

LIVING POLITICS, MAKING MUSIC

THE WRITINGS OF

JAN FAIRLEY

JAN FAIRLEY

Edited by
**SIMON FRITH
STAN RIJVEN
IAN CHRISTIE**

ROUTLEDGE



• ASHGATE POPULAR AND FOLK MUSIC SERIES •

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LIVING POLITICS, MAKING MUSIC

This book is dedicated to Jan, to the musicians and colleagues who inspired and supported her, her children and grandchildren.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto.

Living Politics, Making Music

The Writings of Jan Fairley

JAN FAIRLEY

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 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2014 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

The Library of Congress has cataloged the printed edition as follows:

Fairley, Jan.

Living politics, making music : the writings of Jan Fairley / edited by Simon Frith, Stan Rijven and Ian Christie.

pages cm.—(Ashgate popular and folk music series)

Includes index.

ISBN 978-1-4724-1266-9 (hardcover) 1. World music—History and criticism. 2. Popular music—Chile—History and criticism. 3. Popular music—Political aspects—Chile—History—20th century. 4. Popular music—Cuba—History and criticism. I. Fairley, Jan, 1949-2012, author. II. Frith, Simon, 1946-, editor. III. Rijven, Stan, 1949-, editor.

IV. Christie, Ian, 1945-, editor. V. Title.

ML3545.F35 2014

780.9—dc23

2013041439

ISBN 9781472412669 (hbk)

ISBN 9781315592794 (ebk)

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General Editors' Preface

Popular musicology embraces the field of musicological study that engages with popular forms of music, especially music associated with commerce, entertainment and leisure activities. The *Ashgate Popular and Folk Music Series* aims to present the best research in this field. Authors are concerned with criticism and analysis of the music itself, as well as locating musical practices, values and meanings in cultural context. The focus of the series is on popular music of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, with a remit to encompass the entirety of the world's popular music.

Critical and analytical tools employed in the study of popular music are being continually developed and refined in the twenty-first century. Perspectives on the transcultural and intercultural uses of popular music have enriched understanding of social context, reception and subject position. Popular genres as distinct as reggae, township, bhangra, and flamenco are features of a shrinking, transnational world. The series recognizes and addresses the emergence of mixed genres and new global fusions, and utilizes a wide range of theoretical models drawn from anthropology, sociology, psychoanalysis, media studies, semiotics, postcolonial studies, feminism, gender studies and queer studies.

Stan Hawkins, Professor of Popular Musicology, University of Oslo &
Derek B. Scott, Professor of Critical Musicology, University of Leeds

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Acknowledgements

The material collected in this volume was taken from the following sources:

- ‘La Nueva Canción Latinoamericana’, *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 3/2 (1984): 107–115.
- ‘Alive and Performing in Latin America’, *Popular Music* 7/1 (1988): 105–110.
- ‘Analysing Performance: Narrative and Ideology in Concerts by ¡Karaxú! (Chile)’, *Popular Music* 8/1 (1989): 1–30.
- ‘Inti-Illimani: Living a Life through Making Music’, in Jan Fairley and David Horn (eds), *I Sing the Difference: Identity and Commitment in Latin American Song* (Liverpool: IPM, 2002), pp. 61–79.
- ‘The “Local” and “Global” in Popular Music’, in Simon Frith, Will Straw and John Street (eds), *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Pop and Rock* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 272–289.
- ‘Ports of Call: An Ethnographic Analysis of Music Programmes on the Migration of People, Musicians, Genres and Instruments, BBC World Service, 1994–1995’, in Jason Toynbee and Byron Dueck (eds), *Migrating Music* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 165–179.
- ‘Cuban Son’, *Songlines* 1 (1999); ‘Charango’, *Songlines* 9 (2000/1); ‘Flamenco’, *Songlines* 36 (2006); ‘Cumbia’, *Songlines* 48 (2008).
- ‘There is a Place where Music Really Does Change Lives ... El Sistema’, *Songlines* 84 (2012): 42–47.
- “‘Ay Dios, Ampárame” (O God, Protect Me): Music in Cuba during the 1990s, the “Special Period””, in Kevin Dawe (ed.), *Island Musics* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), pp. 77–99.
- ‘Dancing Back to Front: *Regeton* Sexuality, Gender and Transnationalism in Cuba’, *Popular Music* 25/3 (2006): 471–488.
- ‘Control Shift’, *Index on Censorship* 39/3 (2010): 163–173.
- ‘Mercedes Sosa’, *fRoots* 63 (1988); ‘Pedro Luis Ferrer’, *fRoots* 275 (2006); ‘Los de Abajo’, *fRoots* 278/279 (2006); ‘Eliades Ochoa’, *fRoots* 285 (2007); ‘Stars of the New Flamenco’, *fRoots* 288 (2007).

