and kids, and not for men or boys. Like, there was nothing, and there still is really nothing...When things do happen here, we really are on our own, you know? (Chinnery 2013)

Explanations for this period involve welfare policies from when the NDP had more power,

Cronia: I guess there was a welfare mentality: [There were] a lot of single-parent families here, I will not even say that they were all single moms..., on welfare raising their families...It was the sort of thing you could do if you wanted to stay home and raise your kids: "Move to one of the Gulf Islands, and you'll be able to do it. They'll pay your rent, you'll get dadadadah."...Within all of that, a lot of the off-Islanders that had bought homes to maybe rent, they stopped it because of the conditions that the houses were left in...Poverty affects our level of depression...and when you're depressed, you don't take care of things as you would if you are feeling better.

Author: Especially if you're parenting.

Cronia: And if you're parenting... A lot of things shut off [because of the] treatment of the homes... and never reopened. It became a standard thought by all homeowners: "Don't rent your house out to people on Hornby"... You're kicked out at the end of June or at the beginning of June, and you've got nowhere to go, so there was probably a little bit of, "well [the landlord] can clean up my mess," than trying to think [about the larger repercussions]... The real estate moguls here helped up all the rents to become unaffordable. [They knew] how much welfare would give, so they would make sure... the owners knew to be able to put it up higher, and... phase out that section. (Cronia 2013)

Wait, what just happened to my happy Hornby?

People have reliably quoted to me that perhaps 80% of the families living on Hornby in the 1980s and early 90s with children were on welfare, and this is why a school for 100 or more children was built that is now down to one classroom. Apparently the days in which it seemed like there was a strong middle-class never existed: "where did all the jobs go? It turns out there weren't any" (Chinnery 2013).

It is easy on Hornby to confuse environmentally conscious consumption patterns with the confines of poverty. Spending the summers outdoors is romantic when there is choice involved and the weather is nice, as is buying locally when the ticket to get off island is impossibly expensive. The Free Store is doubly meaningful as an index of real need and real desire for change as Lex Dominiak describes growing up on Syzygy,

[The] huge things I've learned from my dad was like, wow, you don't need your own tractor or your own chainsaw. That's actually not very sustainable... [Sustainability is] actually sharing with your neighbour, or sharing chickens with your neighbour. So I think some of that is conscious choice by people here, but I think some of it is just limited funds and limited resources that makes that necessary, and just different. (Dominiak 2013)

When I talk with people who have never really lived on Hornby, or even visited outside of the summer, they feel certain that they know Hornby to be a middle class haven where complaints about public services reflect a desire for remote affordable middle class lifestyle. It is actually a major prejudice against my research when I first explain it to people. Perhaps the first

question they raise is: “but isn’t Hornby a wealthy place?” Clearly the popular image of Hornby does not reflect that (literally) half of Hornby that makes an income that places them beneath Canada’s poverty line (Hornby Island Community Profile 2010). It’s likely that the most vocal, powerful, and visible members of Hornby’s society do have aspects of, or a complete entitled background, either through education or wealth or both, but this is not the rule. I suspect that rural poverty is generally misunderstood for similar reasons. It is not highly visible.

The reality is that many residents on Hornby currently, or have had to, move from home to home, to the outdoors, to wherever they can to remain a part of the community. At this precise moment, I am aware of roughly 10 families with children and perhaps 15 individuals who are year-round residents, and yet do not have stable and secure housing. They move twice a year at a minimum while maintaining a relatively low income and general life instability. Those who are of the middle class work tirelessly, often in trades, the service industry, the arts, probably in all of these things, just to meet their bills, and they count themselves very lucky to have semi-permanent rental space if they have any. Some of them are homeowners. For those homeowners, many “who are not rolling in money, this is how they survive: they live in a tent on the corner of their property and rent out their home [in the summer] to be able to do it” (Cronia 2013). A comparatively few people of real affluence live on the island for the entire year, from what I saw and heard in 10 months of research. When lucky, renters really do pay around \$500 a month, not including bills or wood, as we did when we lived by the sea on Downes Point, but as Cronia pointed out, wages are not such that anyone has savings to speak of.

All of this said, the community does have a surprising sense of cohesion across class lines and housing experience. Contributing community members, “have found a way to adapt their lifestyle and to embrace everybody that they might have looked down on in their other life. And

it is really a leveler. It brings us all to the same level regardless of income. Like we all have something to contribute, and that's really valued and honoured and recognized" (Wolf-Ray 2013). As someone who has lived with insecure housing for years on Hornby, Wolf-Ray's words are compelling. This concern for community well-being is part of what I find so remarkable.

Hornby's own community governance is in part directly responsible for some of the housing problems. Hornby is the only Islands Trust community that has developed special provisions to allow summer rentals that may involve kicking people out of their homes. Here is Scott Sweeney again, live on the radio,

[The home owning elite have] essentially legalized [short term rentals]. Which is interesting because the way it was occurring prior to the internet, and prior to the big push to [the internet], was that you'd have a ten month rental for the winter, at a reasonable rate of rent. It was livable, it was doable for low income people, and then you get kicked out, "Figure it out yourself, because, we've got people coming in for the summer." That process is illegal. It is illegal according to the residential tenancy act of B.C. and/or Canada. You're not allowed to kick people out of a rental to rent to people who will pay higher rent. It's against the law. It's not just a community by-law or anything. No, it's against Canadian law to do that because that's the only way you can protect poor people from being abused by rich people, or people trying to get rich by using real estate as some kind of investment portfolio crap. (Sweeney 2013)

To a certain extent, a moneyed and vocal minority on the island has come to really push for all things related to tourism. They own estates and businesses that require it, and lesser homeowners provide the housing. Sweeney went on to explain how the influence of the internet for booking vacations has fragmented the summer housing and weekly tourist scene even more, where at one time regulars would come for an entire season and provide continuity, now one can no longer be sure who is on the island for what weekend or week and to what end. This creates problems for accountability and community policing as I address elsewhere.

What is extraordinary and enviable are the rare cases when individuals with friends in high places have found some housing arrangement where they are able to live with very low

rent or no rent for most or all of the year. Finding these kinds of living situations for many Islanders are like winning the lottery. One couple I interviewed have been moving from place to place for years now, hoping to find something more manageable, but they live in hope of this dream. Again, Bee Wolf-Ray finds a positive turn for these circumstances,

When we first moved here, we lived outdoors for the first six months, and then we lived in a tiny little caravan for a year, and then we lived in another slightly less tiny caravan for four years. None of it ever involved any flush toilets or any conveniences, so we had a lot slower trajectory of [improved] standard of living. And now we live in this really nice beautiful fully convenient place in the winter. But having to leave in the summer even though it's inconvenient and a pain, it helps me feel the land again. (Panjoya and Wolf-Ray 2013)

Notice how Wolf-Ray describes living outdoors as helping her connect with the land. I too found living outdoors, long term, a profound part of life on Hornby. Not all of the housing stories on Hornby are so difficult and alienating. Another family had a landlord that actually lowered their rent after they had children.

The incredible changes in real estate have impacted all of Hornby's farmers:

Francis [Savoie, one of Hornby's older farming families] is such a good example because he bought their property for a couple of thousand. And he grows his own food and eats it, and he shoots his deer, and he eats them, and now suddenly he owns a million dollar piece of property. His income did not increase, but his land taxes skyrocketed. It went from a couple of dollars a year to, now his property is worth a couple a million...the government's not going to look at that. If you own a million dollar piece of property, you're a millionaire. You can afford the, however many grand a year it is to pay for that. Which he can't. And so there's that group. Which just wants their piece of property that they bought when it was a shitty chunk of land covered in trees on the windy coast...Of course there's people who are stoked on their property being worth it, but, land got really expensive here, four years ago....You can ask the people who are eighty and grew up here [what Hornby's identity is], and Hornby is a place where you raise your kids and grow your food. And then there's the summer people who come here for two weeks and Hornby is this beautiful place where you go and get Henna tattoos at the market [which Faron provides], and you eat twenty dollar plates of Pad Thai, and it's wonderful and everyone...is catering to you, and it means that they love you, not that this is their only two months to make money. (F. Crowe 2011)

According to Scott Sweeney, the internet impacted more than just rentals. It had a huge part to play in the explosion of prices on Hornby:

As soon as the internet hit, the “for sale” sign was global. The “come vacation” signs went global. That means that the local population had to start to compete on a global level just to live here...And therein lies one of the biggest issues that I see facing this community. (Sweeney 2013)

Knowing how difficult housing can be, I began to wonder what reasons people have for remaining a part of Hornby when they could not find affordable housing. I watched several families leave Hornby over the course of my research, and I am not aware of many replacements. The problem is complex, and produces ambiguity and even antagonism. Many owners who do not live on Hornby have yet to understand what Judith Lawrence, at eighty years, can see,

It’s very different...being a summer person from being a year-round person. I used to think [before 1991] that people were pleased to see me when I arrived at the beginning of the summer and sad to see me go. I think I was wrong. I don’t think they cared frankly. (Lawrence 2013)

Work and Sacrifice

“Welcome to my retirement.” (Various Young Islanders)

Specialization and the protestant work ethic are cited as the hallmarks of dominant economies and historical processes of modernization (Hadden 1997). Consequently, an environmental outlook might pathologize such developments as they appear to be factors that are inextricably linked to the waste products and socially destructive forces of industrialization. Island musicians do move to the city because on Hornby “you have to be a generalist...That’s a big reason for me, why I am in the city right now, is because I want to be not as much of a generalist” (Wier 2011), where a labour job will endanger your hands.

People on Hornby tend to have both specialized skills and a diverse array of equal or secondary skills. Darryl Bohn is certainly a drummer, and a caretaker of The Heron Rocks

Society grounds, but he also works at the meadery, has knowledge of how to care for sheep, is something of a carpenter, a singer, a farmer, botanist, a race car enthusiast, and painter. The fact is that people on Hornby generally derive their income from multiple streams. On top of this they tack on a variety of what people elsewhere might call hobbies, and then volunteering.



Figure 41: Daryl Bohn outside of the Heron Rocks caretaker house where he lives, checking in on his plants.

In the pursuit of these hobbies, specialization is curtailed, arguably producing a society that is less reliant on off-island expertise. One also has to be very careful to cultivate a good reputation.

Generalized skills not only improve employability, but also allow teams of people to mobilize to work together on problems. Ken Clark related how people will often comment on a particular project they may be aware a neighbour is working on, “oh yeah, just let us know when the work party is, and we’ll be there” (Clark 2011). I attended three work parties on Hornby.



Figures 42 and 43: At the Syzygy co-op on Ted Tanner's property, putting insulation up in his house (quite nice by island standards), eating pizza.

Not only do Islanders tend to work many jobs and have many hobbies, but they also volunteer their time with a whole variety of societies. This work can be a burden on time and relationships. Again, I encountered this kind of narrative about relationship strain, "the first summer we were here, people asked us, you know, "are you married?," and we'd say "yes," and they would say, "well, you won't be." " (Chinnery 2013). People speak of the pace of life on Hornby being slower, but there can be enough obligations that one can easily become as busy and burned out and emotionally unavailable as in any other place, particularly in the summer when so many people are working to attract tourists. I noticed this happen a few times in the summer when some musicians were playing too many shows and became stressed out.

"When you consider how many of us are involved in the business of running the island: well we have to, because no one else is going to do it. And living in the city, because I did for a long time, you don't have that same sense of being involved in decision making" (Lawrence 2013). Such feelings of responsibility bring out emotions and action in individuals, and processes and practices are needed to contain and transform that energy, habits like musicking. Musicking can interrupt the frustrations that come with governance, and this is needed, because frankly, discussions about the future of institutions on Hornby frequently become nasty and personal.

Nick McGowan describes Hornby's personality as "multipolar." It's remarkable to think of just how different people's experiences of work and leisure on Hornby can be,

I find that sometimes, when people first come, even when they come here on holiday, they're very much in their, like, "got to do this, got to do that," and then, all of a sudden this sense of being just is allowed to emerge, and just being and feeling what that feels like and letting their children be able to just run in the playground and not worry that somebody's going to come in and nab them away or that they can just be down at the ocean or walk in the forest and a bear's not going to come and get them...[It's] amusing

...It's the busiest time of the year, and all the locals are actually going, "oh my God, it's so busy," and [the tourists are] all going, "wow, it's so quiet here." (Rutz 2013)

Certainly, Andrea Rutz is correct, but her words do not really convey how the infusion of tourists and the demand for work and the priorities of mainland lifestyle really do become revved up and semiotically linked together for Islanders. For year-round Islanders, musicking in the summer usually offers moments of reprieve from work, and it fosters solidarity during a time when the island can seem unrecognizable. People from off island appear frantic, wearing strange clothing, obsessed over strange details, concerned about off-island life, unattached to their transactions, totally unmoored. It's no wonder that in working for these strange people, Islanders begin to dwell upon what makes tourists so confused. However, it's also interesting to note that tourists appear not to notice that Islanders feel frantic. Notions of "quiet" must be completely recalibrated to really get the feel for what Hornby Islanders think of as peaceful.

Even though it is true that specialization can be a problem on Hornby, the community will surely support any individual who wishes to pursue a passion, particularly if that passion will bring young people and jobs to the island:

When people ask me, "what's your favorite part about Hornby?" it's not the beaches, it's not many of its wonderful things. The first thing I think about is the community, because it's such a small island, and everybody takes care of each other, and everybody is very present in...what everybody else is doing, and so when people get involved in doing stuff for the community, people see it and people support it. I've told many people that have come to Hornby, "if you want to be apart of Hornby, all you've got to do is just pick something, and, everybody will support you...No matter what it is. You want to be the island hat maker or whatever, you can do it." (Martens 2011)

There's nothing here, so anything you want to do, if you're the guy that does it, then you get the jobs, or you get the business, or you get the clientele, or whatever the thing is that you set out to do. You're there. You fill the void. So people come to you. If you want to branch out and start making yoghurt, people will start coming and getting your yoghurt because you're the yoghurt guy. (Chinnery 2013)

Such possibilities make Hornby sound an ideal place for the right kind of entrepreneur. But there really is risk involved: “I don’t know how [younger Islanders] do it. I mean, I don’t know how they can make a living here” (Lawrence 2013).

Why do people continue to try to make a go of it on Hornby? “Some people come to Hornby seeking healing, and some people come to Hornby seeking a platform for change” (Martens 2011). To further answer Judith Lawrence’s question, people make a living by constantly justifying their choices, constantly confronting their needs:

My first few years on Hornby [a guy] used to have a recording studio...and he said this thing which became my classic Hornby quote because he came from Toronto. He said, “you know when I first came to Hornby I thought it was like moving from life in the fast lane to life in the slow lane. Little did I know it’s really life in the oncoming lane.” Because you have to keep choosing. You have to keep choosing your life. You can’t just fall into a groove or a pattern or get up and go to work every day and live between the cracks. On Hornby you really have to take responsibility for your choices. And other people are doing the same thing, and it’s a really interesting culture that is very different from anywhere else. (Wolf-Ray 2013)

Not a few musicians choose Hornby because it provides them with the time and focus they need to actually dig in to their instruments.

Many hard working Islanders claim that there are always jobs to do for those willing to actually do work. Many people simply choose to work a 20 hour week with what they prefer to do. However, keeping Cronia’s observation in mind, good work that pays better than minimum wage for what can be intense labour, is at times scarce: “there is a three month period here in the winter where, yah, good luck finding work” (O’Hearn 2011), and if we take O’Hearn’s testament to heart, making ends meet is a challenge. Raising a family would seem quite a task.

How does my description in Section II so far complicate the classic North American “back-to-the-land utopian movement” narrative I offered in Section I? Hopefully my reader now feels a certain apprehension towards imagining Hornby as ideal. Those locals who have made

their lives on the island certainly do not fit the stereotypical profile of hapless idealists, and yet, there is evidence that some of them once did. I will not say that on Hornby the “tune-in and drop-out” generation realized they would be the ones to get regular jobs and further the capitalism and privatization they once hated, but they have shifted their expectations for revolution.

What about Nancy Nesbit’s claims for building a log cabin and planting vegetables on page 48? Hornby is certainly a remote place and far from urban space and office jobs. Clearly people built the log cabins she recommends, but things do not appear to have turned out as she imagined, at least on Hornby. Perhaps she was thinking of California where the sun always shines. However, there are remarkable human achievements of community and patterns of environmental habit that Hornby has fostered, and so it is hardly dystopia.

Ferries and Denman

Cannon: The cost of going off-island is a bit of a hassle. Because when we first came to the island, when we were young, you bought a little book of tickets, like this, little strips of orange paper. It cost \$2.50 for the whole book.

Author: Oh, my goodness. Come on. [\$60-80 is now a regular round trip fare for a car with people in it]

Cannon: Yes. When you came back from town [Courtenay] you only had to have a few pennies in your pocket, and you could get home. Now, if your card is out of money, you need \$100 [\$118 at the present rate]...At that time [the ferries were] part of the highway. The ferries were highways, so you had to get home. When the big ferries went on strike, we could still get home, because this was a highway. And the cost was minimal. We used to go off-island once a week because there was no easy way to do laundry here, and vegetable supply at The Co-op, in the winter vegetables and bread and stuff was minimal, so you went off-island once a week. You got to go to the big city, did your laundry, you went swimming, did some grocery shopping, and you paid \$2.50 for your tickets.

(Cannon 2013)

Denman residents do not appreciate being the drive to get to Hornby. They especially do not appreciate those who speed down the back route through Denman to try and beat some of the ferry line-up. They don’t like the thousands of visitors that cross their island twice each week

during the summer months. They resent the line-ups they have to deal with because Hornby Islanders have decided through their own autonomous governing bodies and social networks to pursue its reputation as a place for tourism. There is rather a great deal of venom reserved for people on Hornby with respect to these issues.

From Hornby Islander's perspective Denman is close enough to the big island for people to pursue jobs in Comox and so Denman Islanders are perceived as comparatively cushy in their tastes. They do not have a thriving farmers market, or a cooperative store. They have two community halls, representing the split between their back-to-land and already-have-land needs. Significant portions of Denman have been clear-cut despite rather ugly opposition. "It's an interest in your fellow Islanders, and you can feel that we're nothing to do with Denman. I mean maybe a few things. There's the odd connection. But, in general, it's as though we're not actually attached to anything. [Hornby's] like a very separate kind of place" (Smith 2013).

Both of these communities are now becoming party to the great experiment of the world's longest ocean-faring cable ferry, stretched from the big island to Denman. The decision to try this model is just one of the consequences of the privatization of BC ferries and their drive to produce greater efficiencies and income. Originally, the idea of the cable ferry was sold as a vessel that would be able to work with fewer staff and less fuel, saving the company millions. It remains to be seen if this will in fact save any money at all.

Some Islanders on Denman and Hornby are absolutely livid. They do not trust that the cable ferry will work in high winds, that it will not break from its cable and be set adrift into the ocean with no motor, that it will receive reliable servicing, and that the unique docks it will require are going to work with potential replacement ferries when the cable ferry breaks down. If there is an upside, some Islanders express that with the increase in fares, the decline of tourism,

and the riskiness of their new cable ferry, it is possible that property prices will drop. Of course, those who depend on tourism are not happy about these prospects. Others are entirely unconcerned with the new ferry and feel sure it will prove suitable if not an improvement.

BC Ferries have recently come under rather significant scrutiny from the Union of BC Municipalities who have produced a detailed report that suggests the private enterprise has lost the province billions of dollars in poor management and in increasing ferry fees. BC Ferries complains that they have an entire fleet to replace, and that these costs necessitate their high fares. However, it seems likely that as fares have climbed, sometimes over 100% in the last 10 years, ridership has declined indicating a death spiral involving declining tourism and increasing fares. Islanders speculate that these processes are actually planned strategies to fragment island society and weaken tourism and wilderness protection so that big oil and coal can more successfully and easily ship to global consumers from the coast.

Ferry costs are one of the important reasons why people have been leaving the islands. Like the discussions of how real estate costs have changed dramatically, ferries costs are tied to the same sense of bad luck and exploitation in public discourse. In many ways, these ferries represent how vulnerable Hornby Island really is. In an emergency situation, Islanders would not be able to last long on what food is on Hornby.



Figure 44 and Figure 45: The difference in font announcing Denman and Hornby says it all.

In the last ten years, a new tradition started down at the Thatch. At the last extra sailing of the summer season, people began gathering at the ferry to watch the final boatload of tourists leave. Eventually there was music, a waving crowd, naked streakers on a boat, and the ferry captain began spinning donuts and firing off their water cannons on the way from Hornby to Denman. Islanders are not in agreement as to whether or not the party is about telling the tourists to go back where they came from, or about simply celebrating the end of the chaos. What is remarkable is that one can look around at this party and recognize most of the people there, where as in the previous weeks, it was hard to tell where year-round Islanders had disappeared to. Increasingly, tourists have been extending their stay a day or two longer past the party so that they might see the celebration themselves.



Figure 46, Figure 47, and Figure 48: Inside the packed Thatch, Roy Slack’s band plays away, and outside the ferry spins donuts while people wave and shout and watch from the deck, beach, and pier.

Police

Imagine all these huge jock-beach dudes pulling up in trucks full of 2-4s and screaming, “yeah, we’re partying on Hornby!” (S. Crowe 2011)

Some people think of the Hornby as a sort of...Fort Lauderdale. (Wolf-Ray 2013)

Klone: How many times have people tied up somebody and taken them down to the ferries and told them they were never allowed to come back?

Clark: And gave um a good smack.

Klone: And duck-taped em.

Clark: Cuz we don’t have police nine months of the year.

Klone: Ducktape their hands to their back, and ducktape their mouth and drop them off at the ferry.

Clark: So there is a lot of self-policing.

Klone: Yeah, lots of self-policing. I remember living in this house, and there was a cabin out back, and the landlord’s daughter and her boyfriend were up—I was pregnant with Cassidy at the time—and [the boyfriend] was beating her. And the whole neighborhood came and started knocking on our door. And we were sound asleep. We were like “what’s goin on?” They’re like, “ohh, it’s not you?” So they took the guy to the first ferry and kicked him off, and he was never allowed to come back. (Klone and Clark 2011)

The presence of visibly armed police in uniform on Hornby is disturbing. Walking around the market circle which is right next to the RCMP station, their guns could not appear more out of place, a totally absurd black and blue against giant douglas firs, deep green woods, tie-dyed tourists, sporty outdoor lycra bike and swim wear, and locals. I noticed the quality of their uniforms like never before. Yet in the last decade and more, events have led Islanders to admit that not all problems can be handled on the island. Just as Islanders realized that keeping all of Hornby’s waste on the island was not going to prevent people from over-consuming, preventing the realistic capacity of Islanders to close that loop (see Chapter 5), so they realized that partying, vandalism, and outside influences have become out of hand. Hornby has a

reputation as a place for not just extraordinary natural beauty, but as a place to party hard during summer holidays. The summer transformation literally renders society unrecognizable.



Figures 49 and 50: “And then you end up with the people who want to put gates on all the beaches so people don’t go down past nine o’clock at night cuz, this is their holiday, and that’s what it’s like in Vancouver. So you need gates on our beaches too” (F. Crowe 2011). Signage like this “Horny 4 Hornby” actually appears absurd when the summer season is over. Yet, locals are also grateful for police intervention when tourists get out of control.

Police actually tend to be very cooperative with locals, but can have a hard time distinguishing between locals having a safe party and off-Islanders who may be out of control. I have actually witnessed naked Islanders cover for tourists who were camped out on public beaches, just trying to have a fun experience on Hornby that does no real harm, explaining to Police that they hadn’t seen any campers. There are a minority of people who are determined to see Hornby attract the right kind of tourists who would never consider the joys of sleeping in tents and getting by on what one can, but rather prefer to tour the vineyards. Young drifting tourists tend to come to the attention of the police whether or not they are committing any offenses, but then, these people are difficult to distinguish in the summer.

Tony Law, as a park employee, relates some amazing stories about having to confront partiers on Big Trib (beach) who are drinking and/or are ignoring a fire-ban. The experience for him can go well, but it can also be harrowing if people are out of control, particularly if the fire

department has to show up and forcibly put out the fire. Of late, it would seem the high ferry fees and long line-ups are making it more difficult for some partiers to get to the island, and the police presence has intensified to even include ATVs on the beaches, having an appreciable effect.

Being an authority is not always as daring and risky as Klone and Clark depict it at the start of this subsection, and the tone of their feelings about vigilante justice is quite nuanced and humorous, as one tends to translate difficult past events into something more manageable. At rare times the volunteer firefighters who are the first responders to any situation including any medical call are astonishingly disrespected by locals and tourists. Currently they work in a structurally unsound and mouldy facility that will be replaced in the coming years, but they faced an incredible amount of scrutiny from a vocal minority for trying to improve their capacities and compensation for servicing the community. Some Islanders have treated their requests for a new facility with great suspicion, after 15 years of study and debate! Admittedly, modernizing Hornby's firefighting capabilities is not cheap, but the anti-authoritarian vitriol on the island can be overwhelming, a lovely slice of utopian truth-telling.⁴³

Ultimately, Hornby Island is an incredible safe place to live, however, it is important to note that feelings about tourism on Hornby go well beyond its economic impact, its significance to the housing problem, but they also include a history of violence and abuse perpetrated by off-Islanders. Simultaneously, community policing on Hornby Island goes far beyond the conventions of authority one would expect to encounter elsewhere in North America. Rumour, public shaming, interventions, mental health work, trail monitoring, all of these processes and

⁴³ While 92% of the island voted "yes" for a new firehall, the extreme divisiveness of the online debate seemed to indicate more significant disagreement.

more form policing on Hornby as violence and abuse appears equally perpetrated by on-Islanders (Chinnery 2013).

Tourists and Developers

It's good to see all the people come in and bring their money [while Islanders] wait on them hand and foot...but then it is such an influx of lifestyle that it makes it totally imbalanced...I think if it was a little bit more even all year long, it would benefit the community in a big way because they would become more self-sufficient, and the land costs would go down because...it wouldn't be such a tourist destination. (Wier 2011)

In the summer time when our island feels like it is being taken over by other people...we feel like we have got to be kind of a little bit crazy. And if we're flamboyant it's just to break people out of their shells to remind other people that they could live life with like, enthusiasm...Just to show, "hey, you can say no to the general consensus if you don't agree. Because that's what we do. And we're not about to change just because all you people are here. We are trying to keep it real." (Martens 2011)

It is a theme park isn't it?...We don't sell tickets on the ferry for the rides you want to go on but...just check the box that you want. Seagulls, sea lions, you want to see the orcas...And once they're in the theme park, they kind of look on...the residents that they interact with publicly...as the ride operators. And they feel totally free to ask the person in the post office why their water isn't working. (Cannon 2013)

The tourists on Hornby can be just hilarious, exactly what is needed, and a danger to themselves and others. I have watched any number of Islanders sit and quietly listen to tourists explain to them how things really work on Hornby Island, what Hornby really needs (yes, some irony here for me too!). Everyone has a theory of Hornby. Everybody is an expert, a researcher, and feel the urge to explain Hornby's existence. Tourists bring vital energy to Hornby. Islanders see this, and there is always the hope that some tourists may be converted to consider living on Hornby. Believe me, the entire community can get in on it.

I suspect there is something about the contrast between the remote experience that tourists have, perhaps renting cabins without amenities or even tenting, and the quality of the entertainment they receive while visiting that is particularly dramatic. I get the feeling that for

some tourists, seeing high quality live music in what they feel is a far away place has some of the pleasure that one experiences when pulling out a beer at the top of some isolated mountain, sneaking an indulgence into what feels like privation.⁴⁴

Though it would seem Hornby has made more effort to encourage tourism than any other Gulf Island, it also appears that this drive for change in focus has been led by a minority of voices in the community who happen to also benefit greatly from tourism. There are also plenty of people who would like to see all the tourists leave, now. They would see an end to summer rentals and greater restrictions placed on communal organizations that promote tourism with the community's tax dollars. New Islanders come from the city and appear to see Hornby as a place for opportunity and development, but "progress" on Hornby is difficult:

Klone: You know those four corners where you come in beside The Co-op? People from the city want to build this huge structure and have more things...[so there would be] The Co-op, gas-bar, the nursery and *the plaza*...

Clark: Haven't you always wanted to walk through a village?

Klone: But then, Hornby just right away was like, "are you kidding?"...So that was a huge thing and The Islands Trust, apparently the whole community...The Hall was packed and you couldn't even get in it about people saying no... (Klone and Clark 2011)

Klone and Clark are speaking about The Four Corners development project, a hot topic in 2009, and a proposal that was ultimately rejected by the community. The project proposed "affordable" housing at around \$300,000 per condo unit, but the community could not see how these small homes would cater to their actual housing needs, and, in fact, they saw them as designed for tourist rentals. There are some wonderful letters on the issue available through the Islands Trust,

The Co-op corner is already overburdened with human activity, and if that 4th corner were to be given over to such a citified set of structures, I think the balance in that area of the island would be irretrievably shifted toward an urban sensibility. This will only encourage city attitudes, people moving to Hornby expecting all the conveniences and

⁴⁴ The photo in Figure 77 in Chapter 8 was taken during one such moment.

infrastructures they are used to in more developed areas, where the struggle to preserve a balance with nature has long since been lost. There is plenty of room for this kind of development in centres already given over to the domination of the human being, but I think the very existence of the Islands Trust speaks to the unique nature of the small islands as separate from the main concourse of human folly. I think there is room on Hornby for some kind of densification in the way of a true eco-village, but I don't believe this proposal offers any solutions to the challenge of how we will live more lightly on the earth. (Horner 2009)

People are already dissatisfied with the current degree of development on Hornby.

It has gotten bigger over the years. Like, The Co-op is bigger. They just re-did all of The Ring-side. They built that huge gas bar. Which a lot of people aren't happy about. That nursery never used to be a nursery. It was just like, in the woods, and that's where, like I said earlier, all the naked hippies would be. (Klone 2011)

Ultimately the community still dreams of a different kind of society they might build:

I'd like things to be simpler and cheaper, and that families could live here and flourish, and that there would be lots of kids and there would be a real community of a very diverse amount of people, because that's what it was more like in those earlier years...I don't spend too much time concerning myself with those kind of issues, because I can't change that kind of stuff. (Wilson 2013)⁴⁵

A newer more disturbing trend includes an ultra-wealthy class of islanders who are able to circumvent the Islands Trust through their ability to threaten destructive litigation.

How might we consider facing the mentality of those spreading "citized sets of structures" all over the world? Tourism is costing locals the control of their island. I cannot yet see a comprehensive response that Islanders are taking to deal with their demographic and ultimately environmental problem. This may be where musicking enters. It may seem a small response to such a large issue, but that is not what my research participants and experience tell me. Quite the opposite, musicking appears to be one of Hornby's most vital institutions for dealing with struggle and for attracting new Islanders to trade in their aspirations for a different

⁴⁵ Tony Wilson is being modest. He has contributed to the Island Secure Land Association (ISLA) as a board member to help secure the kind of housing and community he desires.

culture, one that currently resists erosion because, “boy, if you had no music, and we’re trying to deal with, you know, the world the way it is now, it would be pretty darn grim” (Rabena 2013).

Mental Health

I...grew up around...[Quadra Island] with a bunch of... alcoholics. Half of them didn’t even have windows in the house...Heroin all over the place, right? (Atkinson 2013)

Well of course there’s that massive history of the draft dodgers coming here...They didn’t want to kill people, certainly not babies with napalm...The ones that are here, some of them are damaged, and they need to be here, because this is more of a safe haven. (Smith 2013)

In a crowded place in the city, I am the freak, because I can’t engage...Whereas I thrive out here...When we don’t have power...That’s really challenging. It’s survival challenging for some people...And it’s not even the “natural” world. (Chinnery 2013)

As November approaches after the summer, mental health issues are aggravated for Islanders, “there’s domestic violence...like there is anywhere, except that we don’t have...police, so what do you [do]?...We don’t have less [violence]...and there has been a community rejection of any kind of policing.” (Chinnery 2013). In particular, Chinnery lists off the challenges low income Islanders face, with inadequate heating, decaying homes, loss of work, ill health, and the ease with which one can fall into rumination and isolation. Electricity, heating, plumbing, these things fail on a regular basis, and preparation for dealing with and handling these issues are skills some people have not developed. “What isn’t acknowledged here is the depth of the problem...that you would only see if you were working at the medical clinic or if you were working at The Co-op, or in another public place” (Chinnery 2013).

The anti-authoritarianism and anti-intellectualism that was part of counter culture movement thrives on the island. It can create problems for the community when systemic issues arise,

The culture of high tolerance for antisocial behaviour is one of Hornby's greatest weaknesses.⁴⁶ We saw the death of Tempest Grace Gale as the direct result of people not reporting the aggressive actions of the suspect weeks before her death [see Chapter 7.2]. We recently had two of our fire fighters...have an axe thrown at them when attending a call...Mental illness has been a factor, but behaviour disorders are much more prevalent...On a positive note, there has been a very strong desire to support people in crisis [with limited success]...On the other hand, some of the "kitchen table" interventions have been entirely helpful and just what was needed. Knowing when helpers are out of their depth is the stumbling block. (Chinnery, email 2015)

My reader encounters shadows of this subject throughout the dissertation. Recall Faron Crowe's, Smith's, and Martens' words about coming to Hornby in need of a refuge for healing. Note Silas Crowe's insistence that musical happenings are what get him, and he feels the community at large, through the winter, "bringin us together" (Crowe 2011). Many people come to Hornby to get away from it all, but people also do become stuck, or, being stuck on Hornby is all they know. Almost everyone I spoke to who had moved to the island not to retire, but to spend their youth and middle years, described how, home owner or not, they took a huge pay cut from their previous options, and now live on somewhere between \$10,000 and \$30,000 a year. The joke is that you move to Hornby, and, then you spend your savings, and then you do not have enough money to leave.⁴⁷

There are people willing to make this move, and when they do, they share that same commitment with other Islanders, eschewing the aims of the middle class. They take on the health of their community, and it is a real challenge, but it is one that is also full of rewards:

It's not utopia. It really isn't, but on the other hand it really is. It's as utopian as it can get, but you have to be prepared to accept that there is profound darkness here and everywhere. Happiness is not a...state that's [permanent]. You don't just come here and

⁴⁶ Jules Platt notes that she feels Tempest would have objected to being tied to a need to lower tolerance for antisocial behaviour. Quite the opposite, Jules feels Tempest would call it a strength of the community, and possibly argue that it has saved more lives than have been lost (2015 phone). As Platt says, one result of Tempest's death was fear, something she would never want the community to base transformation from.

⁴⁷ Even as I write this, I should point out that most people love being on Hornby and for them the sacrifice is small.

get happy. You don't just move here and be happy because you're here, so you have to work with it. (Chinnery 2013)

That work is for many Islanders, informed in a healthy measure by musicking, a calling to provide the party and move positive vibrations so that Islanders can respond to their emotional, mental, and physical crises, even to those larger changes in society Islanders work to address through their living and choices. In a community that is so very sensitive to social and environmental trends, they need musicking to keep them going, but they also need each other.

Chapter 5: Input and Output

As far as environment, people here talk more than they do...(Corrigan 2014)

In this chapter I detail some of the waste cycles on the island, and how Islanders imagine culture and environment feeding each other with respect to the material world. Islanders pride themselves on their gardens, their farms, their local goods, and their willingness to consider the life cycles of more-than-human realities. Islanders encounter significant problems in their struggles with the mainland as they face regulations and management and larger governing structures beyond their local control. They are troubled by their inability to be self-sufficient. This chapter highlights the distance between Hornby and the mainland, the internal focus of Islanders, but also the vulnerability of Hornby's community and its sustainable aspirations.

Waste Cycle

Some people come to Hornby, and they have nothing, and The Free Store provides them with a complete working house. Campers come to Hornby, and they go up to The Free Store, and they get everything they need to live healthfully...Rather than shitting in the woods, they shit in a bucket they got at The Free Store...It really supports reusing, which is way better than recycling...It supports a good time, just going up there and hanging with your friends...being conscious of what's going into the dump, because you have to go there and dump it in front of all your friends...everybody sees how much stuff you're putting in the garbage...(Martens 2011)

You know, vehicles buzzing down [past the farm to Ford's Cove] for coffee, one person in a vehicle. It's not sustainable. (P. Gordon 2013)

Talking about sustainability, recycling, and reuse is a favourite Hornby pastime. People not only dream but actually work towards energy and transportation independence with the Hornby Island Community Economic Enhancement Corporation Energy and Transportation Steering Group, one of many such associations of ordinary and yet extraordinary volunteer effort. Islanders are quite proud of their waste management services, where they are able to

recycle or reuse some 70% of their waste stream. The success of The Free Store in particular is quite remarkable. People bring donations and “shop” for free, like a thrift store with no cash registers. With consistent visits and perseverance an individual can easily outfit a home, or a wooded camp as we did with random adequate furniture. There are many books to choose from, many CDs (though these are pored over by radio DJs), stacks of magazines, a variety of appliances including TVs, bikes...I have even seen an entire fabrics loom in working order, surely an expensive purchase, free for the taking. There are clothes to outfit oneself with for most any season, and not infrequently the clothes are practically brand new. Having acquired three top notch espresso machines worth hundreds of dollars, one friend felt compelled to bring two back. One can find windows, wood, doors, all the scraps from construction jobs.

Sorting one’s recycling on Hornby is as I have heard tell of only from Europe, where there are specific bins for every recyclable product, each cap, piece of foil, each kind of liquid container. Several dedicated workers assist by helping people sort their recyclables properly while monitoring correct distribution; while off-Islanders are perhaps skilled in differentiating only plastic, paper, metal, and glass. There is organic composting available as well. In order to dump actual trash, people have to pay per bag, though there are smaller fees for “kitchen bags” as many people do not produce enough trash to warrant garbage bags. Larger waste items are also sorted on site, like mattresses. Metals and wood have their own bins, and hazardous wastes are carefully managed and removed each week on a dedicated ferry trip, which no one may share.

With the radio blaring across the transfer station, and community members pulling in and out with their cars, the scene is a real hang and meet-up point. People catch all the weekly gossip

and show up at predictable times. As Martens suggested, some measure of public shaming invariably impacts those who are gratuitously wasteful.

Making a trip to the free store is part of many people's weekly or bi-weekly routines. People come to treat it like shopping. With growing kids, there is always a chance some new item might be found. Given the high rates of turn over at the free store, where clothes are sent away to other non-profits if they do not cycle in the community, people like to "shop" regularly. One is often stopped by others on the island to inform the wearer, "hey, that used to be my dress." Tourists in particular enjoy visiting the space and leaving and taking things. The best season for shopping at the free store seems to be right before the summer tourism scene really hits, in late June. By then, wealthy Islanders have returned and have begun leaving their nicer things, some of them storing them up over the year in cities to bring and leave on Hornby.

The Free Store is an essential community service on the island providing free access to needed household goods and clothing. Dress on Hornby is casual but with function. Many people repair and work with clothing. There are regular fashion shows. It is difficult to find woolen clothing at The Free Store because it is used for felting. One can find brand new clothing from one of a few small dealers who sell what might be grossly generalized as new-agey hippiesh clothing. People do have more formal clothing and love to dress up, but as often as not, such articles come out to parody the wealthy. For example, on May Day, Islanders celebrate by dressing up, preferably in linens, to lampoon the economically elite.

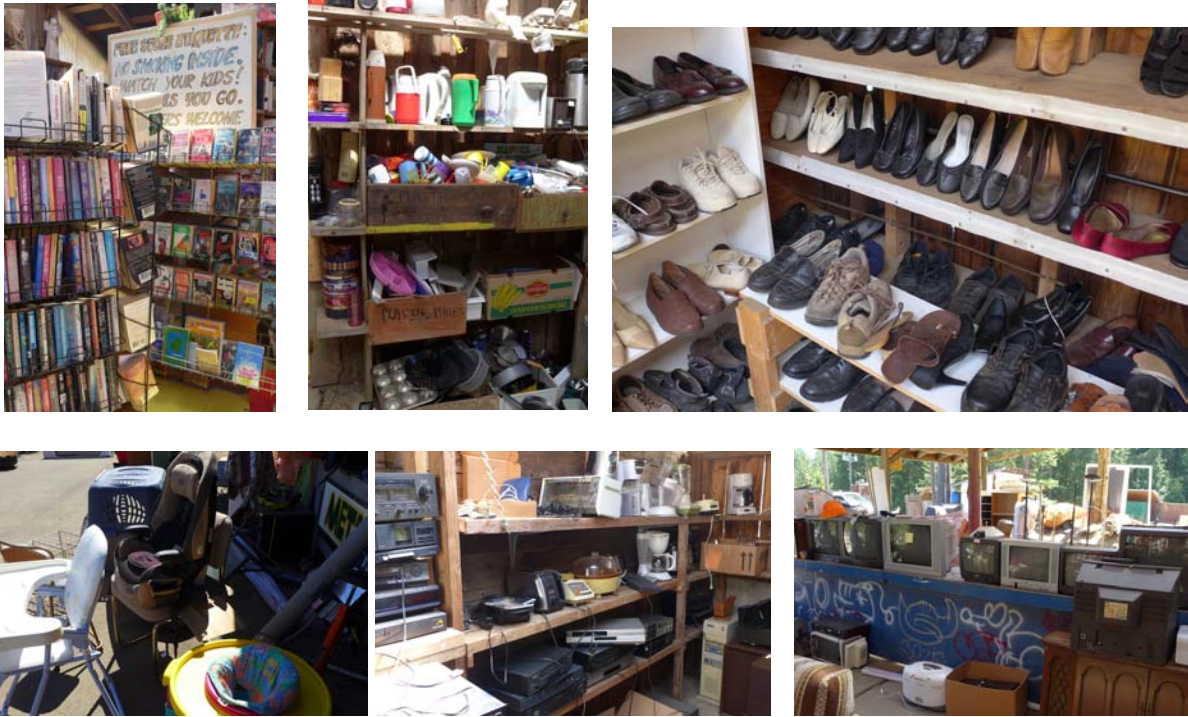
One will also occasionally find essential oils, soaps, supplements, and other products at The Free Store. Islanders have struggled to maintain control over The Free Store as off-island regulatory bodies have no precedents for managing the kind of services The Free Store. For example, though the gate to the transfer station is locked, one can always walk up the hill to The

Free Store, which is left open, a problem for liability. Like in many thrift shops I have visited elsewhere, older women appear to do the majority of the volunteering at The Free Store to sort and hang clothing while trying very hard to keep things as organized as possible.

In my experience with an infant and in a community with other young families, The Free Store often served more like a library than a store. Large ticket items such as high chairs and play-saucers are “borrowed” for the short time a family needs them, then returned. At one gathering there were parents from four other families who commented that our son’s play-saucer has once been in their home and used by their child. The same could be said for certain highly-recognizable items of children’s clothing that circulated through multiple island families, always returned to The Free Store to be ready for the next “owner.” This practice furthers semiotic density and thick signification (as discussed in Chapter 1).

The Free Store also serves as a type of community storage. For people living with limited income, in small spaces, or moving twice a year, it makes more sense to share possessions with the community, and just borrow them as needed. For example, instead of owning an entire set of camping dishes and storing them to use once or twice a year, one can just go to the Free Store before a camping trip, take what s/he needs, then return it to community storage upon return. The same could be said of seasonal items such as beach toys.





Figures 51: Inside The (now old) Free Store: clothing, for adults and kids, electronics and appliances, books, kitchenware, furniture, and shoes.



Figures 52: These are images of The Free Store, **Figure 53:** The Recycling Centre, **Figure 54:** The Garbage Station, **Figure 55:** and what the entire facility is called, The Hornby Island Recycling Depot.

Consumable Habits

Yes, it's a very great asset to be farm-raised. I mean, if you suddenly take up farming, the amount that you have to learn is incredible. But if you grow up with it, kids, they just absorb it, yes. (P. Gordon 2013)

I think certain drugs have always played a big role in Hornby Island and its culture. Through the hippie movement, through the people who live here now year-round, and, I think in a big way the people who kept doing those drugs stayed more the same than the people who stopped, and got proper jobs. (Wier 2011)

Aside from the local, wild, and seasonal consumable residents I describe in Chapter 6 that contribute to Hornby diets, most Islanders keep a garden, and many of them are quite extensive. People grow all manner of predictable vegetables. Deer are particularly challenging to keep out, and the more inexpensive route to protect one's crop is to use cedar beach logs (illegally claimed from the beaches that are generally overburdened with them—a tricky job when tourists are around and one is blazing away with a chainsaw) as posts and old fish netting as fencing. Many people keep extra freezers in which to store their harvests, and canning is a talent and shared skill worthy of an annual contest at the Fall Faire.

The Co-op store has the difficult task of managing the food the community says it wants and the food the community appears to consume, and this is a trying affair, especially when tourists move through the island with their own needs. The variety of goods in The Co-op is extraordinary. People purchase memberships to The Co-op, and once a month can make a discounted purchase. Most normal goods one might like are available, however, the price of food is, as Rachelle Chinnery described (2013), similar to shopping for vegetables at 7-Eleven. However, though The Co-op has had many struggles, it is well loved and supported. Fords Cove has also grown considerably in years, and they carefully offer groceries at competitive prices or in varieties that The Co-op does not carry.



Figure 56: This view is to the entrance to Hornby's Co-op, its grocery, general, and hardware store from The Ring-side Market where there are various small shops.

While the entire island was once devoted to farming, logging, and fishing, now only three full time farm operations exist that offer produce at The Co-op and the farmer's market when open. Two operations are organic, and the other uses conservative industrial practices. Bouquets of local flowers are a favourite purchase. Hornby has one primary chicken farm that regularly culls their flock and sells fresh meat: vacuumed packed, fresh, or frozen the next day. A number of people on the island also raise sheep, goats, and cows, slaughter their own animals, and keep meat in chest freezers. Home spun wool and wool garments are a favourite product at the market, likely produced at Fabricators, an entire building dedicated to spinning, weaving, and fibre arts.

People tend to make various private arrangements to source local eggs and raw milk, though there are a few people with farm stands and deposit boxes using the honour system. While there was a time when people would sell eggs at the farmer's market and milk at The Co-op, increasing oversight and regulation from governmental bodies has curtailed the practice. Prepared food at the market may only be cooked in one of Hornby's few certified kitchens by

people who have taken food safety exams. The community appears to be mobilizing on these issues, “I think there is a pretty clear consensus among Islanders that [urban centralized regulation] shouldn’t apply. And it doesn’t really work here, and that there is a group cohering to want to protest it and do something about it” (Wolf-Ray 2013).



Figure 57: Here are Reuben Wier and Brett Martens at the farmer’s market, busking, playing gypsy jazz. The market is essentially a path that forms a circle in a wooded area between the normally vacant RCMP station and the community built health facility.

The Ring-side Market outside The Co-op also hosts a variety of clothing shops, an ice cream and coffee shop, two restaurants, a bookstore, a real estate office, and a variety of pottery from most of the island’s potters. Nearby there is also a caravan trailer where artwork and crafts are sold. Across the street from The Co-op is a summer farm stand that carries fresh fruits and

vegetables from the Okanagan. A family travels back and forth from this region each week. Their business is somewhat controversial in that they compete with local farmers.

Along with home-brew and stills, people also grow their own marijuana for recreation and sometimes for medicinal use. While some might expect that there are commercial aims for growers, I am told that off-island growers offer too much competition. Those who really enjoy smoking tend to also enjoy growing their own for their own consumption. It's hard to say how many people smoke on the island, but it's safe to say that many do. As in many places I have lived in B.C., people are quite generous with their smoking practices, and there is no pressure to join in. People tend to smoke socially. Some people make a habit of taking care when children are around to remove their smoking from the children's experience, however, on Hornby, children are generally exposed to a comparatively large amount of substance use beyond alcohol unless their parents are very careful about controlling their children's experiences, and here I am thinking of Faron Crowe's descriptions of raves at Joe King in Chapter 8. As elsewhere, tobacco smokers are well represented, particularly at performances, hanging out between songs and set-breaks, and sharing coffees at The Ring-side Market. Occasionally, Hornby residents will come home to find their marijuana crops destroyed or confiscated, but I have never heard of anyone being fined. Helicopter patrols can be quite intense, with low flying and loud machines, with what appear to be army soldiers, essentially terrorizing the community. Harder drugs are also available, and when an addiction becomes particularly problematic, there are few if any on-island resources people can turn to. Such problems are at once highly visible and totally invisible where the "live and let live" mentality pervades. Additionally, with Hornby's aging population, there appears to be a good deal of pharmaceutical drugs moving through the island's older community.

Wireless, Smart Meters, Cell Phones, Jet Streams, Microwaves, Vaccines, Ley Lines, and other “Exposures”

On Hornby Island one will inevitably encounter ideas about conspiracy, secret societies, government abuse of power, and risk management with respect to exposure to specific environmental contaminants. Rather than attempt to address the validity of any of these issues, I would like to propose that there are definite outcomes associated with rejecting a null hypothesis: that most of these conspiracies, like the precautionary principle, already have value and develop value in unexpected ways. Such value is based often based in quite practical experiences.

