FACULTY OF HUMANITIES | CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

17 | 2015 | 2

Urban People
Lidé města

MUSIC AND CROSSING BRIDGES (edited by Zuzana Jurková)

Lidé města / Urban People
jsou recenzovaným odborným časopisem věnovaným antropologickým vědám s důrazem na problematiku města a příbuzným společenskovědním a humanitním disciplínám. Vychází třikrát ročně, z toho dvakrát v českém jazyce (v květnu a v prosinci) a jednou v anglickém jazyce (v září).

Lidé města / Urban People
is a peer-reviewed scholarly journal focused on anthropological studies with emphasis on urban studies, and related social sciences and humanities. It is published three times a year, twice in Czech (in May and December) and once in English (in September).

VYDÁVÁ/PUBLISHED by Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy
Adresa redakce/Address: U kříže 8, 158 00 Praha 5
Internetové stránky: http://www.lidemesta.cz
Časopis vychází s podporou vzdělávací společnosti UniPrep.

Výkonný redaktor/Managing editor: **Jan Kašpar** jan.kaspar@fhs.cuni.cz
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Obálka/Cover design: **Aleš Svoboda**
Sazba/Text design: **Robert Konopásek**
Tisk/Printed by: **ERMAT Praha**, s.r.o.

ISSN 1212-8112

Thematic Issue

MUSIC AND CROSSING BRIDGES

Editor: ***Zuzana Jurková***

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MUSIC AND CROSSING BRIDGES

Zuzana Jurková

While the last issue of *Urban People* devoted to ethnomusicology, entitled *Theory and Method in Urban Ethnomusicology* (2/2012), had a rather narrow focus, this time we have taken a wider stance. Our aim, through the theme of *Crossing Bridges: Journeys, Migrations, and Diaspora*, is to find out more about the role music plays in human interactions across geopolitical, social and cultural borders.

The broad theme (or, rather, idea) of *Crossing Bridges* was also the general theme of the conference of the *European Seminar in Ethnomusicology* which took place in Prague in September 2014 and in which some of the authors from this issue participated. And it is no wonder that Prague called for (and, as the place where this journal is published, continues to call for) an ethnomusicological view of the metaphorical crossing of bridges. Prague, the city where Guido Adler wrote his famous article in 1885 often considered the "sound of the starting gun" for contemporary ethnomusicology. Prague, whose geographical situation necessitated 17 bridges. Prague, which according to Bruno Nettl had an "intercultural character" and represented a sort of "cultural equilibrium" in history due to the cohabitation of Czechs, Germans and Jews (and occasionally others as well) (Nettl 1994: 224). Prague, which we believe can continue in this role.

What does this issue of *Urban People* have to say about the place of music in human interactions? Above all, it provides material of the greatest possible diversity – not only in a geographical sense (more or less by chance, the issue contains pairs of articles dealing with Turkey, Israel and the Czech Republic), but also through the character of the given interaction (which is, for example, in the case of the transit migrants in Turkey as Evrim Hikmet Öğüt describes them, strikingly different from the "quiet" interaction of the Romanian rural community of the Oşeni with their neighbors in the article by Speranta Rădulescu), in a theoretical and methodological sense, or through narrative. And precisely due to the awareness of the possibilities of diverse perspectives, we open the issue with Thomas Solomon's article on the possible dual conception of diaspora in relation to music.

If we dare to make generalizations in the context of this diversity, then these generalizations are carefully formulated and very broad. The first finding is that in traditional rural worlds (Rădulescu) or in places where nation-states are being formed (Burstyn), borders, even those reflected in music, are maintained, yet they are constantly taking on new forms. In modern worlds, above all urban ones, bonds of a new type are being created (Verbuč), and borders fade or shift (Yıldırım, who uses the expression "bordering" from urban anthropology).

In addition to the common feature of the constant negotiation of borders, there is an apparent emphasis on reflexivity, above all in the texts by younger authors, both self-reflexivity (the researcher him/herself as the most important research tool; this is evident above all in the article by Lee Bidgood, but in others as well) and participant reflexivity (how do participants perceive, or in fact present their own community? see e.g. Pánek Jurková or Öğüt).

The reflection of Baumann's theory of liquid modernity in the humanities and social sciences has evidently caught up with ethnomusicology as well.

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Nettl, Bruno. 1994. "Paul Nettl and the Musicological Study of Culture Contact." Pp. 223–228 in *Colloquium Ethnonationale Wechselbeziehungen in der mitteleuropäischen Musik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Situation in den böhmischen Ländern*. Brno.

THEORIZING DIASPORA AND MUSIC[1]

Thomas Solomon

Abstract: ***This article sketches out a synthesis of issues that have emerged in the study of diaspora and music. The author identifies two broad approaches in the literature: 1) diaspora as social formation and 2) diaspora as metaphor. By "diaspora as social formation" is meant approaches that stress a sociological definition of diaspora and that emphasize the historical facts and material conditions of diasporas, with empirical enquiry focused on the social networks that maintain diasporic communities and the role of music in articulating such networks. In contrast, approaches that evoke "diaspora as metaphor" emphasize the interpretive possibilities that the idea of diaspora enables in regard to the historical and contemporary global flows of music. The article ends with a brief discussion of the metaphor of the*** **rhizome** ***as a way of thinking about the non-hierarchical nature of diasporic networks, and of the way music may articulate the different nodes of these networks while providing a vehicle for the imagination and performance of diasporic consciousness.***

Keywords: ***diaspora; migration; transnationalism; globalization; rhizome***

The concept of *diaspora* has gained much currency in music studies over the last two decades. In this article, I sketch out some of the issues that have emerged in relation to the study of diaspora and music. I identify two broad approaches in the literature: 1) diaspora as social formation and 2) diaspora as metaphor. By "diaspora as social formation," I mean approaches that stress a sociological definition of diaspora and that emphasize the historical facts and material conditions of diasporas, with empirical enquiry focused on the social networks

[1] This article is a much condensed version of a longer chapter on diaspora, hybridity and music (Solomon 2015). Thanks to the copyright holder Makerere University Klaus Wachsmann Music Archive (MAKWMA), and to Fountain Press in Kampala, Uganda for permission to adapt and to re-use material from that chapter here.

that maintain diasporic communities and the role of music in articulating such networks. In contrast, approaches that evoke "diaspora as metaphor" emphasize the interpretive possibilities that the idea of diaspora enables in regard to the historical and contemporary global flows of music, focusing both on the meaning of diaspora in general terms and on the multitude of meanings musically engendered within specific diasporic communities. I conclude with a brief discussion of the metaphor of the *rhizome* as a way of thinking about the non-hierarchical nature of diasporic networks, and of the way music may articulate the different nodes of these networks while providing a vehicle for the imagination and performance of diasporic consciousness.

Diaspora

The amount of attention given to *diaspora* in music studies since the 1990s suggests that it is firmly established as a paradigm for music research, to the extent that Born and Hesmondhalgh could already confidently announce in 2000 that "(i)n contrast with ethnomusicology's former object of study – 'traditional musics' – it is diasporic music that has moved to the center of attention" (2000: 25). Significant publications have included programmatic or summary statements and meditations on diaspora and music (Bohlman 2001, 2002: 111–129, Slobin 1994, 2003), edited collections of papers focusing on the theme (Chaudhuri and Seeger 2010, Monson 2003a, Ramnarine 2007b, Turino and Lea 2004, Um 2005), empirical ethnographic studies in the form of full-length monographs (Kaya 2001, Myers 1998, Ramnarine 2001, 2007a, Zheng 2010), and innumerable individual short papers with brief case studies published as book chapters or journal articles.[2] The enthusiasm that has accompanied the "discovery" of diaspora by ethnomusicologists has, however, sometimes been accompanied by an uncritical application of the concept to musical communities.

Diaspora as Social Formation

The classic statement regarding diaspora as social formation is that of William Safran (1991), who rigorously defined the term in an essay in the first issue of the first academic journal dedicated to diaspora studies. Safran argues that

[2] See Solomon (2015) for additional references to relevant literature.

> the concept of diaspora [should] be applied to expatriate minority communities whose members share several of the following characteristics: 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral," or foreign, regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland – its physical location, history, and achievements; 3) they believe that they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return – when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship (1991: 83–84, also quoted in Turino 2004: 4).

The dispersal of the Jews from Palestine in the year 70 C.E. during the Roman era has become the ur-diaspora, providing a model and precedent for understanding other, later diasporas (Vertovec 1997: 278). Diaspora is thus one specific manifestation of the more general phenomenon of *displacement* (Levi and Scheding 2010), conceptually distinct from – but in practice often overlapping with – other terms such as *exile* or *refugee* (Baily 2005, Diehl 2002, Reyes 1999). Contemporary diasporas are often considered in relation to postcolonialism and patterns of migration between postcolonial states and their former imperial centers (Solomon 2012).

Perhaps the most rigorous, sustained published theoretical discussion of diaspora by an ethnomusicologist can be found in the work of Thomas Turino, in his article "Are We Global Yet?" (2003) and in his introduction (2004) to the edited volume *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities*. Drawing on some of the "classic" early programmatic statements of diaspora studies such as that of Safran (1991) quoted above, and also especially the work of Khachig Tölölyan (1991, 1996), Turino emphasizes a sociological definition of diaspora through an examination of the historical facts, material conditions, and (especially) social organization of diasporas. Turino is specifically concerned with making logical, analytic typological distinctions between different kinds of transnational social formations, specifically immigrant communities, diasporas and cosmopolitans. For example, Turino contrasts immigrant communities and diasporas by saying

that immigrant communities span connections between only two specific places – the homeland and the host society – while diasporas are characterized by connections between multiple sites (2004: 5–6, see also Turino 2003: 59–60). And "(w)hereas immigrant communities tend to assimilate and fade away within a few generations, diasporic cultural formations tend towards longevity and recognition of social continuities across space and time" (Turino 2003: 60, see also Turino 2004: 6).

"Law and order" approaches such as Turino's play an important role in intellectual discourse by arguing for precision in our use of theoretical terms. But such approaches also run the risk of over-emphasizing reified models of (social) structure and privileging the researcher's historical facts and objective typologies over the messy realities of everyday practice – the complex subjectivities and arrays of practices on the ground of real people. In the same way that diasporas themselves overflow and thus problematize and de-naturalize national boundaries (see discussion below), the complexities of how the diasporic experience is lived out in people's daily lives may overflow the analytical boundaries that researchers construct around them. There may not always be a neat one-to-one correspondence between a strict definition of diaspora as a historical event and as social formation, an explicit consciousness of a diasporic identity, and *de facto* participation in diasporic networks.

The recognition of the complexities of social relationships and cultural affiliations between dispersed diasporic populations has played an important role in the critique of the older anthropological notion of *Culture* as being essentially grounded in place, and of *cultures* as spatially coherent, geographically bounded entities (Abu-Lughod 1991: 149, Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 9–10). As Tina Ramnarine has noted, "(a)lthough tradition is often perceived as stemming from and having close ties to particular localities, the relationship between tradition and place is questioned when a single tradition is maintained, developed and changed by people in several different geographic contexts" (1996: 133). An outgrowth of this decoupling of culture from place is a further "subversion of naturalized forms of identity centred on the nation" (Kalra, Kaur and Hutnyk 2005: 2). This development challenges the very paradigm of the nation-state as a supposedly natural, bounded "container" for a unique and coherent "national culture" distinct from that of other comparable nation-states.