We are very grateful to the publishers who gave us permission to use these pieces: Cambridge University Press; Bloomsbury Press; Wiley; Routledge; Institute of Popular Music, University of Liverpool; *Index on Censorship*; Simon Broughton at *Songlines*; and Ian Anderson at *fRoots*.

For their support of this project we would also like to thank the University of Edinburgh, Derek Scott and Heidi Bishop at Ashgate, Rachel Fairley, Tom Platt and Fran Platt.

Introduction

Jan Fairley, World Music and Popular Music Studies

Simon Frith

This book brings together Jan Fairley's work from 1984 to 2012 and contains examples of many different kinds of writing: formal academic analyses, historical overviews, conceptual reflections, autobiography, journalism, interviews and even a record review. Articles have been edited to take account of repetition, stylistic awkwardness, misprints and redundant references, but they have not been updated. To read Jan's work as it was originally written is to get a vivid sense of how the concept of 'world music' emerged and was given shape in the academy and the music press, different institutions that Jan did much to bring into conversation.

Jan's own contribution to the study of world music was driven by political commitment and a fascination with musicians' everyday lives, and this is apparent in the way in which this book is structured. Part I focuses on Chile, where Jan was living at the time of the Pinochet coup in 1973, and on Chilean musicians, with whom she worked in their subsequent years of exile. Part II brings together various reflections on the marketing of 'world music' and, in particular, on the effects of new kinds of academic and commercial interest in local music on both local music-makers and global audiences. Part III focuses on Cuba where Jan spent much time during the latter part of her life. Her interest here is not simply to understand the recent history of Cuban music and dance by reference to the profound political, economic and cultural changes of the 1990s and 2000s, but also to show how music can be used to illuminate social change. Finally, Part IV brings together five profiles from the magazine, *fRoots* – profiles that celebrate music-makers Jan particularly admired – and explores the ways in which musicians' working lives are affected by local and global political developments in both the global music market and the local music economy.

On rereading and re-editing these articles in the months after Jan's death in 2012, what most struck me was how well they captured Jan's personality – her enthusiasm and concern for detail – and how clearly they show her contribution to popular music studies. If I had to summarize this in a sentence (and a neologism) I would say that Jan de-exoticized unfamiliar music for her readers. She did this by always treating music as a craft and music-makers as craftsmen and women and, in doing so, she reminded us that popular music-makers in Western Europe and North America have to be understood in this way, too.

I first met Jan Fairley at one of the early meetings of IASPM, the International Association for the Study of Popular Music. IASPM played a significant role in the development of the academic study of popular music, and Jan was, from the start, a key figure in IASPM, constantly concerned with what it meant to be an ‘international’ association for popular music studies. Jan was important for IASPM, and IASPM was important for Jan. She was, for most of her career, freelance; IASPM was, academically, her institutional base. She was a visiting fellow in various universities and had a long relationship with the Institute of Popular Music Studies at Liverpool University, but more of her income came from print and broadcast journalism than from the academy, and she was never in a position to apply for major research grants or to enjoy the equivalent of a sabbatical. Her research practice was rooted by necessity in the practice of journalism – interviewing musicians, attending concerts, reviewing records and describing fads and scenes. Like all the best journalists, she had the accumulated knowledge of someone continuously engaged with musical worlds. She did not dip into them for intense research visits before moving on to new places, new grants, new research questions, as is the way with most academics.

In retrospect, it is clear that Jan’s career – its mix of serious, well-researched journalism and engaged, questioning scholarship – was only possible because it unfolded in the context of ‘world music’, a label for a set of musical practices and relations that was developed out of the shared interests of commercial and academic entrepreneurs. World music journalism was more academic than most other forms of music journalism; world music scholars were more journalistic than most other music scholars (and Jan was not alone in moving easily between the two worlds – Lucy Durán is another British example of the same kind of career, if with a properly established academic post at SOAS).