For example, microwaves involve much more efficient use of energy and time to heat up food,⁴⁸ cooking fresh food in an iron cast pan promotes a healthy diet, a slow approach to food, and can contribute to a more social food experience. Microwaves represent a kind of consumption, matched with a fridge and stove, another appliance for the landfill, an aesthetic of clutter and waste. Some Islanders do without not only microwaves, but also fridges, and toasters because their solar panels cannot support them. They may not have room in their houses for the devices, and they are dismissed as part of a larger approach to consumptive behaviour.

Whether or not cellphones will give you cancer, they are a cancer on being present and being social with the environment one is experiencing in real time. Jet streams may or may not be releasing mood-altering particles into the atmosphere, but I have to say, on Hornby, there are times when a beautiful blue sky, over the course of an hour, will become totally over-run with aesthetically invasive blooming straight white lines from jets. It happened often enough that one could not help but feel these machines were set about precisely to menace and ruin the day for “the hippies.” The military power they suggest is a constant reminder of our wanton violence, and whatever they are releasing into the environment, at the very least, it seems safe to believe

⁴⁸ Long gone are the days of actually trying to cook entire meals in microwaves, right?

that it cannot be beneficial, and planes run on fossil fuels anyway. When one can clearly see the night sky, one can also clearly see the absurd number of satellites circling above. It is hard not to note them and feel observed, just as the jet streams remind one of the ever-present potential of death from above.

Mandatory smart meter installation has been a PR disaster for politicians and BC Hydro. With astonishing contempt for the public, BC Hydro moved ahead with huge investments to retrofit the power grid at the consumer level without considering how portions of BC's population might react. Unsurprisingly, all up and down the West Coast communities organized to oppose what was framed as an invasion of private property and forced exposure to wireless technology that has not been evaluated over the long term. By tying up BC Hydro in a variety of legal problems, citizens have stalled the roll out of these new investments, costing BC Hydro huge sums of money. Smart Meters appear to offer the benefit of running a more efficient power grid, but they also offer a wonderful opportunity to screw the virtual monopoly over BC's power. I read some of the letters that protestors would receive. They were just amazing in their contempt for the consumer, and their total lack of understanding about how to pitch the "upgrade" to their customers. On Hornby, about 20% of the homes and businesses have held out, with people carefully posting multiple notices near their homes, people reporting the presence of installers on the island (who would sneak in when people were away to do the retrofit), and one individual who supplied Islanders with the means to secure their old meters with metal so that they could not be retrofitted without great risk to the installer. Letters from BC Hydro would promise efficiency by eliminating jobs, but in a place like Hornby, people want things to be inefficient and as human as possible. They want a person to look at their meter, perhaps live on the island and have a job doing so.

Many of Hornby's children and residents are unvaccinated. There are many reasons why people do this. There were a variety of approaches to the issue, and not all parents and individuals were at all unwilling to consider vaccination under particular circumstances, but given where they were living and what people seemed to be exposed to, people made calculated choices. With vaccines, people seem to keep quiet about their decisions, yet, as with any issue like this, there are many people who have carefully found their positions over time and will often raise them.

All of these issues are taken quite seriously by Islanders. Taken in sum they are expressions of state-led mainland intervention into the private lives of Islanders. The intensity is beyond mere anti-intellectualism. Though I believe they receive too much attention relative to any number of other problems Islanders face, these issues do make up an important aspect of life on Hornby, where people are always on the look out for one more way Babylon is going to get you down—even if such an objection is now voiced with suitable reflexivity—and yet also, the articulation of a careful choice to opt-out.

Local Objects, Local Deeds

People on Hornby will fill their homes and lives with the works and possessions of other Islanders. People who shop at The Free Store will inevitably end up eating with each other's cutlery. A child will surely have a toy that was once another's, and another's before that child.

Because people trade and shop locally so often, it becomes hard to remark on a single object in another's home that does not have some history wrapped up in another islander. Pottery is one of the island's most obvious examples of this phenomenon, but so are the more mundane objects one might have asked another islander to pick up in Courtenay. Even food and vegetables are passed carefully from garden to garden as are the heritage seeds of the island.

I noticed that some women would move through the island's community in the summer positively decked-out in the clothing and jewelry of their friends' making. If a passerby noted their garb, the islander would gladly refer the tourist to the maker of the item. People became walking advertisements for each other's work, bringing precious pottery to the beach and to any occasion to drink, calling the attention of others to the origins of their possessions: Hornby's own new materialism. Islanders are always ready to refer people to each other for any need.

Food products that were grown, gathered, or prepared by others were always commented on, complimented, and explained before eating. At the local Hornby Growers and Producers potluck meetings, we would go around in a circle and explain exactly how we combined ingredients from on the island to create our dishes. Islanders take extreme pleasure in telling others who they spent their money with, who traded them honey, or whose home brew they were drinking, showing off the strength of their communal ties. Knowing who has made your pizza changes the way it tastes. Anything Hornby-bought had significantly more social status attached to it. Relationships with wealthy and/or privileged individuals can be hoarded in this way, where one enhances the reputation of a patron by announcing their charitable deeds, how much they bought from someone. One also comes to discover the surprise of authorship and crafting skills that others have with some frequency as Islanders do diversify their hobbies and interests.

In concert with the previous chapter, this chapter suggests how though Hornby may have once been more self-sufficient, with opportunities for managing waste on-island. Ultimately the safety and health of the community is tied to a system of larger governance that Islanders have no control over. Given that Islanders tried and failed to manage all their waste on Hornby, given that gardens will not feed the community as the farms once did, given that the influence of the state and mainland social norms are ever present, even when Islanders do work to surround and

sustain themselves with the goods and materials of other Islanders, Hornby still remains vulnerably tied to a system of governance that does not prioritize the community's needs or desires. Hornby will need further radical change to maintain its own existence as it currently imagines itself in the ideal.

Chapter 6: Other Islanders

I think every person that gets serious about an instrument develops an affinity with that thing. I mean you hold it for hours and hours every day...probably more time doing that than any else. I think of course you develop something personal to you and probably all those things become part of your personality... You develop a physical [attachment] with your instrument...that's how you're expressing some of your most inner...things you can't actually speak of...So of course you develop a pretty serious kinship because of it's the two of us, helping express those feelings...(Wilson 2013)

I have often wondered, along with others I suspect (Dawe 2010), if some musicians might come to care for the environment through the bond they form with their instruments. There are many reasons why this is a troubling proposition. Wilson actually did go on from the quote above to suggest the attachment can be like that with a pet. Instruments do represent a kind of animate "Other" for musicians. In the following chapter, I describe a variety of encounters with more-than-human actors on Hornby. Where in other chapters I touch on climate and weather, access to water, the importance of the parks and diverse old and second growth forests, and how these factors animate the island's being, here I describe some of the plants, animals, and geographic forms that impact life on the island. The degree of awareness of these other beings generally correlates to seasons and the passage of time. Most often, the presence of these Others are felt in their relation to some form of pleasurable consumption by humans, through the senses, involving the outdoors. However, this is not always true. I have included this chapter as a gesture towards potential future research into multispecies ethnography, but also to bring Other life into the explicit focus of the picture of musicking and environment on Hornby I have painted so far. Unfortunately, I found I ultimately did not have the capacity to engage in more than rudimentary probing into the kind of work multispecies ethnographers do, but my process I did discover

important contradictions between the espoused care for all life that Islanders like to imagine they foster and the hard realities of the consequences of human habitation.

An ecomusicological approach to multispecies ethnography could involve the kind of sound studies research I describe in Chapter 1. It could also involve the kinds of direct theoretical connections that are possible for considering how the environment becomes music, as the shells gathered on the beach might become shakers. However, as my interests are sociomusicological, and as such easy connections between environment and music are rife with problematic theory, I am more interested in how the social experience of Hornby's environment transforms the overall constitution of all Islanders, some of whom may happen to play music, and so I move here to describe a few of the relationships Islanders have with other species.

Big and Small

When we arrived at our dream ocean-side rental, the house smelled strange. The odour included a chemical smell, from naphthalene, with a rotting fishy undertone. No heating was on, and it being January 12th, the house was quite cold. We found a window open, which seemed odd. Naphthalene is the prevalent chemical used in mothballs. If one can smell mothballs, then one is being exposed to the toxin. Mothballs are designed for use in closed spaces, like chests, not in closets. The small pantry in the house smelled absolutely toxic. We had been left a number to call for a caretaker when we arrived so that he might come to check in on the state of the house. I called the next day and explained about how we had found the house, and we learned that indeed, mothballs had been liberally spread underneath the house in its crawl space.

Naphthalene is banned in the EU. It is a carcinogen and a neurotoxin. With our three-month old baby, and no other immediate options for housing, I was distressed. We learned that the mothballs were spread underneath the house in an attempt to make the space undesirable for

river otters. River otters have been driven from their natural habitats on Vancouver Island due to industry expansion on waterways. These otters, which appear incredibly cute at a distance, and are new to the island, are currently seen as smelly and dangerous (to humans) co-habitants underneath many ocean-side homes. They bring fish with them into their accommodations and generally discard those portions they do not eat underneath homes and on lawns. They also defecate in their newfound homes. We learned from the caretaker that he had removed some forty garbage bags of otter waste from underneath the home in the fall and that this home and others had housed otter refugees since about 2007. We began to wonder at our low rental fee.

The caretaker and a helper suited up in complete disposable one-pieces with hoods and industrial ventilator masks, duct-taping their thick rubber gloves and boots to their suits. They crawled underneath the home and flushed out several large otters with a flashlight and foghorn while also attempting to collect all the mothballs they had spread and any new otter refuse, or old otter refuse they had missed in the fall. The caretaker admitted that the mothball attempt was an idea borrowed from more effective small mammal deterrence methods, but that it being an open air space underneath the house, the idea was ill advised. He proposed that he could dump large quantities of Pinesol where the otters had lived, and this might help freshen the smell. Though he did pick up three huge containers of the stuff in town, Courtenay, we declined. After all, the well for the house water is just beside the house, and, there is the ocean.

The otters continued to show some presence around the home through the winter. When first kicked out (again) after we arrived, we could see them gathered in the ocean, a small family, staring at us, a few meters out. Next to the house there is a fresh water pond, and apparently river otters can smell fresh water from a long ways off. Now and then we would see them in the scrub around the house, perhaps seeing if we were going to stay for long.

Later, when searching for some string, I opened the porch shed where the chainsaw, gloves, hatchet, and other gardening tools were located. There I found a treasure trove of chemical pesticides, the likes of which I had not seen since my father's own collection in the 1980s. Surely some of these items had been around since then, but there were also new supplies.

It was at this juncture that I truly had to step back from the notion that life on Hornby was generally so different from life elsewhere, or that Hornby citizens had adopted some other kind of ecological ethic. It wasn't just that these chemicals represented a mentality of needless harm, or the sort of willful ignorance of those who do not understand how to work with their environments, from weed killer to bee killer, but there was something more profound about the manner in which humans on Hornby might see themselves and their needs as apart from the land. These chemicals represent a mentality of efficiency and distance but also the closeness of convenience, like cell phones in the wilderness.

On Hornby there is a great deal of talk of privation, but the expressions that I noticed most came from vastly stratified income groups. People make do, and their environmental impact is consequentially (and relatively) low. However, when times are or seem hard, doing without can also justify moments of seemingly extravagant consumption, part and parcel of managing on a budget. For example, Costco on the big island is a favourite place to shop for some Hornby residents, even as they try to spend their money locally and have sophisticated understandings of food systems, justice, and security. Or, living in a small off-grid home in retreat from larger society, residents might suddenly splurge on a trip to Mexico or a giant TV and feel the decision is justified given their regular frugality. There is a dynamic between privation, supporting the community, and the spending, "I mean, everyone likes to bash The Co-op and the awful cries at expense and everything like that. But I think The Co-op really is rather

a wonderful institution; I mean, it is our store. It will get anything we particularly want. And I think it does its best to serve the people. Above all else, it employs 50 of our residents” (P. Gordon 2013): but then, Pam Gordon is a true farmer and is perhaps the most self-sufficient 90-year-old I have ever met.

Additionally, Hornby can appear to be an outpost to some property owners. Many people have surprisingly little real connection to the land or community, bring all they need with them, and take a colonial approach to their property where they may not have the time or resources to deal with problems in a slow ethical manner. Every summer-fun single-use wasteful product you can imagine at Walmart litters Hornby’s environment. The communal consequences of a new well for locals has a lesser impact on the real lived lives of land-owning tourists. Finding a co-habitational compromise with local species like displaced otters is basically irrelevant for the visitor, an invasion. And yet I knew a year-round resident who had decided to simply live and let live with her otters. The temporary nature of many peoples’ stay on the island creates permissible what would otherwise be dubbed hedonistic. IKEA furniture is perfectly acceptable because one doesn’t spend a great deal of time on the island anyway.

Those humans who make their permanent homes on Hornby note the end of winter by finding time to get outdoors and hunt for invasive fresh young nettles. Nettles are a favourite foraged food on Hornby. Nettles are best picked and eaten when they first come up. One must wear good protective gloves and clothing because stinging nettles do leave a horrible rash unless they are properly dried, steamed, or cooked. This said, some Islanders do juice their nettles fresh. Their flavour is best described as nutty and spinach-like and are substituted for spinach in any recipe where it is normally cooked, like lasagna, or nettle-pesto, a favourite concoction. They are

popularly included in teas for pregnant women at appropriate times, but also are known to improve arthritis, urinary tract problems, and a host of other ailments.

Some island delicacies are sweet and sharp. Along the sides of the roads on Hornby, often next to ditches, one can generally find berry bushes. Thimbleberries and particularly large blackberries grow on Hornby, the latter of which the island is well known for. Islanders make use of these and plums, pears, apples, and other local fruit to prepare jams, preserves, pies, and frozen ingredients for later use. Carbrea, one of several vineyards on Hornby, makes a wonderful wild blackberry port. If one has nothing to offer for a potluck, there is always the opportunity to run outside and hunt up a large dish of berries, and hopefully locate a bit of whipping cream or yogurt to go with them.

In our final weeks on Hornby during our second trip, we learned that scabies had appeared in the community. While other smaller organisms spoke to the community as signs of the season, and so organized time, scabies announced chaos. Play dates were put on hold, the normal hugging upon greeting stopped completely, and frankly, people suspected of having scabies were ostracized. Scabies happen to be astonishingly difficult to rid oneself of. The community of parents that we were a part of pitched in on ferry trips and organized together to go in on bulk-batches of non-toxic laundry and bath soaps from Marigold Natural Pharmacy in Courtenay (since shut down by the College of Pharmacists of BC), and alongside our friends our family took twice daily horrible and yet wonderfully fragrant cold baths in the dark, the logic being that scabies prefer heat and generally avoid light and so come out in cold water. With special vats of enzymes and anise mite-fighting laundry detergent, every itch became suspect. People became quite paranoid about not sharing clothing, blankets on the beach, and who they felt certain might carry the parasites, actually turning down invitations to social

gatherings if certain people were not excluded. An entire extended family took the sure-fire medical route and doused themselves in advance of a newborn's coming, knowing that treating infants with recommended toxic methods for larger people would be unthinkable. Eventually the hysteria died down, after most people had taken some precaution in washing all their clothing and bedding, hot drying it, and keeping well coconut-oiled. A number of parents were totally unconcerned about the whole thing.



Figure 58: A potluck birthday party at Whaling Station Beach for two kids and an adult at which no one was willing to hug, share beach blankets, or towels for fear of scabies transference.

Ocean Dwellers

In the summer, one can never be sure when the phosphorescent phytoplankton will arrive, though apparently they are always around in some number. In 2007 on a rocky beach, across from the Gwaii Hannas hot springs when they were still active, I encountered the phosphorescence at midnight, lapping on the shore. The stars above somehow were mirrored and bursting at my feet, and I woke my fellow travelers up so we could lob rocks into the water. With a quieter moon and stars, we might have seen them as well as I eventually did on Hornby. Unlike the famous blue bioluminescent waves of the Maldives, in B.C. the glow is a rich green.

On Hornby people have offered that these billions of dinoflagellates, these heatless light transmitting underwater fireflies, die as they make contact with surfaces and illuminate their passing. But I haven't found evidence to support this poetic theory. The very best way to encounter these creatures is down at Phipp's point, leaping naked off of the old ferry dock pictured behind Melisa Devost in Figure 64 in the next chapter. Though the water is almost

always a shock without warm summer rays to help, one's entire body becomes illuminated when in motion. Opening one's eyes underwater reveals a kind of sub-surface night vision, an electric underwater x-ray where boundaries and limbs are illuminated by contact. Swimming backstroke with one's head above water, the bubbles and water one flings to the side light up. It is the perfect activity to compliment the end of a late gig, a Friday Jazz night at The Thatch, or a fireside sing-along on the beach.



Figure 59: Herring spawn on Denman Island. The waters around Hornby and Denman are the most productive zones for herring spawning in all of B.C. Note the fishing vessel in the distance, and Ford's Cove on Hornby Island in the top left. Photo by Ted Tanner.

Every spring, the herring come to Hornby and Denman Island, and at relatively predictable locations in the channel between the two, they leave their fertile eggs, turning the waters a milky blue-green with spawn. Marine mammals, and avian predators flock in their

wake. Not far behind are fishing trawlers. The visual feast betrays the frenzied gorging taking place, seals, sea lions, dolphins, and all manner of migratory and local birds. Later, Islanders will collect the roe that comes ashore stuck to sea weed, also from Phipp's point, and they will let it fester in putrid piles whereupon it eventually transforms into a most desirable fertilizer, bringing the ocean's bounty into the garden. Islanders offer tales of the decline in this productive seasonal activity, where over-fishing has made the current spectacle a shadow of the grand past.

Fresh oysters are another seasonal island delicacy. The common saying is that they are fine for consumption during months with an "R" in their name, as warmer temperatures increase the potential for red tide biotoxins, another micro algae plankton. However, many people do check with public hotlines. The government never recommends eating oysters raw, but this is a common practice. Additionally, people do learn appropriate techniques for sustainable harvesting through word of mouth. Islanders can be quite secretive about their oyster harvesting locations, and in fact there are commercial claims near Phipp's point.



Figure 60: Lex Dominiak eating an oyster, raw, on the beach. Photo by Melisa Devost.



Figure 61: A banana slug, from the genus *Ariolimax*, sits atop our Free Store Pyrex pot in our outdoor kitchen. Careful as we were to keep all our surfaces clean, inevitably field mice and slugs found our camp kitchen.

Hornby's mule deer offer another wonderful and unusual invasive story as gentry thought they would make for excellent sport hunting. There are so many encounters. 2013 was described to me as the year of the dog bites by the health care centre workers. The numbers of bald eagles can be just overwhelming, not to mention the bloated seal and sea lion carcasses they regularly feed upon. Hornby hosts quite an array of farm animals, some for food, for clothing, and for pleasure. Parts of Hornby suffer from rather aggressive rat infestation and many locals work very hard to keep their homes free from them without resorting to poison. The island has a cat problem, and, a corresponding songbird problem. Islander's relationships with their gardens are intense, as is their labour to heat their homes with trees. Of course, driftwood architecture is an enormous pastime. Though brief, my aim in this chapter has been to bring particular attention to some of the more-than-human life on the island. This chapter should help my reader enhance at least a sense of the intimacy with nature that Islanders, and island musicians, experience and negotiate every day, and through the year.

Chapter 7.1: Gender, Reproduction, and Women

What will happen to The Co-op if all the women who run The Co-op stop [running it]? They're all in their 60s...they are a kind of special strength: women on Hornby... Women have more energy, more focus, and more ability to see outwardly, like an arc from them...The matriarch society is a very large part of Hornby Island. (Smith 2013)

This chapter spans the turn in this dissertation from broader ethnography to explicit focus on musicking. It is split into two halves. The first half, 7.1, marks the end of Section II, and the second half, 7.2 is the start of Section III. Both halves concern the subjects of their respective titles. If my reader feels tired of waiting for something more concrete to be said about what exactly musicking is like on Hornby, wait no further. Overall, in this chapter I shift between the subjects of gender, labour, human and social reproduction, and the different roles that women have on the island, and issues of musicking. I deal in some measure with how gender is performed on Hornby. I take time to bring attention to individual women who help explain why Hornby is the way it is and how I came to the subject of this dissertation. By considering reproduction, I come closer to the essential role musicking plays on Hornby Island: one that supports the community's capacity to continue its traditions of environmental praxis. This chapter's main lack, as reflected in the dissertation, is quality focus on the experiences of community members who are not in the heteronormative register. Though Hornby does have a presence and history of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) community members and leaders, some of whom I interviewed and quote frequently, the experiences of this community did not arise often in my research beyond citing the importance of lesbian influence in the 1980s. I did witness open acceptance of the LGBTQ community, and the common good feeling for prominent members of this group, but future research requires additional attention to the LGBTQ community. However, Jules Platt (2015 phone), one of my island reviewers

identifies as queer and reacted to this portion of the dissertation by detailing her careful choice of Hornby for her home as a place that demonstrated a healthy, highly supportive, and educated set of queer politics. To make her point, she offered the story of an Islander who posted her queer partners' eventual need of a kidney transplant to *The First Edition*. In response, many individuals volunteered to be tested for a match, an ordeal for Islanders, and incredibly, one was made. Following the identification of a potential donor for when the time came, a wide spectrum of the community came out to the Community Hall for a packed "trans-formal" where people cross-dressed, came in drag, and lip-synched to raise funds for the recovery of the donor.

Beach Days

My communal experiences outside of musicking on Hornby generally involved interactions with younger couples with or without children and one single mother. It seems safe to assume these individuals identify as relatively heterosexual. During my initial visit, my wife and I were invited to a heterosexual wedding. The planning and execution of their wedding was a highlight of our first visit. In September 2014, we attended another heterosexual wedding. Generally heteronormativity and fertility pervaded my experiences on the island (there were several births and a number of pregnancies while we were there). This was notable as our networks in Ontario include a significant number of bisexual, queer, gay, and lesbian couples and singles, but relatively few parents of any sexuality. During our second visit we came to meet several men who identify as gay and some older women who identify as lesbians and bisexuals, some of whom I interviewed. Eventually I came to understand part of Hornby's history of sexuality. We did meet and form a brief friendship with one young transgender individual and his female partner, and one young bisexual woman, but by and large, the people we met on Hornby who live year-round on the island appear to be partnered heterosexuals.

Individuals have expressed to me that it can be lonely to be single on Hornby. I believe that on the whole, Hornby is a space in which sexuality is openly expressed and embraced; however, I did not explore this subject in detail. Based on my own experiences in rural spaces, I was impressed by many expressed accepting attitudes but also the absence of less tolerant private and public spoken prejudice towards the LGBTQ community. I also expect Hornby has much less tolerant circles and that I simply did not encounter them. At one party I was disturbed by some comments about women and the implied attitudes about gay men, however, in that particular scenario I am certain many of the attendees were not from Hornby.

On Hornby, the theme of human population reproduction is powerfully felt and expressed. In community literature, in my interviews, and in common exchange, people speak about the need to create space for young couples so that they might bring their children to and have children on the island. Who is trying to get or may be pregnant is a topic of public discussion. These expressions are centered within: discourses of demographics generally, a local self-sufficient economy, the decline of year-round employees to care for an aging population, and earnest concerns for the ability of the elementary school to continue to function.⁴⁹

One might assume that people are thinking of heterosexual couples. This assumption is hard to pin-point precisely, but absent explicit references to the sexuality of the young couples Hornby seeks to draw in and support, it seems possible that people have heterosexual couples in mind as a default, though historically, this may be a new trend. That said, I am certain that anyone with children would be most welcome. There are a number of relationships on the island that include partners with significant gaps in respective age. Through the late 1970s, the 1980s

⁴⁹ Though there are many ideas people have in mind to draw young people and babies to the island, I have also witnessed shocking ageism directed towards youth, depicting youth as negatively impacting Hornby's reputation, its economy, and generally devaluing the retirement experience of Hornby.

and early 1990s, there were many single mothers who eschewed hetero-normative nuclear family structures, some of whom are described as having been able to afford to live on the island at that time with extensive government aid (Cronia 2013; Candlish 2013; Chinnery 2013). There was a definite community of women on Hornby during the 1980s who reflected the kinds of embodied political and intellectual ecofeminism Catriona Sandilands describes concerning Southern Oregon lesbian separatist movements (2002).

There are several significant ways in which sexuality and reproduction and the social construction of gender on Hornby might be described as queer relative to dominant North American norms. Here I am using “queer” as the politicized estrangement of the familiar (Halberstam 2005; 2012). One instance is with respect to Little Tribune Beach, a designated nude beach. Many locals make great use of it, and generally, locals populate this beach with the same density as summer Islanders and tourists. In order to find more normative expressions of beach sexuality on Hornby, one must actually travel to Big Tribune Beach, which is not nude, but is much larger, more anonymous, and is generally packed almost entirely with tourists on pleasant summer days. Drinking, smoking, photographing, cellphone calling, heterosexual flirting, making out (or off to the bushes), oiling and tanning, and, wearing next-to-nothing, or alternately covering up what might deviate from sexualized expectations, is part of “Big Trib’s” scene. Additionally, Big Trib is a space for recreating, kites, volleyball, and for families and teens that have legitimate concerns⁵⁰ about visiting the nude beach. The other large beach is Whaling Station and tends to be family oriented with an extraordinarily long gradual fine-sandy decline. There are still rusted iron rings set into rocks to hold whales for rendering and meat.

⁵⁰ Several pedophiles have been identified and arrested on Hornby over time, some specifically within the context of Little Trib.

Social etiquette on “Little Trib” suggests that people should be naked together on the beach. Generally people walk to where they will seat themselves while clothed, unburden themselves, and then later dress before they leave. Exceptions are made for the chill of the night, or when seeking protection from the sun when shade cannot be found or made, and for children and teens that are tolerated whatever they wear. People also understand that there are no actual rules, and I certainly never witnessed any confrontations or chastisement, but the general feeling is that being clothed would not be in the spirit of making all comfortable. People desire to feel equal in their vulnerability, on the same level. With equal opportunity to see one another’s bodies, the hope is that people will keep their gazes and attitudes more respectful.

Little Trib offers interesting possibilities for theorizing the closeness of Hornby’s community and for its presentation of alternate and queer identity and sexuality. As my reader can imagine, the intimacy of shared nudity or a lack of clothing impacts social relations off the beach. People visually infer the tone, strength, and health of community members’ bodies. They come to understand what bodies of different ages look like through personal or proximate immediacy. Because bodies are not masked, Islanders suggest that elements of surprise and furtive sexualized projection are reduced or eliminated. Reality is not fantasy. Some people feel they are able to unburden themselves of their own feelings of physical inadequacy and attractiveness by witnessing the diversity of the human body.

Off of the beach previously shared nudity changes how people interact. Clothes become more clearly what they are: adornments on the body. Voices are more clearly located within the body. As community members have seen each other in such states of potential vulnerability, they become more relatable. Little Trib provides a kind of mitigation of reputation and power: people know that ultimately, other individuals are also bodies not particularly dissimilar from the self in

form and function or real power. Pretense and ego are somewhat more difficult to obtain when conversing with someone one has spent time with, or at least seen, naked.

Further, in the safe space of Little Trib individuals interact together on the beach in ways that might be viewed as sexualized if taking place elsewhere. In other words, for example, one is unlikely to encounter naked men and women sharing food and drink or throwing a Frisbee elsewhere publicly on Hornby. The most secure of these individuals might tackle or play with each other physically, greeting each other with hugs, confident that their expressions will generally be interpreted as they desire: within the context of a beach that includes community members of a variety of ages and feelings about public affection on a nude beach. My point is that in this space, norms that dictate more conservative practices of nudity are altered, and sometimes set aside, and overall, communal nudity lends itself in some respects to a very present de-sexualized social environment where the construction of gender is more readily apparent as bodies do not conform well to binary stereotypes. This is not to say that the space does not also heighten awareness, carry all kinds of weight about body type, but that this awareness is not entirely predictable from a normative standpoint. Like musicking, people are able to practice another kind of self in this space, and potentially carry that practice with them elsewhere.

Little Trib also presents a space for individuals to evaluate each other's bodies. I can remember passing by a rather candid discussion by a group of women discussing the size of various men's "dicks" on the island while speculating on how these features impacted their expressed egos. They remarked on the negative attitude of one individual and attributed it to his size (larger or smaller I could not tell). Similarly, I've heard a variety of people remark on the progress of women's changing bodies with pregnancy, their changing needs for support from the community, as well as partners speaking about other partner's bodies and physical health

generally. A friend of mine had the misfortune of diving in the water for a Frisbee and landing on an unseen barnacle-encrusted rock. Everyone vocally and visually appraised the condition of his bleeding cheeks before others applied lavender essential oil and a cloth diaper. The moment really was impossible to imagine anywhere else and yet there was a kind of tender and vulnerable care in all of this. Again, these dialogs can promote a pragmatic response to phenomenological observations, almost medical in dispassion and evaluation. On the whole, people are more careful with their words as they appreciate that they too are judged, both in the larger sense of everything about life on Hornby, but also in the micro-context of the beach. The obviousness of vulnerability actually can allow for anxieties about one's image to fall away. And in other spaces, a more permissible closeness is also possible because, "hey, we hang out naked."

Against the framework that projects one narrative about gender on Little Trib that I have just provided, I try to simultaneously hold in mind how those aspects of gender that can be communicated through material additions to the body and are not available when nude. The dress or shirt and tie have no place, though jewelry, hairstyle, shaving patterns, tattoos, and piercings are more apparent. The naked body that presents as more or less physically of one sex or another does not always align with an individual's gender. Our transgender friend was happy enough to come to the beach, but never disrobed. In this narrative, Little Trib can produce an environment where "naturalists" who are most comfortable with their bodies dominate space, mentally and physically. They carry an oppressive comfort in their cisgender constitutions, potentially alienating anyone who does not identify well with *their* anatomy.

What else about clothes on Little Trib? On summer evenings, a large group of younger people (perhaps 17–25), including transient summer labourers, could be found hanging out on Little Trib having a beer around a fire. Many of those "kids" (as people talk about them, some

perhaps 40 years old) had distinct (clothed) looks that are manicured to communicate ideas about self-hood, anarchism, punk, and to an extent, gender. Most of them worked all day, and so couldn't get to the beach when it was pleasantly warm enough to be comfortably naked if they wanted to be. Their Little Trib is one I am less experienced with, but these groups of youth are frequently targets of ageist rhetoric about disturbance and the treatment of vulnerable and picky tourists. These youth fuel the ambiguity some Islanders feel for encouraging their greater participation in Hornby's governance by stabilizing their housing conditions.

Island Rituals

I had the chance to partake in two man-blessingways (man-ways, or, man showers), two bachelor parties, two weddings, and provide meals for parents with newborns while on Hornby. My wife also attended two bachelorette parties and two blessingways.

Blessingways might be scoffed at as a new age yuppie ritual; however, what we witnessed spoke to a much more subversive response to gendered baby culture and conspicuous baby consumption. Though I have not attended a (traditional, female) blessingway, what I gather from my wife's own and others is that the practice arises in some part from a need to honour an expecting mother without succumbing to the commercial enterprise of a gendered baby shower. Generally, these gatherings involve complex food, a daytime setting, moments to reflect on the importance of the expecting mother, moments to affirm support, and a space to share stories of birth and motherhood. Rituals can include things like creating an altar for the birth, doing a plaster belly cast, playing music, and whatever the expecting mother and planner(s) decide.

Sometimes men are invited to participate in blessingways, and sometimes not. On Hornby, with a recent increase in births, fathers-to-be have begun organizing blessingways for men. With comparatively little ceremony, these male gatherings have involved collectively

drinking a large bottle of whiskey, offering speeches about the father-to-be, and, the father to-be offering his own speech. Though participants are asked to bring food, like a potluck, as special foods are included for mother-to-be blessingways, manways seem to include typical post-dinner finger-junk-food. At both gatherings I attended collective singing was essential. Over time, fathers are hoping to further improve, traditionalize, and regularize aspects of these gatherings, beyond whisky, food, speeches, and song.

The bachelor parties I attended were like many gatherings I've been to on Hornby, only with men exclusively. People brought homebrew in bottles and kegs, food for a grill (I noted several vegetarians), prepared food, and, in one case the group was offered free range at the nextdoor Frisbee course. At both gatherings there was loud musicking. The older crowd at one of the bachelor parties was more sedate, and the younger crowd slightly more rowdy.

One series of images in particular stick with me from this first gathering of older men. After the Frisbee golf course was finished, participants ended up in a large circle, throwing many Frisbees at once. One would have to call out the intended recipient's name for a toss and so people came to know each other's names quickly if one didn't know them already. Real skill with a disc was also made apparent. Many people had a beer in hand while throwing. However, what was most interesting is that eventually, this group slowed down in energy and quite naturally formed a circle with quiet conversation all around. The sky was extraordinarily clear and the weather was wonderfully warm, and on this mowed lawn, people sprawled out, maintaining a perfect circle. It was very unusual in that I have never spent an afternoon recreating with 20-30 men aged from 20 to 70, eventually to end up in a close and comfortable circle, sitting cross-legged as in elementary school. Whatever a typical bachelor party is supposed to be, this group of Frisbee throwing circle talking men had no interest in fulfilling it.

Though there were some antics, drinking, and smoking, people made their way home with care, or passed out peaceably where they could find room. In a similar vein, at the younger bachelor party, some people were disappointed by the camp fire circle and open-hearted sharing of stories, wondering aloud if a stripper might show up or if things were going to get more interesting.

Parenting

[In the 1970s and 80s] there was an awful lot of mixing and matching going on too...a lot of...producing of children and changing of partners and that. When I first used to come out here in the summer, the first couple of weeks after I got here, I would...see who was with whom now. (Lawrence 2013)

You know, the old saying about Hornby Island? They don't have triangles: they have geodesic domes. (Anonymous 2013)

On Hornby the 1960s sexual revolution helped produce non-monogamous-heteronormative family structures in the 1970s and 1980s. A number of interviewees also described these changes as products of feminism, “women’s lib,” “the lesbian and gay movement,” and a general interest in what life could be like without men. The offspring of that generation have complex familial relations one might describe as queer (Sturgeon 2011). Mothers are introduced as “mother,” “birth mother,” “second mother,” “spiritual mother,” and sometimes “god mother” (not necessarily in the Christian sense). Similarly, fathers have multiple origins and roles. People are introduced as “father of my daughter/son,” and yet, might not be understood to be the “father” in the sense of a sustained parental presence. One’s aunts and uncles might be biological, but they also tend to include those island friends closest to one’s parental units, and as they are seen daily, they do represent important family-like relations, or indeed, in very intimate situations, they act as family relations. Parents and stepparents may live right next door to each other with children flowing in between. Bill Smith described a typical parenting conundrum on Hornby,

“Hornby family”...you know the jokes?...I mean if you come here to live, your wife and you will live with different people almost within a year?...When I first came here, I’m hitching a ride over on the boat...[And I’m asked,] “Are you a schoolteacher?” And I said, “No, why would you think that?” “Oh, just wondering, because schoolteachers, they don’t last long here, their marriages break-up, like almost instantly.” [At the time] I don’t know anything about Hornby [but]...Sheila [future partner who had told him to come] had sent me a clipping from the First Edition...it said that there was a children’s school event at The Hall...only the natural parents of the children could come [because of space]...[Exes] stay friends, which is kind of interesting! So children grow up with several mums and dads on Hornby. In fact in a way it’s much more real, it’s real life, and lots of them don’t get married. That’s only recently with young people...So in a way it is like a big giant family...there’s a lot of...children of [these complex relations], and they’re kind of buddies. They’re not just kids who live on the block...They’re actually part of this. (Smith 2013)

There are a whole variety of parenting situations on the island that eschew the heteronormative dyad, “egotism for two” as Owen and Noyes described it (Taylor 1993: 40–50), but the island itself and the culture it creates appears equally important in the production of these non-nuclear families. Islanders, sometimes with a great deal of free time and little they are forced to do with it, with nowhere to go really, they must face their desires and aims as well as their choices in life in a rather confrontational fashion. This re-partnering pattern was produced not only by the intensity of alone time, but by the stresses of co-visioning utopia, embracing a creative path, dealing with poverty, and dealing without amenities while building a home. The joke was that a marriage could last right up until “the pink was put up,” meaning the standard insulation for roofs at that time. Aware of the stresses of housing problems and relationships, Islanders will offer collective efforts to help with construction needs, particularly when those needs are seen as fundamental to the survival of the relationships within the house.

June Cannon describes herself as a “chronic renter” and has lived on Hornby since 1973,

We don’t come from a moneyed background...and we couldn’t afford to buy outright. And so then if you’re buying, month-by-month and building with money that comes in, you also have to be working to pull in the money too. We already had a baby, and I actually looked around at everybody else who was doing that, and I said to Bill [her

husband]...“but you know what? I’m not going to live on a building site with a baby. I don’t want to do that. I’m just not prepared to do that.” And, looking back, almost everybody who was doing that at the time, the couples who were buying land, building a house, having their kids, putting in a garden, all at the same time, they almost all came apart. (Cannon 2013)

The inward intensity of facing oneself on Hornby also leads many people to reconsider what kind of partnership they would like. Islanders develop close relationships with many people, more than they may have had in other places, and other suitable partners may appear a better fit.

Recently people have carried on a tradition of offering free delivered evening meals to parents for the month after the child is born, or even longer. Generally a friend will volunteer to coordinate the meals and find people to make and deliver them. Often parents will not really know the community members bringing food. There are a few complicated social negotiations to the tradition. Does one invite the food-bringer to share the meal? Obviously people also have dietary needs and restrictions, and luckily such eating habits are well tolerated, supported, and understood on Hornby, though, they can be a challenge to cook for and accommodate. For another, people do forget that they are “on” for meals, and, if a meal is to land on the table at 6pm, and no one appears, the friend coordinator may have an awkward task ahead of him or herself of reprimanding the failure to deliver. In the 1980s, there were so many births that this tradition really could not exist as such, and so in a way, this month of free meals is a melancholic expression, but it is tied to larger themes of social care on Hornby. “When somebody is going to town [Courtenay] they will ask their friends and neighbours if they need anything from town or if they would like to come to town as well” (Corrigan 2014).

Speaking of a sensibility Bill Smith sees fading on the island,

Socialism was not a disease [when he arrived], it was a kind of normal thing...12 years ago my wife got breast cancer...she had a terrible time, and it took a year for us to recover from this. And, within a week of us returning here, people were coming

and working in our garden, and we'd come down in the morning, and there would be food left outside the door here, right. That kind of thing. Not charity. I mean this is another kind of community thing. These are people that you don't even know that well, who come to help you. It's like [people] who come when their neighbourhood farm burns down, they all come and rebuild the farm. And it was kind of like that, and so...you've got this very interesting political climate, and the people that have come here are from a powerful background, politically. (Smith 2013)

For the last six or seven years, babies on Hornby have grown up “diaper free.” It would appear Marc and Deidre Atkinson brought the tradition to the island. Scare-quotes are appropriate because in many cases this tradition has proved to be more or less successful and is used for much of the day, but not always at night. Additionally, parents tend to use pants as diapers when the weather is cold. The objective of raising a child diaper free is obvious. It saves money and a kind of labour. It also promotes an intimacy of knowing and communication between parents and child. Finally, diaper rash is virtually unknown in these scenarios.

Parents begin by leaving the child without a diaper on when their infant cannot move and by making a sound every time they pee or poop. Infants come to associate these sounds with relieving themselves, and, eventually parents pre-empt random release by picking their infants up, holding them spreading their legs, and making the sound, to which the child either does or does not respond. Initially, from a week or two old, one might provide an opportunity to the infant every 20 minutes throughout the day. As the span of time in between opportunity grows, infants learn to hold their need to an extent. They also respond to the praise and prefer to be dry. We quite successfully trained our child within weeks, and, generally he did not wear diapers unless at night. He did not wear diapers unless travelling or at someone else's house up until we began to require child care in Ontario from people who were unfamiliar with the procedure. Babies on Hornby are generally potty trained by the time they are one or one and a half if parents

subscribe to the practice. The children announce their needs to adults by making appropriate sounds, and as soon as they are able, they walk themselves to a child-sized potty or even outside.

Hornby's outdoor toileting practices are more evident when kids start going to pre-school and have to be trained in how to use a water flush toilet. Toilets can be quite intimidating, with loud noise, lights, and a fan. Many Hornby children have only used outhouses, and many of them are trained to go outside to pee when they need to, welcoming the break from the inside. The constant need to go outside in many homes keeps one better in tune with changes in the local day-to-day weather and environment.

Many people come to Hornby specifically to raise their children, knowing they may not be able to make Hornby their permanent home, they recognize the opportunities the island presents. In particular, they emphasize Hornby's natural setting and supportive community:

It feels like an amazing place to raise children...things like the first bird that Ashae knew was an eagle, and that really spoke of something to me: the first. And then she thought that that was the name for "bird," so she started calling every bird an eagle, and there's something about that for me. It's like, "well, honey, not every bird is an eagle." But she was seeing that eagle in every bird, and that's the way we can look at people too, right? It's like you can see that light in every person, because to me, that eagle represents something very regal and strong and...to see through those eyes... (Rutz 2013)

PART III

Chapter 7.2: Gender, Reproduction, Women, and Musicking

There's something about [playing] music [that] is much closer to your ego or your soul or something than just sitting down having dinner and talking. I usually only tell this to women, but I have a friend who says before you go out with a guy, before you make any kind of solid commitment to a guy, you should eat dinner with him, go dancing, and play music...Music or a sport, we decided, would come to about the same thing. Because there are chances for ego to surface, and different trips to be laid. (Cannon 2013)

If you've had sex with someone, you've always shared that experience. It's always part of what continues to exist between you. And it's the same if you've played music with somebody; it's always something that's, sort of, still there...[There is a] kind of, a language, of playing music together that's...similar, but different...the same, sort of, order, you know? (Law 2013)

In the case of musical practice, it may seem simple enough to count the number of biological women in a symphony orchestra or a rock group; but it can never seem so very easy to state what, if any, other aspects of their womanhood are of any relevance to the fact that they are musicians, or the fact that they are being counted. It may be that the discourse on women musicians produces certain characteristics about which it is difficult to separate out the biological from the historical: for example their 'touch' on the instruments, or their attitudes towards group performance. (Green 1997: 11)

Playing with Others

It's not that common even at our very open and liberal jams to see the women playing an instrument. And [women are] very aware, and that is the detrimental side...you're very aware that you're not at [the men's skill] level. (Candlish 2013)

Making music can be awkward, intimate, and clumsy, and that often continues long after playing, the result of social PDs (see the subsection on Participation in Chapter 1). I have not developed a satisfying theory to explain why women are not always well represented in bands on Hornby and elsewhere, but sexism is certainly an essential piece of how women are made to feel (un)comfortable as mapped onto instruments and genres in particular (Finnegan 1989). Ethnomusicologists have shown that the number of women represented in musicking scenes is entirely socially constructed (Koskoff 2014; Green 1997: 13). A number of men and women on Hornby suggested different ideas, but none felt

surprising or new. The usual culprits seem to be barriers including socialization around behavior and instruments and expectations about leisure and child rearing. However, I did notice the importance that musicking had for many women who would gather and play without men⁵¹; I noticed that women held essential roles as musical educators and that more women participate in or front bands on Hornby than I have encountered elsewhere.

It also seemed that when it came to organizing events, women determined much if not all of the visioning, planning, and execution. I also took in that at open jams, feelings of exclusion were often, but not always, well correlated to gender. Confidence in one's skill remains the most important determinant of feeling comfortable playing with others, and acquiring these skills takes time and space and validation: socially constructed conditions that can be biased against women and girls. However, generally, gender did not appear a singular reason to feel welcomed when musicking on Hornby.

Jill Candlish related a story that could have come from any musician experiencing social PDs, though likely with greater frequency from women,

[Her husband was invited to play a song, which everyone joined in on], and so I'm blowing away on the marimba, and we're singing, and then...I have this desire like I could have just started to go nuts right on the marimba and start soloing and going out right? But then...because I'm just playing with Brett and Marc, I hold back... I haven't played this particular marimba; none of the keys are marked...If it was my regular one, I might have been more at home, but anyway. So I'm going but [I don't play out], and so at the end of the song Tom [her husband] comes over, and he said, "that was great but...you were really supporting that song nicely, but why didn't you cut loose?" And my personality is to do that, but I consciously stopped myself because I was like, well, "I don't really want to dominate here." And he said, "no I wanted you to," and I said, "well, you needed to look up at me then. You needed to go: 'go for it.'" And it's [that] kind of jamming etiquette that encourages more, because otherwise if you're a musician that's not at that level, you don't really want to come in and cut lose...I knew I was holding back because, "I don't know all the different things, being a woman, and being on the outside, and [I'm] not really, you

⁵¹ Admittedly, these groups did not appear publicly in the time I was on the island, a sign of Green's "musical patriarchy" where women's musicking tends to happen privately instead of publicly (1997: 15).

know, sure,” and all of that. (Candlish 2013)

That encouragement is so important. I am not suggesting that men need to give permission, but that explicit approval from any group when soloing is particularly important. It’s needed to coordinate the structure of a song, but also as an acknowledgement of the desire to hear another play, in effect, respect by invitation. Candlish describes herself as a “community musician.” She asserted that her story is true for so many musicians, but one can also see that her gender played a strong role in how she and possibly others experienced the musicking.

Candlish has recently made some concerted efforts to organize women’s music on the island. As Melisa Devost described that group and also fiddling offered by June Cannon,

There’s a group of women who every Monday night have been meeting with Jill Candlish who has been teaching them bucket drumming and gumboot dancing and singing and stuff. And these are women who all would claim to not have a musical bone in their body...I don’t know if they were living in the city, if they necessarily would have done something like that...Here they are doing gumboot dancing, and bucket drumming, and learning about music. And singing, and having all these breakthroughs around voice... There’s a real opportunity for [women] learning and growing here that’s around music. And people learning how to play fiddle because that’s what’s available. (Devost 2013)

Fiddling is an equalizer for kids who have a rich opportunity to study with June Cannon⁵²:

Samuel: June being the fiddle teacher throughout the year is a real inspiration for lots of kids. Ashae was four or something when she—“I want to play the fiddle.”

Rutz: Well, it was because...June would take the fiddlers in the winter...[to] Denman as well, and they play on the ferry...and Ashae went...[and] she just had this look in her eye, and she said, “when I’m bigger, I want to play in that band that plays on the ferry.” (Samuel and Rutz 2013)

Jill Candlish also describes the group she started,

I’m so excited about this women’s group...a lot of these women they don’t play anything, so we’re playing bucket drums which is just sticks...you just whack them...you’re really just talking about the rhythm. And all the arrangements, and they’re having fun, and I’m hoping that we’ll perform some time...but yes for a long

⁵² While it may be that women musicians are stereotypically imagined as maternal and lesser music educators (Green 1997: 48), on Hornby, with respect to social capital, the case is quite the opposite.

time [I've] been driven to do a women's thing, but it's happening slowly. But it is happening. (Candlish 2013)

Candlish is setting about to build confidence by giving permission. Her explanation of some of the difficulties she finds with developing musicality as a woman and a mother reflect other descriptions I have encountered on Hornby regarding time for the self generally,⁵³

You get used to kind of serving...letting go of your own needs. And you don't mind it at the time, but you do find...you get behind in your resume...It will be interesting to see what the new young women musicians, how many of them come through [she is encouraged by the number of young women musicians she knows on the island and elsewhere]...[Most women on Hornby aren't at the men's skill level] whether it's because, [what] they say about "the man focuses on one thing whereas the women focus on many," and I do see that with myself...And the men maybe have more ability to be more disciplined and put in those hours and hours of just dead, almost sometimes boring practice...or maybe [they have or take more personal freedom and chunks of time to devote to playing]. I notice and I've been saying this to my friends in my band [all women]... "OK," I said, "we need to take this song, and we're going to work on the instrumental here, and we're not going to stop, we're not going to sing...you are going to do a solo, and you need to work four rounds, not one round. And you barely got at it, and it goes to the next person." I am pretty sure when the guys have practice, they do their solo over and over, and then they look at the other guy, they go back to the chords, they get the solo, over and over. And the ladies they will stop playing, and I'm like, "no you've got to keep playing, and as soon as you've finished your solo you get on the chords and back me up"...This is all new to me, and meanwhile these guys have been doing it since they were 19 or 15, like my son is doing that, and I'm saying, "this is how we need to practice." I mean we do lots of other great practice when we practice the arrangement of the song and the harmonies and stuff, but in terms of the instrumentals, I'm saying, "don't just say I'll practice that at home. No. While we're here, practice your solo five times, and we're backing you up." (Candlish 2013)

Many mothers on Hornby are working hard to achieve the ideals of a home in which food is prepared fresh, the children are home-schooled, and there is always time to repair and create by hand. Though women may occupy the majority of public positions of power, in the homes that I observed, they were certainly doing most of the child and homecare.