The study of diasporas has highlighted how people, as well as things, are constantly on the move around the globe, creating the transient populations Arjun Appadurai (1991, 1996) has famously termed "ethnoscapes." While

populations have, of course, been on the move since the dawn of the human race, continuous large-scale movement back and forth between widely dispersed locales on a global basis intensified beginning in the twentieth century. Since the 1970s, the introduction of relatively inexpensive air travel has enabled the increased mobility of people. And since the turn of the millennium, the improvement of telecommunications networks, including aspects as apparently as mundane as the ability to make inexpensive international phone calls using pre-paid phone cards, has played a crucial role in enabling the communication that keeps the members of dispersed social formations connected with each other so that they maintain a sense of immediate community (Vertovec 2004). These developments have also enabled the movement of creative and performing artists, so that they can travel to the places where diasporic populations have settled. For example, Albanians living in Switzerland can attend frequent concerts by artists residing in homeland areas in the Balkans and who regularly fly in to Zurich for weekend shows (Sugarman 2006). Access to relatively inexpensive transportation can also mean that *identity* itself is imagined not just in terms of rootedness in place, but as constituted through motion (Solomon 2009).

Research on music in diasporic communities has demonstrated how music can function as a sort of social "glue" connecting diasporic communities widely dispersed around the globe. Highly mediated popular music genres such as *bhangra* among South Asians in Europe and North America or *raï* among Algerians in Europe have served not only to connect diasporic communities to their homelands, but also to each other.[3] There are at least two aspects of music that make it a particularly powerful tool for imagining and living out diasporic identities (as music does, of course, for other kinds of identities, as well).

First, the portability of recorded sound has, especially since the introduction of relatively inexpensive means of sound reproduction beginning with the cassette revolution in the 1970s, enabled sounds to travel far and wide. Diasporas thus provide a compelling example of the *deterritorialization* of culture – the disconnection of culture from the territorially discrete, geographically bounded sites of its purported origin (Lull 1995: 150–153, Connell and Gibson 2004). Members of diasporic communities, even when spread over many parts of the

[3] For studies of *bhangra*, see Baumann 1990, Gopinath 1995, Huq 2006, Leante 2004, Roy 2010. For research on *raï* see Daoudi and Miliani 1996, Gross, McMurray and Swedenburg 2001, Langlois 1996a, 1996b, Marranci 2000, 2003, 2005, Schade-Poulson 1999, Virolle 1995, 1999, 2003.

globe, use the possibilities of contemporary communications media to coordinate expressive practices and to engage in the same musical consumption habits. For example, South Asian fans of *bhangra* who live in various cities in the UK, other European countries, Canada, and the USA have had access to the latest *bhangra* hits emanating from UK recording studios since the 1980s (see again references in footnote 3). The subsequent miniaturization and digitalization of sound recording technology, as well as the transmission of musical sounds through digital physical carriers (CDs, DVDs) and through the Internet (mp3 files, videos on YouTube, streaming services, etc.), have further sped up this process.

Secondly, music's invitation to pleasurable embodied experience and to communal sociability, especially through dance, make the experience of diasporic belonging one that is deeply pleasurable in itself and socially reassuring. *It feels good* to be part of a dancing, globalized community; and there is both pleasure and a certain reassurance or validation of ones own sense of self in knowing that people on the other side of the world whom one identifies with in terms of ethnicity and culture are grooving and dancing to the same sounds. The shared affinity for musics associated with the homeland (even if the existence of those musics, such as *bhangra*, actually depends on transnational infrastructures for its production and dissemination) becomes the basis for an *affective community* – a community based on emotional attachment to cultural practices and products – that is mapped onto (and partially constitutes and maintains) the diasporic social formation. Such expressive cultural ties across national boundaries are potentially even stronger than ties based on membership in nation-states (Kalra, Kaur and Hutnyk 2005: 35).

These two special aspects of music – its portability as recorded sound and its enabling of pleasurable embodied experience – make it especially powerful as a vehicle for creating a *diasporic consciousness*, or a sense of belonging to the same *transnation*, which unites dispersed peoples into a single social group (Sugarman 2004). Musical practices thus provide frameworks for organizing the diasporic experience, including the historical consciousness of having come from somewhere else, and identifying with other people in other places who also share this origin. The complex relationship between a sense of origin *in* another place, and the awareness of being displaced *from* that place, is frequently encapsulated in the homophonous pair of terms *roots* and *routes* (Gilroy 1993, Clifford 1997, Kalra, Kaur and Hutnyk 2005: 29, Negus 1996: 106–107).

Diaspora as Metaphor

Contrasting with the more materially-grounded approach to diaspora as social and cultural formation is an approach which I would call "diaspora as metaphor." Perhaps because of music's fertile multivocality, allowing people to embody a wide range of subjective metaphorical meanings in musical objects and experiences, this approach is very common in the literature on music and diaspora. Slobin (2003) critiques a few examples of metaphorical uses of diaspora, noting how they stretch the concept to near breaking point. Noting Appadurai's (1996: 36) use of expressions like "diaspora of terms and images across the world" and "diaspora of keywords," Slobin laments how the "anthropomorphization of bodies of information and concepts might lead us away from the physically dispersed bodies that need our attention so badly" (2003: 287). The metaphoric potential of diaspora is compelling, however, and many writers make evocative use of it.

In a series of essays on the musics of sacred journeys through the spaces of Europe and the Mediterranean, Philip Bohlman (1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2003a, 2003b, most of these also collected in revised form in Bohlman 2013) explores the potential of diaspora as an ur-metaphor for other kinds of movements through space such as pilgrimages. Bohlman's essay "Music, Myth, and History in the Mediterranean: Diaspora and the Return to Modernity" (1997), for example, is a wide-ranging and evocative consideration of "diaspora as a myth of modernity" and diaspora as "a root metaphor for the imagination of Mediterranean history"; Throughout the essay, Bohlman explores "the complex ways in which diaspora has recharted the course of Mediterranean music history." Here *diaspora* serves as a trope for all kinds of movement through space, especially for "sacred journeys that promise no end," such as the wanderings of Moses and the Jews in the desert after leaving Egypt, which Bohlman sees as a sort of archetype for later sacred journeys in the circum-Mediterranean and beyond. In the fifth section of the essay, Bohlman compares how three different diasporas (English Protestants ["the Pilgrims"] who settled in North America in the seventeenth century, Jesuit missions during the colonial period in South America, and the African diaspora) may serve as different metaphors for modern history. The African diaspora, for example, "reveals a metonymic transformation of the Atlantic Ocean into the diasporic functions of the Mediterranean." While Bohlman impressively explores the richly evocative metaphoric possibilities of diaspora in grand humanistic tradition, I find this essay extremely frustrating

in the way *diaspora* ends up standing for nearly any kind of movement through space, whether it actually entails a semi-permanent displacement of a large number of people from a homeland (imagined or real), as in the African case, or not, as in the case of the Jesuit missionaries in South America that Bohlman also discusses. Here *diaspora* becomes so general that it ceases to refer to any kind of specific, recognizable social formation.

Other prominent theorizers of music and modernity/postmodernity also engage in the discourse of diaspora-as-metaphor in ways that take them far from the "physically dispersed bodies" Slobin is looking for. For example, Veit Erlmann's (2003, 2004) discussion of South African musician Solomon Linda's "Mbube" and cover versions of it by the Weavers and The Tokens, despite appearing in two different books with the word "diaspora" prominently appearing in their titles (Monson 2003a, Turino and Lea 2004), is really only peripherally about diaspora, and more about, as Erlmann describes it, "mass-mediated cultural capital between Africa and the West" and "the music industry's racialization of musical form" (2004: 89). Even Slobin, after his thoughtful critique of (mis-)applications of diaspora in music studies, ends his overview with what seems to me an ill-chosen example, taken not from an ethnography of music in the life of physically dispersed real people, but from a 1986 Tamil film portraying a Tamil couple who relocate from Chennai to New Delhi, which Slobin discusses in terms of an internal diaspora within India (2003: 292–294). In Slobin's reading of the film-as-text, the different kinds of Western, Indian, and other musics that the film's music producer makes use of symbolize multiple diasporic trajectories. Here I think Slobin falls into the same trap he criticizes earlier in the essay: a too-loose application of diaspora-as-metaphor to cultural analysis.

Maybe, like Turino, I've got a bit of the "law and order man" in me, as well. I want to reserve *diaspora* specifically for the movement of people. I'm wary of the use of concepts like "musical diasporas" to refer to the ways musical objects and styles themselves move around the globe, independent of the movements of people. To put it bluntly, musics aren't diasporic – *people* are – and the phrase "diasporic musics" can never be more than a metaphor, even if a very evocative one. Like Slobin, I'm wary of metaphors that attribute agency to *music* itself. To say that musical instruments, genres, repertories, etc. are "diasporic" is to reify the thing-ness of music and focus on products rather than processes, and to remove these products from the actions of real people, who are not just passive carriers of musical "things," but actors who make choices to use or not to use

a given musical form, and who constantly re-make, re-invent, and re-invest with meaning their own and others' musical practices (Clausen, Hemetek and Sæther 2009). I think we have other concepts, such as "regimes of circulation" (Grenier and Guilbault 1997: 230) or "music scenes" (Bennett 2004, Bennett and Peterson 2004, Harris 2000), that work better for talking about the movements of genres and discourses through time and space, and I want to reserve the term *diaspora* for the movements, actions, and consciousness of real people as actors. Concepts such as "regimes of circulation" are useful precisely because, when necessary, they can refer to the circulation of disembodied musical objects through transnational space, or they can share space comfortably, in a complimentary fashion, with more people-centered approaches to transnational musical networks. In the end, I think a path somewhere between overly material and overly metaphorical approaches to diaspora will serve us best.

The Rhizomatic Network and Diasporic Consciousness

A possible way of navigating this path is by focusing study on *diasporic networks* (cf. Slobin 1993: 64–65, Turino 2004: 7). The metaphor of the *rhizome* – plants with roots (technically, underground stems) branching off in multiple directions in complex networks – associated with Deleuze and Guattari's book *A Thousand Plateaus* (1988) is apt for describing the complex networks of horizontal (i.e., non-hierarchical) connections between various nodes in diasporic networks. To account for the rhizomatic diasporic network, the researcher must follow the multiple, complexly interconnected strands of the network to wherever it leads, and this will usually entail multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995). As Slobin notes, "diasporic networks are very distinctive and have a complex internal structure. While they may make a point-to-point connection with a homeland population and style, they might also conjure new networks abroad" (1993: 64–65). It is important here, however, to explore such networks not just in terms of their abstract structure, but also for how they are created and maintained through human agency. Diasporic networks don't just happen – they have to be actively created by people who invest time, money, and other resources into them.

The concept of diasporic networks also suggests a rethinking of the relationships between the "originating" sites of diasporas and the dispersed sites their diasporic peoples have moved to. If we take seriously the non-hierarchical aspect of the rhizome metaphor as elaborated by Deleuze and Guattari, it

challenges the privileged status of the "homeland" (cf. Clifford 1994), making it just one more node in a complex network. A specific homeland may well loom large in the diasporic imagination, but the many actual ways in which people move through, and send information and objects through, diasporic networks, as well as the discursive ways in which they plot those movements, do not necessarily pass through the homeland as a sort of central node or hub. A Jewish klezmer musician from New York going to Berlin to play in a concert does not have to pass through Jerusalem, and an East Indian from the Caribbean living in Toronto would find it quite out of the way to pass through Bombay or Delhi on the way "home" to Trinidad. Guilbault thus encourages us to view diasporas as "a network of alliances that 'displaces the "home" country from its privileged position as the originary site'" (Guilbault 2005: 59, quoting Gopinath 1995: 304). This enables "a far more complicated understanding of diaspora, in that it demands a radical reworking of the hierarchical relation between diaspora and the [homeland] nation" (Gopinath 1995: 304, quoted in Guilbault 2005: 59).