Jan’s approach to research had two strands. On one hand, as was obvious in her activities at IASPM conferences and on the editorial board of the academic journal, *Popular Music*, she was determined that popular music studies should not mean Anglo-American popular music studies. Her own research was focused on the music of Spanish-speaking countries, but her general argument was that rock (which tended to dominate the agenda of early IASPM events) was just one way of making music, and rock scholarship was just one way of studying music; other ‘non-Western’ ways of music-making and other (non-cultural studies) ways of studying music (in particular, ethnography) were equally important and should equally be part of the academic conversation. On the other hand, although her PhD, a study of the Chilean band ¡Karaxu!, was written in the department of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, Jan’s scholarly work was always aligned to popular music studies rather than to ethnomusicology – a spurious distinction conceptually but a significant one institutionally in terms of colleagues, conferences, shared questions and approaches.

From the very beginning of her career Jan was interested in the conjunction of Western and non-Western musical practices and in the ways in which

material circumstances affect aesthetic decisions.¹ As I have already suggested, Jan's academic scholarship reflected her journalistic activity. It was rooted in conversations with musicians; it meant understanding the world in which they had to make a living. Jan thus contributed significantly to our understanding of the promotional networks that shape world music. But she was equally interested in musicological questions, in how sounds and gestures can be investigated as complex, idiosyncratic articulations of socio-historical cultural forces.

In establishing world music as a core strand of popular music studies, Jan also established three methodological premises. First, she assumed that all music is made under particular material circumstances, according to particular economic and political forces. It is not enough for scholars to analyse finished texts formally (whether live performances or recordings). Popular music researchers need both a detailed knowledge of local conditions for music-making (and all music is local in the sense that it is made and heard somewhere) and an understanding of how these conditions are understood ideologically, and are interpreted and symbolized by both performers and audiences. The important point here is that 'local' conditions include local (and not so local) mediations of global forces.

Second, it follows that to study popular music, even in situ, is to study global networks and mediations of sound, music and cultural power, whether formally institutionalized (by radio, the record industry, cinema and television) or through looser ideological networks such as political movements, cultural diaspora and what one might call ideological currents, such as bohemianism, youth culture and feminism.²

Third, given the complexity of the conditions under which music is made, Jan argued that notions of 'purity' and 'authenticity' are problematic and involve the assumption either that music speaks for itself (purity treated as a formal quality) or that there is some ideal authentic way of doing things against which all music of a particular sort or from a particular social or geographical group can be measured. Such judgements seem to be more easily made by academic analysts than by

¹ Western/non-Western are rather misleading terms in popular and world music studies as they refer not so much to geographical as to political economic distinctions. 'Western music' is for the most part Anglophone music produced in the context of a commercial entertainment industry that looks to establish a global hegemony. Non-Western music is for the most part non-Anglophone music made within a great variety of local ideologies of entertainment.

² Important examples of Jan's work from this perspective that are not included in this book are her article with Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier, 'Recording the Revolution: 50 Years of Music Studios in Revolutionary Cuba', in Simon Frith and Simon Zagorsky-Thomas (eds), *The Art of Record Production* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), in which recording technology is understood both globally and locally, in terms of what can be done with machines and how 'sound' is ideologically understood, and her book on women and music in Cuba, *Coming Out of Tula's Bedroom*. (Jan was working on this when she died. The manuscript is presently being prepared for publication by Sara Cohen, Helmi Järvioluoma and Line Grenier.)

practising musicians; they are, therefore, suspect. Jan suggested that scholars should be interested, rather, in motivations and constraints. ‘Authenticity’ was, for her, a matter of politics: musical forms have to be understood politically, as an effect of current conditions and possibilities rather than being defined in terms of truth to a tradition. Hence the importance of detailed work on musicians’ careers: to understand their own accounts of why they made certain musical choices and decisions. Hence, too, the importance of detailed descriptions of live music performances, of what’s happening on stage and what’s happening in the audience, of musical gestures and dance-floor moves. Expressive practice is symbolic practice; it involves ways of communicating values and feeling that both articulate and transcend ideological and material constraints.

I hope this collection of Jan Fairley’s papers and articles provides a clear and effective account of why and how work on world music is an important part of the popular music curriculum. Contemporary popular music cannot be understood without reference to its global context and to the problems and possibilities of cross-cultural influences, fantasies and flows. Jan’s work was important theoretically in developing our understanding of circuits and networks in the way contemporary musicians and music industries work and it was important methodologically in showing how attention to the details of musical form, cultural tradition and performing convention is the best way of making sense of the broad processes of globalization. Partly because of her journalistic skills, partly because of her commitment to popular music studies, Fairley approaches the kinds of issue that have long concerned ethnomusicologists with a distinctively accessible flair and friendliness which suggests that all popular music should be studied this way.