Reflecting on Candlish's story, I am pretty sure I was working hard at damaging my

⁵³ Her emphasis is revealing, that she felt in the service of her own family: not a utopian equality.

hearing at 15. I would devote hours of free time to practicing. Jamming was so new and gratifying that running a solo any number of times was a worthy task. Without having put in that investment, I really cannot imagine how one would find time later to learn to play more complicated instrumental music. Glen Rabena, who began playing when he was 30, suggested that unlike other musicians he knew who would practice their instruments before joining a band, he would join a band and learn to play the needed instrument later. Finding other musicians at a similar skill level can help with such insecurity, but that can be hard, and to learn, one wants to play with better musicians (without the insecurity). June Cannon also picked her instrument back up when she was 30, and as she explains in Chapter 10, it was Hornby's accepting atmosphere that allowed her to feel she had the safety to grow.

I was surprised to discover the number of bands that included couples as members:

In some ways it's easier if it's a couple in the band because you're both involved in the same interest. You're both wanting to do the same thing, and there's not the conflict of well, "I wanted to do this, this weekend, and you want to go to the rehearsal." But in some ways it's harder because there's nobody to leave the kids with while you go to the gig because the other person is coming too. (Cannon 2013)

Jill Candlish attributed these partnerships to the representation of women in bands on Hornby. I return to the theme of time and activity negotiation in couples shortly as these interactions represent a part of my evidence of both social and (eco)systemic PDs.

Division of Labour

Even though there was no society-dictated division of labor [sic], even though we had complete freedom to determine the division of labor for ourselves, a well-known pattern emerged immediately. Women did most of the cooking, all of the cleaning up, and, of course, the washing. They also worked in the fields all day—so that after the farm work was finished, the men could be found sitting around talking and taking naps while the women prepared supper. In addition to that, one of the women remained in camp every day in order to cook lunch—it was always a woman who did this, never a man. Of course, the women were excused from some of the tasks; for example, none of us ever drove a tractor. That was considered too complicated for a woman. (Leder 1970: 14)

Reorganization of sexual relations feature prominently within several utopian experiments, and though it receives lesser academic and public attention, so does the importance of reorganization or intensification of gender roles in domestic labour. Historically, most attempts to find utopia in North America ultimately fail to move very far beyond heteronormative monogamy and its accompanying systems of patriarchy (Kolmerton 1990, 1–12). Vivian Estellachild’s brief testimony in *Utopia U.S.A.* in 1972 is chilling in this respect. She reveals tales of woe and emotional abuse from “2 Hip Communes” (1972, 190) that highlight the active danger of living in rural utopian communes with men, and she testifies to the manner in which sexual practices and gendered labour expectations blended together. In her account, her ideals of feminist liberation are actually born in response to her communal experiences, and did not awaken until then. It would seem even in North American utopian movements individuals are too entrenched in and saturated by Victorian romantic sentiments to truly normalize other possibilities of gendered labour relations even if they aspire to or explicitly laud them.

Glacially, it would seem that the expectations of fathers and men to provide childcare and domestic labour is shifting in places like Hornby and elsewhere in North America. When I have encountered such reorganization, the motivation appears to extend from a deliberate political positioning rather than changes in cultural norms. Similarly, current experiments in sexuality are currently promoted as more of a sober intellectual, scientific, and/or political exercise than the passionate “free love” of the 1960s or other religious doctrine. None of the non-monogamy and non-heteronormative possibilities look like a biblical justification for the reorganization that the Shakers, Oneida, Mormons, and even Brother XII promoted (see Chapter 2).

Generally, it is not at all clear that men and women have similar understandings of or meanings for the home or house (Madigan and Munro 1993). Dominant masculine constructions

of the home as a space for reproduction are contested (Domosh 1998). Though many agree that the domestic sphere is a primary location for unpaid work by women, in Western society, the home can also be a primary location for leisure activities (Green 1996: 143). Additionally, increases in paid work from home for men and women have confused the territory, where the home is increasingly an ambiguous space for labour and leisure (Bhatti and Church 2000: 187).

Elsewhere in this dissertation, in advance of and before this subsection, there are moments of contact and exchange with the domestic lives of Hornby Islanders. Rather than collect these moments into this one place and deprive the glimpses of home-life from the whole, I risk slight repetition and use this space to bring attention to and acknowledge the experiences of gender and labour on Hornby in particular. I also wish to address the consequences of band life for home life, and the ways that families negotiate domestic labour to support musicianship and the presence of music on the island. I must also acknowledge that there are very many single people on Hornby who live alone.

The easily observable, remarkable, and gendered divisions in labour on the island demonstrate that women on Hornby occupy many prominent positions of respect and power within the island's public institutions and private enterprises. It is likely that women represent the majority of known and respected community leaders, though elected Islands Trust representatives have tended to identify as male. However, these visible trends in the public eye do not tell us much about invisible domestic labour and interactions, and they probably do not reflect the gendered power dynamics of the home.

I cannot offer strong conclusions about domestic labour in the homes of Islanders, as I did not observe the normal home lives of a sufficient sample of Islanders. There are many exceptions to what is written in the following, both in remarkable egalitarianism and rather

intense patriarchy. During my fieldwork, this subject seemed beyond the specific focus of my research, and was not clearly addressed in my interviews. However, I can offer my impressions of the kind of domestic labour required to support a band and musicianship, and I can speak broadly to gendered divisions of labour inside and outside of the home as they pertain to the domestic sphere. It's also important to note that many people on Hornby choose to work much less than what would be considered normal elsewhere in North America, and, many people focus almost all of their intensive work efforts into the summer season when their work hours would be far in excess of what North Americans call normal. These local norms colour how one might interpret approaches to labour in Hornby society and also what tends to be considered gendered work.

As elsewhere in North America, men are rarely primary caregivers on Hornby, though there are notable exceptions, especially when parents share custody of their children but do not live together, or when women are the primary wage earners in a family. The high level of civic participation amongst Islanders in various activities creates some interesting dynamics with respect to coordinating childcare. For example, children are generally expected and welcome at most meetings and gatherings, and so they come along. It is quite the norm to see men independently bring children to family friendly events, take them on walks, on trips to The Co-op and generally around the island if the children are not still nursing, or not nursing often. Many people do work when they choose, at any hour, and so are free to provide childcare in a responsive manner at any time of the day.

However, such flexibility is not always possible or desirable ⁵⁴ (see Chapter 10). When couples would negotiate whether or not to bring a child to any given activity, I did notice a careful calculation of give and take between parents, especially when childcare was not particularly convenient. When entire families were not going to events together, but instead planning ahead, it appeared to me that couples would constantly negotiate the allowance of and payment for individual activities of their choice where they were free to leave the family behind. What I mean is that if one partner claimed an evening, or afternoon, or day as his or her own, the other partner would be compensated in equal free time or through promise of delivery of some form of satisfactory recompense.⁵⁵ For example, in our band (Chapter 10), one consistent social and (eco)systemic PD involved finding a free evening to rehearse or perform. This included a complex negotiation process including consideration of egalitarian balance in each household and awareness of the likely events that families and partners would be attending in a given week.

Interestingly, another social PD involved how band members were well aware of each other's home lives and almost always supported and respected the demands of their band member's partners and families. In my experience, this intimate knowing of each other's lives, jobs, and demands, and, therefore, compassion and understanding when planning is quite singular, an echo of Durkheim's mechanical solidarity. Each band member with a partner and children⁵⁶ needed the agreement of our partners to provide childcare while we rehearsed. We would work to find "a night," that could be "our" respective "night," and this was always an involved process, as it is with any band I have ever played with, though when I was younger, coordinating teenagers of any gender seemed to primarily involve problems of instruments and

⁵⁴ Though elsewhere I have read and heard many accounts of the advantages of being a young kid dragged to rehearsals and performances.

⁵⁵ A task, a favour, a future IOU, a service.

⁵⁶ Five of six of us in the reggae band.

transport and not competing responsibilities. As a further example, consider our bass player Ken Clark's (eco)systemic PDs who himself had a complicated schedule and would need to find balance with his partner, Jala Klone, and her schedule with respect to child care. Monday night would be Jala's for belly dancing; Tuesday would be Jala's for marimba band; Wednesday night Jala or Ken would need to take their radio show; Thursday night Ken would take reggae night with our band; early Friday night was Ken's with another band. On top of this schedule they had to layer other events, dinners, performances, and social gatherings, and so, occasionally would come into imbalance in childcare and "owe" one another. Things were so scheduled in some ways that individuals would quite aggressively defend "my night," her or his regularly scheduled time. Weekends tended to be reserved explicitly for families because people were so busy with activities, and, the sentiment was, "what's the point of living on Hornby if your weekends aren't free?" In our reggae band, it was common for partners to swap our debt-creating rehearsal times with balance-restoring activities like child-free time in studios or at gatherings for pottery, art, crafts, weaving, musicking, yoga, knitting, or simply being free to socialize or spend time alone.

Unlike rehearsals, performances tended to take up more time and energy for bands and families depending on how much preparation was needed. The better rehearsed the group, and the more acoustic, the more efficient a performance was, and the less time a gig took overall. For performances that were paid, or were particularly important performances as showcases of a musician's talent to garner future gigs, these events and associated preparation rehearsals more often were understood in families as paid "legitimate" work that did not bring an obligation for recompense by the partner providing childcare and support. It often depended on whether or not the musician was hired for a specific show, which would involve a set number of rehearsals, or if the musician was representing his or her own work in some fashion. It also depended on whether

a band saw themselves as a recreational or more professional outfit. Sometimes the “sacrifice” that families made to support rehearsals was emphasized as a reason to focus in rehearsal, get serious, to promote shows, to find the time to rehearse, and to raise a door price.

As a gig would near, pressure would build to squeeze in more rehearsals, and this created a more substantial debt to supporting partners who would claim exceptional favours after a show. For several occasions, partners of musicians were drawn into the workings and success of a given performance as their families were ultimately receiving the money paid at the door or sales of CDs. Partners and children would show up to be supportive, increase the crowd, and improve everyone’s experiences. At a paying gig, it felt as if all of the musician families were responsible for the financial success of the evening, and they were indirectly, or directly by working the door, promoting the event, inviting their friends, preparing food for sale, or providing childcare, . Band members were obliged to not only provide their own work in rehearsal, but also provide some greater sacrifice from each other’s families. My family provided rehearsal space. Others painted signs, lent gear, promoted on the radio, and helped on the day of the gig: an (eco)system of PDs.

Rehearsal space is another important factor in considering the domestic labour required to support bands. This element escaped me as invisible for some time because of the special circumstances of the rehearsals I participated in on Hornby. Bands have to gather somewhere to rehearse, and more often than not, these gatherings take place in the best available home. The best home is determined by how much gear can be left set up, how much the neighbours mind the noise, how difficult it is to reach a rehearsal location, and how supportive the host’s home environment is: can we close the door, is their a good feeling to the room, etc.

As my partner was on paid maternity leave and the primary purpose of our time on Hornby was to facilitate my field work, which for me included playing a great deal of music, and as I had an ideal space where the reggae band was able to set up and leave equipment established, our home was the default space for these rehearsals. It was a clear priority for our entire family. It's worth noting here that the host family also tends to develop a special kind of relationship with bands, where band members are interacting with the host family on a regular basis, watching the kids grow up, etc., and that this interaction influences the public sphere. By contrast, families who are not hosting rehearsals do not have such regular contact and are not privy to the emotional life of the band, the progress of rehearsals, or the general social norms of the group. Host family members can be like lab scientists, observing the group from outside a closed door, reporting on the success of the evening.

Our home was invaded for several hours once a week for months and was not at all quiet until the last member left our home (regularly as late as midnight or later). Band members brought over a good deal of beer, spilled some now and then, made noise, parked their cars too far down on the lawn at times, ate food, woke the neighborhood as they started their cars and drove by, and would understandably leave on occasion a small mess, including dishes and mugs. This was a small sacrifice for my family: no sacrifice at all really. I was lucky to have a partner and baby that would either sleep through or quite enjoy our loud rehearsals, sharing in our experiment and my observations. It was unquestionably my responsibility to see after the band and clean up. This unusual situation, providing an academic legitimacy to otherwise semi-professional semi-leisure activities, while neither my partner nor I had a job to get up for in the morning while simultaneously tending to the needs of the family: it was an entirely unique scenario. Rehearsals normally put a greater burden on families. At a minimum, musicians, like

other artists, often seek out a space for use that can accommodate relatively loud music, and this also significantly impacts housing costs, a cost a whole family shares.

When I consider the other spaces I rehearsed in, the marimba band had a space that was far from the host family's home. It was not the kind of space one would worry about getting dirty at all. Volume was no concern. Even so, as most of the host family played in the band, they did make an effort to provide tea, sometimes baked goods, and perhaps beer or mead, and these were made ready by the female members of the host household. Our enjoyment of these provisions was anticipated. The marimba band, with a majority of female membership, had a distinctly communal feeling, part of which sharing food was key, where generally everyone brought at least something. In the family band, which was essentially an acoustic group, we would meet in June Cannon's kitchen, and she would have tea and shortbread ready, but we all had a keen sense of needing to both show up and leave at a suitable hour, leaving the home just as we found it.

After the reggae band finished playing our two shows, Silas Crowe and his partner Kari Crowe came over for dinner (leaving their child with grandparents). They presented us with a fine bowl one of them had made with an interstellar glaze, and they told us that the gift was in thanks for our hosting the rehearsals. We were both surprised by the thought. In retrospect, I can recall a few times I wanted to go to sleep after a rehearsal and was herding people out of the house. I have come to understand why what we were able to offer was significant, and how normally, rehearsal location can create a great burden for a host family, impacting the domestic sphere negatively. As one can imagine, when off island musicians are hired to play, housing them creates additional domestic strain, perhaps the greatest burden a hosting house can take on.

As I discuss in Chapter 8, potlucks are an essential piece of Hornby's culture. They are not always advertised as such, but people generally bring dishes, and in their best pottery and

bowls, whenever there is a gathering. People often bring their own plates, mugs, cutlery, napkins, and drink as well. On the whole, I witnessed egalitarian work to provide this food, though the focus of cooking was gendered (men towards barbeques and meats, women towards salads and baking). Finishing a meal and sitting down to play is an approved pastime on Hornby, an essential practice. However, tensions arise when it is time to clean up. For myself, as a percussionist or adequate mandolin player, I will generally take a more active role in cleaning up. Those who can *really play*, people one might pay to see, are given a pass on cleaning up and washing dishes as everyone genuinely prefers that they provide music for the task. These musicians tend almost exclusively to be men. It is a complex situation, which most people happily consent to (after all, some of the musicians on Hornby are simply world-class), though if one of the hosts is a sought after male musician, he may feel more obliged to help clean.

Though I feel confident suggesting that aside from hosting bands, the debt of domestic labour provided to support musician's gathering for rehearsal and performances or potlucks on Hornby was balanced in a generally egalitarian manner between partners through the methods of recompense I described above, outside of the space of musicking, I cannot suggest things were egalitarian with respect to gender and domestic division of labour. Unquestionably, these wider spheres of labour ultimately influence bands, and they shape society on the island.

There are specific kinds of domestic labour that men tend to do exclusively. For example, labour-intensive yard maintenance like fences, lawn mowing, tree limbing, shrubbery, and home repairs tend to fall to men. With respect to heating the home, generally men will go to "do" or "get firewood" at various points in the year, often in coordinated fashion. This usually involves going off-island with a truck and possibly a chainsaw and axe to collect firewood in various states of process: standing trees, felled seasoned trees, rounds, or already split wood. However,

this may also involve collecting and preparing on-island wood from people's property, and perhaps rarely preparing firewood from questionably public forest timber, such as public trees that fall into roads. The subject of management and processing of fallen trees on public lands is a discreet topic of ethical debate, not unlike the over abundance of industry felled logs that wash up on Hornby's beaches. Certainly, women also do this work, but amongst the families I knew, men primarily handled this domestic task that took them outside of the home.

There are also forms of domestic labour that women tend to do more exclusively. While women and men may spend equal amounts of time in the garden, preparing seedlings, beds, weeding, watering, and may even equally harvest vegetables and fruits, my experience is that women take on processing, preparing, and preserving food.⁵⁷ Women undertake advance ordering and collecting flats of fruits like peaches for processing, weave together braids of garlic for drying, mill their own flour, or dehydrate tomatoes for the winter. Additionally, women tend to spend more time gathering food, including berries, mushrooms, and nettles, though men tend to gather oysters and conduct any fishing or hunting when that occurs. Preparing herbal remedies tends to fall to women, perhaps with the exception of growing marijuana, which tends to be the province of men. Men also tended to brew beer while women create wines, yogurt, kimchi, cheese, and other fermented goods. Barbecuing is a favourite past time, like outdoor fires and while men tended to manage barbecue cooking, overall, women handled the majority of food preparations in the home, including the meals of children. Baking all manner of foods is not taken lightly, and breads, cookies, cakes, and pies most often fall to women.

As speculative as some of my assertions here are, I cannot venture to say how gender played into the work of keeping the home clean, however, I do feel I witnessed that care for

⁵⁷ I do mean quite extensive canning and freezing.

plants, arrangements of flowers, the decoration and organization of the home, all of these things were interpreted by guests and hosts as a reflection of the female head of house. I think one can safely infer that women do most of the cleaning in homes. I really cannot speculate on the task of laundry. Families who use diaper-free methods appear to have fewer demands; however, they still produced a great deal of laundry. Many people do not have either laundry machines or sufficient water supply to use them, and so doing laundry can involve travelling to one of the island's coin operated laundry locations. Similarly, not everyone has clean drinking water, and so filling up and lifting heavy bottles of water to bring home tended to fall to men as a task. Buying goods seemed to fall to whomever was passing by The Co-op. Bringing recycling and trash to the transfer station seemed to be a family affair, with shopping at the free store and socializing.

In paid work, men tend to occupy high paying labour jobs including those like carpentry and home-building contracting involving power tools, intensive landscaping jobs involving utility vehicles like backhoes, and services like plumbing, welding, and electrician work which require special expertise and equipment. Because these high-wage jobs are vital for family incomes, men can receive greater pressure to work these jobs whenever possible. In other words, their leisure time, which by North American standards may already seem abundant, can come under scrutiny and build domestic tensions. Their leisure can cost the family "more." If the kind of work female partners can readily access or are well qualified to do pays less, and domestic labour, childcare, or even home-schooling responsibilities are essential for the family, men are pressured or pressure themselves to leave the home, and possibly the island, to work.

Several heterosexual couples expressed feeling stuck in such gendered division of labour with little room to change their pattern as men tend to become more skilled and better paid in their work outside of the home and the division of labour is exacerbated over years. An

important component of this frustration includes the emotional and physical needs of partners at the end of the day, when men tend to come home totally exhausted from physical labour, hungry and thirsty, wishing to rest, and women are absolutely sick of being stuck at home tending to demanding children, happy to have a father come home to hopefully handle the children. This desire for freedom from the demands of children at the end of the day creates friction. Late night rehearsals can exacerbate the morning routine as well for working couples. Not infrequently I would discover one friend or another with young children simply passed out on a couch or chair by seven or eight o'clock at night. Hornby does have a daycare that runs from about 9–3, but it is not free (about \$32 a day), and managing the delivery and pick up of kids can be difficult when vehicles are needed for jobs. I have witnessed several couples reflect on their mutual recognition of the unfair situation, their mutual desire for greater equity, and yet their seeming inability to find a better balance of time and income where they both feel shortchanged.

Without skilled labour credentials, and with respect to the need for part-time work, women can find themselves pursuing cashier work, cleaning, farming, childcare, shift-work, and entrepreneurial work to bring in income. Many individuals will make and sell crafts at the market. In terms of general yard work, painting, odd jobs, gardening, and maintenance of properties (often vacant), there tends to be a more equal representation of men and women outside of the home, though women tend to prepare vacation homes for week-long renters. With respect to farming and gardening, there are many prominent women whom people seek advice from for management of farm animals, farm crops, and flower gardens.

In terms of other services, women hold the majority of positions involving care and health for others, including medical care, home care, exercise and yoga, body work, and counseling. In the arts, both genders are well represented; however, I feel there are more men

portrayed as producing “serious art” and more women accused of producing “crafts.” It is important to note that this work generally takes place in the home, in the home studio, or, in a separate or even community studio space for art, music, craft, bodywork, or exercise. Artistic practices blend into the domestic sphere in ways that make them difficult to delimit from it. Anyone with an artistic practice that is home-based knows the competing challenges of food, laundry, and simply getting work done, or, for musicians, practicing, not to mention a myriad of other distractions. June Cannon speaks in the next section to how she struggled with feelings of guilt when her family seemed to need her but she was driven to music. Similarly, Jill Candlish spoke earlier in this chapter of a time when she found she simply stopped playing music while she was in “service” to her family’s needs and how this span of time significantly impacted her development as a musician as men tend to have greater continuity in their progression as musicians, *taking* the time to prioritize such specialization.

In conclusion of this subsection, elsewhere others and I reflect briefly on situations of safety for and violence against women. Mental health is often a serious problem as angry and frustrated men will turn to abusive behaviour, and more generally, the island is hardly free from sexism. I should mention that women on Hornby have also voiced the under-acknowledged capacity of women to harm men. Additionally, at times the influx of unknown tourists who come to party make it difficult to draw concrete conclusions about exactly where the reported violence on the island is coming from. I will not pretend to know the extent to which domestic abuse is a norm on the island, nor do I believe I have witnessed more than what would rise to the level of a normal domestic dispute elsewhere, however, the community appears generally well aware of the sporadic and historic appearance of clear physical violence that women disproportionately experience on the island. Many have heard stories of intense emotional abuse. From these greater

and more visible abuses, I think it is relatively safe to assume that on Hornby women must suffer from those lesser “everyday” abuses as promoted through systemic sexism on a regular basis in the domestic sphere in North America. However, I do not imagine these abuses are actually more significant or prevalent than in other communities: the point is that they likely happen in the same measure as other places, even on Hornby, a place that can be imagined as utopia. To conclude, I will remind my reader that this portion of the dissertation is not concretely documented, but does point to important issues of gender and division of labour that are consistently patterned in rural spaces and exacerbated by relative poverty as moments of other parts of this dissertation point towards. As you will see, conflict and violence are also part of my PDs.

Tempest Grace Gale and Hilary Brown

She was on fire. She became more and more intense every year. (Corrigan 2014)

I mean there’s an amazing amount of stuff going on here. It disappeared for a while. It looked like it was not going to carry on. So there was a big gap...all the weirdoes [experimental musician-artists]...my lot are all getting elderly...There was a massive change happening here [towards conventional expression], and then a woman called Pest, do you know about her?...Tempest Gale...she was really the sort of new head of it all...she was [a force] with the activities. She was a wonderful poet, a great performer, lovely singer, and she was a little weird, like a kind of mild-mannered Goth [laughs], and she was like this new energy which was attracting young people. So we’re talking about young people, maybe under 30, that kind of age, and then of course somebody killed her...Her death kind of pulled our hearts out...She was the promise, if you like, of the future...I think she was...She was young...Both her parents are performers, so she’d come from a very good time, and...It’s as though there’s a kind of wake for her going on for quite a long time, like a sadness?...And so it’s OK, all us old people, being in charge [of governing, of protecting, of leading an alternative vision for Hornby], or whatever, but, after a while you need other input, and I think that’s back again. (Smith 2013)

She wouldn’t say that she was political. And I don’t know that that’s the right word, but she...saw things in the world and commented on them, and did that here a lot...and some of [the comments] were specific to Hornby, and some of them were specific to...the tourism industry here. Some of them were specific to land prices being higher, the housing issue. I

think that she was a performer who would present these ideas to people and hopefully people took those ideas and thought about them. And even better is if they thought about them and changed something in their lives to help the community. And so I think that's the most that it can do is...it can move somebody into a new idea or thought process. I think that's what [art and music] can do. (Devost 2013)

She played her banjo on the back of her boat every morning when it was proper weather. (Gale 2014)

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of two remarkable people. While my sources reported conflicting depictions about the rise and fall of the power of women on Hornby, all of them demonstrated that today and in the past, most of Hornby's major institutions are headed up and founded by women. It seems to me that Tempest Grace Gale, who arrived on Hornby at roughly 14 years old in 1998, found a good deal in Hornby of what Hilary Newitt Brown established beginning in 1937. I like to think I too am a result of Hilary Brown's efforts to create a more just global society through her local work on Hornby, her (eco)systemic PDs, and I know that all of Hornby's musicians are inspired by Tempest Gale.

I interviewed roughly twice as many men as I did women on Hornby. This was partially because I set out to interview people I had played music with. On the whole I encountered and played with more male musicians in my time there. Of the three bands I played in, one had two women out of seven members (the family band), one had six women out of nine members (the marimba band), and one was exclusively comprised of men (the reggae band). At casual gatherings I found that women often did not have core roles on rhythm instruments (guitar, bass, drums), but did lead groups as singers and auxiliary instrumentalists (mandolin, flute, fiddle). There were a surprising number of female cello players as well. I interviewed all the women I played music with while there—except for those under 18 years old—and then I began branching out to women I had met, who might not have been musicians, though I sensed they might be

interested in speaking with me, particularly about the role of women in Hornby's history and society.

If I have regrets about traveling to Hornby, they are in part that I did not arrive soon enough to befriend many of a generation that are now passing, better than half of whom are women. Due to Hornby's demographic distribution and the passage of time, elderly deaths have become increasingly frequent. It is possible that Hilary Brown is Hornby's most singular community member in settler society. Hilary Brown was still alive when I first visited Hornby before I began this dissertation, but I never knew her. She was born in 1909, and died in 2007 in her home on Hornby, at Heron Rocks. Darryl Bohn is one of the caretakers of the Heron Rocks Cooperative and was at her bedside, and he recalls her passing as "one of the most tender moments of my life" (Bohn 2014). As Bill Smith reflects,

Hilary Brown and Heron Rocks: I mean you see it there. All those women's organizations, like The Voice of Women, that's how [my partner] came here in the first place, because her mother was part of that, and she was in Vancouver. And somebody said oh, "you should go and visit Hornby," they said to her mother, because, there's Hilary Brown, all those women are already here. And we're talking about, oh, Jesus, 50 years ago, or something. Hilary Brown is like a legend on Hornby. (Smith 2013)

Growing up in Helensburg Scotland, now a site of nuclear missile storage that would have been closed if the 2014 Scottish independence referendum had passed, Brown lost four brothers in the First World War. At her memorial in the Hornby Island Community Hall, Theresa Wolfwood described Hilary's life as "shaped by war—a century of endless war—committed to ending all war" (2007). She spent her teenage and early years of university in France and then Germany where she met her future husband, "H.B." Witnessing the terrifying rise in fascism, and yet resisting it, she was forced to return to complete her studies in England in 1932. There she taught at her mother's Montessori School and continued to participate in anti-fascist activism.

Frustrated with what she perceived to be the inexcusable ignorance of people in England, she wrote *Women Must Choose* in 1936, which was published through Virginia Woolf's Hogarth Press and cited by the same author. The book outlined the essential part that Brown felt women must play in politics.

By some lucky fluke for Hornby Island, while on her book tour, Brown and H.B. decided the world was not headed in a good direction, and having seen some of the U.S. and Canada, they chose to immigrate and to put down roots in 1937 on Hornby where today the Heron Rocks Friendship Society now exists. When Hilary arrived she soon joined the Hornby Island Women's Institute, founded after Edith Scott of Hornby who sought help in 1922 for her ten-year-old step-daughter who had tuberculosis of the spine (Snapd 2014). Through the Second World War, Brown travelled in North America and gave lectures on peace and women in society. In 1941 she was instrumental in establishing the Hornby Island Credit Union, whose first loan was to the Savoie family to run a ferry service. From there, she helped found most key island institutions including but not limited to: 1942, first BC School's Saving Program (continues today); 1955, Hornby Island Co-op; 1966, Canadian Aid for Vietnam Civilians; 1970, Heron Rocks Camping Co-operative; 1977, Hornby Island New Horizons (Senior Centre) and Library; 1985, Hornby Island Archives; 1992, Hornby Island Elder Housing Society (Kittleson 2008; Sanford 2010).

In the early 1960s, Brown joined the Voice of Women (VOW), or Canadian Voice of Women for Peace. Initially the organization focused on nuclear proliferation during the Cold War and famously brought attention to nuclear testing by demonstrating that baby teeth in North America contained high levels of Strontium-90. The group also took issue with the war in Vietnam and aided American draft dodgers and deserters who numbered between 20,000 and 40,000 in Canada. Perhaps 125,000 Americans left due to political opposition in total, 1 person

for every 2,000 in America, and half of these remained in Canada after the war. Brown was constantly trying to organize this contingent on Hornby into a more focused and politicized response to the war (Lawrence 2013). Hilary was friend and peer of Kay MacPherson, Moira Armour, and Muriel Duckworth, notable Canadian women's rights activists. In fact, along with MacPherson and Armour, Judith Lawrence (who co-founded VOW) was introduced to Hornby—where she has owned property since 1968 on Downes Point and resided since 1991—by Brown following a 1967 VOW meeting in Vancouver (Lawrence 2013).⁵⁸ MacPherson and Armour also bought property, MacPherson in 1975 where she would visit in the summers (Padgham 1999). Armour also lived on Hornby and took part in the community's organizations, directing the Hornby Festival before passing away, a job that Deidre Atkinson eventually took up (see Chapter 8). Brown regularly contributed to programming for the CBC through the 1950s and 1960s. She was the inaugural director and chair of the Islands Trust for two years. She was essential in promoting the textile and weaving traditions now found on Hornby. She made quality homebrew and received the Governor General's Medal of Honour. She was a tireless British-Canadian socialist. In her passing, leaving no children, she bequeathed her astonishing property to the preservation of Heron Rocks Friendship Society. My feeling is that Hilary Brown is the reason that Hornby's utopias depart from less-reasoned and less-sustainable aspects of the counter-cultural movement. Brown was already there, doing the hard work of actual community activism, developing the culture of institutional deviance and anti-war mentality long before any hippies arrived, long before her vibrations sucked me in.

It is not only one of Hornby Island's greatest tragedies that brought me to Tempest Grace Gale. Surely I would have interviewed her and played music with her if she had still lived on the

⁵⁸Judith lived next door to us, and we bought eggs from her on a number of occasions.

island when I began this fieldwork. Her relevance to this dissertation is first and foremost as a musician, artist, and island activist. Tempest, who called herself and was known as “Pest” at times, was an extraordinary individual who thrived within the arts community.

Her family left California and Oregon and moved to Hornby to continue their lives devoted to music in a way they thought they could sustain. They left a two-story house and 25 years in a psychedelic country band behind them to eventually live in a small boat. Drawn by connections to producers, the family stayed because of how the community embraced them, and because Michael Gale, Tempest’s father, literally could hear the island singing to him. “I would hear vaguely some music, and I would get my guitar and memorize what I was hearing. It’s rather like catching butterflies with a net. I wouldn’t catch all the songs, but I would catch some of them” (Gale 2014). Jazzmyre Corrigan, Tempest’s mother, recalls that for her and Tempest, having moved to Hornby, they felt that “here are our people” (Corrigan 2014).

Corrigan related a story to me that encapsulated how Tempest felt welcomed in all her being, perhaps a fellow “weirdo” as Bill Smith described himself. When Tempest first arrived, she would “use eye liner to make intricate black designs over about half of her face...and wore all black except for her white socks” (ibid. 2014). On Tempest’s first Halloween on Hornby, her mother helped her create a cross from driftwood that she tied herself to outside of the party at The Hall where she stood in silence. Instead of people being put off by her display, individuals of all ages asked her what she was doing and were interested in her answers, and “that was very encouraging for her” (ibid. 2014), especially as a young person.

I found many of the young people on Hornby had a different sense of their position in society, one of greater equality with adults. Off island life was noticeably different for youth,

[Y]ou call your teachers by their first name...I went to middle school and refused to call them Mr. and Mrs. because I thought it was so rude that they would make me do that...I wouldn't go back to my middle school or my high school to visit my teachers, but I go to Hornby school, and I hang out with Joy, Joan, and there are all these beautiful people that live on the same island as me, and they're my friends now. They're not these scary individuals who are superior to me and have authority over me. (F. Crowe 2011)

In the U.S., Tempest's family was used to having to play music competitively, carving out a specific identity to attract an audience, and having to plan gigs for when big acts like Bob Dylan were not in town. Coming to Hornby, they felt accepted for who they were, and musically, they also had to adapt to become more flexible and less specialized. Jazzmyre described Hornby's musical scene as "more egalitarian" with fewer "lower-archys and higher-archys [sic]." Politically, Gale described his personal PDs of "it's more we than me" as derived from the French-Canadians in Height-Ashbury. However, echoing the way Melisa Devost described Tempest, Gale stated "I don't consider myself political, I consider myself social" (2014).

Eventually Tempest could also hear songs and catch them, coming from the island. Her father and she both felt an obligation to play and record these songs for others. Tempest was at least a third generation musician. Experiencing the kind of party atmosphere one can find on Hornby, the family created their band, The Killer Bagels, and decided to create instrumental music so that people could "discourse" while they played (Corrigan 2014). With dwindling savings, the family realized they might be able to save some money by living on boats down in Ford's Cove where they now moor. There, they set up solar panels, which they use to charge their portable amps and a (small) solar recording studio.

Tempest is remembered as youthful, contradictory, and courageously so in developing her ethics. She is remembered as a leader in reminding Hornby of what it must protect. Certainly,

her talent was raw, but also promising. Rita Chiarelli, one of Canada's blues icons, recalls

Tempest from the workshops she held:

People would come up to me—"have you heard TemPest?"...She blew me away with her performances. Every time, her voice was better, her interpretation, her playing. The unicycle, the stilt walking, the banjo, the guitar, the singing, the spoken word—she just had it all, a raw raw talent on her way to great things. (Chiarelli in Thomas n.d.)

From her poignant vocal beat-boxed track, "Calling All People," easily found on YouTube, one can locate the evolving work Tempest was putting into her pieces and the ethics she derived from her surroundings and upbringing, but unheard here is also her growing instrumental talent:

*Callin' all people
Come together
With each other
Make this world bb-better!*

I'm calling you out:
All you freaks, all you of the counter culture
All you dissidents, those who disagree with the way things are going.
How we are being manipulated,
Processed, and Regurgitated
Made passive and separated

People!

I'm calling you out:
Out of your comfort shells as an individual to experience this diverse community
For divided we fall.
Made small by the consumer safety net invented to keep you indebted.
Come out of your padded castle built on guilt and repression
Out into the street to meet those like minded for
We live in a time that is running out!

*Callin' all people
Come together
With each other
Make this world bb-better!*

I'm calling you out:
For we all agree that something is amiss
That we've been misplaced and now we are about to be found out

Recognizing the similarities that bind us united they can't terrorize us, for we are the

People!

I'm calling you out:

For though we stand on different sands

We comprise the shores of this vast land

Under the sun, beneath the skin

Finding ourselves as spirit again

Soul beings seeing the same light,

Arising to our divine senses we were given in these bodies to make a difference with our
existence!

Callin' all people

Come together

With each other

Make this world better!

I'm calling you out:

To listen, let go of the hollow throat of division

Revive your eyes made dull and blind by over stimulation

Allow yourself the space to be made to feel uncomfortable at the rate of decline of inquiring
minds

Succumbing to the natural decline of natural inclination to question!

People!

I am calling you out:

So come out with me to the streets, and we'll gather our scattered faith

Stat to recover our inner vision

Eliminate the estranged skin

Superimposed segregation

These toxic ways outdated, the jaded soil of modernization

Dig in!

Revitalize this great sacred earth that provides us with life

Worn tired by the trampling feet of six point seven

Bb-billion, billion

People!

Come together

With each other

Make this world better!

I'm calling you out:

Lay down your arms of dissention

Political bickering of race and religion
To embrace the whole of the human essence
The gift of our mass restlessness to make constructive changes
Register the big picture locally
Bring it home, become strong within your own nation
Realize the truth that resides in you!

People!

I'm calling you out:
That in our strength we not stand apart because we are each a part of the solution
As fingers to the hand spinning strands with every orchestration
Conducting the weave into a culmination of planetary understanding
Demanding recognition of this collective transmigration
Cultivating the teachings of seven generations
The cause is ready for you to step into your power

*I'm Callin' all people
Come together
With each other
Make this world bb-better!*

I'm calling all
We're calling aaaaall
People!

(From the back of a Heron Rocks Friendship Centre Newsletter, April, 2010)

Tony Law actually used this very piece to inspire the Islands Trust Council:

When the Council came to Hornby a little bit after she died, I played that song at the beginning of the council meeting...It really made a difference in terms of how people approached things, just to hearing that...song of the moment. You realize, OK, this is somebody that had a vision and a message for us, this young person who died, and there's all these older people, most of us are over 50, really took that, and said, OK, we got thinking that this is what our work is about, was thinking of the vision that young people have of how they want the world to be. So let's hold that vision, right? (Law 2013)

Clearly Tempest inherited an extraordinary education from her parents and Hornby. She "took the family *vibe* and refined it and refined it, and went further and further into 'art is not something outside of yourself,' it is you, always at all times. You are the art, there was no separation" (Gale 2014, my emphasis). She was her own "art world." I wish I could have asked

Tempest about the importance of seeing one's self as an individual as art and seeing the world as art, that tension between an embodied environmental ethic and external environmental problems.

The RCMP concluded that on November 17th, 2009, Tempest had been murdered at 25 years old. The media played up a narrative of a "B.C. utopian island" now broken, but Hornby had suffered other shocks in the past. Their response as a community was to work with the loss through nights and days of musicking, and to bury Tempest with elaborate ritual of remembrance. Gale and Corrigan stopped playing music as Gale suffered an injury to his hand and Corrigan had damaged her voice in her grief. When I spoke to them in September of 2014, they felt they were beginning to make their way back towards what they feel they are here to do, make music. Gale suggested that for the first time in a long time, while we were talking, the most talking he had done in years he said, he thought he could hear the island's songs again.

For a while music on the island slowed in memory of Tempest. She was everywhere, her works in everyone's homes and heads. In retrospect, it appeared to her family and others that her songs predict her own death, and having listened to some of them, recorded recently before she passed, the themes were quite overwhelming. Tempest was a very productive artist with her bone marionettes, "folk-yeah" open-mic nights at Joe King, poetry, performance art, performance curating, circus skills, sewing and jewelry work, all the PDs and so much more. I noticed mementos and shrines to her presence in most homes, or randomly tucked into posters and public space. She was busy working to make the change she thought was needed.

A Facebook page dedicated to her memory catalogues numerous works inspired by Tempest. There is speak of a future Festival on Hornby in the coming years, and there is a CD in the works that offers new renditions of her songs. Periodically, photos of her are found, as are videos that are shared and re-shared.



Figure 62 and Figure 63: Tempest Grace Gale. Permission for photos granted by her parents.

Melisa Devost

The woman jazz player has had to rise above the norm in her ability to manipulate the music's inherent meanings, before she could transcend the interruptive delineations of her feminine display. (Green 1997: 74)



Figure 64: Melisa Devost with The Survivalists soul band at Phipp's Point, Hornby's old ferry dock and amazing phosphorescent swimming spot, with Denman Island and Vancouver Island in the backdrop.

There are any number of people I might have chosen to profile in detail in this dissertation, but I have chosen Melisa Devost because she is someone who has lived perhaps all of the experiences of musicianship and life on Hornby that I describe in this dissertation. She is not the "every-Hornbyite," but others referenced her as a strong representative of musicking on Hornby. Devost spent three different interview sessions with me totaling five hours (the most I spent with any individual) and she would have spent more time with me if I had asked. My family and I also lived in Lex Dominiak's house with Devost for over a week.

I should lay out a few of my biases and impressions to begin. I count her as a friend, and I like her and her talent, but what has impressed me most for her age, 35 when I interviewed her in 2013, is her articulate introspection and observations about musicking. She is one of the few individuals I spoke to who can describe life as an amateur and professional musician, as a youth and as an adult, on, and off island, having been raised by the island. What I am doing in this section is not offering a biography but a sketch of Devost's experience musicking Hornby.

When we put the reggae band together (see Chapter 10), Devost had essentially organized the same musicians for her own band, the soul band, just a couple months before we began reggae rehearsals. I knew of Devost from my prior research into musicians on Hornby. However, when we organized the reggae band, Devost was away.

Devost was continuing her Fitzmaurice Voicework® training in California. This practice is devoted to the holistic importance of voice for self expression. Such is a deceptively simple way of describing the work. The training, like so many meditation practices, focuses on breath, the body, the mind, emotions, healing, and release. Devost now periodically offers workshops on the island, and the opportunity is offered as therapeutic, fun, and creative. Doing this kind of

training has lead Devost to a more rigorous articulation of what vocalizing, and by extension playing and singing music, offers to society and individuals.

Devost grew up on Hornby and was raised by her parents Dale and Peggie. Here's part of a blurb she wrote for the First Edition, describing her mother's group for an upcoming show,

You've probably seen them before—at the Bakery, or perhaps at the Fall Faire. Or maybe you've seen them dressed as aliens, hippies, or in Marilyn Munroe wigs and tuxedos at a HIPAC (Hornby Island Performing Arts Committee) special event. What you may not know, however, is that the musical combination of Peggie Devost, Bonita Thornsburry, Dana Inglis and Glen Rabena is called Short and Sweet and have been playing together for thirty years. To celebrate their thirty-year musical anniversary, Short and Sweet are doing something they have never done before: putting on their own show at the Community Hall. (Devost 2013)

Devost told me that in describing the band she was “trying to imagine what I would think if I just came across this” (2013). The blurb goes on to describe their musical tastes—country, folk, bluegrass, blues, and jazz arranged for three part harmony—and their history, noting that the proceeds would go to the Community Radio and Elder Housing. The dancing that night was incredible, particularly by Pam Gordon, the farmer who at 90 was outdoing everyone else. The show was staged as a mock “Vintage Radio Show,” and was later rebroadcast on the radio. This is the environment Devost grew up in.

Devost bussed to the high school in Comox, spent some time in Victoria at Camosun College, and then dropped out to pursue music full time. She went abroad and had “an ass kicking” in Ireland, and eventually did some studies in jazz, voice, and guitar at Vancouver Island University. She then moved back to Hornby for a time in her mid-twenties while touring and recording music. I asked her how the community supported her:

My parents live here...And my chosen family lives here...they're always a good support...Hornby's always been here, physically. And I've had a bit of a pattern ever since I left when I was a teenager, of going out in the world and getting my ass kicked a whole lot and then coming back and going, “OK,” and having a breather...Artistically,

the island always has been very supportive of young people especially, because I've been performing on the island since I was, like, six. (Devost 2013)

Hornby has been a place of refuge for Devost and a place for connection, community:

“obviously I think that there is something constitutionally for me that likes being in a place where there's lots of nature around” (2013). She was careful to qualify that nature on Hornby is far more than pleasant days at the beach, but that it can be harsh, scary, and intense. Like so many interviewees, Devost feels that what she dislikes about community life are the same things that she likes. For example, she mentioned communication and perspective. On the one hand, people are willing to have deep impassioned conversations at the drop of a hat, and at the same time, others might engage in really spiteful and harmful rumour. There is an enviable forgetfulness in places with greater numbers: people can change and are seen as changed more easily. Devost appreciates that most people on Hornby choose “this lifestyle. They choose it, really specifically... people have lived in Berlin and New York, all over the place... Toronto. And have chosen here, like, really chosen it, you know?” (2013).

Devost pointed out that a lot of people who do not know about Hornby feel it must be an easy place to live. Her perspective on this point contrasts with Reuben Wier's, another young islander who spent a good portion of his youth in the community. However, they would both likely agree that while subsisting on Hornby is not difficult, thriving can be. Both of them would agree that everyday living is not always as convenient as life in the city, where almost all imaginable amenities are at home, just around the corner, or a short trip away. Like so many young Islanders who have grown up on Hornby, these community-raised members feel a frustration with the inability to achieve moments of privacy and anonymity. A trip to The Co-op can be, if one is not having a great day, an exercise in polite conversation. Everyone is expected

to have the time to converse; “you can make enemies at The Co-op if you don’t stop and talk to people” (Gale 2014). On Hornby, the ability to be “off-display” is often an expression of one’s fortune in owning particular kinds of property. Everyone should have the right to privacy, but only some can actually afford it. Even walking along what would seem an empty beach, there can be so many houses that watch from above.

As someone who leaves the island, who people feel some claim upon as an island representative they helped raise, individuals are particularly interested in hearing about Devost’s exploits abroad. Re-sharing the same tales of travel again and again can be exhausting, “I’ve dreamed often of just being able to beam the basic information about what I’ve been doing for the past six months into people’s brains” (2013). She does not share this information with me to complain, but because I solicit complaints from her. Upon moving to Vancouver, Devost struggled knowing, “I’m going to come in contact with way more people every day in the city, but I might not actually need to engage with them. And so I think that that’s a thing, is that here, there are certain boundaries that don’t necessarily exist, or people will sort of not be as aware of them, because we all kind of know each other” (2013). That’s a different social vibe.

This kind of self/environment permeability is exactly what I mean to describe on Hornby, and the consequences are positive and negative. “You can kind of get down to it with people here. Like there’s a little bit of a sense of, I don’t necessarily have to do a lot of upkeep to whatever pretense that I want people to [imagine I am]...I don’t know if that’s just because I don’t think I could get away with it much here, because I grew up here” (2013). Devost is not alone in this observation. After moving to Hornby from the city, Rachelle Chinnery finds “people don’t shave as much, and, the women let their hair grow out. They don’t dye it anymore, and, they stop wearing fingernail polish, and, they’ll go to the free store, and, be happy with the

stuff that they find” (Chinnery 2013). Of course, these are potentially superficial manifestations of change, but for some, such changes can be surprisingly vulnerable and scary. “You see...this releasing...you go down to the beach in the winter, and you’ll see... people [alone] walking with bare feet in the winter...and everyone’s having their [reflexive] experience, you know?...I don’t know what comes first, Hornby or [facing] your authentic self?” (Chinnery 2013). It’s compelling and frightening because one is exposed in new ways, especially if people do not wish you well. One also wants to hold onto one’s struggles and triumphs and own them, not have them be the community’s: “I just look back at the 18-year old and I’m like, “aw.” So full of piss and vinegar. Just so excited to get out there and sing her little songs” (Devost 2013).

After teaming up with Ken Whitely at the Hornby Island Blues Festival and touring with him as a driver, singer, and guitarist, Devost worked with a number of island musicians to do her own touring. She’d hire Ken Clark, and Tony Wilson, and others like Ted Tanner to tour locally, and then she wanted to try and go big in Vancouver, partly because the pool of musicians on the island at that time was much smaller. She eventually became overworked with several bands, promoting shows, and teaching, but learned a great deal about what it takes to “make it.” When she moved back to Hornby most recently, she was able to put together a different kind of band:

It was kind of awesome because the resources existed. The people were here for us to just do it. And we could put on this big show that we absolutely knew, there was never any doubt in my mind that it would be a huge success. Like we just knew it, based on who we all are, and based on our reputations, and based on that it’s our kind of... I mean, Ted and I have played together, and Ken and I have played together, but I’ve never played with Marc, really, and Brett, so kind of also it being our first collaboration. It’s like, you know, it’s going to be a success. Whereas, in the city, I could put together a kick ass soul band playing cover tunes, and that’s automatically kind of like looked at as, like, “what? You didn’t write all the songs?” you know? And it becomes something else... The cover band scene [here] is a totally different thing, and carries a totally different weight of integrity to it than the person who’s written all their own material and all that kind of stuff. Whereas here, it was like, that was one of the most fun things I’ve done, music-wise in ages, for all of us, it was. Like, not just for me. So that would have been difficult to pull

off in the city. And I don't know whether we would have done it or done it for the same reasons or done it in the same way. (Devost 2013)

In the city, musicians see playing a gig on Hornby as having less weight, validity, pressure, and importance. For example, one could never have a cover band achieve the same kind of social status in the city that it does on Hornby. A bunch of White Canadians playing 1960s and 1970s reggae or soul hits drawing a crowd? Devost and I don't think so.⁵⁹ Devost was quick to point out the dangers of "a captive audience...they'll kind of swallow whatever you throw at them," but that "I think moving people essentially moves me, like it's sort of that reciprocation" (2013) and musicking on Hornby can be really fulfilling in this respect.