Perhaps another way to steer a path between the material and the metaphorical is to, as already alluded to above, focus on the formation and performance of *diasporic consciousness*. Here, there may well be an abundance of metaphors in deployment, but they are the metaphors of the diasporic subjects themselves, not of the outside academic observer. Diasporic consciousness entails a state of mind or sense of identity – a sense of awareness of being and belonging both "here" – in the host country – and "there" – in the "home" country (Clifford 1994, Kalra, Kaur and Hutnyk 2005: 17–20, Vertovec 1997). The paradigmatic statement regarding diasporic consciousness is Paul Gilroy's (1993) analysis of the "double consciousness" of the African diaspora in what he has famously called "the black Atlantic." Gilroy's work emphatically shows how diasporas are not just the results of historical events, rather they are made and discovered through the reflective and creative practices of memory. A history of "diaspora" may be (perhaps always is) discovered after the fact, as Stuart Hall (1990: 231) describes in his account of the creation of an Afro-Caribbean historical consciousness in during the 1970s.

Diasporic consciousness may also be invented and performed through interventions in the cultural field, including the use of invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), and specifically musical invented traditions. For example, in her work on the revival of Afro-Peruvian music, Feldman (2005, 2006) uses Gilroy's concept of the "black Atlantic" as a starting point

to develop her own concept of the "black Pacific" as "a newly imagined diasporic community" (2005: 206). Feldman analyses how "the leaders of the Afro-Peruvian revival appropriated as 'African' heritage cultural traditions born, creolized, or syncretized in the black Atlantic" (2005: 208). "Confronted with scant documentation or cultural memory of the historical practices of enslaved Africans in Peru, Afro-Peruvian artists relied in part upon transplanted versions of Afro-Cuban or Afro-Brazilian cultural expressions to imaginatively recreate the forgotten music and dance of their ancestors and reproduce their past" (2005: 207). The Afro-Peruvian revival thus "changed the history and public depiction of blackness in Peru, mobilizing Afro-Peruvians to reconnect with their diasporic identity" (2005: 222).

Sarkissian (1995, 2000, 2002) similarly discusses how the mixed Eurasian population of the Portuguese Settlement in Malacca, Malaysia has since the 1950s collected "Portuguese" songs and dances from various sources in order to create a show for tourists in which they re-imagine themselves as descendants of sixteenth-century Portuguese colonizers. Sarkissian uses the phrase "domesticating a diaspora" (2000: 86) to describe the ways in which the occupants of the Portuguese Settlement rewrite their history emphasizing Portuguese roots while erasing a recent, more hybrid past.

If one can speak of a "will to hybridity" (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 19), then the cases discussed by Feldman and Sarkissian suggest that in some places, a "will to diaspora" may also be emerging, in which older transnational connections are re-imagined as diasporas. Bohlman notes that

> there are more groups who consciously give unity to otherwise barely related patterns of immigration by remapping them as diasporas. Ethnic Irish abroad, for example, have increasingly begun to refer to themselves as an Irish diaspora. Some of the new diasporas may well be inventions, for example the Celtic diaspora, but they nonetheless bespeak a deep concern about the recognition of double and multiple consciousnesses (2002: 117–118).

This trend may eventually lead to such a generalized, clichéd view of diaspora – "we're all diasporic in one way or another" – that the term may in the end lose its analytic usefulness. Besides the vague uses of diaspora as metaphor discussed above, there are other indicators that a kind of "watering down" of the diaspora concept is already occurring in academic scholarship. Because diaspora has become intellectually fashionable, some writers seem to

feel compelled to invoke it, even when they are not really engaging with the issues the term is meant to evoke. For example, wa Mukuna (1997) titles his article "Creative Practice in African Music: New Perspectives in the Scrutiny of Africanisms in Diaspora." On closer inspection, however, the article does not live up to the suggested promise of a consideration of diasporic theory and music, but is rather a summary of wa Mukuna's linguistic approach to so-called Africanisms in African music in the New World. The article's intellectual genealogy is thus not in diaspora studies; its intellectual ancestors can rather be found in the hoary and well-tred ethnomusicological study of musical Africanisms in the Americas, begun with work in the 1940s by Melville Herskovits (1941) and Richard Waterman (1948, 1952, 1963). Here "diaspora" seems to be tacked on as an afterthought simply because the term is trendy. In contrast, for example, Monson's (2003b) chapter on jazz musician Art Blakey deals explicitly with issues of the development of a diasporic consciousness among African-American musicians, as they musically negotiate their relationship to Africa.

Another area that sorely needs development in music-centered studies of diaspora is the study of music *consumption*, as opposed to *production*. Perhaps because of the long-standing interest of ethnomusicologists in the practices of music-makers, they have largely neglected the practices of music *listeners*, paying much less attention to what people who are not necessarily musicians themselves listen to, and how they listen. We need thorough ethnographic studies of the consumption practices of real people.[4] Ethnomusicologist Hae-kyung Um has studied the listening habits of Koreans in diaspora in Russia and the Central Asian states of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan (2000). While the quantitative methods for data collection and analysis used in her article mean we do not learn much about *how* her research subjects use the different kinds of music they listen to, the article provides a start. Um's work on the Korean diaspora in Central Asia (see also Um 1996) also reminds us that not all diasporas are

[4] An example of a lost opportunity for exploring consumption practices can be found in an anecdote Helen Myers includes in her 1998 study of music in the South Asian diasporic community on the Caribbean island of Trinidad. Tantalizingly, we learn that the LP record collection of one of Myers' Indo-Trinidadian consultants in the late 1970s included albums by ABBA and Olivia Newton-John, as well as "Lata Mangeshkar Recites the Bhagwad Gita" and an album of Hindu devotional songs (1998: 108–109). But the list of records is simply presented without comment, and without any exploration of the record owner's listening practices – how this person actually used these LPs, both as sound carriers and as objects in their own right.

from the "periphery" or "the South" to "the West," or are even routed through "the West." This may seem like an obvious point, but a quick look through the literature shows that the bulk of research on music and diaspora involves movements between developing countries and the big cities of "the West." Ethnomusicologists have largely yet to consider the worlds of diasporas that never pass through London, Paris, New York or Miami.

Finally, it is worth noting that the very concept of diaspora itself has come under serious critique. Ien Ang (2003) has argued that the diaspora concept paradoxically maintains the very logic of the state which the concept is meant to critique:

> While the transnationalism of diasporas is often taken as an implicit point of critique of the territorial boundedness and internally homogenizing perspective of the nation-state, the limits of diaspora lie precisely in its own assumed boundedness, its inevitable tendency to stress its internal coherence and unity, logically set apart from "others." Diaspora formations transgress the boundaries of the nation-state on behalf of a globally dispersed "people" ... but paradoxically this transgression can only be achieved by drawing a boundary around the diaspora (2003: 142).

Ang argues that "the transnationalism of diaspora is actually proto-nationalist in its outlook," and that "the politics of diaspora is exclusionary as much as it is inclusionary, just like that of the nation" (2003: 144):

> [T]he language of diaspora is fundamentally proto-nationalist: it feeds into a *transnational nationalism* based on the presumption of internal ethnic sameness and external ethnic distinctiveness. Unlike the nationalism of the nation-state, which premises itself on a national community which is territorially bound, diasporic nationalism produces an imagined community that is deterritorialised, but that is symbolically bounded nevertheless. Its borders are clearly defined, at least in the imagination, and its actual and potential membership is finite: only certain people, notionally "Chinese people," can belong to the "Chinese diaspora" (2003: 145, italics in original).

A focus on musical production and consumption can provide an inroad to understanding the actually diverse identities and allegiances found within diasporic communities, which may turn out to be not as homogenous as they first seem (Solomon 2008).

Conclusion

In this article, I have been able to provide only a very general overview of issues related to diaspora and music. Because of its portability and the way it affords deeply felt, embodied experiences, music is an especially powerful tool for articulating diasporic consciousness. To conclude, I suggest that it is best to consider diasporas not as "things" out in the real world, but as provisional critical categories for the understanding of complex and variegated social and cultural processes. Like all such critical categories, the concept of diaspora has its own history and shifting applications in critical cultural study. And as a critical category, it may eventually outlive its usefulness, at which point it will simply be necessary to find new categories for understanding the constantly evolving roles and uses of music in contemporary social life.

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FANS OR FRIENDS? LOCAL/TRANSLOCAL DIALECTICS OF DIY ('DO-IT-YOURSELF') TOURING AND THE DIY COMMUNITY IN THE US

David Verbuč

Abstract: ***When studying how rock, punk, and similar cultures relate to place, scholars tend to focus on*** local ***scenes (and on*** concerts ***as constitutive events that establish the rock music community). When they do consider translocal connections, they mostly discuss*** non-face-to-face ***relations, for instance, as enacted through printed or electronic media. In this paper, by ethnographically examining the interpersonal dynamics of several case studies, I demonstrate that the music community of DIY (do-it-yourself) participants in the US is constituted in large part through*** face-to-face ***interaction, not only in local places (through the interaction of DIY participants both within and between music venues), but in translocal space (through touring, and similar traveling practices), as well. Local participants depend on translocal touring participants (who generate flows of ideas, sounds, objects, and people), and the translocal participants depend on their local compatriots (who provide places at which to play, or sleep). Local DIY places, especially DIY participants' houses, play a significant role in this dialectic as items of reciprocal exchange within the translocal "network of friends/favors." In addition, they also function as places of 'intimacy,' in the local context as sites for small and 'intimate' concerts, and translocally as places for hosting touring musicians as houseguests. DIY places/houses thus contribute to an experience of closeness and to the transformation of fans to friends for the DIY participants. In the first part of the paper, I examine the establishment of local and translocal DIY 'communities' through the social practice of touring (culture as travel). In this section, I also briefly discuss historical and geographical factors, and consider the dimensions of race, gender, and sexuality in the American DIY touring experience. In the second part, I subsequently observe the aspects and particular characteristics of DIY touring practices themselves (travel as culture), and how they reflect and generate DIY values and politics.***

Keywords: ***music and place/space; music and mobility; social construction of a 'community;' American DIY cultures, and DIY touring.***

In this paper, I examine how the practice of DIY music touring bridges and crosses particular *local* DIY scenes and constitutes *translocal* DIY communities in the US.[1] To illustrate the practice of DIY touring through ethnographic and personal experience, and to emphasize specific aspects of the intersection between touring and community, I start with a short tour vignette.[2]

In the summer of 2012, I went on a tour with the Portland-based psychedelic and experimental group 3 Moons. They started the tour in Oregon, and went through Northern California before I joined them for the Midwest part of the tour. The band included Jeffrey on guitar and electronics, Dena on keyboards, occasionally myself on gongs, and Jeffrey's dog Ratchet, watching over the van (Fig. 1). *We played house shows, warehouse shows, regular DIY spaces, a coffee shop art gallery, a record store, a Fourth of July block party, and a generator (or guerrilla) show under a bridge. We slept at the homes of show organizers and friends, who often also cooked for us. On the way, Jeffrey visited many of his old friends, who helped us with organizing local shows. Jeffrey had done the same for them when they visited Portland.*

We crossed paths with many DIY participants, musicians, and travelers. We played shows together unexpectedly in Kansas City and Chicago with the Oakland-based group Uncanny Valley (see Fig. 2)*, and we saw the same people from the Kansas City show again at our Winona, Minnesota show. In addition, I re-encountered around twelve DIY participants that I had met on that tour*

[1] This publication was supported by the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University Prague, grant SVV 260-238/2015.