Jan’s central concern as both a scholar and journalist was the relationship of music and politics. This has always been a significant issue for popular music studies – one way in which rock differentiated itself from pop, for example, was by a claiming a political purpose – but the focus on Anglophone music has led to a somewhat restricted account of politics (focused on youth subcultures and ‘resistance’, for example, or on identity or on music industry exploitation and such policy matters as copyright). Jan’s work concerns these issues too, but she treats politics more materially and more historically and, again, it is striking how the political issues initially raised in world music studies (concerning, for example, kinship, demographics, migration, economic development and state oppression) are now familiar aspects of popular music studies more generally.

In the end, though, Jan’s political commitment was a personal rather than an academic matter, a reflection of her own career, her own networks and circuits, as well as an expression of her personality, her optimism and vitality, not to mention her sense of justice and solidarity. This was what, above all, she brought to popular music studies: a persistent belief that to be a popular music scholar is to be engaged with music and musicians as honestly, curiously and wholeheartedly as it is possible to be.

Introduction

Jan Fairley and the Circuits of Journalism

Stan Rijven

What happens when two octopuses meet? Well, they continue their conversation while walking arm, in arm, in arm, in arm ...¹

Remembering Jan Fairley is like admiring an octopus embracing the globe. While one arm holds the UK and two hug Latin America and Southern Europe, others stretch down to academia, journalism, broadcasting, record-spinning and, last but not least, family life.

I met Jan for the first time in 1983 at the second IASPM conference in Italy, where we both felt uncomfortable with its focus on Anglo-American popular music. In Reggio Emilia's eighteenth-century opera house she frequently interrupted the discussions with references to the importance of Latin American *nueva canción*; I sometimes interrupted by stressing the neglected role of African popular music. Both of us being scholars, music critics, broadcasters and party DJs, we also had other worlds to win amongst newspaper readers, radio listeners and dance-floor aficionados. After that, our arm-in arm-conversation never stopped. It continued when preparing for an IASPM conference, editing an issue of *Popular Music*, visiting WOMAD or just playing records in Edinburgh and Amsterdam.

Although a book like this only can offer a glimpse of Jan's many activities, this selection of her articles catches the essence. In her writings she managed to mix high and low theory, college wisdom and concert experience by combining academic discourse with a journalistic approach. At the same time a third consciousness was always present in the form of Jan's strong political engagement, not at least because of her awareness of being a female author in a male-dominated habitat. Alongside these constant keynotes it was world music in all kinds of (Latin) variations that played the lingering melody in her entire oeuvre. She found a stage in daily newspapers like *The Scotsman*, monthly music magazines like *JRoots* and quarterly academic publications like *Popular Music*. While the eager journalist in her would spot an issue, her inner academic would take over by adding analyses and context; the underlying political view is expressed in topic choice and personal involvement.

Jan's engagement was firmly rooted in the cultural climate of the late 1960s and early 1970s. As a child of the Woodstock generation she aimed for more than just a quiet academic career. Her music research in Chile and forced departure because of the Pinochet coup of 1973 stamped Jan's life and work forever. From

¹ Max Tailleure, 'Oh, dokter ...!' (His Master's Voice EP, c. 1965).

the 1990s onwards she found a kind of second Chile in Cuba where music and politics still are hand-in-glove. The music scene of post-Franco Spain, and Andalusian flamenco in particular, offered her another challenge. Again, it was the journalist in Jan that honed in on new musical developments entwined with political circumstances; again, it was her academic background through which she contextualized – with brilliance and verve – the transition of rural to urban cultures, the exchange between ‘the local and the global’.