As an artist, her luck has been frustrating. She is clearly gifted but has not been able to achieve financial success. Devost discussed the devastating aspects of a musical career in detail, but also how so many of her expectations came from external systems of valuation:

You talk to anybody who's toured around Canada, and we've done a whole lot of playing in places where there are either hardly anybody there or lots of people there...And so much work and investment put in. And so that sucks. That sucks a lot. And it's always been such a fucked up thing to me that songwriters are like artists who are, I think, by nature pretty sensitive people, are the ones that have to fucking suck it up, right?...I went through a couple years and there were also some very great personal losses that didn't have to do with music...And I just decided to stop, basically, or just to step back and admit it. (Devost 2013)

Devost has not toured in a few years now. She found she was shutting down, on and off stage, "dampening." Of late, she has discovered how enjoyable it can be to develop a repertoire that is not one's own and to be able to share songs with others that may not be so strongly attached to her person as a song-writer. So much of song-writing work is personal, and so much musicianship can be devoted to developing songs, that in a way, singer song-writers can be amazingly talented and yet totally isolated and unschooled in just playing and supporting other

⁵⁹ This point contrasts with Pedelty's assertion that cover bands tend to be more successful (2012: 9).

people's music, perhaps around a fire. Finding this joy has changed her perspective on what music needs to be for her, as a professional musician, where she does not always have to be on stage or treating all musical encounters as equally important.

Devost eloquently describes her work to become a more balanced performer,

One of the things that I've been working really hard to do...that has gotten me intrigued about performing again, is to actually not close myself off to feeling things when I play for people. I think there's a lot of very heavy armoring that has happened over the years of again, negotiating this vast indifference that we're consistently up against...For me it's just feeling stuff, letting the room in bits at a time. And it's huge for me, and I think for a lot of people. I think it's pretty common to not feel nothing, but to be really, really guarded and armored about what...we're allowed to feel and about what we're not allowed to feel [on stage]. And we're not supposed to feel tired or nervous or angry or frustrated or any of those things when we're performing. And I think we do ourselves a great disservice by not feeling those things. And that's a whole other rabbit hole because that's what I study and practice in my voice work is that very thing... really honestly feeling things and letting those feelings be there in my performance is a huge massive undertaking... We should be allowed to feel those things, and we should allow ourselves to feel those things because again, there are a lot of physical repercussions involving breath that happen when...we manage our feelings by managing and holding our breath. So from a vocal perspective: not super healthy... The process of me actually taking in my audience is very incremental. Sometimes, I won't look directly at them because that will be too much information for me to actually assimilate in sort of a meaningful way. Or sometimes I'll just kind of feel them on the side of my face. Like literally, my face will get hot...paying attention to stuff like that and playing with that and playing with those times when I can allow myself to just close my eyes and go inward for a minute, which is like a retreat, in a sense. It's like pulling a blanket over and just going, "ahhhh," and then going, "OK, time to step out a little bit"... That negotiation is what I've been really interested in lately. And how to do it in a way that's honest, right?, where I'm not hiding things, where I'm letting things be there that may be uncomfortable. (Devost 2013)

Again, the permeability of performing on Hornby is so apparent in her words. The nuance of sharing PDs on stage is much more than merely creating a utopian togetherness or grooving. It's also a taxing offering for many performers, particularly women.⁶⁰ We discussed things like the

⁶⁰ Women encounter specific challenges with respect to jazz, a "threatening attractiveness" (note the reference to nature): "first, the woman singer continues to appear masked and enclosed in her body; secondly, this helps to affirm her closeness to nature and her alienation from technology; thirdly, public singing calls into question her sexual life; fourthly she is contrarily counterpoised as an image of maternal perfection in the domestic setting" (Green 1997: 36).

importance of the green room as a refuge before and after a show, a space to prepare and decompress, and how to deal with zealous and possibly drunk and grabby fans.

Devost and I discussed a lot of the particulars of what happens in rehearsals. She feels as interested in structural and social PDs as I am, and sees that (eco)systemic PDs comprise many of the opportunities for coming closer to community by improving the self and the group. For example, she's been really enjoying her growing ability to put out songs she wants to do with the soul band, and then simply letting others bring their interpretations back to her, rather than trying to dictate every aspect of a piece as seemed required when she was doing her own songs,

I've been thinking about the word control, because in this Fitzmaurice Voicework® that I do, one of my students was talking about how she felt like, after taking my workshop that she felt like she had more control over her voice, but that that seems counter to the point of what the work is. And I was thinking about it, and I'm like, well, "yes, and no."...I don't know that control is necessarily the goal...Agency right?, is the word that I've been preferring because it's like, I think there's of course huge benefit in gaining agency over your instrument, no matter what it is, because then you can just do stuff, right? But I think really interesting things can happen in that moment when you let go of control, but you still have the agency. Some really cool shit can happen, and you go, "whoa," and totally surprise yourself. And it can be delightfully surprising...I think that that's sort of part of it too, is that in working on the skills, you know, working on just being skillful, I guess, as a person, which I don't know what that means, but, you know, like things like kindness and listening to people and things like that, but not necessarily in a way that's... and then just sort of allowing for those things to lead you places. I think it's kind of an interesting, an interesting balance. (Devost 2013)

Again, I cannot help but find in Devost's words those aspects of musicking that involve the self, the community, and one's environment. Currently, Devost is expanding her teaching practice while continuing to earn an income like so many Islanders, though a handful of different jobs.

In this chapter I have worked to explore some aspects of gender on Hornby, including a focus on reproduction, women and musicking, labour, family structures, and parenting. Some Islanders would likely reject my inclusion of the discussion of nude beaches and swimming in this section at all. Even as such objections may have solid footing, public nudity on Hornby has

had profound cultural impact for the island and deserves attention within this dissertation.

Bringing consideration to three individuals in particular, Hilary Brown, Tempest Grace Gale, and

Melisa Devost, I have also introduced a tone to my narrative that speaks to response to adversity.

These three exemplify much of the spirit of this dissertation and of Hornby Island, to foster

cohesive community, to music, and to offer a critical perspective of our obligations to each other

and our environment. Hornby faces many challenges in striving for its expressed interest in

environmental ethos, and contributions from individuals like these are what keep the community

working towards such goals. The remainder of this dissertation continues that response.

Chapter 8: Venues, Audiences, and Performers

[For sociomusicology] it is necessary to go through each mediation, look at each device, see each situation and follow the way in which pieces and languages, but also bodies, collectives, objects, writings, ways of judging and ways of listening circulate, producing sets of works or styles of music, qualified and commented on, and publics ready to receive them. (Hennion 2005: 134)

I think one of the things that creates a context for music is the fact that the last ferry is at six, and so we're pretty much isolated on the island. We have to make our own entertainment, and so, you know, musical events and jams form part of socializing. And then of course there's the Jazz night which has been going on for about a quarter of a century and, you know, that's kind of a cornerstone of community sort of socialization. And then the big events like the Festival and the Celtic Festival have been going on for probably a quarter century too, and then the Blues Society has been going on for, I don't know, 10 to 15 years. So I think those events also kind of help stimulate musical activity, yes. And of course dances, you know, people like to dance, and then people get together and play music for dances. (Law 2013)

In this chapter, as the most apparent “environment” for musicking on Hornby, I set down descriptions of performance spaces. Both performers and audience members are constrained in different ways by each venue. Performing in each space engenders different meanings as does choosing to attend events. These spaces together form Hornby's physical musical environment. The rituals one experiences in each space are quite unique, and these rituals bring out different members of the island's populations. Choosing to attend and perform in these spaces has significant social, professional, moral, and political consequence and meaning. These spaces are, after all, where groups work to achieve a platform for sharing their PDs vibrations (see Chapter 11) with the community which are then dispersed everywhere: “musically, I participate in the community by walking around and singing to the rhythm of my footsteps as much as I can. Singin' while I walk through The Co-op, singin' while I get coffee” (Crowe 2011).

There is a number of (eco)systemic PDs these spaces share in common; “pretty much everything that happens here, in terms of shows, are self-made” (Devost 2013). Aside from The

Thatch, none of them are licensed, so one has to procure a permit to sell alcohol. None of Hornby's venues have any installed sound equipment. This means that when performing, people need access to not just their own amplifiers and instruments, but also a P.A., including cables, microphones, a mixing board, speakers, and monitors. Groups may have to mix their own sound or find someone to monitor the sound for a night, a difficult task, incredibly so if one is supposed to control the sound and perform simultaneously. In most cases, the acoustics of the venues on the island are terrible, and this underscores the need for good sound management and equipment.

A show generally entails the complete breakdown of a rehearsal space, the complete set up of instruments and P.A. in the venue, the complete breakdown after the show, and, a complete set up of in the rehearsal space, with two rounds of lifting and one of transportation between each step. This amount of effort, generally for every single gig that includes a singer (as singers generally need at least a single microphone and speaker to match their bands in volume), is extraordinary, and amplifies the amount of social production required to put on a Hornby show.

People take entire days off for shows. A show can become an entire reality, a headspace for a time. If food is sold, someone generally has to prepare, transport, and sell it personally. To sell alcohol, someone has to have her or his "serving it right" certification, and will have travelled into Courtenay and back to purchase alcohol. Obtaining a liquor license from the RCMP may include hiring off-Islanders who are certified in crowd management. A door person needs to be hired, and a clean-up crew is needed unless the band is to stay after a show long into the night. All decorations need to go up by the start of a show and come down by the end of the night for spaces in high demand where another activity may take place early the next morning.

In the following, I do much more than describe the particulars of venues. I return to my promises of pragmatic examples for the theoretical aspects in Chapter 1 including descriptions of

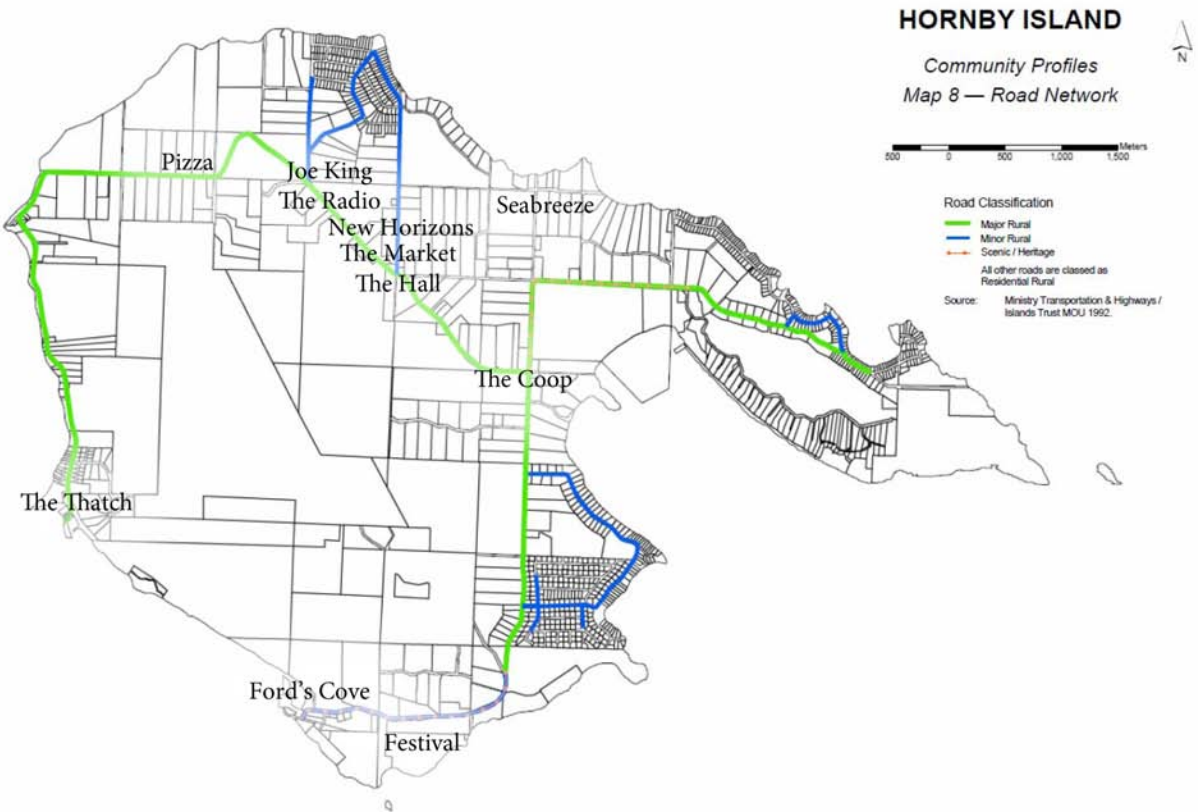
Hornby's sociomusicological "music worlds" (Finnegan 1989) and my structural-social-(eco)systemic PDs, including my thick place symbolic PDs. My aim is also to communicate just how varied Hornby's musical community is for an annual population of 1000 and to give a sense of how it is possible for even a casually interested musician to fill almost every day of the week with some kind of musical activity. As Jill Candlish, who has taught music at the community school for some years, describes the situation,

I've had way more opportunities to perform both dance and music because I live on Hornby in a small community, because we make our own entertainment a lot of the time. And we do...have access to great music that comes here... We pay for, but in between those times, we perform for each other a lot. Really, I mean I perform probably 20 times a year in some capacity or more maybe. And if I include my kids up there getting them performing...and I've got [a]...couple of dads or mums playing with us...in the kid's band it's even more...I'm not a professional musician at all, other than a professional teacher, but I don't think that happens in the city. I don't think somebody with my capacity would be performing 10, 20 times a year at coffee houses or big stages: like at the festival. I don't think that's as common, but we know each other, we value each other's work. (Candlish 2013)

For many people, the purpose of getting together and playing is all about putting on a show. Lots of people enjoy the motivation of knowing there is a deadline and that a reasonable number of rehearsals will be needed to meet it. Even while most of the work will take place elsewhere, the venue is the goal, where one seeks to share and receive "love" (Devost 2013),

I found playing...with people on Hornby, because I've played a lot with different people in the city...there's an ambition in the city that is always there, even when it's not...Here I may meet up and have a jam or play with people. Then we're like, "oh we should do a show." That would be about as ambitious as things get: "we should do a show." Whereas in the city if you get together and play music, at the end of the jam someone will say, "did you record that?" "Or let's do something," and it might have to do with needing money or just being in a different environment, but there's a different drive to music and a different pressure... Have a vision of the CD cover, get a website, what [band] names are you picking up? I think that just has to do with life in the city...that...I can't get my clothes at the free store. (O'Donnell 2013)

And so I turn to where the music happens.



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Figure 65: A map with the locations of the major venues on Hornby Island.

Pizza: A Taste of Paradise

At the pizza restaurant, there's all these overqualified people to be working in a pizza [joint]...They're here because they want to be doing it. (Dominiak 2013)

When I buy a \$25 medium pizza, I know...ten of the people working in there: it's their salaries...I'm helping out all my friends. (Clark 2011)

[Music] brings people together, creates connections...Most social events on Hornby are centered around music...It contributes economically somewhat...and it's probably really good for tourism. When people come to the island there's lively stuff happening, and they go to the bakery, and there's Pizza night, and music, and everybody hangs out on the grass and eats their pizza. It's a really enjoyable night...if there were no music there, it would probably be maybe a handful of people sitting on the lawn enjoying their pizza, but not 100 people. So it really changes the social dynamics of things. (Tanner 2013)

We [The Easy Three] played all the time, everywhere. We're talking about the forefront of all this kind of jazzy stuff [on Hornby] at the Cardboard House... The Easy Three started that. We were friends with the people who said, "how about it? And we'll take a hat around, make a little stage, you get free pizza, and we'll bring a case of beer."... And the politics of all this is very interesting, because... politically, you're not odd anymore... You're [in] a place [where] you can talk about Karl Marx... and nobody's going to faint, or run out of the room, or hit you with a baseball bat. They're actually going to argue with you about it... debate it. (Smith 2013)

Pizza can be one of Hornby's most idyllic performance spaces. Above Bill Smith suggests that he helped bring about what is for many, a quintessential and important utopian Hornby institution that began in the early 1990s. It's unsurprising that this memory of his slid directly into an emphasis on the political outlook of Hornby and its tradition of Pizza because there is something profoundly communal about the event. Pizza is full of all of Hornby's contradictory personalities. "Pizza," the music night, happens through the summer, from July to August, every Wednesday and Sunday night, from 6 to 8 pm. Directly outside of the Cardboard House Bakery & Café (the Bakery), which is the commercial extension of the Syzygy land co-op, there is a small orchard of pear, plum, and apple trees, surrounded by black berry bushes. There is a small covered wooden stage, a number of picnic tables, and plenty of room to spread a blanket. People order pizza, salads, smoothies, or bring their own food and drink, and take in a free show. Whether or not the music is amazing does not matter much. On a warm day as the sun dips down, the atmosphere is just incredible, shared with many friends, some of them on stage.

Playing Pizza is a delicate gig. It is an all-ages affair, generally without too much dancing for an audience that is there to chat and enjoy the music. Finding the proper volume is challenging. Swarms of children cluster on the top of a prominent rock in front of the stage. The children will discover they are in everyone's line of sight and take moments to show off their moves to the whole audience. The audience and band will laugh and encourage them. It's quite a

spectacle. To make this gig a well paid evening for the band, the job requires managing the crowd well and having a good mascot (i.e. a cute kid) to move through the busy and treacherous spread of blankets, legs, and food to collect tips with the giant magic hat. When lucky, tourists have just arrived or are leaving the next day and are feeling generous. With free expensive pizza, an honorarium of \$100, and tips, a group can bring in \$500 to \$800 for two hours of music.

Many of the people who perform are locals. Some of the acts that perform only get together once a year, just to play Pizza, or, it will be one of three gigs they perform each year in the summer, motivating them to keep things going over the winter. For example, every year the marimba band plays a wonderful show, set up in the orchard with drums and 5-7 marimbas. Tourists and Islanders both look forward to this specific show.

At one point in time it seemed like the Bakery was ready to shut the whole thing down because they could not handle the stress of so many pizza orders in addition to the huge mass of people that come to the shows with cars. On a dangerous and sharp corner, there can be so much traffic on a Pizza night that they hire traffic directors to guide cars into tight spaces. By keeping the night early and on time, lots of families show up and intoxicants are kept to a minimum.

As Clark points out above, spending at Pizza is a way to feed the community. He is a member of Syzygy and therefore gets a discount. Socially, eating at Pizza can be tricky. Most people would like to go, but Pizza can easily cost \$40 between two with a snack, salad, or drink, and this is much more than the average Hornby family can afford. By contrast, the amount tourists spend at Pizza seems absurd, to all concerned, but then, Hornby is not a cheap vacation, especially if a rental has no kitchen or one is camping. Some Islanders do not attend Pizza because it does feel a frantic and congested spectacle that is overrun with wealthy, demanding, and entitled tourists. The number of people with cameras are their own show. Residents may

resist going in order to save money, but with winter looming, when there is no prospect of eating out, the temptation becomes too much, especially as people have cash in hand in the summer.



Figure 66: A view of Pizza before all the lawn space is taken up.



Figure 67: This is the rock immediately in front of the stage. In the lower right you can see the large magic hat that ideally, one of these children will take around with an older supervisor to collect tips.

The Thatch: The Institution



Figure 68: Brett Martens and Melisa Devost share a drink on a Friday night at The Thatch. **Figure 69:** When it is profitable, the Thatch has been open on Friday nights for the last 25 years to see this ensemble perform.

When you're playing the bar in the summertime, you get all kinds of folks down there. [We've] had so many people come up [and tell us how amazed they are]—because the music is quite different...the first set we'll do some jazz standards while people are eating their beef, and then we'll go off in a Tony world...I mean, we cover Nirvana, we cover Bacharach, we do Beatles' tunes, we do a Beach Boys' tune...And people will recognize the song, but we'll be doing it something quite different. And they'll be actually blown away, because they've only ever heard the Beatles do it...and we're putting it into another zone, but...recognizable. (Bohn 2013)

Friday night "Jazz" has been an institution of Hornby Island's Thatch Pub and Restaurant, since about 1990. Because the same group of musicians has occupied this position for roughly 25 years, "Jazz" has quite a bit of significance on the island. There are few regular places one can go for an evening meal on Hornby, let alone with live music, and there are few shows at The Thatch other than Jazz.

The members of the band include Annie Siegel who comes over from neighbouring Denman Island to play piano and sing, and then leaves on the last ferry off of Hornby. Dana Inglis plays stand-up bass, and Darryl Bohn plays drums, and these two moved towards these instruments in part because it was what was needed for this gig, Darryl Bohn in particular. Nick McGowan plays tenor saxophone with the group, though injuries have prevented him recently, and Tony Wilson plays guitar.

The Thatch is the only space in which live jazz predictably happens on Hornby, though there is a subculture of gypsy jazz guitarists that put on a couple shows a year, namely Marc Atkinson and Brett Martens but also Reuben Wier and others. Perhaps one or two jazz bands will come through the Hornby Festival or by invitation each year. Describing The Thatch without linking it to Jazz is difficult for me, perhaps because I would never go to The Thatch without music. Additionally, when going, I would worry about being asked to sub-in on drums, and so I have needed to be prepared for that as well, and that has marked my experience of the venue,

wondering which jazz standards I know that the band knows and might like to play. These are my own symbolic PDs. At times the space has been in disrepair, and the owners struggle to improve their investment. The stories I receive about the history of the space are circular: one relative selling the business to the next after financial problems, none of the owners actually living on the island, the community almost buying the space, a colossal failure... There are large faded architectural posters in the building promising a controversial condominium-style development that never happened, begging for your investment in 2011. The overall sensation is dingy. When we first visited, the floor needed replacing. The second time we visited, there was a new layer of floor over the old, and the dark ceiling felt closer than ever. On our most recent visit, the deck had been replaced, new, robust, and populated, and people report that the new management, if not ownership, is really making some most positive and welcome changes.

By contrast to the interior, the setting and exterior of The Thatch is just outstanding. The pub looks out on Hornby's ferry landing, the channel between Denman and Hornby. The Thatch has a charming grass roof and stone chimney. It has its own beach, dock, and moorage. The larger property has cabins for rent, recreational facilities, a beer and liquor outlet (somewhat controversial as it is not controlled by the community as The Co-op liquor concession is), coin-op showers and laundry, and tenting spaces. Heading to Jazz as the sun goes down is a really pleasant experience and a treat with a drink and the possibility of abundant blackberries and a swim in late summer. Many people also come to watch sports games when the bar is open.

On Friday night, people go in for the Thatch's twenty-dollar "Famous Baron of Beef Buffet" which I try not to look at or smell. Bohn describes that he can be detached from the gig as a professional providing a service, but, on the other hand, it always has great meaning for him. The first two sets of the night can involve an inattentive tourist audience and renditions of soft

jazz standards, right from “the real book,” tailored for candlelight conversations three feet away from the band. At other times the audience is attentive and McGowan and Wilson really take flight while Bohn, Siegel, and Inglis provide mesmerizing support.

What Wilson enjoys most about the group is spending time with his close friends. Most Islanders and tourists have an incomplete understanding of Wilson as a musician, composer, and band leader with respect to his professional reputation off-island. He is known in Canada and abroad for his avant-garde work, as an improviser, someone who has studied with and played with top jazz musicians like Kevin Eubanks, Dave Holland, and John Abercrombie among many others, and yet, on Hornby if one encounters Wilson on stage, he is generally with some of the Jazz members, playing relatively crowd-pleasing and publicly consumable work that is not very demanding on his listeners. Wilson’s many musical personalities are full of integrity,

Music on Hornby is...a social situation here...and me and Dana and Daryl do some gigs, and we play some weddings, and...we provide a function...And of course on Hornby I play a lot of standards and Beatles songs and stuff like that, because that’s what people play...It would be silly of me to go down and bring some of my music which is in weird time signatures and requires different skills, and then to have some kind of an attitude about that. Really, that’s not what I’m into at all...I look at it as a social function and part of the fabric of the island...I don’t play that music in the city. I don’t go to the city and play standards...I hate doing that [in the city]: the environment you have to do that in. [It] became depressing, all the restaurants and soup gigs. It robs a bit of the soul, kind of cheapens it a bit...I made a living doing that for several years, but eventually I just quit doing that. Because there it was for money, it wasn’t for social. (Wilson 2013)

Wilson plays for the social PDs. By the third set at Jazz, if there is one, when everyone has finished dinner and is listening, after Siegel has headed back, and those remaining are warmed up, there’s really no telling what they might do, though generally the pieces will be instrumental. Pop tunes appear, as do louder and more aggressive songs. Bohn describes the best occasions as “magical journeys.” This trimmed down version of the Jazz band, bass, drums, and guitar, is often hired for gigs elsewhere to play this kind of music, what Bohn calls “Tony’s World.”

Jazz is the only stable gig on the entire island with any history. For some, the \$50 a head plus tips, which can be significant in summer, the position is enviable. Marc Atkinson, the other guitarist, aside from Wilson, on Hornby who derives his main income from playing professionally, explains that for him, the social PDs for Jazz couldn't work. He cannot afford to appear so often. He has to maintain the interest of his fans. By withholding his public paid appearances, people will come out and pay top dollar when he does play. However, for younger musicians like Devost, Wier, and Martens, Jazz offers a rare chance to do standards with a full band. The opportunity might include an invitation to sit-in on the fly, or prepare for a couple numbers in advance, or, if a particular member is away, the invitation to fill-in. For younger musicians, Jazz night actually does perform the opportunity to get up and develop some low-pressure on-stage skills in front of a supportive crowd and band and do some improvising.

The Thatch is the only place on the island that serves alcohol from a proper bar.⁶¹ This brings in people who go to the bar mainly to drink. As such, the space has a unique feeling on the island. As with any bar, handling emotions and drinking can be a challenge. Drinkers do not necessarily enjoy Jazz or the tourists who populate The Thatch. Others love it, often moved to dance where they can find room. In fact, people dance for most live music on Hornby. A sit down affair is rare.

Let's look at the symbolic PDs more closely, the semiotic density. At its inception in the 60s, The Thatch was a "convivial" place (Payne 2013), but as it changed hands, the space took on different meanings. Islanders have discussed with me a time when, like the division between the alternative spirituality and Christian element that marked the 1980s, The Thatch was understood as a watering hole for the island's "loggers and rednecks," while the Hornby Community Hall was a space for everybody, including leftists that preferred smoking pot. The geography of the island, with

⁶¹ Certainly there are the wineries, distillery, and meadery, as well as licensed venues, but no other conventional bars, with beer, wine, mead, ciders, and hard alcohol.

Hornby's only church and pub being near the north end of the island, near the ferry to the world, made these divisions seem all the more real in the past,

The nice thing about community is that it's very friendly here. It didn't use to be originally ...It was factionalized in the '60s, because you had the old, sort of redneck culture, and then you had the newcomers...who were kind of middle class people who came; arty people who moved here. They were separated from the old redneck crowd. And then the hippies came in the '60s. And they were separated again, right?...So a lot of the Vietnam dropouts or whatever, draft dodgers, they were kind of hippie types. A lot of drugs. And there was a lot of factionalization. Not too much communication. But that's different now. (Payne 2013)

While it remains true today that many people do not go near the pub because alcohol is served, the pub is not stigmatized as it was in the past. Like other ailments on Hornby, as in many small towns, because of geographic isolation, alcoholism is a visible public problem that seems more personal than in larger spaces, an issue I touched on in Chapter 4. "There's lots of alcoholism, whether it's the locals who drink at their homes every day, or whether it's the visitors on the beach getting hammered" (B. Gordon 2013). "People...supposedly hit deer all the time, [but really] they run their cars into the ditch because they're drunk" (Chinnery 2013). I noted a trend on the island of hiring a designated driver with a sign-up list at some of the larger shows and events. Certainly, at the end of the night at Jazz, some people could use a ride home.

Hornby Hall: The Community Performs

[A] very familiar, comfortable place, the Community Hall is like people's living room ...I think all of those people do that [help organize a show] because they recognize the value of having live music. I don't think any of them are doing it just for the money ...More primarily, they're just stoked to have a good live show at The Hall...So often on Hornby when I play music, people will come up to me after, and to other people in the band, and in a heartfelt way, say, "thank you so much for that, we just... I needed that so much." I think especially in the winter, because Hornby can be quite an isolating kind of place in the winter. And so for something to be really a communal, high-energy, good vibe thing happening is just essential to pull people out of the dumps...and be social...A lot of people's lives [are] impacted in terms of the work that needs to be done to put on the show, other than the members in the band: the families of the band and volunteers and other people getting things organized. And that's a very healthy thing, psychologically,

for people to come together and make something happen as a group...People thrive when that happens. (Tanner 2013)

Tanner's description both confirms Becker's "art worlds" and my (eco)systemic PDs and advances them further by suggesting that such production can be needed for community health. The Hall is the place where one can take the pulse of Hornby. By contrast to the private venture of The Thatch or Pizza, The Hornby Island Community Hall was first finished with community labour in 1928 with a centennial grant, and before this, social activities took place in the schoolhouse (Smith and Gerow 1988). The original construction resembled a barn structure, simple and functional. In 1974, with a Local Initiatives Program (LIP) grant, a circular atrium was built as an addition with stone masonry. Lloyd House, Michael McNamara, and Ernst Schneider were some of the local architectural coordinators for the expansion of The Hall that retained the original floor, but pushed out to include larger raised wings. The Hall was built by the entire community, and when asked about Hornby's identity, people point to it as the aesthetic and political spirit, the communal promise of Hornby (see Figure 33 at the start of Chapter 3).

When they first built on that round room to The Hall, that was in the early days of us being here, that was a huge step in community, because then you could put all of the babies to sleep in the round room and have the dances in the main hall. And we did, I have memories of...babies sleeping under the Christmas tree and there would be this whole party going on in the big square room. And they're not totally out of the noise, but they're out of the way of it. That was the babies' sleeping spot. (Cannon 2013)

In this subsection, I provide an account of a performance, from making to completion, in order to illustrate the kind of (eco)systemic PDs "music world" (Finnegan 1989, borrowing from Becker 1982) socialization a Hornby gig can involve, the kind alluded to above. This description is an important part of my evidence for how a band activity can involve an entire community. The description is admittedly list-like, and because it represents a kind of raw-data, I use single spacing to suggest that some readers may prefer to move more quickly through it. With each

successive detail I add, I form nodes of contact with community members, processes, and objects in the community. At these moments of contact, people transact my social and (eco)systemic PDs. These points of contact form a network, a system that reacts together to form a performance that upholds a vibe. Through the system, the network becomes more resilient for a band.⁶² From the performance, I transition to how Hornby reproduces the (eco)system of support for events.

With all the intended symbolism we could measure out, we booked The Hall in early March for Saturday, April 20th, 4/20, for the first gig of The Rudiments, the subject of Chapter 10, a reggae band I started with Islanders in 2013. Others were reluctant to call The Hall to find out if we could book it, for reasons that shall reveal themselves, and so I called on a whim, not knowing what I was signing up for, leaving a message with a phone number that is periodically checked for inquiries. A week later I found out that my message was a good-enough gesture to hold the evening for us, and that the powers that be were willing to wait even a couple weeks till we could confirm as a group that we wanted the evening. In the evening and day before our gig, others were hosting a rummage sale to raise funds for Doctors Without Borders and an organization that supports grandparents who raise their grandchildren.

Once we had a date set, we knew the work we had ahead of us. We had been getting together casually, but now we needed two-hour sets for “the party,” and we had about a month to put them together. We used Dropbox, a software program that uses the internet to keep the same files on all computers subscribed to the service, to share and debate the covers we would chose to perform, a practice that every band I have since joined on and off island uses for sheet music and recordings. We also needed to organize people for the door, food and drinks, the lights, sound, decorations, posters, tickets, and an individual to generally take on responsibility for the venue on the evening: the required work I described at the start of this chapter.

By the 10th of March we knew Jade Wilson would help promote the show and take on a major organizing role for the night itself. We agreed to cut her in as an equal band member in whatever we made that evening. Our original plans to sell pizza to make some extra cash shifted to have Jala Klone and her kids, the family of our bass player, and others sell their own food and keep the income. The Real Hornby website coordinators contacted us for our details and re-posted our information to their event calendar. We agreed that 12\$, with a substantial discount for kids, would be our price for the evening, having agreed to keep the evening family-friendly with the doors at 8:00, and starting the first set at 9:00 at the latest. We also chose not to sell alcohol. At the time, we would have needed sponsorship from a recognized Hornby institution to get a liquor license anyway, a difficult prospect as such institutions would have to risk their reputation on the island and jeopardize their ability to raise funds with alcohol in the

⁶² As bands improve, people are more willing to come out, book a show, help promote, etc.

future. We also agreed not to play up the “ganja” association with 4/20,⁶³ though historically Hornby had hosted a variety of marijuana events on this date in the past. Unfortunately the weekly Hornby Tribune ran an ad on the 18th of April advertising the gig as a “4/20 party” at \$20 with the doors at 9:00 pm which surely detracted various people from coming while bringing in others,

The thing of how much you charge at the door if it’s a performance: if you charge a certain amount, certain people just won’t come, so those people are still going to be home watching TV, and you’re going to be sending your [musical/moral/political] message, whether it’s delivered or unintentional, you’re going to be sending your message to people who are above a certain economic level. And then if you charge below a certain price you tend not to get some of the people who would pay more for tickets because somebody who would willingly pay \$30 for a ticket might look at \$5 ticket performance and think, “no,” you know? Because we do, we put those values on it, and then you’re not getting those people. You’re sending your message to the [less wealthy]...and the [wealthy are] staying home watching TV, or whatever else they do. Either getting fatter or whatever it is. Yes so it’s definitely all connected... And how the performer dresses to play music can influence who comes to the event and what kind of social message goes across. (Cannon 2013)

Of course, in paying at the door on Hornby, one is not simply giving funds to a random act as a token of thanks. Really, especially for younger Islanders, the income from gigs can be very important. Audience members know this. And so people often support a band for many more reasons than as simple entertainment. Shows are genuine fundraisers for band members to aid their lives on the island, including their families who are generally present at performances.

Our performance was regularly promoted on all of the radio shows the band members had (three between us), and there were contests for free tickets for those who called in answering reggae trivia questions. The radio also has a pile of regular community announcements that included our details that week. Our printed posters went up on all the major poster boards on the island (not a small task to manage) and printed tickets were for sale in advance at “The Gas Bar” which is part of The Co-op. The local colour posters cost about \$40 all together. We also had two large sandwich boards which members made and painted themselves, one outside The Co-op, and one near The Hall. Bill Smith, who maintains a list-serve on the island for interested music fans, also sent out an email promoting the show, and Martens created a Facebook event to which we all invited our “friends.” Outside of The Co-op, there is porch space where people set up and table for events, and we took turns selling advance tickets on the Thursday and Friday before, and Saturday of, the gig. These tasks were organized by band members and equitably distributed.

⁶³ A term with uncertain origins in the 1970s as signifying the time of day, and day of April, to smoke, find, think about, advance, and experience pot.

We not only had to organize a sound person, but we needed to figure out how we were going to put sound into The Hall. Ted Tanner, a member of the group, had a small P.A. system that would do for the room, but as the genre of music warrants, we wanted a sub speaker for the bass drum and bass. Rather than play down on the floor, we also wanted enough monitors to use the stage at The Hall which has legendarily bad acoustics. We had two options: either rent our own gear in town, or, try to find equipment on island. We figured we probably had enough cables and mics between us, but we also needed a snake and a proper board. The Blues Society were the only likely people to lend us their equipment, but over the years they had become wary of allowing others to use the gear. Equipment had been abused in the past, and unfortunately, as they only need their equipment for a brief period of the year when they host their festival on the island, it generally sits unused. Ultimately we were able to convince enough members of The Blues Society board that we would care for the equipment properly, and Clark was able to borrow two other monitors from another band of his. Eventually Roy Slack, another Syzygy co-op member, agreed to monitor the sound board for us, and Clair Cronia was kind enough to break out and set up some of the stage lights.

We rehearsed the Tuesday and Thursday nights before the gig up on the mountain off of Dean Samuel's woodworking shop, where the marimba band normally rehearsed. On Tuesday, I got a ride in Ted Tanner's VW camper along with four of the other guys and all their gear. The drive truly felt like a move backwards in time, into an imaginary west-coast drug-infused band tour of the past, replete with spinning holographic decorations, moss, and crystals lining the dash. We were a Scooby-doo episode. The day before the gig, I visited one of The Hall keyholder's homes, was given a key, paid our \$60 fee in addition to a \$40 refundable deposit, and signed a document to accept limited liability for cleaning up after the event and to see that The Hall was treated properly and locked up. This meant that at the end of the day, the buck stopped with me if anything went wrong or was not satisfactorily managed.

On the day of the gig, the rummage sale organizers allowed us into the space at 4:00 pm when they began moving things out. In thanks to them for letting us in early, as they technically had The Hall till 6, we cleaned up whatever mess they left behind and helped store the tables they had brought out. The set-list had undergone several revisions, and fresh copies were printed with notes about the keys, chords, and other details. Someone picked up the tickets at the gas bar and had taken out money for "the float," to make change for paying audience members. The band got some free pizzas from the bakery, and we all pitched in on beers for back stage. Setting up the gear and sound took a good three hours, and Steve Pacheco had to come and let us into The Blues Society gear room to borrow the board, snake, and a few rack equalizers. Martens did most of the level setting. Clark picked up two dead speakers from the depot to add to his bass amp stack, bringing his bass rig up higher than his head. While the equipment was set up, including using all 16 channels on the board to mic the entire drum kit, guitar amps, vocals, and percussion, Jade Wilson decorated the space with fabrics and posters made for the night. At 8:00, Samuel's daughter Ashae took her spot at the door with the cashbox. Some of us went home to relax before taking the stage at 9:00, and some of us simply crashed in the green room.

During our sets, samosas, patties, and tropical drinks were sold by Jala Klone and her boys. As Tanner describes dancing on Hornby, “the first song, the first note of the song people are raring to go” (2013), and this was true for us. Later on, we found out that pot brownies were also sold to those in the know. One band member and another community member we knew had these brownies at the end of the night, and they were far too strong, causing sickness and complete inability to function. Most of us were surprised and displeased to find out, but then there were others who were just fine after consuming the brownies. In total, it seemed that roughly 100 people, all of whom we knew, attended and paid as we all took home above \$100 each after paying for all expenses.

Cleaning up after all was said and done was a surprisingly intense task. After breaking down all of the equipment after our sets were finished by 12am and loading up the cars, we then had to assemble all the trash and recycling and take it with us, including the trash in the bathroom, the alcove, and the main room, not to mention collecting the piles of booze receptacles left around the parking lot. We had to clean the kitchen, vacuum the door mats, wipe down and store the tables and chairs we used, and then dust and mop the entire space. There were some kind, straggling volunteers, like Shannon Warwick, but the bulk of the work fell to the band, and then Jade Wilson and I. In fact, upon returning the key the following day, I was told that the floor was not actually as clean as it should be, and I was asked to go back and clean the floor again, a situation that was attributed to the fact that we had taken on the space from the rummage sale without asking them to clean up. Ultimately, the reputation of the band members and I were at stake, and so cleaning up properly was required to maintain a positive view of the members of the band. Before organizing the event, others had put some emphasis on the need to find people who would help clean up afterwards, provided free tickets and food, for just this reason.

As a musician, I had never put so much into a single space in my life for a gig. Truly, putting on a show at The Hall, being responsible, making sure the complicated light system was turned off and all the doors were locked: The Hall is considered the best venue on the island, and it can require a tremendous amount of energy, which speaks to how musicking on Hornby is so different. Roughly 25 people were directly implicated in putting on the event in the end, helping to set up and take down, making this their main activity for the day, weekend, week, or month depending on proximity to the band members. However, when considering each moment of contact and the resultant PDs of negotiation needed to support the performance, we are talking about perhaps 100 people. Taking stock of the entire audience, many who got in free, suddenly

perhaps 20% of the island was involved in our average show, and such shows become ever more frequent through the summer. As a band, we rehearsed 12 times prior to the show (for about 3 hours each time), with 4 vocal rehearsals, to learn 19 songs that involved a huge number of structural PDs. It was a labour of love. As a group, we bonded in very important ways with each other and the community, all through PDs of mine and Keil's variety. As musicians we were enriched, but much more importantly, our bonds with the entire community were strengthened.

For absolute clarity, I am not after a theory that explains how music becomes better music or why some grooves are better than others, but I am after a theory that shows how musicking improves community strength. For example, I am not suggesting that Jala's kid's food directly improved the quality of our groove PDs,⁶⁴ or that this is the necessarily the primary objective of musicking: to play better music. I am demonstrating that the social involvement of Jala's boys made the evening more socially meaningful for everyone and improved our bonds as a community: the consequence of the social and (eco)systemic PDs implied in the dialogic process that saw them help make signs, prepare food, spread the word, transport the food, sell the food, dance, socialize, clean-up, negotiate with parents and friends, and generally support the party. And in fact, at the end of this train of interactions, their contributions probably did feedback into our playing, moving around again in recursion to advance the will to play another show at a later date, a pattern within the pattern.

To me, actually, I felt such effort was unsustainable. I wondered: how it is even possible that Hornby is able to constantly reproduce these events? People have to really appreciate live music on the island, and because so many people use the same space and participate in putting on

⁶⁴ It may be true in a factual sense for the musicians and audience members who were hungry and eat their food, and in the wider long-term sense that the boys made some needed money that enhanced family stability, but this is not my point.

events for others, producing deep symbolic PDs, they understand what effort is required. People thank musicians who perform not only for their energy and talent. They know, personally, that their performance is the culmination of enormous effort. Informants offered stories like this:

From...playing the bar scene in Toronto, you would play a show and it was almost like...once in a while you get a really good gig, but it's almost like people are sittin' there going, "we should of gone to U2 tonight," or "we could be down wherever"...It was like a real job...One thing that's different playing music on Hornby is that you know everybody. So once you play music here for a while, and...let's say I went with Melisa...to Vancouver and we played a gig: all of a sudden, you don't know anybody. And that's kind of a funny experience, but what I found amazing, was that after you play music on Hornby, first of all everybody dances the first song. There is no waiting...and then people...go "hey that was great," "great bass solo" er "great whatever." They come up and go, "I really, I really wanna thank you for the music"...You get thanked. It's like a duty. People really appreciate it more. They don't take it for granted...They don't just say "that's great kid." They'll come up and say, "thank you so much for the music." And they really mean it...it's better than any pay check. (Clark 2011)

Confirming Clark's experience, Bill Smith, an important figure in Toronto's improvisational history in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, known for playing avant-garde jazz and experimental music, he pointed out how one tends to be celebrated on Hornby, and how one has to broaden taste.

[When I arrived I] thought, one of the great things about this community thing—in Toronto, oh, God, there are lots of people [like oneself, so,] only eight people come to hear you play! Oh, how boring! That kind of crap—Here...people would come up to me for weeks afterwards, saying, "I loved the performance at The Hall"...It's not like, five stars and you're gone. It's nothing like that, and so you realize there's this love here...I think in the city...your friends are all saxophone players, or whatever...Rolling Stones fans. Not here...there's not like a narrow focus on things...I would never go to hear the [recent local performance]...in Toronto...And, even more so, I wouldn't have enjoyed it. Whereas I had a terrific time, right?...And then the next day we went to hear Carol Chambers doing a poetry reading at the New Horizons. There were like 100 people at it, right, a poetry reading...I mean hello, come on, 100 people at a poetry reading!? Even Margaret Atwood probably doesn't get 100 people in Toronto...So there's this wonderful kind of support-feeling here. It's not like charity. I must keep emphasizing, it's not charity. It's an interest in your fellow Islanders. (Smith 2013)

With such support, it's also true that "objective" criticism becomes a rare experience. Social PDs take over. Describing her first gig with the Celtic band that was together for 12 years,

We must have sounded almost like crap... This guy, who actually was a good musician, he propped us all up, rounded us all up... in front of a crowd at a coffee house. We had very active coffeehouses at that time. We had to have our music stands in front of us because we couldn't remember what we were supposed to be doing. We played, terrified, played the last note, grabbed out music stands and ran off stage. Everybody clapped and cheered, "oh, great." And if they'd really said what they'd thought that would have been the end of it. (Cannon 2013)

Luke O'Hearn describes the feeling this way,

If there is a musician who has any level of success that's from around here, they become the gladiator. They become the people's champion. Therefore, because they are a local hero, anytime they have a show on Hornby, then everyone is going to come out and show love and support that much more. Even if they are not really behind the music, they'll come out and all celebrate to that music, just because they know [the person]... [Music's] role is huge. It has one of reminding people of how good we have it... (O'Hearn 2011)

Such a climate creates some difficulties for autonomy of "art" on the island generally,

You have to just learn how to be very tactful, and diplomatic. You can't do what you do in the city, which is say what's on your mind... you [can't] say, "look, hey, this is not working." I can say that to one or two people here now, but this is after 25 years... Because people identify with their work, right?... The serious person doesn't identify with their work. They identify with trying to do something and trying to learn something, right? I mean, I'm still doing that after 60 years of painting. (Payne 2013)

Bee Wolf-Ray describes what it was like to leave Hornby feeling totally supported and to return later to discover that perhaps her initial success would not be repeated in the same way,

In 1995, I had given myself a birthday party, and I called it, "It's my Party, and I'll sing if I want to." And I rented the hall, and I borrowed a sound system, and I just performed 18 songs that I had written since I lived on Hornby, acapella. And it was just fantastically received. The Hall was full and people were just like, "oh my God you're a fuckin brilliant genius songwriter"... words can't describe it. Standing ovation. It was like it really elevated my sense of myself I guess, and the community, and how well the community was. So when we [her partner and she] moved back we did the same thing. "It's my Party and I'll sing if I want two." And this time I think we rented The Hall, and 12 people came, and none of them were the same people as had been here before... If you stay here... you can really build a wonderful network. But if you leave for a significant period of time, and I had been gone for four years, then it can be hard to come back. And I've done that twice now. (Wolf-Ray 2013)

Like many things on Hornby, the community's unflinching support can be a problem and a

life-line. As June Cannon described in an affectionate and grateful tone, while laughing, “If Hornby had not been such a supportive community I wouldn’t be playing today, because nobody told us back then what we actually sounded like. They all said, “great, yea”; they didn’t tell the truth” (2013).

The Community Hall represents Hornby as a space in which to host community driven events, as a space built, owned, and operated by the community, and as a space of symbolic PDs in which people unfailingly support one another. “Other islands, the community doesn’t own [their Hall]. Here they own it, because they raised the money, and they built it. And everyone came together and helped build it...it’s beautiful, and it supports the environment by being this incredible space to be in” (Wier 2011).

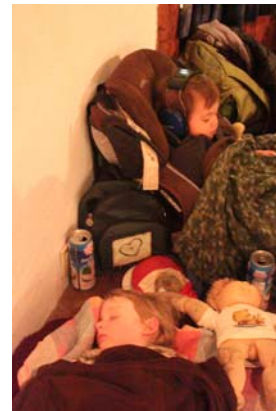


Figure 70: Jala Klone belly dancing (upper left). **Figure 71:** Kids passed out at the show (upper right). **Figure 72:** The kids art table (lower left). **Figure 73:** Our band kids door people for the first set (lower right).



Figure 74: Here is a photo from our first show at The Hall. Note the fake speaker stack Jade Wilson made to go next to the P.A. speakers on the right side of the stage. Also, note the lights that Clair Cronia hung. In addition to the pot brownies that were sold that night, another disturbing detail of the evening included the “get-away” photo backdrop in the alcove on the far back-right corner of the room with the green palm-tree. There was a dread-lock hat people could don for a photo. It was a calamity scenario an ethnomusicologist colleague of mine even guessed before I could tell him the two most significant issues I had with things off-stage that gig.

New Horizons: Egalitarian Musicking?

M. Atkinson: I’ve had it said to me, “oh, I was very surprised that that sounded,” yes?, “that sounded pretty good, like, I was surprised.” And I’m just thinking: “why would you be surprised?” And another person said... “I walked in [to New Horizons], and I saw that you were playing, and I was, kind of, worried, like, I almost didn’t come in, but actually, as it turns out, you sounded not too bad,” right? That was a totally different one, right? Because music for us musicians, we’re just thinking of sounds and fun and groove, but for non-musicians or people that, sort of, dabble in music, it’s an identity to them. It’s, like, they wear red shirts, and you wear green shirts, and you’re always wearing a green shirt, and now you’re in this room where we would just wear red shirts because it’s reggae.

Author: Yes.

M. Atkinson: And you’re going to ruin the night, right? Because they think...if you play this kind of music, that it means that you’re going to, like, infect this other music with something totally wrong...Nobody knows...what [a given musician] listen[s] to at home. (Atkinson 2013)

Marc Atkinson’s quote above refers to a gig at New Horizons where he joined the reggae band on keys. New Horizons was established as a centre to provide activities for community members over 50 in 1977. It is a community space for rent that is large enough for an ensemble,

for a recital, a workshop, a movie screening, a meeting, or a large potluck. It has a certified kitchen for producing commercial goods, a nice porch, and the community library is attached to the building. The acoustics in the room are actually decent, and many people enjoy performances in this more intimate space for this reason. New Horizons also supports Fabricators, a separate building dedicated to textiles where people spin wool, knit, and work with looms. At New Horizons I have attended things like business meetings, birthday parties, wedding potlucks, performances, fiddle recitals, jams, workshops, and hobby activities. The New Horizons grounds is also the site of a permanent island archives currently being built.