[2] For my PhD research on American DIY cultures, and their DIY spaces, and DIY touring practices, I conducted a three-year intensive fieldwork in the US, mostly on the West Coast. I focused on multiple sites, and combined long-term research (two active years of research in Davis, CA, and nine months in Portland, OR), with shorter visits (about two weeks each) in Olympia, WA, Oakland, CA, and Los Angeles, CA. I made numerous structured and unstructured interviews, lived with DIY participants in DIY show houses, toured with three DIY bands (with two on the West Coast, and one in the Midwest), examined historical, and contemporary, textual and visual, sources on American DIY cultures, and attended and analyzed DIY concerts. During my fieldwork I also organized a couple of DIY house shows by myself, hosted DIY bands in my place, and played music several times with some of the bands I toured or lived with. I had previous experiences with DIY scenes in Slovenia, where I actively participated in them as a radio and club DJ, event organizer, and music journalist.

Figure 1: Dena and Jeffrey aka 3 Moons, playing at the community space Percolator, in Lawrence, KS (July 3, 2012). Photo: David Verbuč.

later at various DIY places around the US. This was my second DIY tour in the US, and I already knew quite a few DIY people from around the country. It was Jeffrey's eighth tour, and he has already created a strong national network of his DIY musical friends.

The tour itself was an act of "deep treading," as Jeffrey called it, comprising long drives in the scorching Midwestern sun, spiced up with our dog's fleas and local mosquitoes. All the troubles and fun times made us grow close. In Jeffrey's words, we established a "group mind."

Touring and traveling, I argue in this paper, is as significant for DIY participants in the US as playing and attending local shows. For that reason, I move beyond the paradigm of "dwelling" local cultures, and approach the DIY music culture in the US from a perspective of a traveling or mobile culture. In this regard, the new "mobility paradigm" advocate, John Urry, argues:

> "[A]ll social relationships should be seen as involving diverse 'connections' that are more or less 'at a distance', more or less fast, more or less intense and more or less involving physical movement. Social relations are never only fixed or located in place but are to very varying degrees constituted through 'circulating entities'" (2007: 9, 46; cf. Clifford 1992; Cresswell 2006).

However, it is also important to examine the dialectical relation between dwelling and traveling (Clifford 1992; Cresswell 2006),[3] and to comprehend in this way how spatial factors (geography, local scenes, and music venues, both as social and physical spaces) shape the traveling experience, and vice versa.

When studying how rock, punk, and similar cultures relate to place, scholars tend to primarily focus on *local* scenes (e.g., Bennett 1980; Finnegan [1989] 2007; Cohen 1991; Such 1993; Shank 1994; Fornäs et al. 1995; Berger 1999; Fox 2004; Fonarow 2006; Holt 2007). When they do consider translocal connections, they mostly discuss *non-face-to-face* relations, as enacted through printed or digital media (e.g., Duncombe 2008 [1997]: 61). In this paper, I demonstrate that the music community of DIY (i.e., do-it-yourself) participants in the US is constituted in large part through *face-to-face* interaction, not only at local concerts, but through the translocal practice of touring, as well.[4]

In the first part of the paper, I examine the characteristics of DIY touring, and the structure of everyday reality on the road, including the dialectics between nightly and daily activities of touring DIY musicians, and the relationship between freedom and hardship, and fun and work. In this section, I also briefly discuss historical and geographical factors, and consider the dimensions of race, gender, and sexuality in the American DIY touring experience. In the second part of the paper, I show how the DIY touring dialectic consequently enables DIY participants to turn local, private, and individual music production into translocal, public, and collective community production, and additionally, to transform mediated and imagined social relations into face-to-face ones, the dominant American space into an alternative DIY place, and purely oppositional meanings and attitudes into positive and productive ones. Throughout the

[3] Tim Cresswell, for instance, argues that movement is "a dynamic equivalent of place" (Cresswell 2006: 3). Furthermore, I similarly distinguish in this paper between the notions of place and space: *place* as dwelling, boundedness, and familiarity, and *space* as movement, boundlessness, and unfamiliarity (Tuan 1977: 3, 6; Cresswell 2004: 1–10; Kenny n.d.).

[4] I consider the notion of face-to-face interaction in this article both as a discursive or ideological agenda of DIY participants, and as its material embodiment through DIY social practice.

Figure 2: Uncanny Valley from Oakland, playing at the Fourth of July block party in Kansas City, MO. Photo: David Verbuč.

discussion, I propose an understanding of the American DIY community as established through touring (i.e., culture as travel), and simultaneously examine DIY touring as based on specific set of DIY values (i.e., travel as culture).

I define DIY culture as a specific kind of alternative music culture that is circumventing dominant commercial and institutional channels. DIY participants enact this alternative approach for both structural and ideological reasons. Given that there are few non-commercial venues for alternative music-making in the US, DIY performers are forced to find non-traditional and non-formal concert spaces. At the same time, they also prefer these spaces because they enjoy freedom from the restrictions encountered at regular concert venues. Concomitantly, they are proponents of DIY ethics and esthetics, which they see not only as a tool toward greater ends (e.g., success, economic profit), but as an end in itself. This DIY culture is an outgrowth of the late 1970s punk culture. However, it later expanded into a more heterogeneous music culture that includes punk, indie rock, and experimental music cultures.

Characteristics of DIY Touring

DIY musicians, to be able to tour, employ specific DIY methods of touring that contrast with "professional" Western popular music touring practices. "Professional" popular music touring is very expensive, and includes employment of tour personnel, reliance on media promotion, and performing in large and commercial venues (Chapple and Garofalo 1977: 142–154; Laing and Shepherd 2003; Reynolds 2008: 5–9). On the other hand, because DIY participants have minimal resources at hand, DIY touring is particularly thrifty and self-reliant. The early 1980s group Minutemen called this approach "jamming econo," which meant they "usually sleep [sic] at someone's house, lugged their own equipment, and learned how to maintain their own van" (Azerrad 2001: 69, 72, 73, 74). Before them, south Californian hard-core punk group Black Flag, considered as pioneers in this regard, established DIY touring as based on "monster" work ethic and "bare bones" approach: playing almost every day while on tour, in any place, demanding no guarantees, sleeping in their van, and eating cheaply or sometimes hardly anything (Azerrad 2001: 23, 41, 54; Rollins 2004 [1994]: 81).[5]

While any place might be welcome for shows, especially when there are no other venues to play while on tour, DIY groups mostly prefer small, non-commercial, and all-ages DIY spaces.[6] These kinds of spaces, in the opinion of DIY participants, enable more intimate, direct, free, and inclusive social and musical interaction at shows (cf. Verbuč 2014).

Another distinction of DIY touring is in its function. In the commercial sphere of Western popular music, touring is considered a promotional tool for

[5] Henry Rollins, when he joined Black Flag as their new singer in 1981, wrote in his diary: "Black Flag/SST was on a work ethic that I had never experienced and have never seen since. Greg, Chuck and their nonstop roadie Mugger were the hardest working people I had ever seen. They went into whatever it was that we had to do without questioning the time it took, the lack of sleep or food. They just went for it. No one had time for anyone else's complaining. If you ever made a noise about anything, Mugger would just start laughing and say something like 'This isn't Van Halen! Get it happening!'" (Rollins 2004 [1994]: 14). In addition, these early DIY bands also established a national DIY touring circuit which was based on DIY and all-ages spaces, small college towns, and any other spaces that proved useful in order to fill in the possible gaps on the nation-wide DIY touring map (Azerrad 2001: 23, 24; Baumgarten 2012: 69–70).

[6] American laws often prevent young people under twenty-one years to attend venues that sell alcohol. Many musicians and organizers thus struggle for establishment and maintenance of "all-ages" music spaces, in part because a large percentage of DIY music audience often comes from this particular age group.

performers and their albums (cf. Laing and Shepherd 2003; Black, Fox, and Kochanowski 2007). With DIY culture, the relation between albums and touring is reversed. For instance, Minutemen considered their albums as tools for promoting their tours, because they particularly valued the live music experience (Azerrad 2001: 84). More literally, an album is not only a promotional, but also a self-funding tool. At concerts, DIY musicians use their album sales to pay for their tour expenses.

DIY participants exemplify several continuities with historic American travel cultures, but also bring new aspects to the traveling experience in the US. Travel is considered both mainstream and alternative in the US (Cresswell 1992: 252, 259). The rhetoric of spatial expansion and discovery have been part of American culture since its origins, which is a legacy that informs most of the later American travel narratives (cf. Lackey 1997: 4, 10, 31).[7] At the same time, with the transcendentalists of the 19th century, travel becomes a form of personal and social transformation, a search for solitude, independence, nature, self-discovery, simplicity, nonconformity, and imagination (Lackey 1997: 80–82; cf. Mills 2006: 35). With beatniks and other consequent countercultures in the second part of the 20th century (including the DIY culture), it also becomes a form of rebellion (Cresswell 1992; Lackey 1997: 28; Mills 2006: 8–9, 35–53; Bill 2010).[8] However, while the beatniks were "solitary wanderers" (Lackey 1997: 94), hippies often traveled in groups. They heightened their travel experience not only through psychedelic substances, but also, as Lackey argues for Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters, through their putative goal of achieving "communal intimacy" (ibid.: 94, 96).[9] In this regard, hippies managed to establish isolated local communities in the form of living communes or appropriated larger urban areas (Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco, and the East Village in

[7] Lackey, for instance, recognizes this "rhetoric of discovery" (as "a wish to reenact pioneer hardships, to recreate an innocent country, and to imaginatively possess the land," and as a "yearning for power and superiority") in 19th and 20th century American travel literature (Lackey 1997: 4, 10, 31).

[8] Beatniks were in Cresswell's opinion both reflecting and challenging the dominant American myths (Cresswell 1992: 252, 259). Roger Bill muses about whether Kerouac was a wandering and rebellious traveler, or a "precursor to mobile mass tourism" (Bill 2010: 398). In addition, transcendental travelers often ignore the material preconditions of travel which brings them into a contradictory situation – they simultaneously reject and embrace the capitalist exploitation and environmental damage (ibid.: 4, 11, 85).

[9] Ken Kesey and his Merry Pranksters were a group of hippies who organized "acid trips" (communal drug experiences), which also included a trip in a van ("Furthur") across the US (from the West Coast to East Coast). Their travel adventures were documented by Tom Wolfe (Wolfe 1969).

New York), and mobile and traveling small-group communities. However, they failed in generating a sustainable and physically interconnected translocal community, something that was at least partly achieved later by the American DIY participants.

Geographic and Temporal Factors of DIY Touring

The US is a big country, and it takes at least five to six weeks to cross it on tour.[10] During those weeks, touring musicians traverse very different climates, and diverse geological, social, cultural, political, and economic areas that affect the touring practices and patterns, the venues and the audiences where they play, and thus also their shows.

The US highway system is one of the most important factors in determining the touring route. People usually first pin down bigger cities and more important scenes (including smaller college towns) to play, and then they try to connect the dots with places to play in between. Since the bigger cities are usually well-connected by the highway system, the smaller places on tour are not far removed from it.