Cultural difference is no longer a stable, exotic otherness; self–other relations are matters of power and rhetoric rather than of essence. A whole structure of expectations about authenticity in culture and art is thrown in doubt.²

In retrospect, Jan Fairley has been a formative voice in ‘world music’, as it was coined in the mid-1980s by a bunch of UK indie record companies. Their collective world music campaign anticipated Arjun Appadurai’s paradigmatic article ‘Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy’, published in 1990. In fact, world music could be the ideal soundtrack to accompany his five scapes of globalization.³

When arguing for a global perspective at the 1983 IASPM conference in Italy, Jan was already aware of the shift in perceptions of popular music. As a journalist, she became familiar with Peter Gabriel’s WOMAD festivals, with the Sound d’Afrique compilations on Island Records and the growing world music output of lots of indie labels. From a music business point of view, globalization was in the air not only in the UK, but also on the European continent where festivals like Dunya (Rotterdam), African Roots (Amsterdam), Sfinks (Antwerp) and Musiques Métisses (Angoulême) competed with the regular open-air rock events.

Meanwhile the music magazine *Folk Roots* changed its name to *fRoots* to emphasize its transformation from a pure Anglo-folk orientation to a broader, global view, featuring Bulgarian choirs, West African kora players and qawwali singers from Pakistan. Specialized world music magazines began to appear in several other countries. In the long term the London-based *Songlines* proved to be the most successful. The editors of *Songlines* were also responsible for the eclectic *Rough Guides to World Music*, published since 1994, which immediately made current pop encyclopaedias extinct or at least undermined the fixation on Anglo-American pop that had reigned until then.

Parallel to these developments on stage and in print, the radio landscape changed. A new wave of world DJs made their mark on air. For instance, the late

² James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

³ Arjun Appadurai, ‘Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy’, in Mike Featherstone (ed.), *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (London: Sage, 1990).

Charlie Gillett, pioneering author and broadcaster on rock, shifted his interests in the early 1980s to world music, telling me in a 1987 interview:

There is a resemblance between the rise of pub rock and world music, although pub rock was a revival movement of music from ten or twenty years ago. World music has got no past. It doesn't fit in any category like soul, reggae, gospel or jazz ... Nowadays every Western pop record from the 40s, 50s or 60s is re-released. Therefore it is logical that music from elsewhere which was never available in Europe, finally is on the market here.⁴

DJs like Lucy Durán and Andy Kershaw have now become household names in the UK, while elsewhere in Europe a network of world broadcasters have established their own monthly World Charts. In the early 1990s WOMEX (the World Music Expo) made its debut; the fair now annually attracts 3,000 journalists, musicians and impresarios. By the end of the twentieth century, world music had almost become mainstream. Crossovers between Western pop stars and as yet unknown artists and styles from 'the other world' came into fashion. Peter Gabriel adopted the Senegalese singer, Youssou N'Dour, Paul Simon discovered South Africa, David Byrne put Brazilian pop on the map, and Sting sang a duet with Algerian rai star, Cheb Mami. Ry Cooder was the most successful in his musical expeditions around the globe. After collaborations with Mexican accordion player, Flaco Jiménez (1976), and guitar player, Ali Farka Toure from Mali (1994), his Buena Vista Social Club project (1997) became a Grammy winner and a boost for Cuban music ever since.

The point I'm making here is that global and local aren't simply contrasting descriptive terms. They suggest, rather, different perspectives of the same process ... [A]rguments are about motives as well as effects. Many musical cases do not fit into either of these perspectives. (Jan Fairley, p. 62, this volume)

It is against the background of this new, late twentieth-century musical art world that we have to understand Jan's work, the circumstances under which she developed as musical mediator between margin and mainstream. Although 'world music' turned from a marketing label into an almost taboo word – somewhat like the running gag 'don't mention the Germans' in *Fawlty Towers* – it still is a useful concept.⁵ Jan was not standing alone nor was she the first to dig deeper into the music of non-Western cultures, but she became an authority because of her eclectic approach. She fused her knowledge of ethnomusicology and anthropology with political wit, a sharp pen and pure passion. Her contributions to music journalism became influential both on air (BBC World Service, Radio Scotland) and in print

⁴ Stan Rijven, 'De wereld een dansvloer?', in Alfred Bos, Tom Engelshoven and Stan Rijven (eds), *Popjaar 88–89* (Utrecht: Luitingh, 1988).

⁵ Fairley explains fully how the concept evolved in 'The "Local" and "Global" in Popular Music' (Chapter 5 of this volume).

(*fRoots*, *Songlines*, *Popular Music*, *Rough Guide*, to mention just a few). Out of the many examples in this book three cases well illustrate Jan's unique voice.