In this subsection, I build upon some of the complexity I began presenting towards the end of the previous description of the Hornby Hall, where cracks within the easy utopian imagining of musicking on Hornby begin to form. The work of structural, social, (eco)systemic, and symbolic PDs are not always fun. While in the previous subsection, I focused on (eco)systemic PDs that involved the integration of the entire community into the production of a musical event, in this subsection, I begin to look more closely at the social interpersonal and emotional points of PD exchange between musicians of all kinds and community members.

The above quote is in reference to the second performance the reggae band, a smaller production for adults only. Contrast Atkinson's "social PDs" with the community members above with the examples from the previous section, where apparently musicians normally receive loud thanks. It would appear the feedback Atkinson received was only grudging acceptance. This particular example is convenient for my argument that social PDs exist, and is not representative of Atkinson's experiences on the whole, but this quote does point towards how cautiously people negotiate musical identity on Hornby and how important and fragile relationships can be. When Atkinson said, "that was a totally different one, right?," he was

responding to the bewildered look on my face. I could not imagine why a person would say or think he might not have sounded good. For me, having someone like him on stage is always a very good idea. For Atkinson to play something overtly bad: it is unthinkable. After all, those people would likely run into Atkinson the next day. How are the social PDs Atkinson received also possible within the utopian construction of musicking I have offered so far? How does it compound with my presentation of the systemic time, energy, and stress musicking can require to offer a more complex utopia? A portion lies with ego and the management of musical identity.

Consider that most of the musicians I interviewed assert that there is little ego in musicking on Hornby. I have to disagree. Ego and status, some of the primary concerns of social PDs, are an issue even when bands do the work required to sort out their musical and extra musical PDs. However, ego in musicking Hornby is different. Musicians on Hornby generally are quite humble in their self-assessment. People describe themselves as worse musicians than I know them to be while pointing to other island musicians as inspiring. People also point to the normalness of everyday musicianship as a distinct characteristic of Hornby, where musicians are seen as many things beyond their instruments and stage persona. However, what I have encountered is that musical identity generally plays as big a role on Hornby as anywhere else, but that the dynamics are different as relationships are constant and intimate, a function of thick signification and geography. Amateur musicians certainly are not deaf to the skills of others,

Author: How do you see social gain and musicianship linked, or what is the status of musicians on the island?

Dominiak: I don't know. That's a hard one for me because I admire musicians so much, and I always put the good ones up on such a pedestal. (Dominiak 2013)

Lex Dominiak grew up on the island. His answer is so wonderful, because though a musician may loudly and literally claim she or he is not on a pedestal, that claim in no way stops other Islanders from putting him or her there.

People attach kinds of music with kinds of musicality and, ego. Amateur musicians are as active in interpreting and representing Hornby's musical character as anyone else. They are connoisseurs as a musically literate people. Amateurs are chiefly responsible for developing the island's tastes for musics as they train and refine their interests over time while they build and form the reputations and identities of particular musicians. As Hennion relates,

Far from being the "cultural dope" referred to by Garfinkel [1967], the great amateur on whom we focus here is the model of an inventive, reflexive actor, closely linked to a collective, obliged constantly to put to the test the determinants of the effects she seeks regarding works or products. She experiments with the social and mimetic determinism of taste, the conditioning of body and mind, the dependence on a collective, a vocabulary of social practices, and, lastly, the material devices and practices invented to intensify her feelings and perceptions. (Hennion 2005: 135)

While one on the one hand Islanders may not see musicians on Hornby as inhabiting unusual preeminence, that does not mean that all musicians see themselves or the musics they play as equal, or that everyone just plays with whomever one encounters: the reality is quite the opposite and socially complex. However, to return to the start of this subsection, saying to Atkinson, "I was surprised"—because on Hornby no one is too big to talk to—that act betrays the presence and importance of social PDs in determining the lives of musicians.

If there are no classes of musicians on the island, where none are too lofty to approach, there are definitely groups and individuals with notoriety and reputations. There are clear understandings about skill and pecking order, and there are clear ideas about what individuals and groups do. People can be confident that when certain people are billed, the music they make will be of a particular style and quality (relatively defined). In Atkinson's case, he has been

pegged by musicians and many community members as a jazz musician, and more specifically, a gypsy jazz guitarist: not a reggae keyboardist. Other musicians are similarly categorized.

These reputations are developed in much the same way that all reputations are on the island. By contrast, when attending a show in the city, one would not expect the audience to have a reasonable idea about the context in which all the musicians on stage live: as parents, as workers, as naked beach bums. How does one negotiate a musical reputation in such a small community? Can one transform a reputation? When is it desirable to be flexible and/or specific? What PDs are involved? Below, I describe some of the identity PDs I observed on Hornby.

Beginning with those few professional career musicians that do exist on the island, it would appear Tony Wilson has developed a real talent for performing with anyone, of any skill, on any occasion. However, when I accompanied him, I was no less intimidated by the circumstances, his skill and reputation, as welcoming, complimentary, supportive, and grateful as he was: I have yet to turn off my star-struck approach with any number of musicians I play with. By contrast to Wilson, as I discussed previously, Atkinson has made strategic decisions to perform on the island in certain capacities so rarely that when he does play, people are willing to purchase a more expensive ticket. This lends a sort of imagined exclusivity to his reputation and helps explain the quote at the start of this subsection. However, Atkinson's choices are in line with his (eco)systemic PDs, his desire to spend time with his family without performing five times for the income he could manage with one appearance. If he wanted to play-out more often, he would live in a city. Atkinson willingly appears accompanying his son on guitar, or almost anyone else on piano, drums, bass, or even fiddle. In these capacities, he is able to maintain the interest of local audiences when he appears with one of his bands on guitar or mandolin.

In addition to the identified professional primary income-earners, there are a larger set of musicians with identities who are known to make themselves available, preferably for a price. That price may be dinner, a benefit show, or a favour, but certainly cash is desirable for some of them. These people might be best described as flexible musicians who are conversant in a variety of musics, from blues to rock, country and jazz. Most of these musicians prefer an idea about what they are getting themselves into for a gig: how many rehearsals and songs, how long, how many people, what compensation? Musicking makes up some, perhaps a small, component of their income, “my feeling, as a very radical kind of person, is I want to kind of reinvent for myself a musical niche that can...at least supplement my income. Because it’s not the only thing I do” (Wolf-Ray 2013). There are also the professional teachers, like Candlish or Devost.

Within this set of individuals, and my descriptions are not comprehensive or mutually-exclusive, there are those who specialize, and who may or may not gig for a price. June Cannon and Glen Rabena are good examples of people who are always ready to play but generally produce music that is in line with the reputation of their instruments and their tastes for repertoire music: folk, fiddle, bluegrass, country, possibly blues, and Celtic music. There are of course many singer songwriters and a few classical musicians who know how to play the songs they know but may not know how to play with others without rehearsal. Dean Samuel and Andrea Rutz are understood primarily as Zimbabwean marimba and mbira musicians for example, though both of them actively play other instruments. There are many musicians I simply never encountered: people into grunge, alternative rock, and folk artists and singer-songwriters.

Of course, in addition to these categories, there are myriads of self-taught learners, the radio listeners, the closet practitioners, avid students, patrons, dancers, DJs, and more. This group comprises the musically literate folk, in the sense that they pay attention to what is going

on with music on the island. They have a keen sense of who plays with whom, where and when shows happen, and they are key to the production of musical status and social PDs on the island, through their critical tastes, their humility, and their varied musical skill: they create the possibility of “ego” and identity for Hornby musicians.



Figure 75: A birthday party at New Horizons. The space is not significantly larger than pictured here.

The Jam and the Practice: The Home of Confidence

[Jamming] is something where you are constantly communicating and being a part of the circle. It’s like being at a youth camp where everyone is standing around, and they have to be a part of this game that’s including them and getting everyone together. (Wier 2011)

If you’re out in nature, you’re hearing birdsong and different animal sounds and frogs, and in a community, the musicians kind of provide that oral soundscape for the community. There’s people playing at The Ring-side market or drumming at the beach or at different events. (Law 2013)

Building on the social PDs subjects of ego, status and hierarchy that I began to address in the previous subsection and will address more fully in Chapter 10, here I begin to address those feelings of inclusion and exclusion that are part of playing music. While discourse involving emotion in music is typically relegated to a discussion of the progression of sounds to affect feeling in audience members, I suggest how musicking impacts the emotions of participants with

respect to their egos and self-esteem, how they might feel supported or rejected by their peers (through musical and interpersonal dialogue), and how musicking contributes to emotional growth. An important part of musicking is simply talking about musicking, for example, debriefing how a jam went. Here, I also begin to identify how having others to play with impacts how musicians feel at home and settled in community, a theme I return to in Chapter 10.

The subject of how musician's sonic products become attached to their egos is difficult to pin down. Typically, individual artist's egos are more easily identified with their physical work, or recorded documents; however, in live musicking, control of one's own aural output and other's output, essentially, the instantaneous and long term feedback of others on one's musicality, is a process of confidence building and negotiation involving empathy.

As there are few places to socialize through the winter, potlucks and parties and dinners become important rituals for maintaining social bonds and enjoying oneself through a cold and grey time of year. Almost any social gathering becomes an opportunity for music making. People bring instruments with whatever else they have packed for a gathering. Jams tend to happen in people's homes, though, people rent The Hall and New Horizons as well, or meet outdoors.

The people in attendance will dictate the kind of music on offer, as will the available instruments, but the natural tendency is to fall to playing songs with simple chord progressions that everyone can join in on with acoustic instruments. These run the gamut from reggae tunes, pop songs, to blues and fiddle songs. Additionally, the gathering may be advertised as a music potluck, jam, a birthday party, or some occasion hosted by or for a known musician where, clearly, playing will be a significant emphasis for the evening. Jams will also form on the beach spontaneously, or in The Ring-side market, or, even at the farmers market.

Reuben Wier suggests that jams are a place for being a part of the circle, but with significant reference to the awkward teenager experience of “youth camp”; jams are a place to work through one’s feelings of PDs competence and confidence. Thinking back to my discussion of “playing with others” in Chapter 7 and ahead to my discussion of intimacy in Chapter 10, jamming really can be compared with sexual exploration. Jams can be and are challenging experiences for practicing one’s skills in front of and with others. Again, contrary to purely egalitarian notions of musicking, competition plays a very important role in defining many people’s experiences of lessons, practicing, and jamming. Some musicians thrive from challenging each other in various ways, from solos to speed or knowledge, and institutions are built around such competition that make musicians well aware of their relative positioning with others, for example, between students of the same instructor. Playing with others can involve anxiety and pressure. Paradoxically, an essential component of playing well is allowing these kinds of worries to float away.

In addition to potluck and casual jams, there are also organized jam sessions which may be open, semi-open, or closed. Tony Law runs a folk circle where people share songs, one after the next, and I was quite impressed by a whole variety of people I had never seen perform before. He widely advertises the gathering as inclusive. The event for me spoke the degree of musical knowledge and appreciation Islanders generally have. Peter Cloud Panjoyah organizes an unadvertised weekly jam session with other musicians, and again, this scene involved a number of musicians who are happy to get together to improvise. Panjoyah explains the importance of getting out to play in any situation on any instrument: “I’ve been here over 14 years, and I’ve been in probably 14 bands, and so I think the environment [is] like you said: it’s a cold winter. There is not much happening. Let’s get together and play” (Panjoyah 2013).

Playing at home is also a practice for the self, for expression and communication, perhaps with others, but not necessarily “for” others. It can be an indulgent retreat away from other responsibilities (Cannon 2013). Though Tony Law does perform upon occasion, he says, “I don’t really see myself as a performer. Music is more a way of exploration and expression rather than something I’m putting out there as a commodity...for others” (Law 2013). This is a sentiment a number of people reflected on as an important element of musicking as therapeutic and personal. However, while practicing is personal, even that time alone is often spent in service to the group effort, especially if one is in a band, and has a job to do in order to be ready for the next rehearsal or show. Beyond the band, practicing can support one’s end in the collective bargain that is live musicking, “I usually practice because I think that’s respectful...if you’re going to be asking for other people’s time and attention, then I think you need to give them something a little bit worthwhile to offer and be reasonably together” (Law 2013).

Under this subsection, I should also include lessons. Truly, pedagogy deserves its own subsection and set of PDs, but my interviews were not focused on formal teaching and learning as much as practice and playing, and, I did not focus my interviews with instructors (only three or four interviewees would call themselves this) on what it is to work with students: the seeds of musical confidence. This was an oversight. June Cannon spoke with me about the need to carefully read the interest and well-being of a student. Choosing the right song, telling what a child can take on, and knowing how to encourage her or him requires real intimacy, and one has to do it with all kinds of instances, from micro to macro levels of PDs

You have to push them to the edge of learning but not over that edge into frustration...I just try to be connected to their mood of the moment...If you’re just playing with friends that’s much easier. You just pick tunes and play. If you’re playing for dances, you pick tunes that you can visualize the dance with the tune and figure that would work. If it’s a performance you mostly have your set list made

up... You read the audience, whoever they are. (Cannon 2013)

Keil's PDs of groove do not capture what Cannon just explained. These PDs are bigger:

The lessons don't come with just fiddle; attached I give people little lectures on life... You tell them little stories about, "oh one time I was doing this"... But people certainly must pick up your attitude... [In] one of my professor's lectures, his big point was it doesn't matter what subject you're teaching. What you're teaching is you, you're teaching people you, and the subject really just becomes the vehicle in a lot of cases which puts a really huge responsibility on a teacher if you stop and think about that... you can slip a comment in intentionally or unintentionally, you can slip a comment in about a tune or... about what you're doing with the music that... really goes home to the person, and the position of teaching is...: the table is slanted... and anything you put [out] tends to roll down [to the student]. Whereas if you're performing, I think it's a little more level. People will take it in if they want to. But teaching gives you a little bit more of a position of power I think. (Cannon 2013)

Enjoying music lessons looms large in predicting the success of a musician to continue playing. Recall Cannon's earlier emphasis in Chapter 1 about planting seeds of social justice.

Moving from the practice and jamming stage to the risk and thrill of performing is a challenge. Without anonymity, growth can be constrained by the challenges of measuring up to one's standards of personal taste. Lex Dominiak describes such difficulty,

I feel like I don't want to go through the T-ball stage [of performing]... If they come out to [my] show, I want them to enjoy it, not be there just to support me. It's hard to do that on Hornby because they're all friends and family. (Dominiak 2013)

Knowing that Hornby is a supportive place, one wants to sound so good that it does not feel like people have come out of charity. Though Smith asserted above that people do not come out for charity alone, for Islanders, the music they enjoy most is that music performed by their friends. Parsing their subjective pleasure in listening from seeing their friends on stage is difficult.

Thinking ahead to Marc Atkinson's notion that in life, one is trying to "make it a good jam" in everything one does (from Chapter 11), it would seem lessons with instructors, practicing on one's own, and actual jams are all a kind of work towards making life good.

Having a good jam is about really listening to one another, complimenting one another, and finding a place within that temporary community. In recognizing skill level and specific tastes, jams are held for groups that are variously inclusive or exclusive. A large portion of the work, to make it a good jam, involves self-esteem, emotion, and risk taking at an inter-personal PDs level.



Figure 76: This potluck was for Samuel’s birthday party. Downstairs Andrea Rutz plays cello with their daughters, and Marc Atkinson guides his son on the guitar. After the acoustic portion of the evening ended, there was also sound equipment set up for the entire reggae band, and anyone else who wanted to join in. I had my first chance to sit in with members of the soul band that night, including Melisa Devost.

Summer and Smaller Stages: Getting back up on one

There is a number of smaller mostly outdoor music venues that open up in the summer that deserve mention. These include Sea Breeze, Ford’s Cove, the Hornby Island Arts Council (HIAC) summer stage, and recently, VORIZO (and perhaps more). In the following I mention in more detail some of the feelings of failure and rejection that can come with playing music.

In the summer Ford’s Cove Marina has a fish and chip truck with a variety of faster food options. As I described with Reuben Wier at the start of the dissertation, on Tuesday nights, one can go down to hear local live music. Musicians—there are rarely more than two—are paid \$50 each, and they and their family receive a meal. On our most recent trip to Hornby, I got a last

minute call from Tony Wilson to be his sideman. Everyone else it seemed to me, including my family, was at Glen Rabena's 70th birthday pig-roast bonanza on the other side of the island, or at an art opening and jam for Matt O'Donnell. Tony forgot to bring a guitar pick, and together we muddled through two sets, warming up by the second. I think I did not play very well, or, at least I was not relaxed. It was a gig I needed to shrug off in the end. I tried to turn down my full share, but Tony simply would not hear of it; "we split it even, always," and he did not just mean on Hornby. He can be rather prophetic, "Tony was one of the first people who was in my band right, which was awesome, and I remember once said, I was all like, gushy, and just like, "Tony, you're so awesome, I'm so grateful and humbled that you're in my band," and he's like "well, Melisa, I wouldn't play if the music wasn't good." [Laughs] I was like, "alright, thank you." Tony's the king of these super profoundly obvious comments" (Devost 2013).

While there is always the hope of a glimpse of utopia when musicking, and one achieves it more readily with musical confidence, a subject Wilson reflects on in Chapter 10, there is also that gasping chasm of dystopia and feelings of failure when a performance does not go well,

I think where I feel really uncomfortable is I feel I'm letting other people down if I'm playing in the band, and I mess up my part and...it's got an impact on our... common product. [If] I haven't practiced enough, I'm less forgiving of myself then because I feel like I've not really maintained my part of the process. And that sometimes happens when I think, "oh, I don't need to practice that much." And then...we perform and I screw up and think, "I've let the guys down." But on my own...I'm more forgiving of myself than I used to be. (Law 2013)

Just as when one receives a scathing peer review, getting up off-the-mat can be difficult after playing a discouraging show, not because one has let the self down, but because one has the feeling of having let the entire utopian community project down: the promoters, organizers, audience, band mates, etc. Again, the anonymity Lex Dominiak would seek for giving a performance that is not up to his standards is almost impossible to find on Hornby.



Figure 77: Reuben Wier at Ford’s Cove, playing and singing gypsy jazz with a loop pedal.

The HIAC summer stage series began in 2013, and it really is in the most remarkable setting. HIAC has a trailer behind The Hall in which they exhibit local art and house their office. They created a small platform stage and seating, and coordinate art openings with performances.





Figure 78: The stage puts one directly beneath giant douglas fir trees in the middle of the forest as the sun goes down. The setting puts systemic PDs front and centre. **Figure 79 and Figure 80:** Matt O'Donnell asked me to join him for a gig he had with the HIAC summer series. O'Donnell played sitar, Roy Slack played bass, Dean Samuel is on percussion, and I played the kit. After our set the belly dancers came and did their dance routine. Behind the camera here is a nice converted trailer that features a different artists' work each week, and every Friday there is music and some refreshments for the vernissage. The setting is rather more dramatic than one can tell from the photograph. It did seem somehow a performance with nature, rather than in nature.

VORIZO is a café located in The Ring-side consisting of a caravan, serving counter, and sheltered seating. It's name is Hornby Island's postal code: V0R 1Z0. Recently VORIZO came under new ownership and has expanded its menu from what was once a revolutionary offering: pad thai. They also began bringing in talented off-island bands. The space creates a great new opportunity of local musicians to see what is going on off island without having to pay the kind of door fee that is typically associated with a show at The Hall or Joe King.

At a gig for the Sea Breeze Resort small combos are paid well and their family members are invited to dinner. This gig is for guests of the lodge: a classy affair. House concerts and parties are also another small-gig tradition. In these scenarios, hosting a show in a home provides the intimacy the music requires, and keeps expenses low. Melisa Devost and Lex Dominiak have curated a very successful series of shows, The Harbinger House Concerts, with advance tickets

selling out, featuring musicians and bands who appreciate an attentive audience that might prefer to sit and listen closely. Dominiak describes what he enjoys about the PDs process,

I guess problem solving in a way. It's having a space that's not traditionally a music venue and saying, "how do we fit the chairs in here? What piece of furniture do I take out? How do we make the space beautiful, set up the...? I've always liked that idea: we're going to have a show right by that stump. How do we make that a beautiful space?" So setting up the stage and all those things, and then I like that it's sort of do-it-yourself, you know? We hand-draw most of the tickets usually, and then I get to design a poster, which is something I always love doing and don't get to do enough of. And then we get to listen to music that. It's so, like, it's funny, it's business too, right, but business is still so easy when, like I say, I only bring bands that I love because it's easy, and I just say, "hey, we're ready." (Dominiak 2013)

In the next two subsections I detail music festivals on Hornby, but I fail to discuss Tony Wilson's No Horses jazz festival, and the Celtic Festival and Fiddles and Fun which are important institutions that create summer stages for music on Hornby. For years June Cannon and her daughter Meghan would organize the Fiddles and Fun summer camp every year, and the Celtic Festival every second year with the help of Bill Cannon. Lessons are offered in a variety of instruments, and instructors come from far away, often for little or no guaranteed money. Recently Bill Cannon has passed away. He was a very clever and funny individual, a good bodhran player, and is dearly missed. Unfortunately I did not have time to interview him. Finally, I should also mention the importance of music on Hornby to a variety of theatre events. Many of my research participants mentioned their roles in plays on the island over the years, yet another musicking tradition on Hornby.

The Hornby Festival: A Community Negotiation

The premiere Hornby summer stage is of course The Hornby Festival:

This 10-day world-class event has been named one of the top five festivals in Canada (Aeroplan Magazine) and one of the top 5 cultural events in BC (Macleans). We enjoy stunning performances against the beautiful backdrop of

the mountains, ocean and rolling hayfields at Olsen Farm and at Hornby Island's charming Community Hall. (Hornby Festival 2015)

“The Festival” or just “Festival” is rather long for a music festival, running 10 days on two main stages and other “unusual places.” Olsen Farm is an incredible seashore property neighboring The Heron Rocks Society and has been on offer for a long time for millions of dollars, and though several Hollywood celebrities have looked, it remains unsold. The farm generously plays host to the festival. Festival employees and volunteers construct an elaborate outdoor stage with a wonderful sound system. Elsewhere in this chapter I have introduced some of the tensions of emotion and struggle for individuals when playing with others. Here I discuss larger community symbolic PDs that have unfolded over many years, involving many actors with different ideas about The Festival.

In a way, “The Festival is kind of a climax of the potential of art on the island” (M. Atkinson 2013). Really, the island is in a general frenzy for this time. No other individual or group on the island could hope to offer as much to visiting musicians. For island musicians, there is the opportunity to play an opening set for a main stage act, and most of Hornby’s musicians rarely encounter such kinds of opportunities.

Before The Festival, and this is telling, there was the Hornby Island Chamber Music Society, born out of the Courtenay Youth Music Camp. There, Lee Cross became friends with members of the Purcell String Quartet. “In those days Hornby Island had a maximum summer population of almost 500 people [others say 1000], and a steady winter population of about 150 which was made up of some magnificent old-timers who had survived the depression, and us bumptious young freaks” (Cross 2011). Over six concerts in 1981, the group performed the complete Beethoven String Quartets to a sold-out audience because, “[Locals] didn’t know

anything about music—they could listen and could hear, and that doesn't happen very often" (ibid.). However, by 1984, "the audience had started to learn something about music, and they'd forgotten how to listen, so the last year was a disaster" (ibid.), and he handed the organization over to others, when it became The Hornby Festival Society, though he continued to guide the venture. For Cross, "Music is not something you pull off a wall, like a roll of towels, or put another record on the player. Music is something where you participate, and you hear it, and the performers are grappling with it, and you can feel their energy and their talent and their skill, and their whole life's experience flowing through their arms, their bones. So I ask you: forget everything you know about music...and just listen" (2011). At this stage in the dissertation, Cross's insistence that "you participate" and "just listen" should signal problematic tension!

Louisa Elkin recalls that, "we had music and dances and stuff like that, but nothing like the variety of entertainment that we have nowadays" (2011). While the community supported the festival, there were also fears that it might encourage too much tourism. Funding was a constant issue, with a need for grants, loans, donations, and a variety of creative practices like bingo games. "Can you imagine trying to feed and bill 60 Canadian Children Opera people? With so few of us, we would set up The Hall, make the cheesecakes, serve the bar, clean The Hall, clean the toilets, and if we had energy left over, we might get to hang out with some of the musicians" (ibid.). *Somewhat* jokingly, festival members took on the moniker of Hornby's "cultural elite" as Tom Drury would bring in quite famous classical musicians to perform sometimes obscure and complicated works, including 20th century composers. "I think when you present challenges as we certainly did, big time, I think you win people, and lose them, and we certainly lost a lot of people as well" (Drury 2011). Here Drury means not only interest and numbers, but lost in the sense that perhaps not all of the keen audience members could appreciate and/or follow the

music. “It would have been 1994 or 95 when we presented a concert of music by Stockhausen and Boulez and people, and there was actually a write up in a Paris newspaper, and my god, you would have thought we’d committed mortal sins” (ibid.). You see, some Islanders were concerned that other “elite” might think Hornby would be a fine place to live.

Bill Smith first encountered and soon after moved to Hornby in 1986 partly because of his invitation to play the festival. Drury, “brought Maureen Forrester here. Acappella, I mean, can you imagine bringing a opera singer here to sing unaccompanied arias. I mean that kind of thing happened here, which was spectacular...Tom Drury used to bring Lori Freedman playing solo, bass clarinet, playing John Cage compositions. It was a different!...Of course Tom never lost a lot of money [laughs]” (Smith 2013). “These are very tough times for the arts.

Governments seem to be turning down funding for the arts, not realizing that this is actually the soul and heart of our society...we want to see a vital and exciting and well supported arts activities in our society...arts organizations are collapsing” (Drury 2011).

In about 1996, under Moira Armour’s directorship, The Festival had to shift gears. There was dwindling government support, a fixed and shrinking local audience, and \$20,000 of debt. The Festival began by bringing in more popular acts. To receive further financial assistance, the society also needed to have an official paid director, in order to appear professional. For about 15 years the organization had been run entirely by volunteer effort. Though at the time it was determined that the festival should remain focused on classical music, the quality of performers and their repertoire needed to shift to those who could accept less remuneration or even volunteer their music. This is when local musicians became more involved, but also artists and writers. The Festival began to incorporate greater participation by the entire island, emphasizing local concession food and drink, merchandizing, contributors and sponsors, offering free smaller

performances in random places. The Olsen family offered their farm to house a greater audience as The Hall was limited to 160 people. In two years the festival eliminated its debt. In 2004 Moira Armour passed away rather suddenly, and Clair Cronia finished the planning in her place.

Every time I asked someone about Hornby Island and music, at some point in our conversation, the person would return with, “well, have you talked to Marc and Deirdre Atkinson?” Deirdre had been coming to Hornby her whole life, and she and Marc had their honeymoon on Hornby, and while there, met the owners of the house they now live in. They speculated then on what it would take for them to move to the island permanently, and Deirdre suggested that the artistic director position would need to open up. The day they took possession of their new Hornby home, Marc recalled that he needed to check in with the Hornby Festival about booking The Bills, the Juno-winning ensemble in which he plays. Deirdre made the call for him, only to discover that The Festival planning was in chaos as Moira Armour had passed away. The search committee came upon Deirdre at the right time.

What Deirdre Atkinson inherited was a Festival that was very well loved by a number of people who did not live on Hornby all year long, and a smaller number that did. When I attended the 2013 AGM, I was quite amazed to discover that a minority of year-round locals were on the board of directors, that most appeared to be exurbanites (Taylor 2011) from Vancouver. There is a sense overall that The Festival has moved towards yet more popular programming. However, a close survey of Atkinson’s directorship does not fit this concern. Deirdre has consistently built and expanded on Armour’s vision of a Festival that is more self-sufficient, much more diverse, and locally supported. Theatre and drama have been incorporated as well as workshops. Artists producing musics from non-western culture have received much greater attention. Additionally, The Festival has expanded to take on spring and fall programming.

Atkinson has had the difficult task of trying to please The Festival's old guard who are interested in Drury's "real" music while also attempting to make The Festival affordable and enjoyable for the majority of the island. There are those who are not interested in music one might want to get up and dance to or bring children to see and would prefer a high ticket price for the privilege as Cannon suggested earlier. Because The Festival appears to have an all-consuming focus on the island for better than two weeks of the summer, people come to the mistaken assumption that The Festival is a big money-making endeavor that brings in hordes of tourists. While it may be an essential contributing factor to Hornby's tourism, ultimately it is a non-profit organization that meets its budget each year and has nothing left to spare. In the Hornby Festival, we have a mix of the class and taste issues that make Hornby what it is,

D. Atkinson: A lot of the music happens with the guy woodshedding in the woods because he can have a very low-cost lifestyle here, for now anyway. If you're a young guy that's not interested in property, and you're willing to move out in the summer and all of that, you can really, you can live cheaply, but...the reason we're able to have Anton Kuerti coming this year...it's this sort of weaving. You have what's going on locally, but then you have all these people that come to Hornby because of the beautiful place and the opportunities that have been developed here through things like the Festival and the Blues [Festival]...One of the reasons that [this intermingling is] able to happen is because there is this huge income disparity on the island, and because it's a small community there's a connection between the millionaire and the person that doesn't even have a home, and they go to the same parties, and because there is that connection, I feel that this is a very important thing about the small island, is that those people: for example, the millionaire knows Arlo [her son], right? So they're driven to donate to the school because they see him play, and they think, "wow, how great for him." So, for example, the piano [a \$53,145 Bechstein Grand Piano the Festival purchased with funds raised for the purpose], you know what I was saying regarding Anton...these things are possible because...we had a gala dinner and the community bought it in one day, so in a way, it's a funny thing to say, but...there is the gentrification that causes issues, but there's also this money that flows into music. And since the early days of art there's always been patrons, and it does tie in...The arts is an industry that has never been made cheaper by industrialization and such, the railroad and the introduction of factories...You can't trim it down: so it costs. I know of course because I'm intimately involved in the budget of the festival, so it can't be paid for through the door because then it becomes an elite thing. So in order to have these people that come into the community, and then there's this weaving and this point of contact, there has to be that money that flows in, and it's not all through grants through the [Canada Arts] Council and such, a lot of it is

through this connection because we're a small community, and everyone is Joe King Park together, and there is a connection between these people that feel that they have the role of the patron, so in a way there's this kind of old system of patronage here at Hornby.

M. Atkinson: I was going to add to that that we feel very empowered...we feel like "wow, someone's behind what we're doing with this guitar," and it makes it feel like we're on the right path and that the community is supporting it [a patron had just put up money for guitars for young students], and the other thing of course is just being impressed. This community cares about these people, and some of them are kind of our founders, but they still like this community.

D. Atkinson: They feel a sense of home here, even though they are off-Islanders.

M. Atkinson: ...I'm talking about writing a cheque for \$300 to buy a guitar [for an island kid], and they don't even live here. (Atkinson and Atkinson 2013)

At The Festival AGM I attended, Deirdre was away. If there were any PDs of doubt as to how the board thought she was running The Festival, none were voiced, and I am quite certain the board's membership best represented the historical legacy of The Festival in musical taste. In fact, everything that was reported was in a most satisfied and congratulatory tone, frankly amazed that with time, it seemed that with Deirdre's guidance The Festival had never been better. To her great credit, she has figured out how to tactfully manage many people's varied demands. Ultimately, it would seem to me and others who know that it is the 900 people down at Olsen's Farm, boogying down, that pay for the salaries, stimulate funding, and allow for the classical evenings at The Hall, generally guarantees the continuance of The Festival. As Clair Cronia pointed out to me, someone who has been involved with the festival for some 20 years, now the only vulnerability the Festival suffers is its dependence on tourism, which is a tricky bet.

The Hornby Island Blues Workshop

Since 1999, The Hornby Island Blues Society has been bringing together a select number of top blues musicians to come to Hornby and teach over a number of days for "Blues" or "Blues Week." For about \$600, one is provided a membership to the society, lunch and dinner at Sea

Breeze for four days, admission to a “major” and several “minor” workshop lessons, and admission to all the concerts for the week. Otherwise, people are able to purchase limited tickets to either the acoustic or the electric night. The society also offers generous scholarships.

The “acoustic night” really is not acoustic at all, but, rather, it is a workshop style storytelling and song evening without a full drum set and loud bass where the instructor-performers take turns selecting songs while others on stage are encouraged to join. One can expect a sit down audience, possibly a bassist, possibly a drummer on minimal percussion, possibly a keyboard player, and many guitarists and singers, some of whom may play “harp” or harmonica. What is so wonderful about this particular performance is that the instructors are split into two groups. For one set, half the group will play at the hall, and for the second, that same group will play at Joe King Ball Park and vice versa. The audience only need sit in one of the two locations to catch at least two songs from every single instructor that has been invited.

By contrast, the electric night is held at The Hall by all the instructors, and involves all of the things one can expect from such an event: pounding drums, thundering bass, a complete Hammond B3 with a Leslie amp, and fantastic guitar slinging, all to those themes of the blues: love and trouble. It is not a sit down show. The band is so loud that many who may not wish to pay the \$20-30 door price can simply gather outside the open doors to listen in.

As Blues takes place in the late spring and early summer, it marks the start of the tourism season. One begins to see unrecognizable vehicles and faces, or, “summer friends” around this time. The festival speaks to what is a strong pocket of interest on the island. There are no regular strictly blues bands to speak of on the island at present, though there are any number of interested amateurs, and blues repertoire shows up explicitly or more subtly in all the groups. For

a number of island musicians, including Melisa Devost, Blues has provided a really important opportunity for mentorship in stagecraft and songwriting, and a way into the music business,

I met Ken Whitely who ended up being a real mentor for me. And we hit it off right away and [that] really got me into gospel music and starting to listen to that, and write that, and perform it...And so he invited me to go on tour with him, to accompany him. And that was my first tour...It was pretty sweet. It was awesome. Yes, I'd done a lot of the driving and accompanied him on guitar and voice. I was in school at that point too. I was studying at Malaspina in the jazz program...It just grew from there... My first full-length record was produced by him. I did it at his studio...I just did a bunch of touring after that. (Devost 2011)



Figure 81: The second acoustic set for Blues, at the Joe King Clubhouse.

Joe King Ball Park

Joe King is one of those venues that sort of goes through these peaks and valleys of being super sketchy and having a really bad reputation. (Devost 2013)

Joe King Ball Park, for me and others, houses many of Hornby's personalities and has the symbolic PDs of greatest spectrum of any Hornby venue. It is many things to many people by

day and night. Joe King came together in 1984 as an association of Islanders, eventually with charitable status in 1996 as the Hornby Island Athletic Association, interested in recreation and games. It was born out of a desire to have a baseball team and a place to hang out, maybe watch a game, and have a drink somewhere other than at The Thatch. The structure has evolved over many years, and now provides a variety of services. Like The Hall, it was built through incredible volunteerism. One might go to Joe King to play tennis, or basket ball, or ball hockey (all in the same rink), or, to play baseball or t-ball or softball, or, to use the bmx pump track. There is a weight-training room with exercise equipment as well. Joe King has pay showers and laundry which see a great deal of use by many who do not have this plumbing at home or are camping. There are also flush toilet facilities.

Quite a number of Islanders come to Joe King to get their drinking water from the club's large well. There is a small sign on a hose spigot that tells the user when the water quality was last tested. Many Islanders would be in a tough spot if they could not come here and fill up their water jugs. In order to use the water, and the other facilities, one has to join the Joe King Ball Park club with an annual membership, which is quite inexpensive, about \$15 for an individual and \$35 for a family. As the radio station is also on Joe King grounds, DJs are required to maintain a membership in order to cover concerns for liability.

In addition to an outdoor stage, Joe King also has a large indoor space that acts as a venue for various gatherings, including performances, and it houses a kitchen. Being a space that is managed entirely by a volunteer board, the use of the space tends to reflect the interests and capacities of the board members at any given time. The facility derives income from memberships, the showers and laundry, from rental fees, and from alcohol sales at events.

All of the above should leave my reader with the feeling that Joe King is not a particularly unusual or controversial space on Hornby, and yet it is. Joe King is a symbolic interactionists' dream come true. On walking through the space, it appears quite straightforward: generally a clean community-run recreational facility with architecture and aesthetics that are comparatively practical and functional. Lex Dominiak and Melisa Devost grew up hanging out at the ball park as kids. Yet, Joe King as a venue for music can be thought to embody a lower-class, un-family-friendly, somewhat unpredictable environment. When planning events with bands on Hornby, the debates about which venue to pick and rent out, between The Hall, Joe King, or New Horizons, were just fascinating. New Horizons was good because it was less hassle but had less capacity. The Hall was good because it was family friendly but required a lot of work, and Joe King was a risk because one never knew if "the wrong element" might get out of hand or "the right element" just would not consider setting foot inside. Walking through these spaces, there is nothing about any of them that "objectively" speaks about class, although one might say that The Hall's floor is somewhat better polished, but to view The Hall as elites seem absurd. So why has Joe King come to represent Hornby's wild side?

Unlike other venues on the island, Joe King has a very large grass field, a large area for potential as parking, a large outdoor porch that can serve as a bar, and overall seems somewhat indestructible. Because it is not viewed as an icon of the island's virtue, and is not held to the formal standards of governance that other spaces appear to be held to, promoters are apt to see Joe King as an ideal place for big parties. Joe King has been home to many if not most of Hornby's raves, big outdoor shows, and all-night parties. It would seem Joe King is not a place one goes to hear singer songwriters, but a place to dance, drink, and smoke. "It's a place where people can kind of cut loose, in a different sort of a way, than at The Hall, for some reason"

(Devost 2013). Joe King's porch in particular is a notorious hang, where people come to an event and spend most of the evening smoking and drinking. Faron Crowe relates some of her experiences of encountering Hornby's "deviant" element,

I always have to quiz people when they move off the island, because everyone has an idea of Hornby where there is a lot of psycho people...but then everyone I know who has moved off will be like, "oh no, there's way more crazy people [elsewhere], you just don't know them." So that is another thing that I really like about the community, is that you...become aware of what crazy people are like. And I think that was a really good life experience, being in situations where you get to witness the drunk being a drunkard, and you get to watch the drug dealer do his crap, and decide "wow I don't want to be involved in that."...If it wasn't such a tight little community where you can repeatedly see these people and how their lives progress, I could have made some different life choices...Back in the days when I partied, I remember...there was a couple of people who took me under their wing, as the young 13 year old who was gonna go to the raves and stuff, and just point things out...like, "that guy is dealing coke" to someone who was underage, and just being like, "that's not cool,"...It wasn't this fantastical world where my parents couldn't boss me around. (F. Crowe 2011)

From the picture I have painted so far, it might be difficult to imagine that Hornby Island can also be a place with its own kind of conservative ethics about what the goal of a social gathering. Within expressed communal values, with a little prodding, it is surprisingly easy to discover prejudices against certain kinds of "free expression," especially the kinds that youth "rebels" appear to demonstrate, but also that element of Hornby that embraces both an active and visible anti-establishment stance. Those elements have musical tastes too,

[The music] can steer the direction the community is taking. For instance, say we have blues shows all year, then, the Ball Park is going to be a bit rowdier, a bit more beer drinking, whiskey drinking. Or if we have all reggae shows one year its gonna be, you're not gonna get up on that porch without being choked out with ganga smoke, or whatever...What kind of music is being played...it definitely has a lot to do with the attitude of the general population. (O'Hearn 2011)

Note here how O'Hearn describes how the community can form consensus of interest and taste in genre over time, including shifting to embrace the imagined social behaviour that accompanies a given genre. If one is working in generalizations, because this is how my interviewees would

describe the divide, there is a Hornby that professes to love everyone, prefers recycling, health food, epic hugs, and yoga, and there is also a Hornby that cannot stand new age pretense, prefers beer, cigarettes, and would ask people to just mind their own business. These two polarities share the urge to “tune in and drop out,” and at the end of the day, you will find them both grouped on Little Trib, it’s just that some may be naked, eating kale salad, and others may be dressed in roughed up denim and leather, having a beer, a split I also find amongst vegans and animal rights activists, some who have come to their beliefs through punk and others through “green” culture.

Joe King’s reputation is also amplified by the fact that bands have a difficult time getting liquor licenses. At Joe King, if the board wishes to organize a license, then it can make a substantial profit from sales. Bands benefit from this because without a license, there is a significant portion of the island who may be less inclined to see a show, and more willing to pay a larger door price to get in if alcohol is sold. People also come to Joe King to get away from family friendly events, tired of watching out for the children—to “cut loose.”

I personally don’t feel compelled to have all events [be] all ages on the island. And I know that other people feel the same. Not all of us have kids so...even people who do have kids...sometimes it’s nice to go to an event where you can cut loose, and you don’t have to worry about your teenaged kid seeing you drunk or whatever. (Devost 2013)

Joe King also has no rental fee, and, the band is not responsible for cleaning up. With only sound and the band to organize, Joe King has significant advantages to offer organizers.

There is an important Joe King institution that needs mention. These are “Sweet Thursdays” that are put on through the winter. Generally there is a prepared meal and a ticket price that includes cover for the band. They were not always scheduled regularly, but generally they happened twice a month, every other Thursday. There was a time when Tempest Grace

Gale would run an open mic every other Thursday night opposite Sweet Thursdays. Other than reference to distant coffee houses, I was not aware of other regular open mics.

Here is Melisa Devost again, explaining the importance of Joe King in relation to the acoustic Blues Fest night, and how performers and their audiences sense the symbology of space,

Devost: Check [Joe King] out, right, because it will be a totally different... It will be packed to the gills, and it's neat because I remember...the first year that they did that...I was on the board. And so we had set up a big art show and everything. And it was neat because the [performers] in the second set who came from the Hall, they actually said things like, "All right. Good to be at Joe King, we can let loose." It was a different...vibe. You know, again the Hall seems just a little bit more starchy than Joe King. And even the musicians knew that. I mean, they even said that. It's like the second set, Joe King: awesome. Let's go.

Author: It's funny to imagine that there could be anywhere on Hornby that is starchy.

Devost: I know. Oh, man there's a serious starchiness here. (Devost 2013)

I attended the acoustic show, and it was just as described: "Joe King rides that line, right? Because I don't want Joe King to change to be the hoity toity...I want it to still be that place where people are welcome. But at the same time, [all] people also need to feel safe, and welcome" (Devost 2013).

While dropping by Joe King to play some ball hockey, I wandered in to hear an annual Joe King AGM. I was shocked to catch a teary resignation of a very articulate young board member who felt totally abused by the rest of the board and two individuals in particular who had been in heated conflict for some time. Sums of money were in question, perhaps missing, adults had threatened each other, and the direction the space was headed in really did seem unclear. However, people assured me, this is part of what working through issues on Hornby and particularly at the ball park can look like: a very trying display of Hornby's difficult work in self-governance: the melding of a strong reputation.



Figure 82: Inside Joe King, transformed into respectable indulgence by the Blues Fest.

In this chapter I have demonstrated most of the settings or “music worlds” one has for playing and performing music on Hornby Island. In so doing, I have offered some insight into the dynamics of place signification on Hornby, the PDs and dialogues about space, the tensions of participation, of friendship and coming together, as well as some of the conflicts involved in organizing for utopia and community. One should now have a sense of how much of Hornby’s community is involved in the production of musicking generally for any given show and the immensity of (eco)systemic PDs, all within a population of 1000 annual residents. There are quite wide ranging and diverse musical interests and passions. The following chapter could almost be folded into this one.

Chapter 9: CHFR: 96.5 Degrees and Climbing!

This shorter chapter concerns Hornby Island's radio station and the role it plays in the community's political and musical functioning. Islanders are fiercely proud of their radio, and having DJed, I must agree that it really is a great deal of fun and an essential institution.



Figure 83: This is the Hornby Island Community Radio station. In the photo on the upper left, one can see the transmission tower. **Figure 84:** In the top right, Silas Crowe sits in front of the board in the sound booth. **Figure 85:** The bottom picture is the room outside the sound booth, packed with LPs, the transmission gear in the far corner, and posters and fliers for shows and events on Hornby along with inspirational quotes, images, and mementos put up by DJs.

Origins

When...it's the DJs we're talking about, we're looking at 40 to 50 people, and the board of directors are all DJs also, but there's another seven people that have to deal with this on a more regular basis. What we've done for years is have what's called a keyholder or basically a daily program manager. (Bailey 2013)

If Phil Bailey, DJ Phlipside, is correct, then roughly 1 in 10 to 1 in 20 of year-round Islanders are currently directly involved in the Hornby Island Community Radio. The organization of the radio makes for a study in the slow minutiae of cooperative effort. Through almost 100% volunteer contributions Hornby has a fully functioning and programed radio station that runs without commercial advertisements.

Prior to the late 1990s, there were several false starts with pirate radio on the island. While a pirate station ran for some time, roughly 1998 to 2001, eventually it was shut down by a government administrator who gave,

A surprise visit in the early morning in March 2001, and the guy had his credentials with him, and he basically tri-factored where John's house was, where his broadcast was...The antenna at the time was just a whip antenna up on the roof with the rocks in a milk crate with a couple of guy wires going left and right, and that was it...(Bailey 2013)

DJs "were all like stunned, that, 'what? they took away our radio? What? What are we going to do now?'" (Sweeney 2013). It was likely that a island community member reported the station. Following the immediate termination, at a large potluck including 26 or more DJs and their families, individuals had the wherewithal to suggest the process of becoming legally registered with the government as a community radio station. This involved forming an official non-profit society, finding housing for the station, raising the funds and in-kind donations to build the home and the tower, sourcing equipment and a licensed technician, and finally staffing the 7 days a week 8am-12pm time slots. This process, from being shut down in 2001 to launching in 2010,

took sustained effort with many small bureaucratic steps. For 10 years people met monthly to coordinate this venture and negotiate a vision.

What else do I mean by minutiae? Well for example, at the AGM I attended, members expressed concern that a poster had been put up advertising someone's personal radio show. Eventually people agreed that DJs should not ever promote their shows in this manner as it took up valuable board space around town, and that it moved against the collective ethos of the station. The station runs on a shoestring budget, less than \$2,000 annually, and intentionally so. With the volunteer conviction to run the station, micromanagement of things like posters can appear a little overwhelming, and yet it reflects a deep desire to keep the radio independent from financial and ideological dependence. The huge numbers of sunk hours by volunteer members helps prevent the idea of paid positions arising and the concentration of power amongst a few paid staff.

A perennial concern with the station is to broadcast online or not. There are a variety of reasons why people feel for and against this move, and they are revealing. The radio is currently a free service for those who can receive it. Not everyone can access the internet. Almost all of the shows are live shows, and so are focused on the moment to moment life on Hornby instead of projecting information into some larger virtual space. Consent is a huge concern with broadcasting on the internet, including copyright issues. Members recognize just how unique the radio station is, and how fragile the situation can be. No one wants to rock the boat and draw unwanted attention to the island.

Because the leadership for the radio is determined to remain low-budget without attracting the attention of the government or commercial enterprises, it can be difficult to mobilize change, investment, and innovation. Suggestions for fundraising, purchases, and similar

activities to promote the radio are carefully considered. The reggae band came up with an idea to do a fundraiser outside of the station and broadcast a live performance, what would be the first broadcast of a complete live band. We imagined we might sell hot dogs or find others willing to help put on a fund raiser. Proposing the idea online, the immediate feedback we received were concerns for if we would be able to manage the right equipment and not mess things up, if we would bother anyone whose time slots were booked in before or after us, and if we might bother Joe King without first consulting their board. This caution almost killed the idea, but Brett Martens and other DJs in the band had been hinting at us doing a live show for weeks, and we felt convinced it would be an important step for the radio.

The idea really exemplified that desire to be creative, create a new venue, build a new tradition, to reach the community, to be spontaneous, and to provide a free service, so much of what musicking on Hornby is about. In the end, the band simply ignored any authorities and went ahead and set up and played, managing the gear ourselves. Really, it was a situation often encountered on Hornby, where the best thing might be to simply try something first and ask questions later: the way radio on Hornby got started. We invited Melisa Devost to come down as well and sing some soul tunes with us. It was a complete success, and all concerned parties were glad we pulled it off with one large diaphragm condenser microphone between all of us and someone running inside and out to spin discs in between our live songs. We had moments between playing live on the air to rehearse songs right there in front of everyone, bringing structural rehearsal space PDs live into the outdoors for our audience on a sunny Sunday morning. Setting the levels for the microphone and pitching all the gear with the time we had was quite a challenge. Listening to the radio, people actually turned up at the ball park to see us play live. We played Brett Martens' 2 hours on the radio from 10 to 12, and then simply played

into the next person's show who was more than happy to see our experiment go forth. There was something uniquely thrilling about playing live on the air. The following year, The Festival picked up on the idea and broadcast live shows over the radio. We created a tradition.