Climate and season are also important factors in the planning of a tour (cf. Blotto n.d.: 5–6). If possible, DIY musicians aim to tour the southern states during the winter and the northern ones during the summer to avoid extreme weather conditions. Many musicians tour during the summer because of vacation time and warmer weather, which allows for swimming in rivers and lakes, and sleeping outdoors. Because of the season's popularity for DIY touring bands, however, it is harder to book shows in the summer. In addition, cars and vans experience more problems in extreme weather (winter or summer). College towns are also more difficult to play during the summer because students, who are often both the bookers and the audiences, are on a school break. There are exceptions to this rule, which some DIY participants are aware of: some college towns with large DIY scenes are vibrant even during summer months (e.g., Bloomington, IN, Burlington, VT, and Olympia, WA).

[10] While the "proper" tour is considered to be five to six weeks long, some bands and musicians also make shorter weekend tours to nearby cities or towns, and regional one- or two-week-long tours. At the other extreme, some musicians regard touring (or traveling), rather than dwelling, as their primary way of life. In that way, they resemble the beatniks who aspired to escape the strictures of place with "endless voyage" and "just going" (Nóvoa 2012: 362–363). After our 2012 tour (see above), Jeffrey and Dena from 3 Moons spent two years traveling around and playing shows, with occasional longer stops in between. I have met other bands, such as Baby Birds Don't Drink Milk, Tracy Trance, or Cannabass, who strived to stay on the road for longer periods of time.

The geographic density (distribution of towns, and the distances between them) of a region is another element that affects touring patterns. The East Coast (especially the Northeast) is considerably denser than the West Coast and parts of the Midwest and the South. Touring there is easier, DIY participants often assert, because places to play are closer together. Touring on the West Coast, and through the Midwest, and Southwest, on the other hand, usually means longer drives and not many good places to play in between the bigger cities.[11] People try to fill these gaps, even if it means playing in bars or other undesirable places.[12] On the other hand, some DIY musicians avoid these kinds of places altogether, and play only DIY and all-ages venues (as on our tour with 3 Moons). In regard to gender differences among various DIY scenes, touring female musicians (from groups Heavens to Betsy and Bratmobile) noticed in the 1990s how "crowds consisted mostly of boys throughout the Midwest, but as the bands neared DC, the final destination of their tour, more and more girls showed up" (Baumgarten 2012: 194).

US DIY musicians do not often tour across the Mexican or Canadian borders. In the north, they have problems with Canadian customs laws.[13] In Mexico, as some of them told me, language and cultural differences, along with the fear of crime, make touring untenable.

American DIY musicians who have toured Europe often talk about the differences in touring between these two places. For them, Europe is usually considered more "professional." Venue staff members are usually "pickier" about sound checks and sound quality; in the US, musicians are happy to play anywhere, and in any conditions. Touring musicians are reputed to receive more money in Europe – counterbalanced, of course, by the increased expenses related to international touring (e.g., airplane tickets) – and are typically provided with food and lodging. In the US, as some of the DIY musicians explained

11 Especially big gaps that are hard to fill, and that DIY participants mentioned to me, exist between Portland and northern California, heading east from northern or southern California, and driving through Utah, the Dakotas, Minnesota, Colorado, and Texas. Some people call the Southwest region a "dead zone" for touring. Florida is also considered as "off the grid" for many DIY touring musicians.

12 This happened, for instance, when I toured with Toning and Dasani Reboot, two experimental musicians from Portland, just two weeks before my tour with 3 Moons. In addition to DIY spaces, Toning and Dasani Reboot also played in one restaurant (in Las Vegas), which ended up being a bad experience for them. The restaurant owner interrupted their show because of the complaint from one of the restaurant's patrons.

13 Canadian laws require working permits for non-Canadian touring musicians (or invitation letters from non-governmental organizations), and tax their merchandise. Canadian musicians claim it is better to tour in Canada, since they have the "grant system" there (governmental support for the arts).

to me, food and shelter are often provided in DIY and "radical" venues, but are less common if musicians play commercial venues (personal communication, Sanders, August 21, 2012; and Kelly, July 22, 2012).

DIY touring musicians also differentiate between big and small cities when it comes to the quality of touring experiences. Big cities seem better at first glance, since they have larger scenes and audiences, and more venues. However, DIY participants often mention that big cities are saturated with shows, which means that it is harder to book there. In addition, audiences are "burned out" from too many shows there and often do not react enthusiastically to performing musicians. Consequently, small cities and towns often turn into the best experiences for touring musicians. Audiences are more "stoked" and "excited" about bands coming through, because these scenes do not have so many regular shows, and thus it is also easier to book shows there. In addition, as DIY musicians sometimes emphasize, they experience the "craziest shows," greater hospitality, and receive more donation money in these smaller and more remote scenes (Kordani, personal communications, April 16, 2012; Sanders, personal communication, August 21, 2012).

Through the practice of touring, DIY musicians learn the cultural and socio-political differences between the regions and states. They are aware of different alcohol laws in different states,[14] and of different cheap and good food options in different regions. Colin from Portland, for instance, told me that when they are on tour in southern California, they eat burritos, in Philadelphia, they go for vegan "cheesesteaks,"[15] in New York and Chicago, they look for pizza, and in the South, they try to eat at least once or twice in cheap 24–hour Waffle House restaurants (Sanders, personal communication, August 21, 2012; cf. Gizmo, in Connor 2011: 45).

Race, Gender, and Sexuality Dimensions of DIY Touring

For non-white, female, and/or queer DIY participants, touring can be a difficult experience.[16] I talked about these issues with a group of DIY musicians from

[14] For instance, a DIY touring guide *Straight Trippin': A D.I.Y. Guide to Going on Tour* (Blotto n.d.) has an insert in the middle that lists all the state laws regarding alcohol sale restrictions.

[15] Vegan cheesesteaks are made of seitan and vegan cheese.

[16] Donna Dresch from a queer punk band Team Dresch, who was playing bass with the band Dinosaur Jr. at the time, explained the following about her touring experiences as a woman: "In the actual industry there is not a lot of women. You have to be really strong, you know? You have to fight a lot of shit. I haven't been on a tour with no hassles. The hassles aren't always too big but they are always there" (Darms 2013: 25).

Oakland (AnalCube, personal communication, November 11, 2013), who identify themselves as "queer brown feminists". A number of them formed the touring collective AnalCube for their summer of 2013 tour, which encompassed the individual projects of Gorgeous Vermillion, Beast Nest, and S.B.S.M.[17] They told me how their particular subjectivities informed their general touring experiences – more specifically, booking, interactions with audiences, and how they responded to some of the problems they encountered.

Booking several shows through friends secured the AnalCube project with 'safe spaces' to play on their tour. The explicitness about their identities and implied political intentions in their promotional material prepared "non-friend" bookers and local audiences to know what to expect.[18] They encountered some booking problems in a couple of cases when local people did not reply or want to book them. They told me it was "hard to get shows," and speculated about possible reasons: racism, sexism, homophobia, bad timing, or perhaps just the differences in musical tastes and political attitudes.[19]

At their tour performances, they were "up-front" about their identities and politics. They wanted to confront the audiences and establish a critical dialogue, but they also experienced a couple of offensive hecklers at one show in Los Angeles.[20] One audience member heckled one of the AnalCube performers, who at the show publicly announced her "complicated relation with sex," and another show participant addressed the other performer, of Japanese descent, with the orientalist, fetishizing term "kawaii."[21]

17 See their tumblr account http://analcube.tumblr.com/, and their Facebook tour webpage https://www.facebook.com/events/186808224803139/ for more information. Four out of five of them identify as queer; four out of five are non-white. On their three-week-long tour, AnalCube played twelve shows in ten places (in California, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana, and Tennessee). Their last three shows were cancelled because their car broke down toward the end of the tour. Kim from the music projects Believe and Melting Wreck (formerly member of the group No Babies) was also present at the interview session, and she significantly contributed to the discussion. The project name AnalCube comes from a popular game that DIY participants often play while traveling in cars. They would attach word "anal" to brand names of RV model names (for instance, renaming Challenger brand into Anal Challenger) that they see on the road (they themselves at first wanted to use one of their cars, a Nissan Cube, for the tour, thus AnalCube).

18 Their slogan for the tour was: "Sweaty hairy femmes of color combing through the public U.S. in wake of summer" (see http://analcube.tumblr.com).

19 AnalCube projects incorporated synth punk, experimental, and performance based music.

20 They had altogether three shows there. In addition to the hecklers at the Los Angeles show, they were also in a similar situation on a street in Austin.

21 The hecklers were white, as my interlocutors pointed out to me. They have also told me that "kawaii" stands for "cute" in Japanese.

AnalCube performers prepared in advance for these situations by discussing possible problems and tactics for dealing with them. They composed speeches and agreed to support (and "brace") each other (cf. Marcus 2010: 124–125).[22] They acknowledged that the Los Angeles hecklers put them in "vulnerable" and "un-safe" positions, and that their everyday lives (including touring) are "traumatic" and "anxious" experiences, because they have to "constantly process these things," which is "tiring," and "exhausting" in general, and "inhibiting" in performance situations.

Touring as a collective was essential for them, because otherwise they could get into dangerous and "scary" situations. They also emphasized how their touring experience is different from the touring of white, male, and heterosexual DIY performers, who can get drunk and party harder while on tour without having to be cautious. They believe that white male DIY participants are usually "reinforced" in their actions and get an easier "access" to spaces (for instance to music venues, music instrument stores, and official practice spaces), while they themselves often experience discouragement, objectification, and belittlement in these same places.[23] Touring for "queer brown feminists" is partly about building a non-oppressive translocal DIY community, and, as some of them emphasized in our conversation, a journey of personal "self-discovery." However, it can also be a "traumatic" and "inhibiting" experience, more so than for other DIY touring musicians.

Dialectics of DIY Touring

I now turn to the first dialectic of DIY touring: hardship and work versus fun and freedom. As Carry Brownstein from the group Sleater-Kinney put it, "touring is mundane and filthy as much as it is glamorous and otherworldly" (Brownstein 2008; cf. Jaffe and Clarke 2009: 9; Cometbus 2002: 103–104; Cahill, et al. 2013).[24]

[22] In addition, when touring with No Babies, Kim would open their shows with a short speech about their band's safe space policy at shows, and "covered language use," and "derogatory words," so to prevent any offensive behavior at shows.

[23] While American DIY communities strive toward greater social equality and inclusion, for instance, through often defining their DIY music venues as "safe spaces" (where any forms racism, sexism, homophobia, or transphobia are discouraged), it happens regularly that many of the female, queer, and/or non-white DIY musicians and participants report about the persistence of these same oppressive attitudes and practices within the DIY scenes and communities themselves (Nguyen 1997, [1998] 2010, 2002; Atoe 2012; Vo 2012; cf. Warner 2002: 63).

[24] Aaron Cometbus describes DIY touring as "gaining" and "loosing," and as "daydream" and "nightmare" (2002: 103–104). The front cover of the book about DIY touring stories suggests a similar dialectic: "tour rules" vs. "tour sucks" (Cahill, et al. 2013).