Regeton

Reviewing a certain style or individual artist not only means describing music as such, which is the case in most music writing. For Jan, it also meant analysing the context of dance, lyrics and gender and diving into the surrounding subculture as an embedded journalist:

What is relevant here is that, in contrast to *regeton* dance where the woman seems to lead, in *rueda* it is always a man who gives the calls for the change, and it is always female partners who are exchanged. Calls, which include 'dame, dame una, dame dos, dame otra' ('give me, give me one, give me two, give me another'), imply 'I don't want this partner, give me another'. Recent moves include the *yogurt*, a quick hit between a couple's pelvic areas (in Cuban street language *yogurt* means *la crema*, ejaculated sperm). When I learnt *rueda* in Cuba in 2001, while I found it fun and compelling (and hard work, demanding all your concentration), I also found that the calls and the moves jarred with my Western persona. Discussing this with Cuban and British female dancers at the time, I found that they almost always agreed even while mocking my sensitivity. (Fairley, p. 144, this volume)

Ports of Call

Having made hundreds of world music programmes myself for Dutch local and national radio, I was impressed by Jan's considered deconstruction of the process of radio-making. What does it in fact mean to prepare and to present a radio show? In this case, her own *Ports of Call* was, in her words, 'made for the then BBC World Service Serious Music department, the subject matter was migrating musicians, music, genre and instruments; the programme's aim was "to create a sound-picture of living musical traditions"'. In analysing this programme, Fairley focuses on four interrelated issues:

First, the logistical process of creating a series; second, the cultural capital and cosmopolitanism involved in the role of cultural intermediary; third, the relationship between script, music and the radio voice; fourth, participative listening and the feedback from the so-called 'invisible' or 'imagined' audience. My main argument is that radio, and specifically these BBC World Service programmes, not only mediated, but also constructed the 'other'. (Jan Fairley, p. 78, this volume)

While radio-making specifically means creating imagined communities, in the case of globally broadcast series the programme-maker has to cater for communities extending ‘beyond the boundaries of the nation to encompass both the local and the global’. Jan was aware not only of the difficulties raised by addressing such a huge and differentiated ‘invisible audience’, but also of the equally invisible issues of gender and class:

My voice, which fitted the BBC World Service Serious Music department remit at the time, was white, middle-class and female. This raises issues to do with race and ideology: here was a ‘white’ British voice introducing and filtering ‘other’ musics through its sensibility, normalizing selected information within a flow of different musics. (Jan Fairley, p. 84, this volume)

The Cuban Country Wolf

The quality of Jan’s written work is also defined by her experience in broadcast journalism. The way in which she sketches a scene to introduce an artist is like seducing the radio listener:

Saturday lunchtime at the Casa de la Trova in Santiago de Cuba and the place is buzzing. Local hero Eliades Ochoa is in town playing a surprise gig. His sister Maria has turned up to sing and the place is crowded with locals. Sitting on the small stage surrounded by his musicians, Eliades is singing his trademark song ‘Estoy Como Nunca!’. Its message, ‘I’m Better Than Ever!’, celebrates being on the crest of a wave. And indeed he is: as leader of Cuarteto Patria for nigh on 27 years and as one of the key guitarists of the Buena Vista Social Club. (Jan Fairley, p. 176, this volume)

To conclude, a personal memory, typifying how Jan loved the world and how she made sense and friends from world music. On an autumn afternoon in the early 1990s Jan paid me a visit and asked me to join some friends, Chilean musicians living in diaspora since 1973. While biking round the Amsterdam canal district she unpacked her recording equipment and started to interview me on the musical history of this cosmopolitan city, holding the microphone while trying to remain seated on the luggage carrier. ‘After all,’ she said, ‘that is so interesting for the British listeners.’ I showed her the place where Locatelli lived, the venue Mozart once performed and the hotel where Chet Baker blew his last notes. All of a sudden I had to stop at a Latin American cultural centre. Once inside, our roles reversed. It was Jan who introduced me to a new musical scene in Amsterdam. There was an ensemble of Chilean musicians rehearsing, led by Patricio Wang and the Dutch singer Winanda van Vliet. They have been close friends ever since, just like when I met Jan for the first time in Reggio Emilia.

The quintessence of Jan's life and work is expressed unknowingly by Enrique Morente, in a quote from 'Stars of the New Flamenco' below:

It's about bringing worlds together which for me is an essential metaphor for all work. It's all about the *mestizaje*, about mixing cultures, about communication with respect ... (Jan Fairley, p. 189, this volume)

PART I

Nueva Canción: Writings on Chile