Figure 86 and Figure 87: Members of The Survivalists and The Rudiments play live over Hornby's airwaves.

DJs

Not only are we getting to hear [Hornby musician's] music, but we also get to hear the music that influenced them in the music that they create. And that's really insightful; that's a really interesting window into that artist's development. That's one of the things I

think this radio is really good for. It provides a window into whoever is sitting behind the mic, that the community gets to see an aspect of them that you wouldn't normally get to see in your day to day interactions because you're...letting people in on things that normally it's only your intimate circle of friends at best, that come over to your house and you go "hey, check this out," you know? (Sweeney 2013)

There's the people you play music with... "cliques" is the word I'm gonna use. Different [skill] levels of music. There's the people who play African music, and then there's the blues boys who don't play anything but blues, and it's all kinda segregated in that way. I mean, there's the cross overs...but then having the radio kinda, um, cuz everyone is a DJ so, everyone's on there, and you can hear the music that people listen to...The blues boys are my favourite example just cuz they are so into their blues and only their blues, who would always come up to me and say, "oh, I love your show because it's all this music I would have never listened to on my own, and I enjoy it because I tune in to listen to music specifically other than what I want," and so, I think that's wonderful, allowing people to listen to other sorts, and me too, stuff that I wouldn't have listened to otherwise. And then, yeah, just the crazies in the winter, it helps keep those away. (F. Crowe 2011)

Scott Sweeney suggests that the radio station is unusual particularly because of its employing everyday people in volunteer contributions. The people one hears on the radio have no paid agenda, only the desire to express to the community what they wish, musically, and otherwise. With paid reporters and DJs, inevitably the desires and expectations of listeners and radio hosts change. The radio offers a political response through its lack of politics, barring bad taste, unreasonable profanity, and hate speech.

Semiotically through symbolic PDs, the radio, when heard, grafts people's voices and music tastes onto times of day, lighting, the needs of the hour, and mood. Depending on who is on the radio, one knows when to start heading home, when to get dinner started, and when to stop everything to hear another chapter of Harry Potter (or, run to the dial to turn it off!). Space and time are resignified not with just the sounds of an unknown DJ, but with people one will likely see within the day or week, people one might like to know, and before long, people one will likely meet or see in passing. Hornby broadcasts itself to itself,

I think we weren't on the air six months before we get a phone call from one of the farmers:

“right, dog running loose on the farm, trying to kill livestock. This is the kind of dog it is; we caught it; we’ve got it chained up.” You know, the announcement goes on the air within two minutes of that happening, and within 20 minutes there’s somebody there picking up the dog and taking responsibility. (Sweeney 2013)

DJs will send out songs to potlucks they are missing. People will call in songs or messages for their gatherings. The presence of a radio personality can be with one wherever he or she is, so long as the signal is strong enough. We had dinner with Ken Clark and/or Jala Klone most every Wednesday night, and inevitably would call in to let them know their voices were being heard. CHFR is a musical, political, and dialogic community feedback loop: “There is, from 8 in the morning to 12 at night, everyday, for almost three years, this constant show going on: that’s a conversation, especially when we get to have opportunities like this, we get to talk to each other about the issues that are being in our face” (Sweeney 2013). The radio keeps conversations happening between community meetings, extending the audience for those AGMs that people can’t make it to, or never would consider attending.

Theoretically, being a radio host, a DJ, is a space of constant liminality. The radio is all about structural PDs: transitions between songs, between talking and not talking, between microphone and CD deck, LPs and tapes. It’s the mix between, the fade in and the fade out. It’s about moving from one sound and the next, from one show to the next, from one DJ to the next. The real attention is in sequence. Smooth transitions, consistent levels, these are the hallmarks of a well functioning team of DJs. However, the work in progress, the poor transitions, the speaker with too little gain, these things also make Hornby radio a phenomenon. A terrible radio show draws little irritation, but rather, great sympathy from those who know how the system works, how people are on a learning curve, and how poor our presentational skills can be. People’s computer alert sounds are a constant nuisance on shows, as are failing computer batteries, a

fundamental conflict between digital and analog technologies. Extraordinary taste in music can abut against a terrible orator, and the effect is quite unique.

DJing with the radio station has significant impact on people's confidence on the air:

There are a lot of people who have done their radio show now, and after a month, they are, first off, on the microphone getting a lot better. It's funny how at the beginning a lot of people are very nervous about a microphone, so it gets tough to hear their voice because their voice kind of disappears a bit. They kind of don't want to project their voice, and after a while they get comfortable, and they aren't particularly projecting their voice anything outside of normal, but you can hear them real good. Which matters if they're saying what's going on, what tunes they just played, done by who, not to mention the community announcements. So they're obviously becoming more comfortable with part of themselves as an expression of your inner self that's happening, and there's only one real way to do it: it's just keep riding a bicycle until you get it right, and I've seen that in quite a few folks maybe. They are little bit shy socially which is a lot of us, and they haven't expressed themselves that way. (Bailey 2013)

That confidence translates into political articulation, though mediated through other means:

Author: Can you speak to how you see on Hornby politics and music being connected and how that happens through the radio?...

Sweeney: It does...because the people that are driving this radio station, i.e. the DJs, they're just ordinary people...this isn't a career choice for them. This is just something they love to do. They're passionate about it, but...they love their lives, and they have jobs, or not...This is kind of handing them a much bigger voice. Right? And going: "hey, guess what? way more people can hear what you think, how you feel, and what moves you by being able to broadcast it over the airwaves like this, so you get to hear music that really speaks to you," and we all listen to music that speaks to us on either a spiritual, emotional level, or a mental political, those kinds of levels. We always gravitate towards that. That's just the nature of how we are. We listen to music that we love. We don't listen to music we hate. That's how...all these DJs, who are just straight up regular folk...it's inevitably going to be political, in some aspect of its incarnation, and how it sounds to people. And, you know people will find their niche in listening to this radio station, as well as their niche in what they want to broadcast. (Sweeney 2013)

An obvious political element to the radio environment includes how it transfers information:

I see it as a way to express my environmental conscience to...more people...Instead of me trying to talk to each person individually and explain to them why it is I do the things I do, why I live the way I do. I can say it once or twice without having to...it would take me years. That's the reason I call this show "Soap Box Radio." (Sweeney 2013)

This ability to communicate environmental politics is also possible through musical means. Tony Law participates in a band, Nomad, that brings a variety of global musical ideas and instruments together, but he also DJs a well researched show that includes music from around the world:

I think, why I'm particularly interested in...looking at the variety of music, is looking at being able to kind of experience musically other cultures, but also...this fusion where you get two musical genres being able to come together without actually losing each element, and I feel like that's symbolic of what we have to do around the planet is [to appreciate] what our cultural contribution is, [while] embracing other cultures [to] realize...we're all in this together, and we've got to work through things together. Because I think a potential outcome of the environmental challenges could be a lot of conflict and a lot of manipulation by powerful people of differences in order to meet their agenda, really, potential for playing off different cultures and different peoples against each other. So the more we can build global connections, I think the more hope there is of being able to resist that kind of manipulation. (Law 2013)

While DJs tend to just play music, they also share stories. As in a band rehearsal, or in a song circle, people offer up pieces of their history to the listener to contextualize their song choices, or, just to share some of themselves. The radio has become an important place to learn more about members in the community. On a place like Hornby, where people are close, but, may not actually know much about each other's history, such a venue is important (Law 2013).

Most of the musicians I met on Hornby have tried DJing or have a show. For them, it creates an opportunity to dig deeper into their musical influences and really listen closely. They see that being a DJ keeps them more active in their pursuit of new music as well and conversant in what is currently going on. Those who talk about the songs they play on air also develop ways of articulating their opinions on the music, refining their own understandings of what they like about what they listen to, and in turn, the kind of music they like to play. There is no surprise in the repertoire that The Rudiments reggae band chose to play because Clark, Crowe, and Martens have been poring over it for years, live on the radio, tuning in to each other's shows.



Figures 88: The CHFR 96.5 radio schedule for most of our primary visit in 2013. Roughly half of the people I interviewed for this dissertation have or have had a DJ spot. Almost everyone has been on the radio in some capacity.

Chapter 10: The Rudiments

The musics of other cultures and other times can be significant, powerful, disturbing, and moving because they have something of relevance to say. And no where is that more true, perhaps, than in the cultures of industrial capitalism, whose own social realities have in one way or another relegated music to their cracks and margins as ‘cultural capital,’ ‘leisure,’ and ‘entertainment.’ Music in industrial capitalist cultures is certainly not regarded as a phenomenon of central and inalienable social importance. (Shepherd 1988: 113)

We had conflict. We had a big conflict at one point about tuning and intonation. And we solved that by buying an electronic tuner. (Cannon 2013)



Figure 89: This is the poster for our first gig. **Figure 90:** This is the poster for our second gig.

Having set out my theoretical ideas about environment and music in Chapter 1, having presented a limited ethnography of life for Hornby’s musicians, and having described the settings in which music is performed and tends to happen on the island, I am now turning towards the more fine details of what happens in the life of a band in this chapter. While I focus on my experiences with one of the three bands I participated in that regularly rehearse, I also draw on the experiences of my research participants to highlight the particularities of being in a band and

being a musician in community generally. Whereas an auditory transcription pulls out varied details from the sonic environment and abstracts them into visual symbolic or textual form for analysis and reproduction, including highlighting *musical* participatory discrepancies, here I perform a social transcription, pulling out relationships, interactions, movements, and environments into written form to reveal substrate *musicking* participatory discrepancies.

Anyone who has intentionally set out to start a band with a predetermined musical focus knows the trepidation an organizer can feel. One is initiating an intentional community, a mini utopian movement. On the one hand, the experience is very exciting; however, one knows from experience that bands also begin and end relationships. When successful, the sensation offers the kind of temporary utopian unity this dissertation is about, but, when less successful bands can operate like a difficult group therapy session. Things are rarely the same between people after being in an ensemble together: musicking is transformative. The process of reaching out to specific musicians to build a team is alchemic when personalities and musical abilities and interests are already known. Further, in a community like Hornby the stakes are higher, because people will inevitably be tied to each other in many more ways than only the band, perhaps as parents, as co-workers, or even just in passing: on Hornby, *if* one goes out the door, it can be hard to avoid people. And so, to a degree, the success of a band, or, the maintenance of a healthy dialogic and participative group dynamic, is essential beyond the bounds of rehearsing. The inclusion and exclusion of individuals has larger social ramifications. The maintenance of a band is the maintenance of one's community. Professional musicians recognize these factors in any given community, and to a certain degree, their ability to treat ensembles as a job can work to mitigate the emotionally taxing elements of group work. However, one can never fully contain the emotional life of a band, certainly not on Hornby, as I will show.

Membership

Well, it's because you love doing music, right, and you love finding people you can play with, and that's all that really matters, you know? (Neville 2013)

What have you learned about bands from being in life?...It's life, but it's condensed... You're going to get all of the different personalities...not all; that's not true, because the band...has been selected...[But] whatever you learn about resolving a conflict in the band you could take that to life...I guess you learn a bit of humility...If you have eight people in a band you have eight different personalities that all have to mesh...If you add one more person [to a band of five]...you're adding five more relationships to the band...And maybe for a woman there's a thing of you have to learn within the band how to assert yourself. I don't mean assert yourself like "woman power," but how to hold your own more... You have to do that in life, too...Everybody has to, man or woman, actually... You've usually learned this by the time you're an adult, so I'm thinking more if it was a kid playing in a band, you learn that what you do affects everybody in the band, it affects the whole. It's not just you; it's everybody. I think this experience for Ashae [a student] of playing in the dance band is really good. And it's a different kind of experience; again, if she was playing in a band that was all kids and somebody was helping them put it together, that would be different, again. Fitting into an adult band is a little bit cushioned, in a way. But I guess that's what we do with kids, we cushion them. (Cannon 2013)

Above, June Cannon is speaking to the family band, for which Ashae, Andrea Rutz's and Dean Samuel's daughter, joined us on fiddle. We were all very proud of Ashae's abilities in joining us that year for her first real performance as an instrumentalist in the spotlight (she had plenty of experience on marimba, but not commanding the same focus she would on fiddle at The Hall, centre stage), and we helped ease her into what it is like to socially negotiate the structural PDs of a set of songs for a contra dance around a kitchen table.

Band membership can happen in many ways. I was invited to become a member of the Family Band by good fortune. Samuel encouraged me to come to the children's fiddle recital at New Horizons. There, Lawrence Nyberg, a musician, luthier, and instrument builder, saw me perform. His son was also part of the recital. He had also recently seen me show up to an orchard wassail (a singing and blessing to apple trees for good health) and a community jam, and he remembered me from a previous visit. I joined Nyberg and Samuel and Cannon and other parents

in supporting the kids on our instruments at one point in the evening, and afterwards Nyberg invited me to join the family band, feeling I would be a supportive addition.

Where do bands come from? They tend to come together through a mix of constructed and organic processes (Law 2013), and in my experience, the groups that come together through free will and desire to play without thought to any specific goals tend to last longer,

There's got to be respect and friendship, right? So honouring of everybody and everybody's role in the band and acknowledging where each person is at and not having false expectations, and that the collective is more important than the individual. I mean, that's not necessarily the best thing for musical brilliance, but I think the best thing for, kind of, authentic, ongoing [connection]. (Law 2013)

Bands begin and exist primarily through social PDs. Musicians will test out their chemistry together in jams, through networks, by seeing each other perform, or, by answering advertisements (online, or, on boards). Bands form through workshops and student-learning relationships, and through chance. Active musicians recognize that they have limited artistic energy to put into any one endeavour. Therefore, they have try-outs, like dates, listening sessions, conversations about influences, and they invite each other to sit-in or guest-star at performances. As often as not, there might be in a given jam a sudden realization that a song sounded "complete" and "whole" with certain instruments and musicians, and such an experience leads those musicians to pursue something more coordinated. Sometimes people are included in bands because they have knowledge of technical equipment, they have reputations (sober, funny, wild, skilled, etc.), and sometimes because they simply own equipment. Such processes of selection also include the exclusion of other instruments and individuals, leading to a focus towards a sound or style, perhaps an objective (a recording or performance for example), a collective vision for the generally exclusive membership.

As in the subsection of Chapter 8 where I detailed the (eco)systemic PDs that allowed The Rudiments to perform at the Hall, in the following, I review the social PDs that allowed for the creation of The Rudiments. Again, I single-space this raw data of the band's creation story to suggest that my reader may understandably prefer to move quickly through an account that dwells upon the social negotiations that went into the creation of the band, a process that greatly determined the kind of experiences we would have as a group that sought to ultimately engage our community. This account represents part of my evidence of the social PDs in band life.

When I packed to drive to Hornby from Peterborough Ontario, not knowing in what ways I might join the music scene on the island, I brought a practice pad and sticks, a mandolin, a bass, an mbira dzaVadzimu and deze, and a bodhran. Within a week of arriving, Ted Tanner, an acquaintance from the previous trip to Hornby, reached out to lend me his drum set, a red Gretsch, even before I had a chance to ask him. Ken Clark mentioned in an early interview how generous musicians can tend to be with instruments on Hornby. I was thrilled to have a good kit.

Tanner and I traveled together to go and pick up various pieces of his equipment that were stored in Melisa Devost's caravan. Devost was away in California doing voice training, and Tanner and others (in fact, all but one of the members of the new band we would soon form) had been rehearsing a new soul band in the fall, The Survivalists. Tanner was also happy to have his set in a warm and dry space for the winter.

Having obtained a kit and a bass amp that Tanner sent with me, Brett Martens and I began plotting in earnest to complete some kind of project while I was on the island. Since forming a band in Nelson B.C. with Reuben Wier, who now lives in Victoria, Brett and I have always had an excellent musical connection.



Figure 91: Brett Martens and I, connecting at New Horizons.

Our families got together numerous times in January for meals, movies, and to hang out. Brett and Faith Martens and their children are our primary connection to Hornby. Martens and I discussed any number of ways we could work together, from continuing with The Survivalist's emphasis, to recording some kind of duo project. The trouble was in finding the right kind of bassist, as there are few on the island.

On my previous visit to the island, I had only one opportunity to play on a drum set with others. Luckily, Ken Clark, a bassist, was there. While we did not have long to play, he and I were able to establish that we were both competent and compatible musicians. This is no small thing for a bass player and drummer anywhere. My immediate feeling when talking things over with Martens was that if we were to try and do something beyond a recording project, my preference for research purposes, I should begin by spending some time playing with Clark to see what kinds of music we might make. However, Martens did warn me that Clark was in high demand, and I did recall that Clark had mentioned being in seven of eight bands in a battle of the bands one year. Martens felt that I needed the right hook to secure Clark.

By the end of January, we came upon the idea of putting together a reggae ensemble. On Hornby, there is general affection for this music. The idea did not come quickly to me because I have spent so much time pondering the ethical dimensions of North Americans participating in bands that perform music from Other places. I have played in several successful Afro-beat, Hip-hop, Sudanese, and Zimbabwean bands which were run by and/or included Africans and African-Canadians in their membership. However, the prospect of an all White Canadian reggae band did not really occur to me. I assumed no one would actually know where to begin musically, and I certainly have the skills needed to judge just how difficult the challenge would pose for my own self, musically. I wondered about the appropriative capacity of such a group.

For this dissertation, I am actively choosing not to delve too deeply into the appropriative capacities of musicking with respect to oppression in terms of tradition and genre. In other work, I examine these processes closely, and with respect to Hornby Islanders and the musicians I worked with, their approach was actually quite ethical, relatively speaking. People brought an earnest desire to make the effort required to perform what is a highly stylized genre of popular music to the best of their abilities. People chose songs that carried explicitly inclusive messages. No one was under any illusions about his capacity to lay claim to reggae music, to represent reggae music, or to be Jamaican in any way as far as I could tell. There was no discussion of trying to do Nyabingi drumming or songs or religious music. The kinds of songs that we covered offered constructive criticisms of social ills, songs relevant to life on an island, and themes of togetherness that challenge constructions of race and power. Being a genre of music that incorporates musical elements that are derivative of various cultures, modern and traditional, popular and spiritual, I also feel reggae is more open to participation from all people than some musics, and there is research that demonstrates the willingness of Jamaicans and Rastafari to welcome all people to play reggae provided the right intentions, message, and position towards ownership (Bean 2011). Reggae⁶⁵ has a reputation for disruption, built right into its rhythms,

⁶⁵ I should also acknowledge popular ideas about reggae that include concerns for homophobic and misogynistic themes in the genre. A scholar of reggae music would point out that like old-timey music, rock and roll, and most

Reggae has a particular onus in the music because it's sort of played backwards... [Reggae is] radical...it turned over the established order. So I think reggae music of itself has an almost anti-establishment element to it...Because it intrinsically goes against established musical forms, just in terms of its rhythmic structure...Even if you're not a Rastafarian that gives it a power and a political aspect to it. (Law 2013)

Having established that we would attempt to form a reggae ensemble, Ken Clark's interest in the group seemed better assured. As my readers may know, aside from varieties of off-beat "skanking" by guitarists and keyboardists, the most distinctive elements of reggae are its bass and drum lines. In particular, while the drummer has a fundamental role to play, the bass player controls an extraordinary amount of drive in the band, and in order to do this with competence, to idiomatically improvise within the genre while keeping the groove, the bass player needs real experience and knowledge of how typical reggae bass lines unfold. As it happened, Clark had put in effort in the past to achieve competent reggae bass playing, partly because of his partner Jala Klone's interest

popular genres, one can find examples of whatever politics one looks for without much digging. For example, I for one have had a very difficult time understanding the sonic differences between hardcore styles of music with heavy distortion—heavy punk comes to mind—that I am told has camps that embrace anarcho-feminist-anti-war-animal-rights kinds of themes, shows with free vegan cookies, and, neo-Nazi punk anthems for White power skin heads. It can be hard for me as a listening novice to tell what the singers are screaming about frankly. More generally, my experience is that people equate Bob Marley with reggae, and because Bob Marley was vocal about his religion, people equate Rastafari with reggae. Rastas do place significant emphasis on the role of the musician in society as prophetic. The Rastafari religion also has a great deal to say about the proper roles of women and men, about what food one should eat, about what a good life is, and Rastas may also be musicians, but these things are not inextricably linked. Reggae predates Bob Marley's international fame in the 1980s by well over 20 years, and there were reggae hits before anyone's lyrics included Rastafari themes, before anyone wore dreadlocks on stage. The kind of music we played in our band on Hornby had no Rastafari lyrical themes, but rather reflected some of those themes transmitted to Jamaica from Detroit about the civil rights movement in the U.S. Given cultural relativism, I would certainly agree that more orthodox Rastafari ideals include the subordination of women to men and homophobia, as do many religions.

I do not think the connection to Rastafari is the most important explanation for why reggae can carry a controversial reputation. As calypso and ska contributed to the creation of reggae, reggae gave way to dancehall, ragga, and reggaeton. In an unmistakably similar arch to "conscious" hip hop, the positive "roots"—of what is sometimes called roots-reggae to distinguish it as "positive" music—became both commercialized and hardened with artists in the 1990s that developed a culture that deemphasized live musicians, focused on urban electronic and synthetic looped sounds, and simultaneously produced an idea of populist fan-creation through persecution of others and tales of a life hard-lived. Ideologically, the feeling for this minority of notorious artists is that positive roots reggae promotes love and tolerance and justice, when greater conviction and clarity about that love and what it hates, and the realities of life and crime on the street, is needed. This has famously included explicitly valorizing violence towards gays in dancehall, ragga, and reggaeton by specific and successful late 1990s and 21st century artists. These artists point directly towards the bible for their inspiration. I would argue these artists who many would not call reggae artists or musicians, perhaps lend such power to the denigration of reggae as a whole because they also confirm those same prejudices that seemingly angry hip hop artists confirm for many White North Americans: threatening, black, thug, violent, unintelligent. The context in which reggae's reputation is popularly framed is relevant, and Jamaican scholars might point out that ultimately, systems of colonization and neo-colonization are largely to blame for any social problems Jamaica faces today. Some explanations for negative reggae anthems include an emphasis on the influence of both mediation and the music industry as capitalist interventions, but also place great weight on the explosion of cocaine distribution to U.S. consumers, the war on drugs, and the takeover of music joints by gangs.

in reggae and her family's relationship with Jamaica, but also because of the radio show he co-hosts with Klone during which they often play reggae.

Knowing that Clark would be interested, the next obvious person to recruit was Silas Crowe. Like Martens, Crowe also has a regular radio show and spins reggae. Crowe is known on the island for his rhyming abilities and interest in produced music involving voice. He has produced a number of albums that include spoken word, rapping, and singing, and the songs show strong reggae influences. He is a skilled DJ and re-mixer, the qualities needed for understanding the mechanics of dub music, a variety of reggae that involves studio and live electronic manipulation, looping and "toasting." Crowe has attention to detail and a library of resources and suggestions for repertoire. He brought good feeling, presence, and dance moves.

The final obvious person to invite was Ted Tanner. Tanner is known for having the time and energy for such projects, always willing to play more and longer at the drop of a hat. While he might not call himself a singer-songwriter, he plays immaculate covers of popular songs while accompanying himself. His singing abilities were the strongest in our group, and as a rhythm guitarist, he and Martens could form an ideal reggae skank team. Tanner is also able to provide a quality P.A. for rehearsals and performance. With the drum set, bass amp, P.A., and his own gear, guitar and amp, Tanner's made up eighty percent of our musical equipment.

With Martens expressing a desire to learn to sing on stage more competently, Crowe's strengths as a lyricist, and Tanner's obvious singing abilities, the hope was that we could actually attempt some classic reggae hits that involve barbershop-like harmonies. Aside from the distinctive rhythmic elements that make up the core sound of reggae, a sizable portion of the classic, 60s, 70s, and 80s body of reggae music comprises songs with wonderful vocal harmonies. In delivery, the harmonization and chord patterns of classic reggae reflect the dialogic influence of Motown's crooning leads and back-up singers in particular.

Realizing that Tanner, Clark, Crowe, and Martens would be join the project, because of the membership of the Survivalists in the fall, it seemed natural to invite Dean Samuel and Marc Atkinson who had also been a part of that band. However, two thoughts stalled out inviting them at first. We would soon ask Samuel to join us as a percussionist, but to begin rehearsals we felt we had enough elements on the go. I had a challenging and specific style of drumming to attempt to learn as fast as possible, and I was not ready to work that out with a percussionist yet. Between the guitars, bass, and drums, we already had four elements to rehearse time keeping.

We did not invite Atkinson until after our first gig for a different reasons. Atkinson was away on vacation when we began rehearsing, and he is also a full time professional musician. We were excited to invite him as a keyboardist, perhaps his second or third instrument. However, we also felt self-conscious of our desire to not waste his time. While we imagined that he would be willing to come and sit through some tedious exercises in arraignment and groove-sorting, we thought we might also do him the favour of inviting him when we were better prepared.

When starting a band where each person has to learn his or her part in a song that s/he may have never really listened to, and those people show up together in a room, some of them listening for the first time in a genre s/he has never attempted, that process

of learning and mutual criticism can take up an enormous amount of energy, time, and patience. It seemed to us we would be better prepared to invite Atkinson after we had congealed the musical and social dynamics we already had at play. Atkinson did confide later that he does not understand the concerns others foist upon him in such matters: he is perfectly willing to hangout while a band sorts itself and perhaps fumbles from time to time, even as he does himself.

Like Durkheim's "moral mass," as the number of musicians in our band grew, we had to take ever more careful considerations into account when dialoguing about everything from when we would meet, to the aims of the group, to the specifics of our grooves. Our egos and reputations and status were at stake, not to mention the social needs of our immediate family's. I do not dispute that organic specialization can produce solidarity in a band full of different people and instruments; however, I am keenly aware of the importance of mechanical solidarity needed to make bands successful: adequacy at the level of meaning. In my next subsection, I reveal how alienation can arise even in bands that work towards utopia when PDs of all manner are not well handled and meaning is not synchronized. For the purpose of example, I also move towards a space of greater auto ethnography to highlight kinds of personal and emotional experiences of musicking that I am comfortable representing for my own self, emotions and experiences that were echoed by others in a wide variety of stories, many that I was understandably asked not to share, given the size of the island. I do acknowledge that my reader may feel I have been using "social PDs" as a kind of gloss for any interaction. However, what is important to remember is that like Keil's PDs, social PDs happen in the hundreds of thousands, happen rapidly and continually, and often happen at the subconscious level. They can be difficult to identify. Waveform analysis will not prove them as is possible with Keil's PDs. In the next subsection I offer a single musical social PD that happens to be mostly about a PD of timing.

First Rehearsals

Our first rehearsal gathered Crowe, Tanner, Martens and myself together to set up the P.A. and gear, and to listen to covers. We suggested Clark skip this first meet. At my request, we spent a good deal of the time discussing the techniques reggae drummers use to achieve their sound. I was inspired by some of the drumming I saw from Leroy “Horsemouth” Wallace.

In an exemplary video called “Inna de Yard,” Horsemouth plays what is called a “rockers” beat, with quick eighth-notes on the hi-hat with his right hand, and his left hand cross-sticking the snare and right foot slamming the bass drum together on the three. There are some subtleties to this pattern that will become relevant to my discussion. The hi-hat eighth-notes are accented (loudly) on the downbeats with the “meat” of the stick on the edge of the hi-hats, 1, 2, 3, 4. The off-beats, the “ands” of “1 and, 2 and, 3 and, 4 and,” are played more softly with the tip of the stick on the top of the hi-hat. The effect of this technique is a right hand wrist movement that dips down towards the ground to strike the hat for the down stroke, and then picks up the stick as the wrist moves up to achieve the up stroke on the off-beat: a throw and catch: “TE-ta-TE-ta-TE-ta-TE-ta.” At slower tempos this pattern is not too difficult, but keeping time at normal and fast paces with a band is very challenging.

In this first rehearsal we had a conversation about the aims of the group, the possibility of a need for separate vocal practices, if we would play a gig, when, etc., and Crowe shared many helpful videos with me, demonstrating some of the technical aspects of reggae drumming. I put in some hours over the following week establishing the mechanics of the pattern I just described. The adjustment required a certain amount of musical muscle-memory un-learning.

In our second rehearsal, Clarke joined us on bass. This proved our most frustrating rehearsal. The introductions to songs were challenging. I struggled to adequately replicate many

of the exact feels we were choosing. There were things wrong with the difference between the groove as I was hearing it on recordings and how I was being asked to play it. It also wasn't just that we were trying to cover songs with difficult beats, but that there were other less-difficult songs that I simply had never heard before. In listening back to the songs as a group, I felt certain I could hear things that the drummer was doing that I wasn't being asked to (or told to) reproduce. Voicing my troubles I got rather more feedback than seemed appropriate to me (and others). Martens and I found ourselves in a discussion of what the role of drummers need to be, him trying to demonstrate things on the drums and feeling that he arguably knew more about reggae drumming than I, and I feeling that in fact, I knew more about drumming period, that I could hear quite well what the drummer on the recording was actually doing: I just couldn't play it yet. The conflict was heated, and, it seemed absurd since it was the second time Martens and I had sat down together on our primary instruments in six years. The more cautious musician I remembered now leads his own band, seconds Atkinson in his trio, and is generally confident in his assessment of others' roles. We were experiencing the social PDs captured here by Cannon,

I think it becomes more like family than just friends. You know how you feel more free to just say things, whether you should or not, but you feel more free to say things to your family than you might to outside friends. And if you're in a band, certainly long term, you maybe become not as free as you'd be with family but somewhere between that, certainly more connected than if you'd be with just friends. (Cannon 2013)

We were experiencing what Tony Law describes,

You've got two people with really strong creative drives that aren't melding...In fact, I left a band at one point because there were two people that were in conflict all the time and, for me...it's about harmony. And if there isn't that interpersonal harmony, it's hard to find the harmony in the music...And that's always hard because you've got people coming together with creative visions, and they want to pursue those. And if you haven't found a way to, kind of, negotiate and meld those, it can be very conflictual. (Law 2013)

I detail this conflict because it brings this dissertation together: dialogue, PDs, and utopia. I also detail the conflict because the story has a happy ending and is instructive. The nature of our conflict concerned Martens' desire for me to keep things very simple for the purposes of the rehearsal at hand, a valid concern. He naturally felt social pressure to have the rehearsal be a success as while I am a tourist on Hornby, his professional career as a musician must rely on other island musicians. Ultimately, he did not see how the ornamental elements of the beats I was hearing might impact the job I had to do. I knew that uncovering these subtleties would make all the difference in my playing, that soliciting others to identify those elements was a worthy use of energy. Martens would be the first to admit his feeling that drummers can be incomplete musicians in their lesser understanding of chords and harmony.

Perhaps there was doubt that evening that I might ever be able to achieve an adequately tight reggae pattern. I recall words like, "I know many drummers who have tried and have just never gotten it right, and this is how it's done." It felt like we were failing before we had begun. Others sensed this from the two people who had asked them to come together. Laying our conflict aside the remainder of the rehearsal, at parting Martens said to everyone what a great practice it was, and looking at me, said, "Until Brett started acting like a dick." To which Clark replied, "Yeah, I thought I was about to witness the fastest band break up in history." We all hugged and agreed to meet again soon.

Clark called me the next day to check in on how Meredith and I and Olin were doing with settling in, and how I felt about the rehearsal. He pointed out that he remembers Martens' first gig on the island, how he has grown on the island as a musician, and how a lot of the tensions we felt the previous night were carried over from The Survivalists band from the fall, where Martens had a lot of structural and systemic PDs responsibility to organize the band. When planning our

group, Martens expressed his anxiety about unequal effort to organize bands generally, and how he was hopeful that I and others would take more of the weight. He was also likely worried that we would not achieve the kind of musical authenticity he had in mind. I had the very same fears.

Meredith recalls that at the time I spent a good deal of time in doubt, worried about my relationship with Martens, but that I also practiced harder than she had seen me try in years. I figured some measure of the success of my dissertation required me to try and make this project work. I knew that with enough effort, I could get there, to good enough. I transcribed the beats precisely, including the variations I was hearing. I admit that my transcribing my parts did not come from the best place: I was certain that if I could show Martens that I knew how to transcribe a complex pattern, that I might actually teach him a thing or two about drummers in the professional music sphere off of Hornby. However, transcribing the parts did allow me to achieve the insight I needed to see and feel how the drummers formed longer thoughts beyond the one measure groove I described as a “rockers” beat.

After the first two gatherings, Martens happened to be busy with Django fest in Victoria, and Tanner was in Victoria as well, and soon after Martens had a CD release party on Hornby to prepare for with his gypsy jazz trio. There was little time to meet up, let alone rehearse. Our rehearsal spat sat long enough between us to both feel some embarrassment at our conflict by the time we got together for dinner and went for a walk on the beach, just the two of us and our kids to talk through what had happened. I explained how frustrating it was to finally have a chance to play together again, but to have to be on such unequal footing where I was back to square one with an entire new style of drumming to learn, practically on the fly. The experience of trying and failing so clearly in a group setting made me feel quite inadequate, vulnerable, and overly sensitive to criticism. As Lawrence Nyberg describes the process of playing for others, “When

you create music, you're really trusting the people that are listening. And it's maybe just engaging in a sense of trust to each other" (2013). I did not feel trusted. Marten's expressed his frustration with always wanting to play above his level and feeling held back by the tendency for Islanders to become complicit with "good enough," their unwillingness to be confrontational, and he felt in particular with reggae, nothing is really worse than a bunch of White Canadians *trying*. I was able to assure him that I was more exacting than he in the need to replicate these beats as closely as possible. We assured each other that when it came down to it, we were both intense critics about the dedication required to make a band like this work.

In walking along the rocks and ocean with our kids, a cool February night under the stars, we were able to affirm our regrets at how things had gone, and promise each other to be better behaved in rehearsal, or at least to respect one another's insight in the moment and hash things out later. In the following rehearsal I was able to demonstrate how far I had come with my playing.⁶⁶ I was also able to contribute insights and felt respected. By the fifth rehearsal, Clark announced that I was actually "doing the reggae," getting up and dancing while we played, and by the sixth, the general concerns about my ability to back the band had died away, for all of us.

Counting Time

Hornby is an ideal as much as it is a place. As far as...the spirit of the community goes I believe that the spirit of Hornby is an ideal. It's the idea that we can all co-exist in a peaceful fashion. Everyone goes through things at different times, but when it comes down to it, we're stuck with each other...and to act any differently is foolish, so, why take for granted all this beauty that surrounds us? Why not just acknowledge, "Guys,

⁶⁶ The key to my "good enough" success was ultimately in unpacking the relationship between hip-hop and reggae drumming, where I discovered they are not as dissimilar as one might assume. Reggae drumming is generalized as having no emphasis on the 1: hence, the famous reggae beat known as a "one drop." Ska, a style in the family of reggae (but predating it), also tends to remove the 1 from the drummer. Bob Marley's drummer, Carelton "Carley" Bennett, solidified the one drop style in the 1980s, and this beat and Bob Marley are irretrievably equated with Reggae in the minds of much of the global public. However, with only a little digging, one will find that there are many other kinds of reggae than those Marley represents, including drummers who were more flexible.

we're on Hornby, it doesn't have to be like this," and swallow your pride and humble up a little bit? (O'Hearn 2011)

As I argued in Chapter 1, and as Keil supports (Keil and Feld 1994), the micro-timing, tuning, timbre and texture of PDs represent and underpin macrocosmic dialogue and social dynamics. How do PDs do this?⁶⁷ The main conflict Martens and I had in our second rehearsal was as to whether or not the drummer on the Joe Higgs track, "Got to make a way," was putting his bass drum in many more places than just the 3, and why he was doing it. Martens' focus was on the general abstracted reggae groove, but mine was on trying to do and understand exactly what the drummer did on this specific track. The drummer actually lays down three eighth-note bass drum hits starting on the 1 for many bars in the track. This was a revolution. Remember, popular representations of reggae forbid the bass drum on the 1. As I came to unpack this fallacy, I found many classic tracks where drummers would, tastefully, put the bass drum squarely on the 1.

Realizing that my taboos were false, the beat shifted for me into something more balanced, where the 3 became a collective clap with the cross stick and bass drum relative to the guitar skank and bass line, and the rest of the beat, the 4, 1 and 2 became space in which to improvise. This shift in perspective also made sense to my right arm, which, doing most of the work, now felt more natural and able to sustain longer periods of time in time. The total emphasis of my being felt the 1 and 3 more heavily. When listening to reggae, like hip-hop, my chin moves forward to land on the 1 and 3. People become confused about the location of the groove in reggae, thinking that the skanking guitar, the off-beat chop, is where reggae is counted. But there is some trouble here if we assume that reggae is all about the 1 and 3.

⁶⁷ In so many ways. We need more research. Here is an example of my own.

With respect to popular representations African American music in North America, including hip hop, jazz, funk, folk, blues, soul, r&b, people agree that these musics can be incorrectly felt as having an emphasis on the 1 and 3. The classic racialized accusation is that White people clap on the 1 and 3 when the correct emphasis is on the 2 and 4, the “back beat.”

Here is the riddle then. One can count a reggae bar as “1-2-3-4-.” In this case, the drummer’s emphasis should be sporadically on the 1 and always on the 3, with the guitar skank on the 2 and 4. However, one can count also count a reggae bar as twice as long: “1-and-2-and-3-and-4-and-.” In this version, the drummer’s emphasis is heavy on the 2 and 4, and the skank is on the “ands” in keeping with other African derivative genres in North America. Eventually, I became comfortable counting the beat as “1-and-2-and-” repeating, so that I was landing heavily on a “2,” satisfying my prejudices about not clapping on the 3, and yet also keeping me in half-bar pattern state of mind. I would slip in a variation on my beat every third or fourth bar.⁶⁸

Chapter 1 contains my depictions of the PDs that Charles Keil clearly discusses as producing sonic consensus when grooving, grooves that are enviably and simultaneously diverse and singular. Here I place emphasis on how conflicting ideas about musical PDs bring out structural, social, and (eco)systemic musicking PDs. The PDs that surround musicking are the ones that Martens and I overcame to build a “music-plus” consensus, a deeper solidarity, a social groove. These processes were simultaneous, and yet the secondary is under-appreciated.

When bands get together only to focus on musical PDs of timing, tuning, and timbre, they cannot surgically exclude imperfect people. Samuel recalls his experiences with marimba bands,

There’s people within a group who [will] say, “well, we’re here to play music. This isn’t about relationship processing”...But...a lot of us realize that you have to pretty much get together and work a few things out. Have some meetings where you’re not playing

⁶⁸ A clear answer about how reggae should be subdivided seems wanting, and with the dearth of literature on this subject (I have consulted a few experts), here is also a new path for research.

music: you're working on what's going on, dynamics, human relationship-wise. And you [have] to do that or...there just [isn't] any fun hanging out... (Samuel 2013)

Getting together as Martens and I did to talk about everything going on in our lives in addition to the band recalled to us our better nature and desire to work together. It was the connection to the big picture that made our relationship in the band work, and by extension, the entire band work.

Our interaction serves as one small and particularly challenging example of the kinds of community negotiations and dialogue that bands require their members to undergo with considerable frequency. Again, with Marten's careful, humble, and generous permission—"Woe. That was good medicine, and needed" he responded after reading this chapter—in the above I chose to use my very auto-ethnographic personal experiences to more ethically and accurately reveal the kinds of interpersonal social PDs musicians shared with me generally, but also asked me not to repeat. Everyone has their stories and version of our experience. These kinds of negotiations result in transformed social relationships, generally for the better, and help musicians grow to be more careful members of society. These kinds of interactions encompass the full spectrum of PDs and are at the very centre of this dissertation.



Figure 92: This was our rehearsal room. I am standing in front of the only door to take the photo. Martens would stand in the space I am inhabiting, with his amp near his feet and the microphone on the far left of the frame. Tanner would sit to my left in the chair next to the amp with the guitar pedals and microphone. Crowe would sit on the couch with the delay and preamp for the snare, the microphone and percussion. To Crowe's left Clark would sit on in the chair next to the bass amp with his microphone. Atkinson would sit at the table on the far right with a keyboard rig plugged into the P.A., and Samuel would stand behind the congas. Note the P.A. gear.



Figure 93: From our show at New Horizons where we included Marc Atkinson on keyboards. **Figure 94:** Note the contrast in spatial organization from the rehearsal space in Figure 92 to the stage we created.

The Band Space Continuum

You're almost forced together...physically as well as...[what's] going through your head musically, where you want to feel that way too. You want to feel tight together...You're travelling in a little vehicle going somewhere and you're feeling the closeness. Yes, the

whole thing is like that, isn't it? Maybe you're playing at a big venue, especially like at a festival, an outdoor festival is huge, but still you're tight...on the stage. (Rabena 2013)

In the performing arts, "works" of art generally imply an experiential impermanent temporal unfolding that involve actual kinetic work. The activity of musical rehearsal and performance is kinetic and involves the synchrony of self with others. The propulsion of this resultant summed group kinetic energy produces heat, and with this heat through exertion and cooling with sweat, people pulse out time together. I think the desire to be close helps explain how Tanner describes meeting another musician,

If I know nothing about somebody, and I don't really have any judgments about them one way or another to any great extreme...if I hear them play music, and they're an amazing musician, my impression of that person...just skyrockets. (Tanner 2013)

Bands represent significant commitments, both physically and emotionally. Musicians compare the relationships they have with bands and band members to those they have with lovers (Tanner 2013). Tanner's feeling here is not simply one of musical envy, but one of common bond. One musician confessed to me that though she is committed to a monogamous relationship, she is able to have deep satisfying intimacy with multiple partners in a way that would otherwise be socially impossible. By no means are bands a good place in which to locate monogamy. Both musicians and the partners of musicians comment on a kind of libidinal energy involved in musicking and how it bonds people together in a similar fashion to sexual intimacy.

Most of the literature I have found on the subject of music and libido tends to focus on the audience, the fans, the text, the actual music, the star musicians, the emotive conductor, but less so on the band as an everyday unit in rehearsal and performance. Some of the powers of making music must exist in the activity's ability to promote compassion and empathy through practiced intimacy. Imagine seven people in Figure 92 above, of any gender, working, sweating,

arguing, satisfying, synchronizing, for three hours. For us, the room became hot each night, stuffy. There was one small window. We could all smell each other. We would imbibe in intoxicants, sing songs literally about “U-N-I-T-Y” and “Kinky Reggae.” This space was not at all unlike any other rehearsal space I have inhabited: close, and circular. In rehearsal, playing in a circle is always ideal, all energy pointed towards the centre. As Turino suggests, bands can be likened to recreational teams (2008), only, I would add that those teams would need to spend their practices and locker time within a ten foot cube for the equivalency to work.

Going to marimba rehearsals was similarly transporting. We would hitch rides up the mountain, in a packed car, find our way in the dark under the stars and moon to Samuel’s workshop, move through the chaotic wood workshop to the back room to find our rehearsal space lit and organized to provoke a sultry mood. Posters from old gigs and inspirational drawings and set lists lined the walls. Dim lighting, a lit fire, home brew, mead, tea, fresh homemade something, all of these things would be prepared for the band member’s entrance, disproportionately by *Andrea Rutz* and her daughters. And then we would all pop cotton balls in our ears, and just sweat in time, shedding layer after layer, pounding on the keys. By contrast, but in the same vein, rehearsals for the family band involved squeezing in around June Cannon’s kitchen table, where we would find tea, chocolate, perhaps scones, because “somebody has to make the cookies for the band rehearsals” (Cannon 2013). It was brightly lit for sheet music for those who needed it. We would attempt to channel some of the feeling of those famous Newfoundland kitchen parties. I cannot count the number of rehearsals I have had where the room and rituals are carefully prepared to evoke an intimate sharing, as if the larger repetition of gathering-ritual will ease the group into achieving those smaller repetitions of groove and flow.

For those who ponder the preponderance of male bodies in bands, or the curious culture of teen garage band behaviour, I do wonder at times about the libidinal experience of band space as the bedroom of musicking, with carpeted walls, high-tech gear, and overstuffed couches. I cannot think, other than with my current and ex partner(s), of other “normal” times in my life when I might hold another’s gaze for so long and so intensely. Describing these spaces, five foot high basements, pay-by-the-hour bookings in industrial landscapes, converted long-term storage rooms, coloured lights and lava lamps, pillowed sound proofing, smoky, attic hot boxes, describing them as ritualized erotic spaces only serves my argument in so far as they are understood as rooms for a melding of self with others, becoming more than one. In my experience, no matter the space, most musicians group as close together as possible.

Being close together is for practical needs of timing, coordination, and communication about structural PDs. One of the many reasons performing is so very difficult on stage is because inevitably one must break the circle into, if lucky, a U-shape facing the audience. Band communication is much more difficult in this way, but, it is necessary to achieve greater unity with the audience. Of course, the sound on stage can never be as well predicted as the sound in rehearsal, and so one will note that in many situations, performers will still group close together on stage in an effort to create visual coordination when the aural experience can be so incredibly disorienting.

Theories of Band Organization

I was the one who usually called the shots, the practices, that kind of thing. So I guess I was an enabler...Bands...need a leader. You can think that it’s unequal, but you need somebody who’s the one willing to say, “yes, no, let’s do it, let’s not, let’s...” and they do need everybody to pull their weight, and you can get away with not pulling your weight for awhile, but eventually that catches up, and you’ve got to pitch back in again. You can carry somebody for awhile if there’s something else going on outside of the band. It becomes like a little family if you’re in a band that’s playing

together regularly and tightly. So everybody has their spot in the family...And coming into a band, everybody has their own idea of what's the important thing...In the Celtic band, 12 years is quite a long time to hang together as a band. Some of us were more focused on when are we going to get paid for this gig, "is it worth our while?" And some of us were more looking at it as our social life, and as long as we weren't out of pocket to go into the gig, if somebody put us up somewhere, and paid our ferry fares, and travel money, that was fine. But you also need a support staff behind the band. You need the families of the band members...to be supportive. Because if they're not, that's really hard. My kids had to eat a lot of peanut butter sandwiches and baked beans during Celtic festival wind-up time...[The families] have to be somehow included, to keep them connected and supportive enough to keep...band member[s] in...Some bands are young punk rock bands, and they don't have the same issues, at all. They'd have some of the same issues. (Cannon 2013)

When something needs to be done you're going to volunteer. Someone's going to volunteer or sometimes you get asked...When I play with Nomad, for many, many years I was the gear pig,⁶⁹ right? I just sort of had the truck, right? And then I didn't have a truck, but it was hard to find another gear pig in the group. But other people eventually said they would do it...Then there was another guy in the band who would write down the music for me and the chord structure sometimes. (Nyberg 2013)

On Hornby, as elsewhere in my musical career, a given set of decision making processes, hierarchies, and communication methods for attempting musical perfection prevail. Such non-musical (but ultimately musical) decisions impact the social PDs and vibe of the music as much as any other factor, sometimes more. An honest comparative sociomusicological look at hierarchies in orchestras and bands will find that by nature of what they try to accomplish, there are perhaps more things in common between the two when it comes to decision making than a Marxist like Keil might like. Though with elite artists one might assume that non-musical issues of feelings and organization are less influential, in the majority of music made, people will not endure unhappy social situations for a gig without some exceptional circumstances, high pay, or unusual benefit. And so, extra-musical PDs communication is as important and complex as any

⁶⁹ Stepping back into Chapter 7, note that the general stereotype of women as technologically challenged also follows when musicking: even when it's their own gear (McClary 1991: 142–47; Green 1997: 38). Please also note I am not suggesting Nyberg reflects this stereotype—actually, he actively supports his female partner's highly technical power-tool intensive independent on-island caravan building business, with whom he shared the truck.

other, and for this dissertation, it is central to understanding how music and environment become attached. The social PDs of leadership are tightly bound with structural PDs of musicking.

One of the most common practices and power structures in bands reflects what I and others might call “the James Brown.” A common tale among musicians is that James Brown would fine his horn players \$50 for every single incorrect or missed note on a gig. James Brown then, was absolute in his vision and authority. This mythic version of band decision making remains an important ideal or type. “Working” musicians understand this model in that when they are hired for gigs by band leaders, they are there to perform a job. Other bands may form around an individual artist’s repertoire, and then take their cue from that artist, for example, Dave Matthews Band, and yet retain a significant measure of individual artistic input. My point is that this authoritarian model contrasts dramatically with what in performance, in the moment on stage, is ultimately a group venture, even if a conductor appears to be in control.