In one way, touring is commitment: driving from one place to another every day to perform in front of audiences requires a lot of commitment and determination. Furthermore, car problems accompany almost every tour, compounded by burglaries and theft. Then there is heat or cold, uncomfortable long drives, bad traffic, long waiting periods, hangovers, rising interpersonal tensions among band members, inglorious sleeping situations, scarce showers, occasional police harassment, and far-from-ideal shows, with no promotion, small audiences, unresponsive audiences, no donation money, bad sound, late shows, canceled shows, and "flaky" bookers and venue owners. Add to this all the troubles that non-white, female, and/or queer touring DIY participants have to go through, and you get close to the "nightmare" side of the tour (Cometbus 2002: 103–104). Different people I toured with called this DIY touring lifestyle "deep treading" (Jeffrey, from 3 Moons) and "roughing it" (Cody, from Toning).

But there are occasional and often only brief moments that pierce the monotony and hardships of touring with enthusiasm, joy, fun, exploration, creativity, inspiration, lucidity, and the sense of freedom and community. For instance, Jeffrey told me that after the initial preparations for the tour,

> "[Then] the fun begins. You get on the road and scream FREEDOM at the top of your lungs out the open window on the highway and have wild parties every night doing what you love and meeting the most brilliant and amazing new friends and connecting with old ones. You hope to make enough money to gas you down to the next town and do it all again" (personal communication, June 12, 2013).

For DIY participants, touring is both "deep treading" and freedom, work and fun, commitment and exploration. DIY participant Amber Eagle, for instance, captures this dialectic well:

> "I want it to be a road trip. Filled with variety, unknown circumstances, freedom. I want to learn how people live and not think of them as unusual. Taste their food. Celebrate their holidays. A road trip is always an interesting concept. A debate about whether it is a mission with a goal or a totally and completely free-to-roam-the-open-road-trip. Basically, Exploration Road Trip vs. Touring Road Trip. I like the combo. Then I feel like there is goal to accomplish each day and, frankly, less like a mooch" (Eagle, in Connor 2011: 30).[25]

[25] I think the "combo" concept in this quotation confirms how DIY communities think "dialectically" about touring (as both "mission" and "freedom").

This quote also points out how DIY touring does not represent aimless travel, or (only) rebellious oppositionality, but establishes a sense of "accomplishment" and positive meaning for DIY participants.

Many aspects of DIY touring are structured as either daytime or nighttime activities. Daily routine means movement through mainstream America, passing strangers, spending long and dull hours on the road, consuming gasoline, and engaging in capitalist exchange, although on a minimal, "econo" level. Nightly routine means pause and dwelling in alternative America, meeting old friends and making new friends, spending a couple of short and lively hours playing music, working as musicians, interacting with audiences, and having fun at shows and after the shows. Nightly activities of playing shows also reverse the process of the daily consumption of gas into the nightly reception of gas money through show donations, and are a promise of a communal and reciprocal exchange (more on this later).[26]

This specific culture of DIY touring and its dialectics of hardship and fun, commitment and freedom, and nightly and daily activities also enables the transformation of local, private, and individual music production into translocal, public, and collective community production. Shane from the experimental project Dasani Reboot confided to me that he considers composing and recording music as a "private thing," and touring as "socializing" (personal communication, June 8, 2012). For many DIY musicians, as it did for us, on our tour with 3 Moons, touring represents a shift from individual, private creation in one's own room, studio, and house, to living publicly on the road, sharing spaces with others 24 hours a day, socializing, and publicly presenting music to a DIY community and beyond. On a local level, house shows and collective living situations similarly transform private into public dwelling spaces – in words of a resident from a show house in Portland, DIY show houses are about "living publicly" (cf. Tucker 2012).[27]

Some scholars argue that rock musicians tour to enhance their music skills, to "certify" themselves as musicians (Nóvoa 2012: 356–362), and ultimately to 'make it' or to succeed as professional and commercial musicians. For instance,

[26] DIY musicians often experience and practice *reciprocity* while touring in the following ways: at shows, through the interaction and exchange of energies with audiences, through receiving free food and free shelter from hosts; in exchange for music and place that they will potentially offer when this time's hosts will tour as musicians through their town (see below).

[27] I also lived in this same house for around two months during my fieldwork research, and I can attest that the house was like a "living room of Portland", as another resident called it.

Steven Taylor from False Prophet argues that touring is about, as he calls it, the "cycle of [music] production," which includes (a) composing music, (b) touring (which means "improving" musically, and "developing an audience"), and (c) recording music (Taylor explains it is done best after the tour, when material is well rehearsed) (Taylor 2003: 105).

Taylor's band is goal-oriented toward "[spiral] growth" (from playing "local bars to larger clubs, from regional, and then national touring, and finally to the international circuit" – ibid.). Others similarly talk about "developing an audience" (cf. Nóvoa 2012), and 'making it' (cf. Shank 1994: 169; Nóvoa 2012). DIY musicians, on the other hand, also strive toward mastering their music skills and their music through touring; for them, however, it is often less about the "cycle of [music] production" (Taylor 2003: 105) and more about, what I call, the cycle of *community* production.

This cycle is not about linear and goal-directed progression towards music production, recognition, and success, but a circular movement that includes reciprocal relations of trading shows and consequently building a community. In addition, it is less about "audiences" and "fans" (see, for example, Taylor's quote above about the cycle of music production, emphasizing the "audience"), and more about the "community" or "friends." In regard to the latter, consider for instance the following quote from a DIY fanzine about touring:

> "It's the best breath of fresh air to leave my home town for a while, hang out with really interesting people from different places, and to be able to take that experience back home and create a whole new perspective on my own situation. The whole trip comes full circle when you can return the favor for really awesome friends and show them how you make things work for you in your town [...] Being part of a community like that makes me feel great about all my efforts because I'm not just having fun for myself, and I'm sharing with EVERYONE EVERYWHERE!" (Ohm, in Connor 2011: 40).[28]

The emphasis in the DIY discourse thus shifts both from individual aspirations ("having fun for [one]self," focusing on one's own music) to community goals ("sharing", circular reciprocity, and creating translocal networks and communities). This is still a dialectical relationship, since the DIY participants

[28] The difference can be also seen in the format of writing. Taylor publishes his thoughts in a book (2003), while Ohm channels his/her ideas through a zine format (Connor 2011).

do not choose one or the other, but aspire to balance both sides (some of them often focusing more on one or the other).

Furthermore, touring generates community on three levels: on the micro-social level (as "music groups"), on the local level (through "shows"), and on the translocal (through the touring network of reciprocal exchange). As band members, often joined by friends, hanging out together for 24 hours per day while on tour is a communal experience that "deepen[s] the bonds" among them (Nóvoa 2012: 361), and, as Jeffrey from 3 Moons claims, creates a "group mind" (see above).[29] At the same time, it is a test for the band as a community, to establish if it is able to undergo the challenges on the road and thus become even a stronger social entity (cf. Shank 1994: 170–171). The long hours of waiting and driving together, the confessional conversations, the fun group activities (including shows), and, at the same time, all of the hardships of touring, in the words of Ian MacKaye from Minor Threat and Fugazi, "unite" the band (Azerrad 2001: 387; cf. Jaffe and Clarke 2009: 16):

> "The trip up was a twelve-hour drive just to play someone's basement; everyone in the van was miserable. Then Picciotto passed a Queen compilation tape up front. 'We were rocking out to the Queen tape,' says MacKaye. 'And that's when I knew we were a band.' A one-month U.S. tour that spring inspired further bonding. A week or so in, the van's radiator conked out and the band was stranded for three days in Miles City, Montana, waiting for a replacement part to arrive. After checking into a motel, all they could do was walk around town, killing time. After a day or so the locals would even stop and ask them how the repairs were going. And the experience united the band. 'We were all living in this one motel room together,' says MacKaye. 'That was a great galvanizer, I always thought, that experience.'" (Azerrad 2001: 387; cf. Jaffe and Clarke 2009: 16).[30]

On another level, touring bands bring together the community of local participants through playing local shows on their tours (see the quotes about the intimacy of DIY shows below). Moreover, as non-local participants, touring

[29] Danielle from Taxpayers told me when they are on tour with her band, they operate as "family unity."

[30] For the band on a tour, the van (or a car) is a private sanctuary from police and strangers (Bennett 1980: 74, 75; Drew, in Jaffe and Clarke 2009: 15), a space for a band's "mutual tuning-in" (Bennett 1980: 76), and a "Petri dish in which the [band] culture grows, [...] a tree fort in which [the] gang makes its pact of allegiance" (Drew, in Jaffe and Clarke 2009: 15, 16).

musicians generate a translocal community through their interaction with various local communities around the country. Practices of playing shows and touring thus represent two sides of the same coin. Touring musicians ensure the fresh influx of live music to localities across the US, while the US translocal networks thus created provide touring bands with local venues to play, gas money, sleeping options, free food, friends to hang out with, and other support options. In addition, through the exchange of contacts, sounds, ideas, and music recordings at shows, DIY participants establish an intensive translocal musical cross-pollination of sounds, and cultural and music translocal collaborations.

This translocal DIY community is created through the reciprocal relation of playing and booking each other's shows. To be able to tour, touring bands use the favors of local DIY participants (who organize shows for them, in their houses, or elsewhere), while the local DIY participants, when they go on their own tours, later seek out the return of the same favor. All parties stay in contact after the show to secure shows or tours in the future, and to nourish friendships and the DIY community. This reciprocal relation is also reflected through the type of organization of DIY shows, which conveys the importance of touring bands and touring practice for the DIY community: touring bands get the best spots on the program (not playing first or last), and receive all of the donations, while the local bands play first and last, receive no money for it, organize the shows, and host the touring musicians.

The type of translocal community generated through DIY touring is a network of "friends." As Danielle from the Portland band Taxpayers noted to me, the whole translocal DIY network is based on the "network of favors," and added that "friendships are born out of that" (Kordani, personal communication, April 26, 2012; see Fig. 3, and Fig. 4). Some other people assert, and write about it in their zines, that all of their friends are made out of touring and interacting with DIY participants: "Almost all of my friends from out of town were made having shows for touring bands and going on tours with my friends' bands" (Connor 2010: 13; see also the introductory vignette).

DIY participants, while on their translocal travels through the US, constantly meet and cross paths with one another. As Heather Blotto noted in her zine about touring,

> "What started out as a passion and a common interest, then morphed into a weird quasi-businesslike relationship (booking), becomes a friendship based on passion and common interest. Amazing. This is why the huge, informal-but-totally-functional

network of kids all over the place doing D.I.Y. shows and going on tour is actually a revolutionary underground movement and not just a bunch of people trying to promote their individual agendas. Soon you may notice that all of your new friends all over the country already know each other. Welcome!" (Blotto n.d.: 56, 57).

Through going to shows, touring, traveling, and moving, DIY participants consider the DIY transnational network as a community where everybody is a "friend," "friend of a friend," or "potential friend" (cf. Kruse 2003: 134–136).[31] Simultaneously, this community is not as much an "imagined" community based on mediated and imagined relationships (cf. Anderson 2006 [1983]), or a "nonspatial [and virtual] network" (cf. Duncombe 2008 [1997]: 61),[32] but a face-to-face, participant-to-participant, and place-to-place community, based on direct and physical ties (see above; see Fig. 3, and Fig. 4).[33]

However, as I noticed on my tours with DIY musicians, aside from the community-building, there is also another side of this effort, which is manifested

[31] One DIY participant from Portland, while talking to me about the DIY touring network, told me that while on tour "everybody considers each other as friends", even people that you have just met. He also gave me an example, saying that you can immediately start using the "f" word with them, while within the regular job situation, for instance, it usually takes months to do that (personal communication, August 18, 2012). Others express similar ideas, in regard to bands they meet on tour: "Though we would only know one another for a night, we were brothers" (Coyne, in Connor 2011: 19; cf. Vo 2012: 39). As an excerpt from a Jeffrey Lewis' comic book (Lewis [2007] 2009: 73; see Fig. 4) shows, meeting so many people on the road can also be a slightly overwhelming and anxious experience.