Another band decision making structure might be the egalitarian model. Pearl Jam, inspired by Fugazi’s⁷⁰ decision making methods, is an excellent example of this process in that they share profits equally, and their songs are attributed to the band members equally. Even as Eddie Vedder became the face and voice of the band, and so clearly took a primary role as a musical director for the group, without the full consent of all bandmates, the group would not function. These structures tend to favour perhaps a more improvisational attitude, where a piece may be performed in a new way at each gig. Technically, a given member may have written a piece, but in performance, the flexibility of play and interpretation determines the degree to which more egalitarian contribution prevails. In this case, there is significant room for multiple ventures. Truly improvised music has modes for “following” the leader, but like a flock of

⁷⁰ A punk or post-hardcore band that is famous for insisting on affordable access to their shows and a generally politically progressive outlook.

starlings, the leader can change quickly and take the ensemble with him or her. Often, talent and originality will win out in improvised situations where people follow whoever has the most stable or interesting idea in a given moment or song. Both Bill Smith and Jill Candlish (2013) suggested to me that improvised music required a habit of mind and attention to the present that other music did not. When musicking something that has never been heard before and is not trying to sound like anything else, admittedly, a wide spectrum of people might feel welcome and connected through improvising together in ways that are not otherwise possible.

These two examples of a dictatorship and improvised music represent ends of a kind of spectrum, but in practice, an ensemble tends to have a mix of leadership exchange from moment to moment. As Melisa Devost suggests,

I don't think that there necessarily needs to be one leader, but there needs to be a someone, or at least a couple of people that can kind of keep things on track, who are willing to take that role. Because, when you're rehearsing and maybe some doobies get smoked and some beers get drunk or whatever, it's easy to lose track of what needs to be done [laughs]: you look like you have some experience? (Devost 2013)

If one composes a piece, then one tends to have final say on its arrangement. Musical seniority also comes into play, but so does intuition and skill. In my experience with semi-professional bands, most ensembles put a huge amount of effort into learning other people's work.

Perhaps the most interesting group dynamics arise through song lifting, or covering. In these cases, people will listen individually or simultaneously together to a piece of music and as a group and try to come to some kind of consensus as to what the musicians on the recording are doing. People have varying concern for specifics. Some desire intensive and exact replication, but bands and individuals must continually negotiate "that point [where] either you can say, "OK, this is how I do it," or you can really go into the narrow bore and pick out what that other band or performer is doing" (Cannon 2013). This decoding structural PDs process takes up huge

volumes of time for many ensembles, and it sparks conflict through discovery as I have detailed. Different instrumentalists tend to have different priorities in mind and take control of different responsibilities. For example, drummers have particular interest in beginnings, endings, transitions, and form: exactly how many choruses and verses, and in what order? How many bars, etc.? It is mutually beneficial to have members with differing focus on details.

With interpretation, there comes opportunities for leadership, and inevitably, one individual will tell another what s/he should be doing. Roles often break down into tasks,

There's a person who knows all about gear that can kind of help with that. There's the person who, depending on the band, that's more familiar with arranging things and different musical roles and different personality roles. There's the person who's going to crack a joke and keep it light, and there's the person who's going to be serious, and there's going to be the organizer person who's like, "OK, so what are we doing next? Where's our next gig?" If you're in a band that writes then there's the person who writes or the people who write the music, and then there's the people who fill in the spaces. (Devost 2013)

Not all bands are interested in performing perfect copies of others' music. However, many musicians prefer to come as close as reasonably possible to a style or genre of music first and then make appropriate decisions on how to deviate. Herein lies the artistry of re-presentation, or choice, and of improvising within the stylistic and idiomatic boundaries of a kind of music. Additionally, when people decide to cover a song, or, become a repertoire band, there are—within the collective—various senses of what the essential elements of the song and repertoire are. What makes a song a song? Is it the hook? The bass line? The drums? Or some combination? Obviously, in re-presenting Jamaican music on a Canadian island populated by non-Jamaicans, perfect replication is fantasy at best. Glen Rabena reminded me that with respect to traditional repertoire and cover songs, the entire band ostensibly has the same goal in mind (2013). The same could be said of classical music in a way or any music that has a score.

Working with original music, perhaps by a songwriter or composer in an ensemble, that process involves a different kind of communal effort.

Tony Wilson describes how he leads a band as an organizer and composer,

When you play with a certain group of people, and you spend some time doing it together, of course there's the musical advantages...you have the advantage of a simulation becoming faster, writing the material, the trust factor becomes bigger so you can take more say risks within the music, and the biggest thing is it's a family situation...It's not us against them... You develop a sense of camaraderie that's really important...In my situation I've been a bandleader...[I] become cognoscente and aware of how people play, what they like to play, what they're good at playing, and so as a writer and a composer [I] start to use those parameters...[I] write the music so...it exploits what they're good at doing... Those are the musical advantages [of playing together a lot], and there's other ones... You develop obviously a sense of self-worth and that you have some purpose: you're making a contribution to something. And this is probably the most important part, because this is way more important than the music in a way because without that part you probably can't create the music because that's a big part of what's making it possible...[As a composer, I] have to make it possible for everyone else to make their contribution...[I have to learn] how their instruments work...what's easy to play...Eventually if you do that, the musician will find that he or she is able to contribute to the music, because it's in their comfort zone. So they go, "OK, this is great right there, it's my sound and everything is just natural to me," right?... Everyone is happy because they're all making a contribution because when you're composing...you're telling everyone what to do...it's a very selfish activity... "I want you to play this note now, I don't want you to play any other note. I want that one or four,"... Therefore, they make their contribution, therefore, the music is important to them. The music is important to all of you...It's our music, and we're going out there spreading the gospel of what we're trying to do. And so that's what playing with people is...there's a lot more to it than the music if you get what I'm saying: things like these self-esteem issues, making you feel like you have some importance...If you're just one of these guys that comes, brings the music papers, give it to whoever the fuck, you don't care who it is as long as they play the notes you're happy. It's a whole different kind of way of doing it. Not the way I do it...I always consider the musicians within the realm of them and write specific songs for certain musicians to play, because they're the guys to play it. (Wilson 2013)

How I wish Tony Wilson had been one of my early mentors on such matters. Though musicking does involve the kinds of decisions about decision making I and others describe above, either consciously or subconsciously, there are many more extra-musical factors to consider, like self-esteem as Wilson describes, as I have earlier in Chapters 7 and 8. How does a musician manage

his or her head-space when playing? There are so many mistakes one can make, and so many concerns to negotiate, and often the solution is to try and not think at all, or better yet, just laugh,

You can tell when I make a mistake. The worse it is the bigger my smile is. (Rabena 2013)

If I'm feeling relaxed and basically enjoying it, and not feeling like I'm putting a lot of effort into it—it's, sort of, effortless—because, whatever I'm doing is connecting with what everybody else is doing—and often when it's not going well is when you're really struggling hard and trying to... “what can I do to make things better?” You know? And often that makes things worse because you're getting too conscious. (Law 2013)

I think it's when you're playing with other people, it's everybody getting out of their own way enough so that the music can happen... getting really just into the music and not thinking about other stuff or worrying how it's being perceived by the audience or worrying about what other people might think of your skill as a musician or lack of skill as a musician. I think that's when magic happens. (Tanner 2013)

Here then, I again locate my expanded sense of participatory discrepancies, one that seeks to incorporate into musicking things that are a part of the ritual of music making in North America that while in line with Keil's theory overall, have not yet been adequately captured by it. There are so very many negotiations required to make music happen and to be in a good place. As evidenced in Chapter 8, an inexhaustible “art world” of PDs list might include: negotiating meeting times, meeting place, volume management, housemates, equipment organization, costs of rehearsal, transportation, child care, food, drink, and drugs, time hanging vs. time playing, promotion, deaths, online management, recording, sales, venues, gig-getting, pay, births, artistic presentation, work schedule, rehearsal organization, swag, dinner time, tickets, sound people, door people, float, practicing, etc. For professionals, there are yet larger considerations: rent, unions, publicists, record deals, labels, videos, management, etc. In managing these kinds of decisions, collectively, through non-musical participatory discrepancy, musicians work towards

harmonious interactions. All of these factors speak to the wider influence of the band-as-community.



Figure 95: This is from The Rudiments first appearance at The Hall. Beside the main room, there is a circular atrium where refreshments are generally served, where June Cannon described the space in which babies once slept in large numbers while parents danced. In addition, large doors can slide out to block off the main room from the atrium, kitchen, and bathrooms. From left to right, front to back, we see Leisha Vasilinda with her child, Faith Martens (Brett’s partner, one of the guitarists), Jala Klone with her child (Ken’s partner, the bassist), Rachel Goodman with her child, and Meredith McEvoy with her child (my son). Note three of the kids have dedicated ear protection. Five of the people here were directly involved in the planning of each rehearsal, and seven of them were involved in planning the events for the evening. Recall Clair Cronia’s words from earlier about how things were on Hornby in the 1980s, “That’s how my kids were raised, going to sleep listening to that” (2013). At this moment, these mothers are socializing during the set up of the show, enjoying each other’s company.

The Community as Band

I have a musical web that I feel is a group. It’s a community within the community. And there are probably a couple of those [for me], because there’s my mostly-adult people that I play music with, and then there are my fiddle students that in varying degrees...also cross a line into friends, as well, so there are kind of sub-groups. (Cannon 2013)

Playing music, you’re not necessarily aware of what’s going on around you. In that way it’s kind of introverted, but in order to get to that place you have to be extroverted to get that happening. You know: to meet the people. (Nyberg 2013)

I think on Hornby you tend to play with the same circle of people more frequently, which I guess it allows you to know their musical sensibilities a little more intimately, and if you're playing music with them, I guess over time, it can be a bit more cohesive in that way. And I'd say it's a more social event playing music with people, whereas in other places it can be...more...productivity focused and more goal focused which is just different...when we have a band practice, it's a practice, and we want to get as much done as we possibly can, but it's also hanging out with your friends, and it's one of the most satisfying ways I can think of to hang out with your friends, so it's focused on end results and focused on getting the music together, but it's also a highly social activity. (Tanner 2013)

Bands are much more than a given community in miniature. For many musicians like myself, playing music with others is how we create our entire social network. Playing music is the vehicle through which socialization is made possible. In many cases, music is the singular social practice through which individuals come to form strong friendships with others.

When I ask musicians on Hornby who their friends are and how they would describe their support networks, "other musicians" was reported as either a primary, singular, or very important piece of how they describe the community they have gathered for themselves,

Well, most of my friends...[are] musicians...I love all the guys that I play music with...I don't know, getting together with the same people and playing music over and over again and building that musical rapport and the relationship that happens with seeing the same people over and over again and getting comfortable with them and them getting comfortable with you... (Bohn 2013)

Social PDs can be thick friendship. People describe the importance of finding a group of people to play with as integral to their desire to be and settle on Hornby. Peter Cloud Panjoyah described to me how initially he imagined that when he decided to move to Hornby, it would be easy to find others to play with, and that as a musician he would be quickly valued. However, Panjoyah soon realized just how talented musicians were on the island, how many drummers there were, and that he would need to work to find a place in the community, but,

The...thing that kept me going through those [first difficult months of settling in]...I saw these two guys perform together at an art opening. It was Lawrence Nyberg and Tony Law, and I thought, “man I really like what they’re doing together,”...And I thought, “I really like them,” and I went up and introduced myself...[Later] they did a performance at the bakery with a drummer and a bassist. And I thought, “wow I really want to be a part of that,” so I actually asked if I could...come jam with them on percussion. So I brought a bunch of percussion gear, and they informally auditioned me over a couple of rehearsals, and then invited me into the band...And I think that really helped me [feel at home]. (Panjoyah 2013)

Bill Smith offers a similar story:

I’m in the [market outside The Co-op], and this young guy comes up to me and says, “I hear you’re a saxophone player?...Tonight, at the ballpark, there’s a jam session.”...So I turned up...and I realize they’re playing Elvis covers and things: I have not the faintest idea how to do this. [Laughs] And Gordie Bateman said, “it’s cool, man,” he said, “it’s all in G and E, and I’ll nod when you’re to start soloing, and nod when you’re to stop.”...This was quite fantastic, there’s a guy saying, “it’s easy, man, it’s like [sings a flutter of gibberish] I left my baby. I mean it’s not that hard to do, it’s music.” So suddenly I’m in...You can’t get into a community more than this...I’m a touring musician who plays in theatre and everything, and I’ve got bleached white hair. I wear weird, red-and-black clothes. (Smith 2013)

Smith, a self-described odd-ball found, like so many Islanders, that the community was ready to meet him and include him as soon as he arrived,

[To his partner] I said, “what do I do now? I mean what shall I do? I mean how am I going to fit in, entertain myself? I mean there’s nothing there. I mean we barely have electricity.” So she said, “it’s five o’clock, you should go down to the pub.” I said, “really?” “Just walk down to the pub,” I mean: you can walk. So I walked down to the pub, and these people immediately say, “oh, so you’re the guy from Toronto who’s come to live with Sheila; I’m so-and-so, I’m so-and-so, I’m so and so.” And then it used to be that after work all the workers went to the pub. So if you wanted an electrician, or a plumber, or whatever, you went to the pub, and said, “hi, Patt, how are you, can you come and fix this?” And so, instantly, you’re a part of this...attached to all these people that she knows, and of course lots of them are musicians, poets, writers, etc. So it doesn’t take very long to become part of this. (Smith 2013)

Musicking is also about growing together and learning from one another,

Learning how to express your views and opinions without causing excessive aggravation, because that’s a bit of an art form...if you’re a bit too bullheaded about what you think, and it’s not so easy for other people to deal with that. And learning how to deal with that from some other people, too, it’s definitely a social skills

learning thing to do, yes. (Tanner 2013)

Whenever I play with other people, I'm learning; I'm listening to what other people are doing and getting new ideas of where to go. It's such a great learning experience for me. Because [I'm] stuck on my own. All I've got is my own capabilities and ideas...So every time I play with other people, I am taking something away that hopefully will help me expand what I do. (Law 2013)

Musicking can also be about failure as I have discussed,

If your audience is not there...you're not getting a good reaction. That can definitely make it so you're not enjoying it...Because you're distracted by the fact that you're waiting for people to arrive, and...thinking in your mind, "why didn't they come? Did somebody not put it on the poster correctly or what?"...And there could be one person in the audience...and...I think I have a sense they would feel quite differently about the music as well. Because the audience gets nervous too when there is nobody in the audience, if there's very few people they don't feel good. They can't relax for a while until someone helps them relax. (Candlish 2013)

Feeling accepted, feeling trust, and dealing with failure is what learning to be in community is about. Getting the sound right is a process of mutual criticism that requires commitment to a work ethic where the ego is exposed and yet willing to listen, constantly receiving feedback.

Though musicking can be this fulfilling process that seems to be able to provide for so many of our social needs, it does not put food on the table. Money is always and consistently an issue in bands, even when a group decides that it is not in it "for the money," they inevitably have to deal with the subject. Wilson describes the process,

When people are younger...they want [music] to solve all their problems. They want to solve financial problems. They want to solve their personal problems. Their self-esteem, they want all these things solved, and they think the way that's going to get solved is to make a lot of money and be famous. But...it doesn't work that way unfortunately. (Wilson 2013)

If money cannot be the object, one might consider Jill Candlish's perspective,

It's back to the needs and the longing and the feeling good about yourself, feeling good about your group, what you're putting out, feeling good about what gifts you're giving. And if...you have doubt, it's fear, so there's only really the love or the fear. So if you're in the love category of enjoyment, and things are working out and

connections are positive, then you can play sad music or happy music, or angry music but you're still in the love side of things. But if you're in the fear side of things where you're not prepared, you've been fighting with your other band members or your partner at home, and you're distracted from the present, all those are in the fear category: then you can't really connect. (Candlish 2013)

We imagine that when people who are not in a band talk about bands, they are having conversations about a given band's music or story. On Hornby, as often as not, people will "discourse" (Corrigan 2014) about the intimate social dynamics of the group: who is whose friend, where and when they play, why they play what they play, where they live. What one hears about a Hornby band is not only its music. The same is true for DJs who will discuss the personal lives of other DJs and the merits of their shows, their approach to the equipment and broadcasting, and to the overall success of the radio as a society of individuals.

This may all sound daunting, but people do it for the reward of solidarity.



Figure 96: June Cannon and Glen Rabena at Glen's CD release party. Old friends, and a delight to watch and hear.

Singing and Talking the Community

I know there are a lot of parts of human psyche and human emotion that just aren't communicable through language, and music achieves that in a way that's pretty powerful, especially when it's combined with poetry...(Tanner 2013)

It's connecting one's inner life with an outward manifestation...A lot of my songs... connect...the world around me and what's happening in it and the relationship with the natural world and the human processes that are imposed on it. (Law 2013)

It can be really a lot of information to receive. Me sitting here with you right now, I can be pretty open to receiving the information that I'm getting from you. My body doesn't feel like it's sort of restricting myself. But performing [singing] for a room full of people can sometimes be too much information. (Devost 2013)

I have purposefully avoided dealing with "environmental music" as reducible to lyrical content, and this is why: textual analysis of music fails to capture most of what is important and unique about musicking for environmental thought. Occasionally one may encounter a particularly inspiring and detailed set of "activist" lyrics about some environmental issue, or some place, but one is drawing water from rocks. Lyrical content is the least we can say about a song, a musician, and their being. Most musicking is not a hit song on the radio.

My assertions explain part of why I enjoy Keil's work so much. I find that Joni Mitchell and Bob Dylan receive a ridiculous amount of praise as political or environmental artists. They are certainly important figures as prominent White singer-song-writers that became famous during that same era that influenced Hornby so much, but the way their music is described as foundational and important is often lacking in thought about the institutions, communities, and processes that produced their fame and continue their mythology. They did much more than put down their lyrics on paper and recite them. Their lyrics did not make them political figures. Set any lyrics to a Gregorian chant and see how long the fire to make change burns. An instrumentalist knows what goes into making the instrument of the voice work to communicate powerful meaning at will, and knowing that, it is hard and yet so easy to confuse the entirety of the politics of musicking with the politics of putting poetry or melody on paper.

To begin, recall what Tony Wilson said about “self-esteem” on any instrument, and then, imagine taking that self-esteem and choosing the most vulnerable instrument one can find to communicate. Singing, more so than playing an instrument I suspect, involves tapping and working on those really deep insecurities we may have and hold in our voices, in our very bodies. Tony Law uses the word “confidence”: “we’re all imperfect beings; so that’s part of who we are, right? So just go for it. It took me a long time to get there...I used to be very awkward and lacking in confidence in a lot of ways. But then I realized, well, you’ve only got what you’ve got, so share it” (Law 2013). To sing, one must literally find one’s voice, which is a psycho-social-and-embodied practice unlike any other. In a choir, one might not feel quite so exposed as a single piano player in a trio. But take that voice and put it centre stage at the front of a band on a hot mic with monitors, in the spotlight: half-hearted singing is much more difficult to manage than distracted musicking on other instruments. One has to communicate using memorized words that, to return to Turino’s adaptation of Pierce and Bateson (2008), include not only indexical and iconic melody, but also symbolic meaning, perhaps while accompanying oneself with paired notes and chords as Ted Tanner does:

If I’m singing a song and not really thinking about what the lyrics are saying, it won’t come out sounding as emotionally powerful or as musically satisfying...trying to bring that out through my voice. Even if I didn’t write the words...to be able to empathetically or sympathetically relate through your own human experience...the emotional content of those lyrics, if you’re not conscious of it, it doesn’t work as well. So I guess you’re opening yourself up emotionally that way. (Tanner 2013)

As a singer, identifying with the politics of lyrics can be a kind of transformative practice. When people take on cover songs, they often choose them because they believe or because they want to believe what the lyrics convey. Reciting such words-as-music before an audience brings a singer to identify those words as coming from his or her own sensibility.

Glen Rabena is another appreciated vocalist on the island, and yet, “I’m not really secure in my ability, because I don’t know a lot about an instrument in particular” (Rabena 2013). In contrast to Tanner, Rabena does not stand by some of the old banjo ballad lyrics he is known for, with killing and misery, and so there is more to identifying lyrics, a theatrical aspect,

Being on the stage...it’s always different...Like at practices...you’re just fooling around but when it’s actually happening...when you’re actually doing it, something, for me, automatically changes. “This is it,” you know?, when you’re doing it...it’s kind of like live theatre. It’s happening now. This is it...real intensity. (Rabena 2013)

Tony Law confirms Tanner’s sensibility about lyrics by playing his own songs instead: “one thing that, for example, turned me off playing traditional music, traditional songs, is that there were things in those songs that were coming out of my voice that wasn’t really true to my voice, and there was this disconnect. So I think because, for me, music on some level is personal expression, I tend to stick to things I have created” (Law 2013).

Holding a microphone comes with many responsibilities. The singer in the band is just as often the spokesperson and MC for a performance. How badly is someone like James Brown loved for everything he did on stage while not singing, not “being musical”? We might begin to answer that question by thinking about what his band thought about him first. Here is how Dean Samuel describes how band members see MCs and singers,

[It’s] an interesting one, being comfortable with the other people who are stepping up to the mic. If you’re not...taking that role, [then] you’re being spoken for. [It’s interesting] how comfortable you are [or are not] with that. Again, I think [when] people are easy with the audience and have a lot of humor and [get a] relaxed rapport going on, it makes everybody feel at ease. And then there’s those who can put a different agenda in their talking, that you can go, “I’m not really part of that,” and [they] make you feel a little bit like crawling behind the stage...And vocally, like our [Zimbabwean music] band has... I wouldn’t say we ever had anybody who was a natural singer...And that was a big thing, something that we’ve, for a long time, never spent enough time devoting our practice time to. And we tried to shift that and spend a lot more time...learning how to play the mic. (Samuel 2013)

This role is highly politicized and powerful as it relates to the audience's emotions. June Cannon used the example of a Scottish rebel tune,

What you say about the tune before you start playing, it can make people feel this way or that way once the music starts. I mean you can bring people to tears with music in more than one way. I say that as a teacher. But you definitely can manipulate a crowd with the music if you're into that. I mean sometimes you're just playing the tune the way you like to play the tune, and it has an effect on people. But there are performers who can deliberately manipulate the crowd. I mean, and if you give a certain background spiel about the music, or put out your ideas about the music, and then you play a tune that gets everybody revved up, I mean, [it can feel like] "let's go for it. March on London."
(Cannon 2013)

Again, we need a whole new set of PDs to handle what the MC is doing with the audience: making a vibe.

Within the world of musicking, there is also a coded oral language that one learns for the purposes of working together through songs. If I were to transcribe the actual things people say to each other in rehearsal, it might not make any sense: "So, two bars after the bridge we go into a stomp, and then you drop out, and I come back in "pom pom pop," and it's a double-time feel where the bass is giving a push." "We run the A three times and then its back to the head with 8 bar breaks, everyone gets a turn. OK? 2, 3, 4..." Without context, these conversations are impenetrable. This "short hand" signification is what musicians use to review songs before playing them, to make sure everyone is on the same page, and to locate where in a song they might all begin from. A great deal of time is spent getting to the bottom of what the plan is for a given song, how it will unfold, and this language and practice of musicianship, including frantic coded personal note taking and set-lists, is taken for granted and understudied as a part of vocalized musicking culture, as part of the structural conversations for PDs.

Conclusion

This chapter considered the process of forming a band and how such bands function on Hornby. I detailed a specific conflict within a band I helped form to demonstrate how PDs have 4Ts (timing-tuning-timbre-texture) and 4Ss (structural-social-(eco)systemic-symbolic) that are musical and musicking. In describing the details of what rehearsal spaces are like, and how bands spatially arrange themselves I began to consider how emotionally intimate band relationships are. I drew on quotes from many kinds of musicians. Instead of working at the dichotomy between egalitarian and hierarchical relationships in musicking, I expanded on the idea of power within bands to consider the many ways in which organizational decision making and leadership happen. I uncovered how people contribute to bands in ways that cannot be described as precisely musical or groovological, and yet are essential to the possibility of having a band. By considering the emotional work that musicians and vocalists require to come together, my aim has been to demonstrate how complex and embodied music making can be.

The dissertation thus far has represented details and concepts that I have been inspired to relate. Along the way I've dropped hints about *vibe*. I've suggested how musicking ties the human community together on an island that strives for alternative negotiation with dominant North American norms. So far, I have left unanswered some questions about why such solidarity is meaningful for environmental consciousness. I claimed this dissertation would address grounded "ecomusicologies" as a kind of cosmology. In my final chapter, I turn directly towards theories of the importance of musicking for community and environment that are developed, from the bottom up, from my research participant's ontologies. In this final chapter, I collect together reflections of the importance of the arts and music for society that pull my PDs together in a way I could not have anticipated and am deeply grateful for encountering and considering.

Chapter 11: Theories from Hornby

I was at the bakery the other night when we [the marimba band] played, and there was this woman that I went to bodywork school with...she was just remembering the first time that she'd come up here with her husband...and they just stumbled upon us playing music at The Hall...And they'd never seen or experienced anything like that, and they were blown wide open by it...She's got this life. She lives in North Van. She runs this massage school and she—she hates it. She said her kids chant to her, “mummy, quit your job, mummy, quit your job,” because she just says, “I want to quit my job” all the time. I said, “Well, what do you want to do?” She says, “I want to move to Hornby and be a farmer and play music with my kids. I want to learn to play music with my kids.” (Rutz 2013—see Figure 76 for a picture of Rutz playing with her daughters)

All of the music, whether it's Festival or someone tinkering with their guitar in their back yard, is possible really because of the lifestyle and the community here, and then also to some degree, it goes back and forth. There's a synergy, and because there's this musical community that connects: that creates the community to a degree...It's one of the driving forces of the community, I would say, like farming. (D. Atkinson 2013)

You can't separate into little groups or you'd be lonely. (S. Crowe 2011)

At this stage in the dissertation I turn away from my own theories and evidence towards those findings, the PDs of “liberatory power” (Keil 1995), that Hornby Islanders have to share about music and environment through their participation in this research. Certainly, these contributions build upon the theoretical model I described in Chapter 1 and permeate the dissertation. I am not suggesting my subjectivity can be removed from this presentation. In the first subsection of this chapter, I highlight a powerful conception of the importance of music for community on Hornby through a theory of musical vibration that many Islanders share. In the second subsection, I discuss the manner in which Islanders see musicking on Hornby actually transforming the experience of Hornby and conversely, how musicking is transformed by one's experience of Hornby. In this second subsection, I also share some final thoughts on the status of musicians on Hornby. I conclude this chapter by placing these theoretical contributions alongside my own theories from Chapter 1 into more comprehensive ecomusicologies.

Dialogic Vibration as Being (in) Environment

Music is sound vibrations that connect at a physical level whereas words just connect at an intellectual level...It creates more...physical connections rather than just intellectual connections. (Law 2013)

I will begin with an exchange between Brett Martens and I that identifies a way of approaching all social and material interaction through sound and music:

Music has a role in everything because everything ultimately is vibrations. [According to physics] everything is a different vibration...when we think about the word “music,” what comes to mind [are] the audible vibrations that we hear. [But] music is...[all] vibrations happening at once. So music is happening for everybody, so music is all around. There are a lot of musicians on Hornby...some of them choose to move that energy for other people, choose to blatantly move energy by performing music...You can go out and play a show, and you know that twenty or thirty or fifty or a hundred of the people that are there are people that you know, and that is pretty awesome in the fact that it keeps it very real...It’s more of everyday life. It’s like you are hanging out with your friends, and you’re playing music and moving energy...[for people] you [see] everyday and talk to you everyday...We don’t get big heads because we play music; everybody plays music, and we’re just kinda doing it for each other. (Martens 2011)

There are two threads I wish to tug on and address here. The first is Martens’ notion of vibrations, and the second is about community. That the two ideas appear next to each other in our interview, tangled, makes sense. People, musicians, the world over, they talk about vibe all the time as if it is a real thing that we construct. An obdurate reality. At the very least, the anthropologist in me recognizes that it is folly to invalidate such consensus and is rather piqued with curiosity. Physicists confirm reality as comprised of vibrations. Already we have a musical cosmology, a world of patterns that can include songs, at least temporarily. Social musicking and sounding makes sense as the intentional manipulation of our experience of reality. The abstraction of music from society and even our environment becomes impossible:

Having done a lot of meditation focusing on body sensations and how external stimulus evoke...your senses...: your body feels everything and remembers everything. And [with] music, sound ripples through your body with sensation. And that happens all the time, whether we’re aware of them or not. So I think...that’s what emotions are. That’s why we say we feel things, right?, because we actually do physically feel them. I think

music does that. It resonates in a really real way physically and ripples through our bodies, and we feel it. That's maybe...one of the reasons it's powerful. (Tanner 2013)

Ted Tanner's cosmology, this ecomusicology, offers a more detailed extension of Martens' description of the power of musical vibrations to affect change and feeling. While Keil (1966b) may have eventually incorporated the "feel" of a song and the processual experience of emotions one encounters *through* music into the theory of participatory discrepancies (1987), Tanner and Martens are pointing towards actual physical vibration of matter as "feeling" music.

Martens' second thread describes how on Hornby in particular, musical gatherings have an intimacy that "the city" might not: "You can go to town...and, quite rarely...you have an all-ages friendly event. But on Hornby, most of the time...it is very family oriented...If you played a dance in the city, you might have [only] one or two friends that pop in, you know?" (2013). On a regular basis, musicking does have a significant impact on the everyday lives of Islanders. In Martens' formulation, as he moves from speaking of vibrations to speaking of *energy*, musicians on Hornby are not making music merely for the enjoyment of a drinking urban adult audience that is likely to be rather anonymous, but rather, musicians are sharing a gift with known people and friends of all ages in order to actively enliven their community, every single time they play.

Such an idea of community vibration lends credence to the capacity of "energy,"⁷¹ the bundling of vibrations, to explain the participatory exchange between performers and audiences, the positive or negative feelings evoked—the "vibes"—as interactions in a dialogue of give and take. This transfer is a kind of gift process (Hyde 1999). The rewards are short and long term:

Often for an extended period of time, if you're part of a group, you actually belong to something, and it also achieves that good feeling of giving you a sense of purpose...meaningful purpose. And I think another big need of people's is to give good energy...people feel good when they give, so that's one form of giving, creating music...

⁷¹ Again, we can turn away from terms like "energy," or we can try and understand what musicians are saying they are experiencing and doing for us. It's a matter of ontology.

Even if you don't have an audience, you're still giving that gift to each other of creating something...It's all tied back to the same thought...Belonging is a circle of give and take when you belong to a group, and you all have your responsibilities and needs that you each help each other to keep fulfilling. (Candlish 2013)

When it is positive for individuals and collectives, musical exchange builds the significance of communication and connection to attain enough value to warrant the idea of "gifting."

Theorizing dialogic vibration as being (in) the environment suggests the power of a sound-centered cosmology to effect change, casting musicians and their voices as energy producers who intervene in social and environmental milieus and charge and alter the vibration of the fabric of reality, or at least how reality is perceived and experienced (which is about as good as the former). Dialogic vibration produces a discursive space that centers on musicking as transformative of our relationship with our selves, our communities, and by extension with our environments. Though we can think of vibrations in this context only as sounded and heard, they are also felt through the body in an immediate fashion, especially in relationship to the somatics of dancing, but also in terms of cellular stimulation. Tony Law does the descriptive work for me,

If you're involved in any activity or social and political activity and you're dancing together, it creates a sense of unity and common purpose and connection...I really see the value of dance in political, social movements as a way of providing energy and unity. Particularly with a lot of issues were you're approaching them in...an intellectual way. And there's struggles and so on...music provides a kind of counter-point to that in terms of being very physical and hitting a different level. I realize probably other people can really get inspired by, say, literature or visual art, but I find the physical element of music and dance goes sort of deeper for me, deeper to the soul than other forms of art, because there's that physical vibration aspect to it that other art forms don't have. You're looking at something or you're reading something, but here it's actual physical vibrations, going through your ears making your body move. That takes things a lot deeper. (Law 2013)

I think the hypothesis here is that as vibrations impact a network, the nodes between actors actually shrink, and communication between actors actually speeds up while becoming

synchronous (in time). The network improves in strength, flexibility, proximity, and solidarity through this input of energy and alignment.

In concert with Law and Tanner above, Martens is not speaking to abstract and imaginary psychic power, but instead is giving meaning to musicking that explains both the physical reality of experiencing music as it hits one's body, but also to the consequences of musical vibrations. Law goes directly to the point: this power we can find in music is used for all sorts of social politics (Law 2013; Small 2011; Pedelty 2012). In every moment that such vibrational projections appear to float away, out of grasp, down the rabbit hole, I am grounded by my informants and their context and the general consensus of musicians everywhere. On Hornby these projections are based not only in a recognition of the idea that cells transform when they vibrate, but that communities transform when they vibrate. Silas Crowe confirms the essential element of musicking within Hornby society, building on Martens' theory:

[Music is] a focus and a centre during the quiet times. And then a time in the summer to let it out and express it. It's huge on the island. The music that is going on is where the people are. That's where they go. It's important. It breaks down the walls...From what I see, it's the times that people get to putting down their [disputes] and communicating with each other is when there is music there, centering them...Whether it's to dance or communicate, talk and communicate. When music happens, it's when people celebrate. And at the same time it's when people delegate, and...it brings people together, and when you bring people together into one place, the ideas [for how to improve Hornby] are there, and they start talking about them. And as much as [people] may have been interacting with each other in everyday things...when [there's music], it's the intention behind it, and especially with words and lyrics that are there and talking about the big picture; it brings people to that place, and...that's the only time I see people really getting down to what they really care about, rather than just the, "hey, howrya doin? Good to see ya, peace"...just bringing people together. (S. Crowe 2011)

Here Crowe, who has lived on Hornby his entire life, is speaking to times, like Hornby's winter months, when Islanders fall into difficulties in confronting what he believes is an increasingly isolated and fragmented island society. Crucially, Crowe identifies musical activities as the most

important spaces for the entire island to get together to share the same room, where “the ideas are there, and they start talking about them,” where social and systemic PDs meet. He quite literally means those ideas that make Hornby such a creative and caring place for innovative response to communal, societal, and environmental problems. He also places emphasis on musical activities for overcoming the resentments that build on Hornby. As Tanner describes, “for something to be really a communal, high-energy, good *vibe* thing happening, [music] is just essential to pull people out of the dumps sometimes in the winter and get people out and give them a reason to go out and be social” (2013). In the main, this being-together is what music is for on Hornby.

For many island musicians their musical practices often involve rehearsals and recording through the winter, and then exhibition each summer, not unlike other arts on Hornby. With “a focus and centre during quiet times” Crowe is speaking to the dedicated social practices of winter musicking, practices that are often communal. Further, when the community literally sees itself out in force, it is most often on the dance floor. Aside from festivals, there are few other frequent popular occasions that will bring large numbers of Islanders together to socialize.

I have encountered many stories of the importance of certain venues in certain cities at specific moments in history for particular groups of people, cafés where important artists of a generation socialized. Hornby has no such gathering place for song, story, and coffee, and yet that is precisely what musical events become wherever and whenever they happen. People talk, dream, and plan when music happens: “the ideas are there, and they start talking about them.” Crowe is referring to what Keil calls the “Will to Party.” During any show, I would observe perhaps a quarter of an event’s attendees cycling through an outside gathering, to talk, to smoke, to drink. A good number of folks might not have had the funds to go inside or been willing to spend the money, but they could hear the music and enjoy a conversation. At set breaks, better

than half the audience would move outside to cool-off, again, catching up. This is an important place where the community talks and “cuts loose” (Devost 2013). This is the public commons.

What about the “vibe” of place I described in Chapter 3? My PhD has been devoted to trying to understand what the Hornby vibe is that grabs me as unique, but how do we begin talking about vibe in an transparent manner? What is it that draws people to this place or sends them desperately to the ferry line-up? Here is one answer:

There is a different sensibility, and I’ve always had a feeling that this island is a living entity and that it attracts the right people to serve the needs of the whole in a way. Like a lot of people come here because they feel called. They feel a kind of a resonance with the vibe here, and they fit. And other people come, and it’s just an awesome way to spend their vacation. And they weren’t considering living here because it’s just this little island and, “what do you do in the winter?,” you know? (Wolf-Ray 2013)

I think this extra-musical vibration I and others experience is actually propagated by the resonance, confrontational, and differential relationships between three things: dominant North American norms; the norms and aesthetics of life on Hornby; and the aspirational ideals of how Hornby is imagined as a utopian place. I will use examples from an interview to illustrate:

1) dominant North American norms,

Author: [Upon moving to Hornby] have you guys ever experienced this weird rebound effect, like how is that?

D. Atkinson: For about a year, I felt like I was battling my consumerism. I think when you live in a city one of your favourite hobbies is shopping, no matter what it’s for, like food or clothes or knickknacks... Yeah, so you sort of wake up in the morning, and I sort of had this feeling I needed to buy something, and that took about a year. I battled with that. I was a bit antsy, I felt kind of weird, like I should be out there buying something. (2013)

2) the norms and aesthetics, the realities, of life on Hornby,

M. Atkinson: It’s unusual, or challenging because most of the musicians that I play with, professionally, do not live on the island. (2013)

3) the aspirational ideals of how Hornby is imagined as a utopian place,

D. Atkinson: I find it romantic living. It's like we get to live before city life became so crazy. It's the old-fashioned life (2013).

Through friction⁷² between these realities, categories, and meanings (and more), Hornby takes on a charged energy, a feeling of discontinuity with the mainland, a vibration that is quite intense for visitors and new-comers from fast-paced homes, a vibration that some can align with, and others are rejected by. Deirdre Atkinson is not suggesting that life on Hornby is somehow pre-modern in terms of environmental impact, but she is pointing towards a pace of life that contrasts with “crazy” cities, knowingly qualifying it as romantic. As you've read, many people talk about how all they seem to do when they leave Hornby is spend money, for transport, for food, for fun, and the outside world would seem to be composed entirely of economic transactions,⁷³

We don't have McDonald's...I don't even know what's out there, I've been here so long. Dairy Queen or... You don't spend money on stuff that you might in the city. The money doesn't melt out of your pockets the way it does when...of course you're in holiday mode [off-island], but there aren't the temptations. You go to The Co-op, you might be tempted by a chocolate bar, but you're not tempted by all of the consumerism...you don't have to fight with your kids every time you pass the fast food place. (Cannon 2013)

However, taken with Rachelle Chinnery's points from Chapter 4, Hornby's romance is only possible all year around if one is ready to live with the realities of a relatively isolated community. Most romantic visions of Hornby come from people who don't actually live there, and if they did, their perspective would likely change.

Of course, the vibes that musicians promote to change Hornby's reality are not so two-dimensional as negative or positive. However, I contend that the ultimate objective of manipulating energy and vibes is to bring people closer together in shared experience,

If the ensemble is creating positive energy...they are enjoying what they're doing. They're enjoying being with each other. They're enjoying being with you. That counts

⁷² Another set of PDs: “the slightly different initiations of sound waves in time rubbing against each other, and the slightly different sustained sound waves through time rubbing or “beating” against each other” (Keil 1995: 12).

⁷³ This came up in almost all my interviews. It speaks to a slow capitalism some environmentalists promote.

for a lot...because you get drawn into that, and it gives you a good feeling...Bands [might] not...[offer] a lot musically, but they've just got such wonderful energy that you just can't help but smile and feel good about the experience. Because it's just a good human experience rather than necessarily a good musical experience; that has value too. (Law 2013)

The “vibes” that musicking might work with are well beyond the confines of song or mere virtuosity, but in fact they include intervention into the vastness of human experience and sharing, including relationships with environment. Having been asked to sit in with the jazz band at The Thatch (see Chapter 8) and after playing a particularly beautiful song, one for which I had to simply improvise my playing on the fly, Tony Wilson turned to tell me, “I wrote that song for Stash, Lex’s dad, after he died.” His sharing this was deeply moving. Recently we had all had a party at Lex Dominiak’s home, the home Stash had built, the one with no right angles on Syzygy, and we played the night away as fit the occasion, a blessingway for Matt O’Donnell, a father to-be (see Chapter 7.1). That night at Stash Dominiak’s, in what was at times a chaotic jam, Wilson somehow managed to make musical sense out of the noise to give the entire room needed cohesion, proximity, and meaning. Stash was a pillar of the community, and perhaps I was in a minority of the people at The Thatch who did not know the meaning of the song, and yet the instrumental piece made sense. Recall Wilson’s emphasis on how he writes compositions to fit particular musicians, like those on Hornby. Here Wilson explains some of what he uses music for, the meaning he finds in it, perhaps as he manipulates reality to bring people closer to a shared experience with him, like the memory of his friend Stash,

It’s the best way for me to, it’s not even to express my emotions, it’s not even about that, but that’s in there as well, but it’s my way of being able to communicate, and I have a way of communicating that’s different than other people’s...what am I trying to communicate, I think like any artist you’re trying to communicate something that you found that is special in life, and so through your expression that’s what you try and give. Within that there’s a lot of different possibilities, a lot of emotional possibilities from joy to introspection, a little sadness...there’s a lot of power to invoke a lot of different things

and this is why music works the way it does... So much of life is a mystery. It should be a mystery... What I'm trying to give an audience is just what I'm trying to give myself. Which is those feelings that I have at those moments that I play those songs... I'm hoping that I'm doing something that makes them feel good about themselves, and that the world is a good place and within that there's sadness and introspective situations, but not to be dragged down in that... and I already know what people are going to think about it... I'm not trying to bring people to God or bring people to any higher reasoning. (Wilson 2013)

Rather than further detail 1) Hornby Islander's projections of dominant North American norms and lifestyles as Martens' offers at the start of this chapter, or 2) the norms of life on Hornby both of which better reveal themselves in Section II of this dissertation, let's look more closely at category 3) Hornby's imagining. While musicians manipulate vibrations, and while Hornby has a vibration, the opportunity to imagine what Hornby is all about is a topic of wonderful debate and an activity that contributes to the experience of Hornby.

Here below, I offer up one of Hornby's imaginings that is deeply ecomusicological. In a general sense, Clair Cronia speaks to how musicking moves her on Hornby, but she also discusses a specific event that encapsulates particular imaginings of Hornby as utopia, now fables for the current generation. In doing so, echoing Martens, Cronia explains Hornby's institutional functioning as a musical phenomenon:

[Specifically about singing] I get so moved by the harmonies and the blends, and so touched that I just forget everything to do with the words... the all-night jams on the beach whether it was drumming and guitar and voice, there was really a strong movement here in the like-minded musicians and music, and so it was huge and it was really a core big group of us and a big strong women's group and women's movement... with spiritually all moved into the movement... it was all about chanting. I got very very very turned on by that group... That is when [the 1980s] I realized our innate passion to rhythm music... It really really changed my life. It's one of the main reasons I stayed here was because of the music... [significantly later]... [T]he festival of myth. If you've not heard about that, that was... like a week long or two week long celebration... we were all huge in helping create this week long, where we had dream circles, this big tai chi, you know we built the big Taiko drums. An amazing amazing week long or two weeklong...

Author: And so would you do this in the summer and then people would come to see it?

Cronia: Oh my gosh, it was very well attended, and there was a huge thing that went all back behind The Hall, and dances, a huge bonfire out in front of The Hall and everybody was in costume and girls dressed up like Pan and people are leaping over the fire. Now I'm talking about magic, real magic because magic happens here on this island. You know it really really does. The synchronicity, the intuition...you know magic that happens all the time if you're listening, if you're really listening...The only kind of thing that makes that happen is like minds. As a people working together and people that hear the same melody and hear the harmonies in it and all of a sudden you're joining your little piece of what could work with this. I think that's a little bit a part of how all of our nonprofits work. It's sort of like a harmonic convergence that happens here with a lot of the organizations, a lot of the people [here]. (Cronia 2013)

Cronia points towards Hornby's having the kind of environmental, musical, and pagan complex that Michael MacDonald has detailed in his ecomusicological work (2009). What I saw in my time on Hornby were the residues of these intensive rituals on Hornby from the 1980s, and from women in particular I heard whispers of secret wiccan rituals, saw Lillian Allen mix tapes at the radio, or heard tell of mythic festivals like Cronia is describing. Jill Candlish was running an all-women's music group while I visited, and her organizing was more than just musical in aim. She was deliberately fostering community and bringing awareness to the current moment's (transient and temporary?)⁷⁴ lack of visible all-women music groups (Candlish 2013—see Chapter 7.2).

This echo of the past also reflected the significance that lesbian feminism did have on Hornby in the 1970s and 1980s, including “lesbian ‘separatists’ who moved to rural settings to live collectively away from urban heteropatriarchy [who] had a clear idea about the importance of nature in their culture, and the importance of their culture to ecology” (Sandilands 2002: 132).

In Cronia's description, one can find both evidence of the extravagance and time that Islanders used to put into such activities, but also Cronia's own solastalgia (Albrecht 2005), that

⁷⁴ As I was carefully reminded by interviewees of both genders, some bands remain cohesive ensembles with repertoire for decades on the island, but the case may be that they have not had a gig in three or more years. Though they may have only rehearsed and jammed, they still identify as “together.” So one's definition of active female participation in Hornby's music scene really depends upon time-scale. Additionally, an assessment based only upon public musicking really could not address the actual number of women participating in musicking on Hornby. At many of the private gatherings I attended, women were well represented, and the converse is also true.

feeling of mournful loss of an environment from the past one cannot return to, but a future one hopes for. Here is a taste of that utopian element of music and environmental exchange one imagines Hornby to have, where even the relationships between Hornby's plethora of NGOs—whose foundations I located in Chapter 7.2 with Hillary Brown's astonishing work ethic and socialism—are imagined as parts of a "harmonic convergence." In this ecomusicological cosmology, taken with Crowe, Tanner, Law, and Martens' ideas above, these activities: musicking on the beach, multi-week musical gatherings, these utopian foundations underpin Hornby's institutional functioning, and these institutions (see Section II) fundamentally regulate how Islanders interact with their environment.

The closest I came to the kind of syncretic musical practice that Cronia hints at and MacDonald describes, with focus on magic, the goddess, ecology, and paganism, was a vocal workshop I attended with my partner and child. I was one of two men attending. The song forms included coordinated movements, thematic lyrics about loss and overcoming, and the instructor invariably brought us back to the questions the songs posed us and the ethical roots of their origins, often in traditions that arose from slavery. For example, in singing gospel hymns we were invited to reflect with the group on the impact of slavery in our lives today. But this paid workshop was nothing like the all night beach gatherings Cronia is describing, and yet they are linked. Those circle song rituals and all night beach gatherings echo through the years on Hornby, and I came to realize that many of the women of that generation are currently connected on the island through such bonding activities, comprising a lasting network through music. Surely all musicking on Hornby offers glimpses of this dense history for long-time inhabitants.

Cronia speaks to intuition and to synchronicity above. We spoke about the role of contact dancing in the 1980s on Hornby, about how physically close people were, and one can see how

important the idea of “knowing one’s part” is in her explanation. For those who may not know about contact dancing, without trust in one’s partner to provide counter-balance, and without providing counter-balance, well, one will simply fall over, perhaps painfully. She also mentions the role of “like minds” and listening. Again, I think these are tautological means for discussing vibes and dialogue. In Chapter 3 I discussed what can happen when one is not “feeling” Hornby and in Chapter 4 I discussed the housing crisis, and categories 1, 2, and 3 above that produce Hornby’s vibe also respond to each other in a way that can propagate unbalanced predatory-prey population dynamics leading to rejection (or social extinction in this metaphor). Without enough synchronicity and like minds, those things that musicking helps produce, Hornby will erode.

To summarize this first portion of Hornby Island theorization, through consensus between interviews, island musicians point to a robust theory of vibration to explain the importance of musicking for their society. Working with these ideas, I theorize the importance of vibration of Hornby more broadly: as something that is a product of friction with the mainland—which can produce problems for people—and as a practice to manipulate the experience of being on Hornby, of being a part of Hornby’s community. This musical practice takes place in place, a place with quite a history of musicking for community, a glimpse of which Cronia offers. Islanders put this theory of dialogic vibration and their history of musicking for community into practice in order to strategically bring people more closely together, to improve their resilience in responding to community needs, hard times, and problems. In contrast to groove, which is generally limited to musical phenomena, the possibility of vibration as a theoretical tool actually captures place, music, social atmosphere, and environment all-in-one. It is able to house all manner and level of PDs.

Two Paths to Musicking and Environment: The Head and the Heart

For us anyway, music is involved in our everyday life. Whether us be playing it or us listening to it, or us going to the radio...it's always constant. (Klone, 2011)

Rachelle Chinnery is an award winning ceramicist living and working on Hornby Island. She is also a scholar, a poet, a photographer, a writer, and an ecocritic. On Hornby she has worked with the RCMP Victim's Services with women in particular, and she also works for the Mental Health Commission's program of Mental Health First Aid, delivering workshops to Islanders. Her input was featured heavily in Chapter 4. As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, Hornby has a long history as a space for artist practices, and the island is also a space for innovative institutional development. Chinnery has been working for some time to articulate her artistic practice as an environmental response. In 2014, Chinnery posted a film she had quickly made to Facebook. As the images and narration in the film move from her pottery to the kinds of patterning one will find in the ripples of Hornby's beach sands, the connections she sees between patterning, place, and practice become apparent. She also offers a way towards understanding how people who work intimately with an art are transformed by that practice to assemble an semi-metaphoric understanding of reality that mirrors or is translated through their art form, another possibility for explaining how musicians find a vibration centered ecomusicology:

When I first started working with clay, I could feel myself change under the influence of the medium. It felt like I became hyper-aware of all sorts of patterns and rhythm, especially in the natural world. The dynamics of seasons, the way birds fly or fish swim. Watching the ocean tides and how the tidal flats self-arrange into the same type of patterning over and over. You can see that patterning in tree rings, or rock strata, or bird feathers, or even leaves. It's a vocabulary of line that crests and contracts with small variations over time as things grow. To me it looks like the shape of growth and change. Wherever the dynamic of natural change and growth exist this pattern shows up. I was drawn to ceramics by its elemental qualities; the fact that clay is a very particular type of earth that can be sculpted, moulded, and then turned into a kind of stone in the firing process is almost alchemy. Clay becomes ceramic in the firing process; it transforms into ceramic; it changes from a type of bound particle earth into a material that will last,

almost forever. And porcelain is even more alluring to me because when it is fired, it becomes translucent. So, it is earth that allows light to pass through itself.

I guess this is how clay speaks to potters in metaphysical language. It's how it speaks to me anyway. Working with clay took me from a fixed perspective on how we are in the world to a very mutable perspective. *My mind changed under the influence of this medium, and I think craft does that to craft practitioners. The medium becomes their metaphor for understanding, or at least for participating in life in a meaningful way.* I think I can say that working with clay has made me more attentive to the physical world and how disconnected we as a society have become to that world. The experience of nature and who we are in it is something I was less aware of before I was a potter. Working with clay brought me to nature in a different way. I've always admired the beauty of the natural world, but clay has made me feel that world. I feel the rhythms of nature, the pulse and the change within it. I don't know if that happens because clay is entirely haptic; you have to feel the medium to work in it. Or whether it's because *you run that circuitry from hands to heart to mind and back.* I don't know what the process actually is. I just know that working with my hands in this medium affected a positive shift in how I feel about the world and even about myself. I am a huge proponent of the physical arts in schools. Craft, theatre, music, dance, every art that is produced directly with the body is so important. It connects us to our own humanity and also to the natural world. *I don't think true environmentalism can be realized without this basic awareness in our own bodies as living feeling beings. The physical arts, craft, train us to feel.* (Emphasis added, Chinnery 2014)

In my presentation of Hornby theorization, two kinds of connections to environment through musicking emerge as dominant arguments. At their most essential, one is that musicking somehow transforms relationships between community members and therefore the island's institutions and discourse (ones that govern human activity). Another points towards some kind of spiritual outlook or (un)conscious environmental awareness that links music and environment in a philosophical and immaterial manner. This first possibility involves the capacity of musicking to train us to acknowledge and work with other humans, but it also trains us to experience our own bodies and our environment, "to feel" as Chinnery states above. This second possibility is perhaps metaphysical, where the medium of an art, in this case music, becomes the metaphoric language for life. Perhaps the first scenario is phenomenological and embodied or corporated (Hennion 2005: 139), and the second

develops from the experiential encounter. These two ideas are not mutually exclusive.

Ted Tanner is one of the new members of Syzygy. He is 45 and is building his home. He used to make his living busking in Victoria when tourism was booming, selling CDs and playing for tips. Tanner plays exacting renditions of popular songs and accompanies himself on guitar and harmonica, often strapping percussion to his feet, tapping his foot on a stomp box to keep time. Tanner has taken part in extended “Buddhist style retreat practice” since his 20s, and has put some careful thought into his attraction to music. I often noted Tanner fasting and cleansing. His spiritual practice has challenged him: “Although I couldn’t see anything wrong with playing music, the performance aspect of things kind of worried me because it’s tied up with ego... those spiritual practices talk a lot about ego and the dangers of cultivating ego, and to perform in front of people, it’s a really real danger” (Tanner 2013):

Author: Does music ever reach the level of something you might describe as a spiritual experience? And, if so, can you describe it?

Tanner: Yes, I think to me, spirituality is about feeling connected and dissolving the boundaries between your ego and the world that we’re all so intimately interconnected with. And it’s a total illusion of the mind that we have, that our bodies end at our skin, and we’re totally separate from the rest of the world. We’re constantly giving, taking, physically from the world, our breaths and skin is falling off and getting absorbed by the Earth and growing new stuff, and it’s a delusion. And it’s a reality, at the same time...music helps to dissolve that boundary for me...and I forget who I am and am just lost in the music, the music is almost like a cellular... it’s coming out of me, but it’s also being perceived by my senses and influencing what’s coming out of me. It’s a great, amazing feeling of getting out of your head and being totally absorbed by what you’re doing...And getting lost in it isn’t even a real expression; it’s almost like it’s a getting found in it, coming home...And when that happens with other people it’s even more powerful, I think, that feeling of being home and...

Author: Why does with other people makes a difference?

Tanner: We’re completely social beings...There’s something powerful when you connect with other people on that level, when you look at somebody, and they’re playing music, and things are working, and you know what they’re thinking when they look at you...It’s a dissolving of boundaries, where you’re all experiencing if not the same thing, a very

similar thing...It's very hard to put your finger on, but that's a spiritual experience, and extend that to an audience who's also feeling that same thing, and that's what that energy is. It just grows and when it takes off it's magic, you know? I'm sure you know that, when that happens. And then the music gets better because of it, and everybody reacts better, and it's this growing, awesome thing. And I think our egos get in the way of that happening...It's an art form to be in that space as much as possible. (Tanner 2013)

Listening to Tanner speak in that moment was like hearing my own experiences reflected back to me. He also reveals Chinnery's emphasis on physicality for musicking. In interviews people would move from observations about grounding in their practice, or the phenomenology of the practice, and then turn towards community and environment,

I'm looking at reflexive writing as a way of re-attaining sense experience in order for us to actually be in the world as sensing beings, and I think that that is really, really key to people understanding environmentalism, that if you can't be in your body...if you can't be in a sensing, aware body, both aware that you're sensing it and in a sensing, aware body, then how...could it possibly matter to you that the bigger world, the bigger body, matters? How... why would you make that connection? (Chinnery 2013)

Let's look at another interview exchange to tease this relationship out further, this time from Glen Rabena, 68 years old at the time, a respected artist, musician, singer, builder, and long-time community member. Rabena,⁷⁵ like a number of senior community members I interviewed, began playing music in his 30s. He is the kind of musician who claims only to know how to play songs, not his instrument, a sentiment I can relate to when I play mandolin or mbira:

Author: Can you describe to me the feelings you experience while playing music? When you're playing music what's going through your head?

Rabena: Yeah, well up until recently I've always played with other people, and so the kind of music I like to play, I really like it when it all fits together. Especially bluegrass music. When it happens, when you make that sound work, it's really neat. You are all part of it. You're always as important as each other. That's what I want to say. Old timey music, Celtic music, just sharing that with everybody is just really neat... Yeah, it's a new kind of experience for me not having someone else to share the whole thing with...

⁷⁵ I met Rabena in the family-band which was the first group I was invited to join on the island. As a consequence, Rabena was the first person I interviewed for my primary visit, and it shows in how long it takes for me to register what he was telling me

Author: [Later on] You were talking before about this feeling where everybody has got their part, and you become all the same somehow?

Rabena: What is that, is that an analogy or a metaphor? I like that example because I see the universe like that. And if we can look at it more like that I think that would be a cool thing.

Author: So what you're saying is...?

Rabena: Play your part and make it all work, and let's all have a good time, because you ain't all that much more important than the other person really, right? Let's all get together and make it work, and it's a good thing kind of thing. That's pretty simplistic though.

Author: No, I think there's a lot there. Can you elaborate on that? That's about as specific as you get?

Rabena: I don't know, because what I like to do, I like to get right to the point. Even my artwork. Like Bill Reid...if something doesn't work, he would just add more stuff and clutter it up into some new fantastic thing, and I'm the opposite because with my Northwest Coast Art I'm inspired a lot by Chinese brush painting where a few strokes get the whole point across, and I am like that with a lot of things like my music too. I don't need a whole mess of notes to say what I want to say, and if you say the right notes, then boy I think that is: YEAH. Less is more, and that is a reflection too of everything else. Less should be better in a lot of ways, and that is a really strong kind of an environmental statement I think. If you approach everything that same way that you do with music, you don't need more. See if we can make do with less. And that's an interesting one. I'd never thought of that in my life.⁷⁶ (2013)

Rabena's comments about doing one's simple part for the whole speaks directly to this dissertation, particular in keeping with community service. Unsurprisingly perhaps, my second interview participant, June Cannon, who often plays with Rabena and leads the family band, echoed him,

The connection between the people as you play is really the high for me...It doesn't happen with everybody, and it doesn't happen every time and...it mostly would happen in a small group; it doesn't as often happen in a big group. But...somehow it becomes more than just the sum of the instruments that are playing (Cannon 2013)

⁷⁶ Actually, I have often contemplated the idea that "it's the notes you don't play" and minimalism in music improvisation as reflecting some kind of consumption ethic, but for this research, though tantalizing, such speculation was too much.

My interviews revealed a consensus amongst my participants about musicking somehow bringing musicians closer to other people in a kind of unified egalitarian communal experience,

I think it's just the synergy where you find where each person's contribution can fit together, and you're playing off people and...rather than just responding to what's coming out of you, you're responding to what's coming from other people. (Law 2013)

After encountering this pattern of response I felt almost giddy, like there were nails everywhere, and I had a nine pound hammer. What I was looking for would not require the goading I feared I might employ out of desperation, and I had actually experienced these fleeting moments of equity and connection with all of them as well when we played together. However, I had not quite articulated this kind of movement from the phenomenon of playing to the phenomenon of community in the same way on my own, as I try to do in Chapter 1.⁷⁷

Rabena's most obvious observations about musicking and power are in relation to participation and equality. These kinds of observations are often tied to genre and PDs (as I have suggested earlier). Rabena's political attention to bluegrass makes good sense. In terms of bands, rhythm instruments generally have a continuous and repetitive role to play, occupying specific goals and acoustic frequencies with predetermined parts that interlock in particular ways. Fulfilling one's obligations to a part, simple or intricate, and having that part combine with others produces a profound sense of belonging and inclusion. In the group sessions I would sit in on with Charles Keil, he would often rely on Cuban *comparsas* to explain the theory of participatory discrepancies because to manifest such grooves, there can be so many

⁷⁷ Scott Knickerbocker, a literary ecocritic and poet by training, gave a paper at the 2014 Ecomusics and Ecomusicologies conference. Like Rabena, he plays banjo and prefers old-timey musicking. As a happy surprise, like my informants, Knickerbocker had parallel theories about environment and musicking, vibe and PDs, and the social anti-hierarchical nature of his preferred music that came to him without recourse to ethnomusicology. Talking with Knickerbocker, Jeff Titon and I were amazed to hear that he had no idea who Titon was (also an avid old-timey banjo enthusiast), or who Keil, Small, Turino, Feld, or any musicological scholars were, and yet, like Rabena's offerings, Knickerbocker's observations aligned with our suspicions, Titon calling Knickerbocker's testimony to the experience of musicking a double-blind test for interdisciplinarity.

percussionists involved, and each one must fulfill a small part to make the larger groove work. Each part might seem very simple, even relatively un-musical and a-synchronous in isolation, however, maintaining a complete comparsa, as a group, can be quite complex. If a single person does not have the right part, and even more so, if a single person does not have good time, then the entire structure will not work. Musicking in this way can be more like a pyramid of human bodies, where everyone is equally responsible at the foundation, but the pyramid is not possible without enough people willing to go to the top. Old-timey music in particular is a genre that discourages individualistic tendencies towards complex solos (or any solos) and stardom, but rather encourages extreme repetition and conformity. As June Cannon puts it in relation to her musical preferences towards fiddling repertoire, “I’m into cooperative music, but not competitive music” (Cannon 2013). While genre plays a large role in what Cannon is referring to, so does attitude as Law explains,

I always try and find a way to meld where I’m at with where the other person is at rather than, if somebody’s at one level, and I can actually go all over the place, I don’t want to create discomfort for them or feel that they’ve been lost. Because I’ve experienced that; I’ve experienced jamming with somebody that really takes things away, way...above the common level, and then I feel totally lost and inadequate. (Law 2013)

Obviously, different genres of music require different kinds of social organization and hierarchy, a subject I covered in Chapter 8, but ultimately, coordination and cooperation are required at some level in most music. Rather than become bogged down in specifics just now, what other core lessons about community and consciousness come from musicking generally? Music is a skill, learned like so many others. The awareness that one might be good at music fuels a person’s drive to discover what other skills are out there to be experienced at such depth. Musicking can become a pedagogical life lesson in perseverance:

What I was saying about the teenagers [on Hornby]: I want to get them hooked on guitar, because, you start to realize that if you can get that much joy out of making sounds on an instrument with friends, well, then there's no reason why you couldn't cook dinner with the same approach. Then there's no reason why you wouldn't garden with the same approach. You start to wake up. You start to go, "oh, everything can be done that way." And we're always jamming [in life], and we're always trying to make it a good jam, and when you're hanging out with your kids...[life is a jam], and so I think people want to live a life that's filled with art and beauty. (M. Atkinson 2013)

Once again, Chinnery's Marshall McLuhan-like observation that "the [artist's] medium becomes [an artist's] metaphor for understanding, or at least for participating in life in a meaningful way" (2014) rings true. For Marc Atkinson who grew up nearby on Quadra Island and had an isolated childhood, music for him became his point of access to and inspiration for life, a way into understanding the world. Life became a jam.

When asked how they think the community perceives them, my informants would respond with something about their artistic identity. The subject of ego appears often in this dissertation. One should not underestimate the importance of identity and pride in carrying such a public and visible role as "musician" on Hornby. In a way, musicians are viewed as public servants. As they "wake up" to such responsibilities and (self)awareness, to the jam that is life, they discover the significance of their impact in other realms of Hornby life, their abilities and obligations to the whole. Part of this responsibility is also tied up in the pride of Islanders who feel in some measure that they have helped raise up younger musicians to experience the world, people like Silas and Faron Crowe, Ashae Samuel, Reuben Wier, and Melisa Devost (Law 2013). They were trained in processes of equity and patterning, and music became an important part of how they articulate equity and pattern, including how they understand their environment.

Conclusion

This chapter has covered the main original theoretical contributions of Hornby Islanders to the notion of ontological ecomusicologies. The first portion of this chapter discussed reality as vibration, Hornby’s vibe, and musicians as vibration manipulators, ending by linking groove to Keil’s PDs and vibe to my PDs. The second portion covered the manner in which musicking can reflect cooperative states of communal egalitarian sharing and a path towards developing a complete understanding of reality through music or any art form. Taken together, this evidence then supports my argument that Hornby Island has, potentially, entire musical and environmental cosmologies, or ecomusicologies. These offerings are linked to my expansion of PDs and yet also stand autonomously. To be sure, Islanders do not express such ideas explicitly, but the patterns of behaviour and practices and stories I witnessed point towards such a complete outlook and are echoed off-island. Not a few interviews ended with something to the effect of, “wow, I’ve never really said or shared these ideas with people, but I think this is part of how I see this community, the world, and my musical practice: this has been fulfilling.” Figure 97 below revisits, responds to, and inserts some of these insights into my theoretical model from Chapter 1.

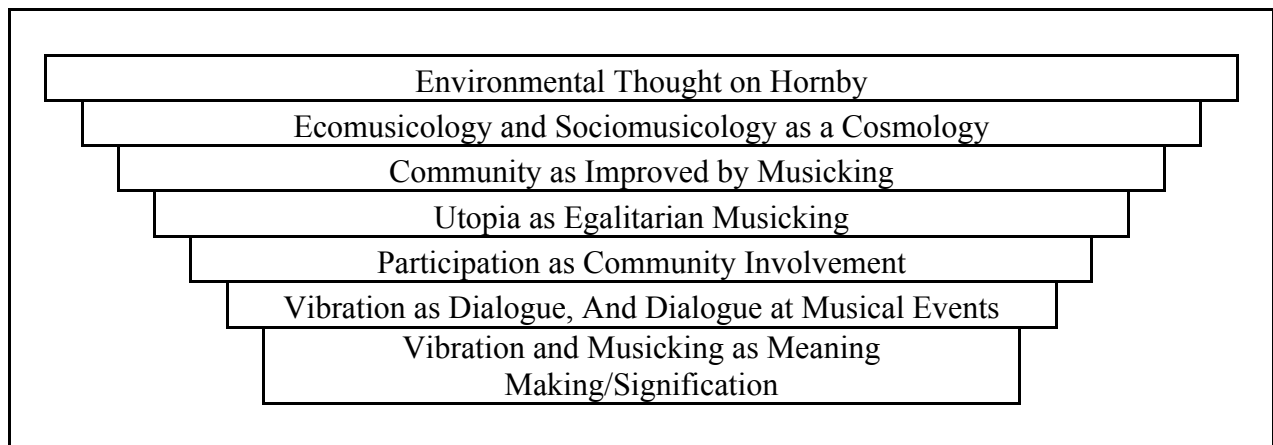


Figure 97: This table combines some of the theoretical offerings of Chapter 1 (see page 18) and this chapter, Chapter 11, as the levels of theoretical intervention in this dissertation.

Conclusion: What is Hornby For?

To play the violin it is necessary to possess certain habits, skills, knowledge, and talents, to be in the mood to play, and (as the old joke goes) to have a violin. But violin playing is neither the habits, skills, knowledge, and so on, nor the mood, not (the notion believers in “material culture” apparently embrace) the violin... Understanding a people’s culture exposes their normalness without reducing their particularity... The important thing about... findings is their complex specificness, their circumstantiality. It is with the kind of material produced by long-term, mainly (though not exclusively) qualitative, highly participative, and almost obsessively fine-comb field study in confined contexts that the mega-concepts with which contemporary social science is afflicted—legitimacy, modernization, integration, conflict, charisma, structure, ..., meaning—can be given the sort of sensible actuality that makes it possible to think not only realistically and concretely *about* them, but, what is more important, creatively and imaginatively *with* them.

The methodological problem which the microscopic nature of ethnography presents is both real and critical. But it is not to be resolved by regarding a remote locality as the world in a teacup or as the sociological equivalent of a cloud chamber. It is to be resolved—or, anyway, decently kept at bay—by realizing that social actions are comments on more than themselves; that where an interpretation comes from does not determine where it can be impelled to go. (Geertz 1973: 12, 14, 23)

[Eco]musicologists not only need to analyze, to deconstruct, to dig beneath the surface of commonsense reality in helping to understand the musical and cultural reproduction of our own world. [Eco]musicologists also need to look beyond as well as underneath our commonsense reality to devise strategies for changes in modes of consciousness and how we relate to one another through a greater understanding of what music can tell us about ourselves and about society [and all life]. (Shepherd 1988: 121)

This dissertation is perhaps over-full of explication, but “thick description” is the ethnographer’s foundation from which to “draw large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts; to support broad assertions about the role of culture in the construction of collective life by engaging them exactly with complex specifics” (Geertz 1973: 28). Based upon the “microscopic nature” of my findings, I do submit that Keil’s PDs are a key to opening wider connections to environment through music, just not in ways he has yet imagined. I also do not think extending Keil’s PDs for groove all the way out to Mark’s PDs for vibe will ever be uncomplicated or thrifty. Getting from Bateson’s bits of informative “differences that make a

difference” to actual ecological “wisdom” is not a speedy, simple, or small task. Why should it be? The work I have presented is sufficient in linking the activity of making music with transformation of communal environmental ethos, certainly on Hornby. Further extension of a theory of vibe will require time and a more comparative approach.

In the following, I revisit how I came to my inquiry and how it shifted. I review the emphasis of my chapters, the rationale for their inclusion, and then I sit with the success of the theoretical merits of this dissertation in light of the evidence of the descriptive portions of the work. I suggest how to improve such kinds of research, and I conclude with my final thoughts.

When I first visited Hornby in 2006 and 2007, each time for a week, I was overwhelmed. I had no realistic comparative space and culture with which to compare the island. At first, I understood Hornby as a place a young musician could move to and find others to play with who were skilled enough to encourage impressive musical growth (Deidre Atkinson comes close to the mark in Chapter 8). I found myself moving from one musical event to the next, almost hourly it seemed. I immediately recognized a society that normalized barter transactions. Most of the young people I met work-traded for their housing by helping with gardens, providing childcare, helping with odd jobs, and these kinds of efforts. I encountered family and extra-family dynamics I hadn’t encountered before in such a frequent and intimate way, and it was clear to me even then that women were leading the community. The Free Store was impossibly progressive to my mind, where my friends would cook their food with discarded canisters of fuel left by tourists. We would get pay-as-you can lunch at The Hope Kitchen, run by Susan Crowe. Bathing in the sea saved the task of hauling fresh water. Most of the people I met were generally living outdoors or in tiny houses and caravans or buses, and this lush and abundant outdoor culture was just as amazing as Clair Cronia described. Chapters 3–7 covered these aspects of life on Hornby

that make it appear such a different place to live from the rest of my experiences of North America. There are so many topics I did not include in this sections, for example, boat culture, the firefighters, the importance of flowers and vases, mountain biking, or the relationship Islanders have with the tides, tsunamis and earthquakes, and with power-outages.

On what was my third visit to Hornby in 2009, I was there to assess whether or not Hornby would be a good subject for my PhD research. My partner and I stayed for two months, long enough to work and meet a wider variety of community members. As our friends, the Martens, had an infant child, we began to have a sense of what young family life was like on the island. After sleeping in a tent while it rained for 3 weeks straight, daily stressors/pressures like housing, ferry costs, nearby development, and tourism became subjects I had difficulty turning away from in order to focus on music. I also became increasingly aware of just how fragmented society was on Hornby in terms of class. In the past, I had no desire to stay on or study the island for any length of time: I had been a quintessential tourist, discovering Pizza and Jazz as one might at the start of Chapter 8: blind to Hornby's utopian problems, not appreciative of any of the dynamics of the performance spaces I describe. Such naiveté changed dramatically as we made new friends who swiftly introduced their struggles to my research through our interviews. Everyone was able to carefully speak to the issues they saw as pressing for Hornby. They also began to woo my partner and I, quite actively, to join them in their choice to live on Hornby. In so doing, we began to try and understand what challenges Islanders faced and what it would take for people like ourselves to move there and thrive. As for challenges, we discovered there were many. This trip introduced me to Hornby's anti-social dynamics including privatization, gentrification, and social and environmental erosion. Moreover, these problems appeared not only complex but rapidly progressing and in need of my attention. Although I felt pulled to

throw away musicking completely and focus my dissertation on island pressures, my initial interviewees continued to present island musicking as responding to these problems. I pursued my investigation of musicking as a response, though initially I had a difficult time unpacking what this meant. I began to form a sense of Chapter 11's focus on vibration theory and Chapter 4's presentation of Hornby's "problems."

After this trip, having carefully decided to move ahead with a dissertation that would try and explain the connection between musicking and solidarity generally in society, but as expressed on Hornby in particular with respect to gentrification, I spent a significant amount of time focused upon methodologies, including an entire comprehensive exam. I knew that I had begun my research on Hornby in a good way that would allow for a grounded approach, the focus of the research arising from the needs of participants as they expressed them to me. I saw that my research could be action oriented if I tried to consider how to bring greater attention to Hornby's problems while contributing to its solutions. I also revisited and connected the previous theories I had been working with throughout my PhD studies to explain how I saw music and environment connecting on Hornby. This time period, after our first research trip to Hornby and before our main visit, informed Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, my theory and methods chapters.

Our primary trip with our new infant to Hornby brought all of the details to this dissertation, filling out the skeleton of subjects I outlined on previous visits. Chapter 2 contains a contemporary history of Hornby that has not been detailed elsewhere. In Chapter 4, I deliver on a promise to struggle with those real and dystopian problems that Hornby faces in its work to reproduce its social and environmental culture. I do this in order to both bring balance to the idea the Hornby might be an ecological musical utopia (whatever that may be) and to also highlight the obvious and essential importance of pro-social and communal activities like musicking bring

to the community. These findings were informed by extensive interviews and participation in bands. Chapter 6 fails to achieve the requirements of multispecies ethnography, but brings us closer to more-than-human life on Hornby. In Chapter 7, I trouble the imagination of Hornby as a “matriarchal society” to detail important individuals that shape Hornby’s aspirational governance and musical heritage. In Chapter 8, I do much more than simply describe possible locations for performing and taking in music. I demonstrate the social nature of musicking on the island in these spaces, from the organization of performances, to the construction of deviant musical spaces, from the creation of confidence and negotiation of ego, to communal dialogue about the meaning of Hornby’s musical institutions. In Chapter 10, I take the direction of Chapters 8 and 9 further and actually bring my reader into the rehearsal space of a band. I offer up substantial evidence to suggest how band culture socializes people to behave in particular ways (often very challenging) that foster group solidarity. Chapter 11 presents how my theories of music and environment relate to and compliment Islanders theories of music and environment: the Hornby vibe.

In review of the theoretical assertions from Chapters 1 and 11, Islanders surely have “ecomusicologies” which are cosmologies comprised of environmental and musical thought. Marc Atkinson’s efforts to make life a “good jam,” Clair Cronia’s harmonious chorus of island NGOs, Martens and Law’s “good vibrations,” Tanner’s feelings of energy and cellular experience, Candlish’s gifting, and Rabena and Cannon’s egalitarian “playing one’s part” are much more than metaphors. These ecomusicologies, these explanations for life are the actual systems in which people see themselves and their communities interacting and they go beyond Keil’s groove and yet are nothing without it. Chinnery explains how this mental framework develops for artists through the repetition of the practice of their medium, how this becomes

“participating in life in a meaningful way,” where life and the artistic medium become the very same thing. These ecomusicologies and vibes are what such actors bring to their understandings of not just their musical practices (Chapters 8, and 10), but the radio (Chapter 9), the island’s relationship with the mainland, reproduction, gender, women, all island life, resource cycling, travel, tourism, housing, mental health, and work: the subjects of Chapters 3–7. In a place as fragmented as Hornby, by confronting Hornby’s realities with the filter of their ecomusicologies, musicking presents as what the Crowes feel are the most important social and systemic PDs for Hornby right now at the current moment: “bringing us together” to “break down the walls” to vision a better future for the island and the world. This is my answer and Hornby’s answer to the question I raised at the start of this dissertation: “How might live music making, listening, and dancing, in and of themselves, influence our attention to our environment?” Musicking does so through the PDs involved in Chapters 8 and 10, where musicians and the extra-musical (musical) community actually make things happen on Hornby to vibrate the (eco)system.

How do I make the leap between sounding and saving the environment? Borrowing the more technical language of Chapter 1, I begin with the construction of one’s semiotics or symbol systems through repetitive and thick signification, encounters, and memories, what one can call symbolic PDs. Islanders come to know and make the meaning of Hornby on Hornby in a dense geographical experience. They organize and prioritize a particular sense of place accordingly where space rapidly takes on deep meaning. Musicking in that space provides a means for common dialogue about refined socialized meanings, a practice of what Turino and Peirce might call the rehearsal of the iconic and indexical modes of communication that help change and challenge the meta-cognitive symbols of Hornby. Musicking keeps Hornby a doing and choosing place, forestalling its determination as a static place (for retirement and vacation). Musicking, a

collective and equipped activity, creates the loving islander and the loved Hornby Island that Hennion, a French sociomusicologist, refers to here: “The question then is not so much to understand how a “natural” body is determined, trained, formed, and deformed by its social *environment*. It first and foremost concerns the co-production of the body that loves and the loved object, through a collective and equipped activity” (2005: 139; emphasis added).

Musicking is also a space in which to learn how to negotiate with stakeholders. Recall the conflict of social PDs between Martens and I. Every musician I know has dealt with these moments. Such dialogue requires participation to handle discrepant meanings. Through the workings of individuals in bands: the community is able to construct goals and ideals, to plan, set targets, define utopia, and perhaps even temporarily experience utopia as we did for at least one chorus of “Freedom Street” with The Rudiments at The Hall, where we were all perfect for a time. We, the performers and audience, were the song in those moments: “Let’s not quarrel, let’s not fight, let’s get together, we all can unite” (Boothe and Seaton 1970). Such negotiations of utopia, manifest elsewhere in Hornby’s plentiful community-built, funded, and driven institutions, these negotiations in decision making are how such institutions come to represent “the community” or how “everyone is Joe King Park together” as Deirdre Atkinson relates. These discrepant negotiations are also how people construct their senses of selves in place and find what they can offer the island. This process is how in my ultimate abstraction I tie musicking to community, community to ecomusicology, and ecomusicology to environmental thought, where the band is the maintenance of individual-community-place and a site for negotiation of individual-community-place. Durkheim would suggest these activities produce solidarity by increasing moral mass, where at the moment of social transaction, people must negotiate a shared symbology, a shared meaning, a consensus of ethical positionality.

What of the more universal possibilities of this dissertation? Does the elusive glimpse of utopia when musicking create a drive for further and more sustained musical utopias? Surely. Does it create a drive for social utopia? Probably. Ecological utopia? Perhaps. I can say confidently that it does this on Hornby, where people with differing environmental agendas with respect to housing, tourism, waste, the role of the Islands Trust, development, and other issues are given the opportunity to better see each other as fellow Islanders, as friends and not enemies through musicking. In fact, on Hornby, this musical service is clearly vital and essential. However, it is also clear that musicking does not play such a role in most North American communities. Musician Islanders agree with me when they describe most musicking in “the city”: it would appear that elsewhere music is about entertainment above all else. I am also willing to speculate that elsewhere, within highly localized, indigenous and traditional cultures, musicking has an integrative power quite similar to and greater than Hornby’s. In the romantic past, it is probable musicking had such a role in all cultures.

Musicking certainly provides the sensation of being part of something larger, part of a whole, and as a temporary organization of vibrating matter, one with all life. It can be spiritual for everyone in this capacity, or, one can look at an fMRI and see the “fireworks.” “Neuroscientists have...found that the artistic and aesthetic aspects of learning to play a musical instrument are different from any other activity studied, including other arts” (Collins, Gendler, and Graham 2014). However, with my powers of perception, I cannot find that there is a direct correlation between these feelings of connection to the more-than-human world and any kind of environmental action. Rather, if musicking, in and of itself, does impact environmental ethos or habits, it is through a more secondary and complex route where a group of people come to care for each other through moral mass, impacting their community, and through those larger

processes of socialization and environmental and social justice I detail for Hornby Island. There is no shortcut I can find to capturing my structural, social, systemic, and symbolic PDs other than vibration or vibes. However, the immaterial and immediate connection with all life through musicking does lead musicians and others to create ecomusicologies, the cosmologies of environment and music I just spoke of. I am willing to speculate that such ecomusicologies do predispose practitioners to more harmonious relations with all life, but I do not yet have a measure to make this claim. Perhaps my reader can see one I have missed.

In the case of Hornby Island, I have shown that what matters most in music for this community is not skill, execution, lyrical content, groove, instrumentation, mediations, or any of the things that spring to mind as “music,” a reified symbolic institution and product, a score or a song. Rather, musicking, the negotiation and companionship, PDs in dialogue, the vibrations of the fabric and network of community, these solidarity building processes matter most on Hornby. If there is an object to musicking, that object is not material or processual, it is to render more possible the utopian state of collective being. The making of utopia is normally through its unattainable nature. It would seem that the 1980s version of Hornby Island that people wish would return from past was never a viable one. The island is facing a future where elders are dying with increasing frequency while young people leave. I caught a radio show where one host said, “well you know, it’s not like we even have enough space in the grave yard for all of us.”

In darker moments, I have considered that one of the very best things that musicking offers the island is a kind of palliative care. While the community is fracturing, musicking provides glue and memories of a more unified past (Durkheim 1995), dreaming of balance. The challenges Islanders face are many of the same challenges the environmental movement faces.

In future application of this research, I plan to bring two approaches to my praxis: 1) A broader focus on the importance of artists for ecological governance; and 2) A comparative approach between communities and their ecomusicologies. Specifically, I aim to proceed with comparative research across Gulf Islands that are similar in geography and size, but are alternately governed by or left out of the Islands Trust. Tony Law reminds me of how important the arts are for the constitution of islands, their governance, and for activists: “One time our local trust committee, all three of us played music, and we put on a concert...to raise money for conservation land acquisition...All the issues I’ve been involved in to actually get results have usually taken years, maybe decades, and so I think music can be an energy source that can mobilize and keep you going” (Law 2013). Research on islands where people live without electricity to power bands could prove very interesting.

Of the many small lessons I have learned from this research, my greatest physical and methodological challenge was in transcribing the hours of interviews I accumulated. In the future I will deal with transcription in some other manner that will improve the pace of my research.

In terms of disciplinary advancement, my findings are environmental, anthropological, and sociological, and concerning the shared method of ethnography, I find distinctions between these disciplines ultimately dubious. Ethnographies of bands are great places to begin researching utopia because bands already aspire to create collective satisfaction. My specific and universal findings are timeless and fleeting, sociological when considering Becker’s “art worlds” and “ecomusicologies” and anthropological when describing the rituals of island life. In creating such an ambitious research methodology as “ecoethnographic justice,” I have my work ahead of me. Building institutions that recognize and support young people, artists, and musicians on Hornby would advance and better serve such research practice, not unlike the exemplary work of

Angela Impey (2006). My final trip to Hornby confirmed a wide interest in prioritizing practice for Hornby's arts institutions, beyond their current primary function as exhibitors of art in summer, even fostering spaces to consider processes like ecomusicologies. Having read the dissertation, Tony Law wonders why all of these musicians he knows so well seem to have no interest in participating in that other great Hornby Island tradition: decision-making and serious participation in Hornby's remarkably autonomous governing bodies. It appears any move towards the creation of some kind of institution for the arts will first involve elevating the interests Hornby's musicians have in participatory democracy, visioning, meeting, and all that comes with such process.

Spaceship Hornby: What Music Is For

Most of the peasantry...had been bought and forced out in the period of the building of large estates in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. (Williams 1973: 97)

The [number of] people that I see a lot of is very small...We would do anything for each other...I've worked for a lot of people, and I play music here, so a lot of people see me. But, like a lot of things, these are just people I know...Hornby's no different than anywhere that way, from my experience of living in other places or being in other places. (Wilson 2013)

I want to end by emphasizing that in North America we choose to think of Hornby as an exception, as a part of some other world that is not this one. After all, people seem to keep a multi-tool, a basket, Tupperware and pottery, a blanket, and a flashlight with them at all times: a little different from the rest of North America. Whenever a discussion of what music can do for politics or the environment turns to essentialisms—about the absolute nature and purpose of music and the absolute nature and purpose of humans—somehow the positive things that could have been said about the power of music to create community and to foster those habits of heart and mind that might lead one to care for others are turned aside.

Universalisms are ever so troublesome and for good reason, but I think there is a great deal contained within this dissertation that is useful for appreciating music in any society, and for appreciating the false division of music and society.

Tied up in all of this musicking on Hornby is the ability of the island to survive.

Younger Islanders will need to be able to find a way to live there, or the community will need to make drastic changes for accommodations, otherwise things really will continue to fail,

It's not just fuzzy, warm feelings that make community, and having kitchen parties. You've got to have stuff underneath it. There's got to be the infrastructure. People aren't going to stay just because it's cool [anymore]... There's a whole faction of people who came here in their twenties, and now they're in their mid-forties, and now they're moving off because reality has caught up. They wanted to be here, but they didn't buy land when it was \$1,000 for this plot... Or even when we bought... this was the last half-acre that was under \$60,000. The very next summer they doubled, and the summer after that, the adjacent property went for three times that. (Chinnery 2013)

While other institutions are responding at the pace they can manage, musicking provides almost instantaneous possibility for demonstration of solidarity. In providing a service that keeps teaching and reminding Islanders to care more for one another, it is a communal moral aesthetic force (Beiser 2005: 124–26). It works against self-interested individualism.

I hope my reader will consider the ways in which this community might offer a lens through which to refocus the fundamental workings and purpose of music in society generally. My primary goal has been to emphasize how musicking involves a large network of actors, institutions, and decisions, and that the feeling of this network, its vibe, its connections are made to resonate by musicians who influence the emotions, mood, aims, and energy of a community. These connections are what matter most to musicians on Hornby (Candlish 2013), but I suspect these are the motivations of most musicians everywhere.

Musicking is a skill that provides individuals with capacities for social community

and action by fostering close, strong, and deep bonds amongst dancers, audience members, performers and participants. For musicians, utilizing these bonds and this network is a primary mode of communal interaction. It is a fundamental component of how musicians engage with society. This musical-social network is also a complete mode experiencing the world, even a religious paradigm. The theory is simple as Lawrence Nyberg put it: (often introverted) musicians need other people to play with, and so must go out to find them. They must cultivate those social and musical skills that will keep other musicians invested (habits of cooperation) and also those processes that will allow them to play (habits of coordination). Through deep repetition, this expressive practice becomes a view into all life. The theory is also complex. These networks of musicians and arts patrons from a variety of classes, a diverse range of interests, in recognizing the needs of their society and environment that support them and allow them to play and listen, they bring attention to problems of justice in their beings. Their hearts are made large by musical praxis: they see that things must change. Their sociomusicology reveals to them what and whom music on Hornby is for.

Each kind of art offers some iterative path to widening the heart. The evidence of political music is in super-abundance, and we should not wonder why: rather, we should wonder why—if such activity has ever demonstrated capacity to improve social life and perhaps also environmental connection—why anyone would approach the power of music with skepticism or distrust as a mode of environmental intervention. I will end then by giving Islanders the last word on universals and the exceptions of Hornby, with PDs of praise about just how well Hornby serves as a sample for life elsewhere. As Wilson suggests, in our global village, everyone shops at the same store,

Tony [Wilson] and I were hanging out...He feels this...is an island of matriarchs. He

can't think of men that...he would consider elders...And I was thinking that Tony is that elder...If two people start talking at the same time, and he's one of them, the other person stops...it's a very subtle thing. (O'Donnell 2013)

If there's one thing that's unique to this place, because it has become a bit of a resort...[it] is that you have to interact with a lot of different classes of people. Obviously you interact with the people that are living what would be considered a pretty poor existence on the island...whatever you want to call a lower caste...And then, I guess there's a bit of a middle class, too, with people...that work steady, and they're kind of making a living here...I don't really do that...And then there's the people that it's a vacation place...Everyone has to shop at the same store. They have to go to the same depot. They have to go to the bar. They all have to take the ferry on and off...Unless [people] were...fans of my music, I wouldn't really be talking to people that live in West Van, or have any kind of relationship with them, because I would never have any exposure, and...vice versa, you know?...In the city...your circle of friends and the people you relate to...tend to be from a certain common ground. You think the same politically. You kind of do the same things. Most people I know are kind of artists of some sort. Not necessarily everyone, but...you all kind of have the same mentality...there's, a certain similarity, right, of that idealism? Whereas here that's not the case...[We're] between the two places. (Wilson 2013)

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interviews

Location	Person	Date	Age	Length
The Bakery	Reuben Wier	Aug 1, 2011	28	44 minutes
The Bakery	Silas Crowe	Aug 4, 2011	27	45 minutes
The Bakery	Luke O'Hearn	Aug 4, 2011	27	45 minutes
Little Trib	Faron Crowe	Aug 6, 2011	18	60 minutes
Szyzygy Co-op	Jala Klone	Aug 9, 2011	25-35	53 minutes
Szyzygy Co-op	Ken Clark	Aug 9, 2011	50	53 minutes
The Bakery	Brett Martens	Aug 9, 2011	27	1 hour 20 mins
Downes Point	Glen Rabena	March 6, 2013	68	1 hour 40 mins
Sandpiper	June Cannon	March 7, 2013	67	2 hours 34 mins
Downes Point	Dean Samuel	March 12, 2013	48	46 minutes
Big Trib Co-op	Tony Law	March 14, 2013	50-60	2 hours 57 mins
Szyzygy Co-op	Alexis Dominiak	March 15, 2013	32	1 hour 34 mins
Sandpiper	June Cannon	March 18, 2013	67	1 hour 14 mins
Euston Road	Dean Samuel	March 19, 2013	48	1 hour 2 mins
Downes Point	Glen Rabena	March 20, 2013	68	1 hour 9 mins
Szyzygy Co-op	Ted Tanner	April 4, 2013	43	1 hour 22 mins
Carmichael Road	Matt O'Donnell	April 6, 2013	40	1 hour 47 mins
Heron Rocks	Darryl Bohn	April 14, 2013	57	1 hour 22 mins
Sandpiper	Jill Candlish	April 15, 2013	55	1 hour 32 mins
Downes Point	Tony Wilson	April 15, 2013	53	2 hours 2 mins
Downes Point	Melissa Devost	April 18, 2013	35	2 hours 7 mins
Downes Point	Melissa Devost	April 29, 2013	35	2 hours 40 mins
The Shire	Bill Smith	May 2, 2013	70-80	2 hours 58 mins
Szyzygy Co-op	Alexis Dominiak	May 3, 2013	32	1 hour 23 mins
Sandpiper	Lawrence Nyberg	May 7, 2013	43	1 hour 10 mins
Szyzygy Co-op	Ted Tanner	May 8, 2013	43	27 minutes
Phipp's Point	Matt O'Donnell	May 8, 2013	40	2 hours 1 min
Downes Point	Gordon Payne	May 11, 2013	70-80	1 hour 22 mins
Sandpiper	Jill Candlish	May 13, 2013	55	1 hour 44 mins
Szyzygy Co-op	Ted Tanner	May 16, 2013	43	1 hour 46 mins
Downes Point	Judith Lawrence	June 3, 2013	79	1 hour 2 mins
Heron Rocks	Darryl Bohn	June 8, 2013	57	1 hour 21 mins
Little Trib	Peter Cloud Panjoyah	June 10, 2013	40-50	56 minutes
Little Trib	Bee Wolf-Ray	June 10, 2013	40-50	56 minutes
Sandpiper	Marc Atkinson	July 11, 2013	40-50	1 hour 40 mins
Sandpiper	Dierdre Atkinson	July 11, 2013	35-45	45 minutes
Sandpiper	Rachelle Chinnery	July 14, 2013	40-50	2 hours 26 mins
Grassy Point	Bailey Gordon	July 17, 2013	Early 20s	1 hour 18 mins
Festival Box Office	Clair Cronia	July 22, 2013	50-60	2 hours 5 mins
The Shire	Vaughn Neville	July 23, 2013	50-60	2 hours 28 mins

Location	Person	Date	Age	Time
CHFR HI Radio	Phil Bailey	July 22	40-50	54 mins
CHFR HI Radio	Scott Sweeney	July 23, 2013	50-60	1 hour 42 mins
Sandpiper	Andrea Rutz	July 26, 2013	40-50	48 mins
Little Trib	Peter Cloud Panjoyah	July 26, 2013	40-50	47 minutes
Little Trib	Bee Wolf-Ray	July 26, 2013	40-50	47 minutes
Gordon Farm	Pamela Gordon	July 27, 2013	80	1 hour 22 mins
Grassy Point	Michael Gale	Sept 6, 2014	60	1 hour 30 mins
Grassy Point	Jazzmyre Corrigan	Sept 6, 2014	50	1 hour 30 mins

Appendix B: Rough Interview Script

This is an interview with _____ at _____ on Hornby Island (date)_____

For the record, can you tell me your age?

OK, So I have a bunch of questions here. Again, at any time, we can stop, and you don't need to answer anything you don't want to. You might also have some ideas about the questions I should be asking, and I'm very happy to hear those ideas.

1. Background:

- Tell me where you lived and what you were doing before you came to Hornby.
- What motivated you to move to the island, and how was it to settle here?
- Describe for me what do you do with your time since you've been living on Hornby. How do you spend your days?
- Talk to me about the things you like and dislike about the island. Follow up: What kinds of support networks do you have and how have you gone about finding friends and community? How would you characterize the sense of community here in contrast to other places you've lived. What are the other ways that island life differs from life on the mainland?

2. I'd like to explore with you what your musical life looks and sounds like on Hornby.

- To start out, when did you begin to play music and what motivated you? Follow up questions: What instruments do you play, why those instruments, and how long have you been playing them? How do you see yourself in those instruments? Do you remember when you really began to enjoy playing music?
- Do you find that there's anything different for you about playing music on Hornby as opposed to playing music elsewhere?
- Where do you go to play music? Where do you find yourself playing music? What motivates you to play at all?
- Tell me about the kinds of music you play, and how your taste in music has changed. How do you think you come to enjoy some kinds of music, but not others? Do you have musical heroes and heroines? How were you exposed to them?
- What things in life have reinforced or dampened your interest in playing music?
- Can you describe for me the feelings you experience playing music? Do you play for others, and if so, what are you trying to share or communicate? Does it matter if you're playing your own or someone else's music? How do you become inspired when you are playing? What makes you change what you are doing? How do you know what to play?

3a. Collective music making

- What do you like about playing music in groups? Follow up questions: Are there things that can be difficult about playing music in a group? Do you find yourself having very different quality experiences playing with others, and if so, what affects those experiences?
- How does playing with others affect musicianship? How do you deal with your own mistakes? & How do you manage working with people of lesser skill?
- In your experience, what kinds of roles are there in bands? What makes a band function well = do bands function?
- How do you feel about playing music alone? Do you practice?
- Where do bands come from? How do they begin?

3b. If the interviewee plays in a band:

- Tell me about playing in cover bands or playing repertoire music vs. your own or improvised music. What differences are involved?
- What does it take to be a successful ensemble? Are there ways of ensuring that everyone can enjoy being a part of the band? How have bands you've been in handled group conflict?
- In your experience, how do you think your bands have thought about their audiences? Does that differ from summer to winter? Does the relationship differ on the island in contrast to the mainland?
- How have your bands structured practices / rehearsals? Follow up questions: How do you know when what you have been practicing is good? When things don't sound right, how does that change what you are feeling?
- What have you learned about life from being in bands?

4. Music On Hornby : ethics, politics, sustainability, and spirituality

- We've already spoken about your musical life of Hornby, but I want to think a little more specifically about the island and how music is practiced here.
- Do you believe that music contributes to the quality of life on Hornby and if so, how?
- Would you choose different kinds of music or compose different sorts if you were somewhere else? Would you play with different kinds of people?
- How does music impact the rest of your life on the island? How does it change the choices that you make everyday?
- Playing music can involve money. What is your perspective on the role of money and music making? If it's not for the money, then what for?
- How do you see social gain and musicianship linked, or what is the status of musicians on the island?
- Playing music can involve much more than just getting together casually. Sometimes there are meals, or equipment has to be moved. Shows involve all kinds of work, and festivals even more. How do you see music making in this sense as being a larger part of life on Hornby?
- Do you see your ethical and political perspectives reflected in your musical practice? Are there connections between music, and, for example, sustainability or social justice? Does playing music ever feel to you like a form of political action?
- Can instrumental music be political?
- Can you tell me a little more about your environmental outlook? Where do you see society headed? What relevance does music have for the future you see?
- Does playing music ever reach the level of something you might describe as a spiritual experience? If so, can you describe that experience?
- Do you see your playing music as related to other practices in your life? How you go about your day? What activities you participate in. Any environmental practices?
- Finally, how do you see the tension between wanting the world to be a peaceful place, and retreating from the world?

Appendix C: **Informed Consent Form That All Research Participants Signed**

Study Name: Musicking on Hornby Island: Utopia at the Edge of the New World

Researchers: Andrew Mark
PhD Candidate, Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University
acwmark@gmail.com

Purpose of the Research: This research will evaluate the connection between environmental and musical practices on Hornby Island.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: Answer some questions and have a conversation, for no more than 2 hours.

Risks and Discomforts: We do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: In time, Andrew will produce documents that describe the musical community on Hornby, and how this community relates to island environmental practices.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researcher or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researcher, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality: The information collected will be identified with your name in publication of this research though you will have an opportunity to review, modify, and comment on all quotes and citations. All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence. The audio for this interview will be digitally recorded in addition to written notes. Your data will be safely stored in a password-protected computer and only Andrew and his committee will have access to this information. The data will be used actively for three years and then archived in an encrypted hard drive indefinitely, stored in a locked filing cabinet in Andrew's home. It may be used in future research for comparative studies between communities or between different future research visits to Hornby. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact me or my Graduate Supervisor – Peter Timmerman either by telephone at (416)-736-2100, extension 33033 or by e-mail: ptimmer@yorku.ca. You may also contact my Graduate Program – Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, HNES Building 4700 Keele St., Toronto ON, M3J 1P3, (416)-736-2100, extension 33253 (Peggy McGrath). This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Senior Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University, telephone 416-736-5201 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca.

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I _____, consent to participate in *Musicking on Hornby Island: Utopia at the Edge of the New World* conducted by Andrew Mark. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature _____
Participant

Date _____

Signature _____
Principal Investigator

Date _____