[32] Stephen Duncombe studies some of the same American DIY communities as I am describing in this text, but only through their practice of making and communicating through zines (2008 [1997]). Thus, he only notices how these DIY communities form (and "hold together") "virtual" and "nonspatial" communities through zine writing and zine distribution (ibid.: 60–61), but not through other forms of spatial and face-to-face communication (for instance, touring, or organizing and attending conventions). Interestingly, Duncombe discusses DIY tours and DIY travel, but only as seen through the narrative of "tour guides" and "road trips" published in DIY zines, as "shadow maps" of the "underground [bohemia]" (ibid.: 65). John Urry, on the other hand, allows for the possibility of face-to-face relations nourished at a distance, but mostly recognizes this in regard to small scale communities, such as families, friends, or business communities (cf. Urry 2007: 164–169, 230–252).

[33] There is a sense that everybody in the DIY translocal community is removed from each other the most by "one-degree-of-separation" (cf. Blotto n.d.: 9–11, 57), either as a friend or a friend of a friend. In contrast, the "small world" effect acquires five to six degrees of separation among any two people in the world to (mostly in theory) reach or know each other (cf. Hannerz 1980: 195; Urry 2007: 214, 215). While the global 'community' (i.e., the six-degrees-of-separation 'community') is an anonymous, physically displaced, and only theoretically connected community, the American DIY community, also a physically displaced community, is inter-personal, and physically connected, a one-degree-of-separation community. In addition, DIY communities are seen as built "one person at a time" (Oakes 2009: 80).

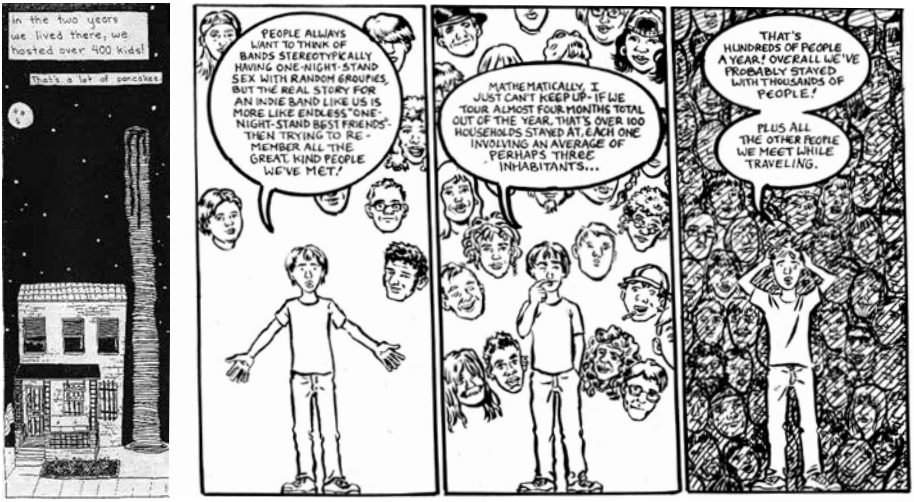

Figure 3: Two contrasting comic book perspectives (dwelling versus traveling) about the translocal DIY community (Connor 2010: 25; Lewis [2007] 2009: 73).

Figure 4: A drawing from a comic book, showing audience members as friends, and as hosts from band's previous tours (Lewis [2007] 2009: 73).

through an occasional inability of DIY participants to establish an affective connection. This comes to the fore, for example, when DIY bookers and hosts fail to meet the expectations of touring musicians, or vice versa, or because of the lack of interest of the audiences at some shows. Disappointments and failed connections are part of the game, but they also add to the learning experience, and thus strengthen and shape the whole translocal DIY community, and the practice of DIY touring.

I end by pointing out the significance of place and space in regard to the creation of translocal DIY communities. First, the place is treated as an 'item' in a translocal reciprocal exchange of shows and of booking and playing shows on a tour. Therefore, it carries a great material importance. Furthermore, the place determines the quality of relations established between the touring band and the locals. Inferring from our own touring experience with 3 Moons, and as many other DIY participants acknowledge (Lewis 2009 [2007]; Connor 2010, and 2011; personal communication with DIY touring musicians), hanging out with locals and sleeping in their houses instead of in motels not only reduces traveling costs, but also generates more close and personal relationships (see Fig. 3, and Fig. 4).[34]

Through these relationships, touring musicians know they are welcome and thus feel intimately at "home" at DIY places all over the country (cf. Connor 2011: 19; Lewis 2009 [2007]).[35] I emphasize here that DIY participants similarly describe DIY shows that happen in small and non-commercial places as "intimate" and see this quality as a contribution to the feeling of friendship and community (cf. Lipsitz 1994; Herzfeld 1997; Berlant 2000a; Berlant 2000b; Boym 2000; Stokes 2010).[36]

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34 African-American musicians touring the 'chitlin' circuit' stressed a similar relationship between place and community: "'We couldn't stay in the white hotels,' bandleader Andy Kirk recalled. 'I'm glad now we couldn't. We'd have missed out on a whole country full of folks who put us up in their homes, cooked dinners and breakfasts for us, told us how to get along in Alabama and Mississippi, helped us out in trouble, and became our friends for life'" (Lauterbach 2011: 90).

35 Consider, for example, these excerpts from Kimya Dawson's song "My Rollercoster" (Dawson 2006): *[...] And if we keep up this pace / pretty soon we'll know the name / of every kid and every grown up / booking house shows in their town [...]. And if home is really where the heart is / Then we're the smartest kids I know / Because wherever we are in this great big world / We'll never be more than a few hours from home... [...]. On the road again / Just can't wait to get on the road again / The life I love is makin' music with my friends / And I can't wait to get on the road again [...].* In addition, many musicians also claim that touring and the journey itself become their "home" (Jaffe and Clarke 2009: 10, 137).

36 See for instance these two quotes: "House shows are better. They're smaller, more intimate, your gear is at stake because of this, but it's worth it because we're fucking punk [...] It's louder, you're in

Finally, DIY touring is also about the double dialectical transformation of place and space (Tuan 1977; Cresswell 2004: 1–11; cf. De Certeau 1984: 117–118; Geertz 1973: 13–14; Rosaldo 1989: 39; Anonymous 2000). On one level, it is about familiarizing the unfamiliar: discovering DIY places and meeting DIY participants and communities, locally through going to shows, and translocally, through touring. In this way, DIY participants familiarize themselves with DIY places and DIY participants from around the country, and through the process, transform the imagined DIY community into a concrete and face-to-face one, and an imagined space of national DIY scenes into a concrete, meaningful, and "intimate" place of translocal DIY venues, places, and networks.

On another level, it is about defamiliarizing the familiar, a "semantic rearrangement" or "recontextualization" (Hebdige 1979: 93; 1979: 102; cf. Duncombe 2008 [1997]: 65; cf. Hall and Jefferson 1976: 93) of the dominant American spaces into DIY places. Locally, this means turning private houses, disused warehouses, or public parks into DIY music venues (this also means turning private spaces into collective and public ones, and vice versa, pervading public spaces with intimate collectivities). Translocally, it represents refashioning the dominant American capitalist space into alternative DIY place through spatial practice. DIY participants achieve this through the DIY approach to touring that subverts the dominant types of travel in America (for instance, tourist, family, or business travel, associated with high expenses and relatively isolated travel). DIY travel, on the other hand, challenges these norms of the American travel landscape (materialized in consumerist and spectacular spaces) through thriftiness, traveling as both fun and work, following both individual and communal goals, and nourishing larger community on the road. In addition, DIY participants in this way defamiliarize their status as "non-productive" citizens (who engage in thriftiness, reciprocal relations, and grey economy – all of them "non-productive" for the capitalist

the crowd, it's in your face. Quality often does not matter as much as community and fucking family and the ways, like being emotional and playing, and could be one of the band" (Chris). Chris's friend added: "You could be naked, and no one will arrest you" (Chris's friend) (Chris from Religious Girls, personal communication, January 23, 2011). "The epitome of a friendly homey space. The place is small in general but mostly well kept. The backyard has a home-made stage and is lit by Christmas lights. There is often home-baked goods for offer as well. Inside has the intimacy of the DAM house, but with couches right next to the performance space that chill the energy out. Feels the least like the space has been altered to become a venue and the most like a friend just came over to hang [out] and play a bit." (Fergus, personal communication, May 5, 2011).

market – cf. Cornehls 2006),[37] and reimagine themselves as "productive" participants aimed toward generating alternative lifestyles and communities.

In conclusion, DIY touring (as culture) is constituted by DIY participants through dialectical relationships between fun and hardship, freedom and commitment, travel and work, day and night practices, alienated or capitalist and communal or reciprocal relations, dwelling and movement, local (shows) and translocal (touring), individual and community, private creativity and public sharing, music production and community production, and the familiarization of the unfamiliar (DIY place) and defamiliarization of the familiar (mainstream space) (see Fig. 5). This dialectic of DIY touring conveys the nature of DIY participants, who are like amphibians, straddling both the capitalist and the DIY worlds. Moreover, it illuminates DIY touring as a particular culture, and simultaneously constitutes this DIY culture as travel. In this way, DIY participants incorporate both sides of the dialectics in their endeavors toward a larger ideological and political goal to transform an "imagined" translocal DIY community into an "intimate" face-to-face one.

fun	hardship
freedom	commitment
travel and exploration	work (playing)
day (alienated, capitalist relations)	night (communal, reciprocal relations)
local place (dwelling; shows)	translocal space (movement; touring)
individual aspiration	community goals
private creativity	public sharing
music production	community production
familiarization of unfamiliar (DIY place)	defamiliarization of familiar (US space)

Figure 5: Dialectics of DIY touring.[38]

[37] Shane from Portland told me people look down on him because he is doing music and not pursuing a career like other people. In that regard, he said, DIY touring is also not acknowledged as "worthy" by American society.

[38] In a manner of "fractal distinctions," each side of the dialectic can incorporate elements from the opposite side as its integral parts (cf. Gal 2002: 80).

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GHETTO MACHINES: HIP-HOP AND INTRA-URBAN BORDERS IN ISTANBUL

Kevin Yıldırım

Abstract: ***In this paper, I look at how the Istanbul hip-hop group Tahribad-ı İsyan has symbolized the expropriation of Sulukule, a predominantly Romani neighborhood demolished by municipal powers under the guise of urban renewal. By examining how the local government enacted this project, and showing how similar neoliberal city management policies instigated widespread social unrest across Turkey in 2013, I set the stage for a music video analysis that makes two ultimate claims. First, I propose that hip-hop enables the group to overcome the debilitating effects of enforced gentrification by recasting Sulukule's urban decay as a "ghettocentric" urban landscape. Second, and in dialogue with the work of the Turkish urban geographers Ozan Karaman and Tolga Islam, I suggest that Tahribad-ı İsyan provides evidence of how music can construct bounded intra-urban identities amid discourses of borderless and open cities.***

Keywords: ***Istanbul; hip-hop; urban renewal; urban borders***

Stand Up

On April 13, 2013, the hip-hop group Tahribad-ı İsyan performed at a festival in Istanbul's Gezi Park, which only weeks later became the focal point of widespread and monumental social unrest across Turkey. Organized by the Taksim Solidarity Group (*Taksim Dayanışması)*, the festival was named *Ayağa Kalk* (Stand Up); the subheading on its flyer (Fig. 1) invited local residents to come together in hopes of saving the park (*Parkımızı birlikte kurtaralım*) from imminent destruction. A redevelopment plan announced in September 2011 had called for the park's demolition. In its place, a consortium was to build a commercial plaza in the style of the Ottoman artillery barracks that had

occupied the site until 1940, when, as part of Henri Prost's master plan to modernize Istanbul[1], they were torn down and replaced by the *İnönü Gezisi* (The İnönü Promenade, later Gezi Park). When preliminary stages of this plan were initiated, scores of Istanbul residents staged an occupation of the park, and the antagonistic police intervention that followed led in turn to unprecedented protests against the ruling government, the AK Party[2].

But while scenes of the Gezi Park protests were too often violent[3], the mood on this Saturday evening was peaceful; the park exhibited a true capability for recreation. With two friends, I joined a few thousand people in gathering around a large stage set up along the park's western edge. Many of those around us were teenagers and young adults, sitting in groups on the grass, drinking beers and eating sunflower seeds. Young fathers maneuvered through the crowd with toddlers sitting upright on their shoulders, the latter waving miniature Turkish flags in the air. The majority of attendees stood facing the stage in anticipation, dancing and singing along to the music coming from the PA system. The live music, meant to start at six o'clock, was predictably behind schedule, but amid the excitement, no one seemed to mind.

While it is almost certain that Gezi Park's endangerment prompted the participation of every performer on the festival's program, perhaps no other act was as familiar with the perils of Istanbul's urban redevelopment policies as Tahribad-ı İsyan; they are a hip-hop group whose name, tellingly, roughly translates into

[1] In Murat Gül's words, "the reorganization of Taksim Square was the centerpiece of [Henri] Prost's master plan" (116) for the modernization of Istanbul. With its straight walkways and contemporary design, the construction of the İnönü Promenade reflected the secular and modern character of the young Turkish Republic, and Gül argues that it was the most successfully implemented aspect of Prost's project. The park's symbolic value has been augmented in recent decades, during which Taksim Square has become the city's leading site of public protest. The square has witnessed aggressive interactions between government forces and demonstrators on many occasions, with perhaps the most famous incident occurring on May 1, 1977, in which 34 people were killed as the result of clashes between Labor Day protestors and the police. Taksim Square has since become a beacon of public expression and dissent. As a result, some interpreted 2011's redevelopment plan as a measure to silence oppositional voices.

[2] Known in Turkish as AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, The Justice and Development Party), the AK Party assumed political power across much of Turkey in 2002 and have increased their share in every national election since. As part of the most prominent Islamic political movement in Turkey, the AK Party has controlled Istanbul since 1994, when the current Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan won a highly contested mayoral race.

[3] See Yaman 2014, who notes that eight people were killed and that journalists and peaceful protestors alike were attacked by the police throughout the period now known as the Gezi Park protests of 2013.

Figure 1: The Poster for the Ayağa Kalk (Stand Up) festival.
Source: http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/radikal-gezi-parki-icin-ayaga/.

English as "The Destruction of Rage." Since Tahribad-ı İsyan's formation in 2009, group members Zen-G, Slang, and V-Z have identified and been closely aligned with Sulukule, a centuries-old and predominantly Romani neighborhood in the city's Fatih district. Formerly known as a thriving entertainment

district and the locus of Romani culture, much of Sulukule was expropriated and destroyed by the Fatih Municipality as part of an urban renewal project beginning in 2006. The neighborhood, sadly, no longer exists in effect; a sterile "luxury" residential development, inelegantly designed with neo-Ottoman touches, now takes its place inside of the city's ancient Theodosian Walls. This paper adds to the sizeable body of academic analyses on Sulukule's unfortunate transition[4] from the point of view of young residents who have appropriated hip-hop in order to redefine their potentially shameful urban geography with empowering terminology. I argue that by casting the physical boundaries of the new Sulukule in line with global hip-hop and contemporary urban design, Tahribad-ı İsyan concocts a new and empowering image of the neighborhood to overcome its top-down restructuring.

Renewal in Sulukule

Before the struggle to protect Gezi Park caught the nation's attention, Sulukule exemplified aggressive urban redevelopment in Istanbul. Its government-led renewal project attracted unprecedented amounts of civic outcry, but public efforts to halt it were futile owing to a number of laws passed in the early 2000s (Karaman 2013; Somersan & Kırca-Schroeder 2010). Critics of the project claimed that not only were the rights of residents ignored and manipulated by officials, but also that occasional comments from the latter group imbued the project with racist and classist overtones[5]. In response, government personnel appealed to various municipal laws[6] that had been recently passed as part of a national initiative to justify the need for a radical market-oriented reform of public administration; these laws were introduced by AK Party officials who believed that the first wave of economic liberalization in the 1990s had brought

4 See Van Dobben 2014, Aksoy and Robins 2011, Foggo 2007, Somersan and Kırca-Schroeder 2010, Karaman and Islam 2011, Karaman 2014.

5 See Karaman 2014, who writes that "the renewal project has displaced more than five thousand people living in the area, and is carried out in the name of "cleaning away the monstrosity" as Prime Minister Erdoğan (2008) put it" (296).

6 Among these were the Law on Metropolitan Municipalities, the Law on Municipalities (both passed in 2004), and especially Law no. 5366 on the "Preservation by Renovation and Utilisation by Revitalisation of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties" (passed in 2005) (Karaman 2013: 6). While the first two apply to all urban renewal projects in Istanbul, Law no. 5366 was crafted to justify redevelopment in historical neighborhoods that are governed by conservation laws, as Sulukule was.

insufficient growth. They encouraged municipalities to behave like semi-autonomous market actors by granting them the right to privatize public assets, implement urban renewal projects, participate in public-private partnerships, form private firms or real estate partnerships with outside enterprises, and to receive loans from national and international financial institutions (Karaman 2013: 5–6). One of the major areas in which municipalities have enacted their newfound entrepreneurial right is in the redevelopment of residential urban areas, wherein the main actor is the Turkish Housing Development Administration (*TOKİ*), a government institution founded in 1984 to address housing shortages which, since the AK Party's ascent to power, has transformed into a major real estate actor on the national stage.

For the government and allied business interests, urban redevelopment projects have two major benefits. First, in replacing sub-standard and illegally built housing located in central areas, significant rent gaps are released; some analysts have predicted that widespread urban renewal in Istanbul would increase real estate values three times over (Şenol 2007). Second, and perhaps more importantly, urban renewal "would incorporate these informal and only partially visible spaces into the formal circuits of capital accumulation, thereby completing the transition from a populist to a neoliberal mode of governance of property markets" (Karaman 2013: 6). Concomitantly, AK Party-led urban renewal in Istanbul alters Istanbul's socio-economic climate in two ways; the first, of increased rents, is perhaps more palpable to the average citizen, while the second, of structural change, is perceptible only in the long-term and represents a seismic change in Istanbul's economic order.

The significance of this second ramification is not to deny the real-life hardships endured by victims of Istanbul's so-called neoliberal urban policy. As details of the Sulukule project were announced in late 2005, the practical consequences of the city's push for free-market rule began, in this case, to clarify: at least 571 predominantly Romani houses were to be destroyed, displacing more than five thousand residents in the process (Somersan & Kırca-Schroeder 2010: 98, Karaman 2014: 296). The municipality presented an impractical relocation plan to those residents fortunate enough to possess home ownership documents, but the majority of Sulukule residents – either lacking such proof or refusing to move from their longstanding home – opted to disperse in and around the nearby neighborhood of Karagümrük. The result, as Van Dobben Schoon puts it, is that the former inhabitants of Sulukule have become a "dislocated community" (658).

It is thus not surprising, given Sulukule's rich musical history[7], that neighborhood youth have turned to music to express the disillusionment and hurt that comes with such a transition. Through volunteer-run organizations like the Sulukule Gençlik Orkestrası (*Sulukule Youth Orchestra*), the traditions of Romani music do live on, but nowhere is the social revitalization of the neighborhood more visible than in its burgeoning and youthful hip-hop scene. In the aftermath of the neighborhood's destruction, the members of Tahribad-ı İsyan have led a loose assortment of teenagers and children – mostly male, but not exclusively so – to embrace hip-hop as a fresh and emancipating lifestyle. "Hip-hop makes you civilized," group member Slang told me, "instead of fighting someone, you can answer with your art." The spread of hip-hop music, clothing, and indeed its self-empowering message – here enunciated by Slang – owes much to weekly hip-hop workshops put on by the members of Tahribad-ı İsyan; the gatherings take place in the volunteer-run Sulukule Çocuk Sanat Atölyesi (*Sulukule Children's Art Atelier*), just across the street from the new residential development. There, children whose families have opted to stay in the area learn to rap, compose freestyle (improvised) verses, and foster positive relationships with one another by engaging in shared musical practice. The members of Tahribad-ı İsyan oversee the workshops, acting as instructors and role models for the younger participants, though they themselves are barely of adult age (Fig. 2). Interestingly, while each member of Tahribad-ı İsyan is a genuine member of the Sulukule community, only one of them actually grew up in the neighborhood and claims Romani heritage. Their collective willingness to identify with Sulukule likely derives from the institutional support offered by a vast network of volunteers and activists, a drive to become actors within this network, and Sulukule's aesthetic and socio-political potential as an urban ghetto. I explain this last motivation in the rest of this paper.

Because hip-hop is now an exciting and empowering creative field in Sulukule, allowing disaffected young people the chance for self-expression, those interested in the social effects of urban renewal in Istanbul should carefully engage with musical output emitted from the area. As people, we can get a sense of the artists' struggle, and as researchers of popular music, we can

[7] Until the early 1990s, it was home to many entertainment houses (*eğlence evleri*), where mostly Romani residents would perform music and dance for paying customers from outside the district. This was, in fact, the economic and social lifeblood of the neighborhood. According to Karaman and Islam, the downfall of the neighborhood began with the government's decision to close many of the entertainment houses in 1992.

Figure 2: The youthful hip-hop scene in Sulukule, including members of Tahribad-ı İsyan. Source: Tahribad-ı İsyan "Ghetto Machines" video.

begin to understand the appeal of hip-hop for distressed urban inhabitants. The need to engage with the music of Tahribad-ı İsyan, the beacons of Sulukule hip-hop, becomes all the more pressing when we realize, as I did at the *Ayağa Kalk* festival in Gezi Park, that the group's concerns over the aggressive top-down transformation of Istanbul do not apply just to Sulukule and its residents, but to the city's public spaces and to those who worry about their annexation by capitalist developers. In an ironic twist, the demolition of Sulukule has proved auspicious for Tahribad-ı İsyan's career. Associations with the imagery of urban ruin and a network of liberal and artistically-minded volunteers, both of which germinated from the renewal project, have helped the group develop from relatively powerless lower-class teenagers into protagonists of the Istanbul Biennial[8] and mainstays at anti-government music festivals like *Ayağa Kalk*. All to say, the group's association with Sulukule has garnered them a fan base of those sympathetic to the plight of the urban dispossessed.

The connections between Tahribad-ı İsyan and attendees of *Ayağa Kalk* do not end with fandom. Facing the homogenization of their city at the hands

[8] A video for the group's song "Wonderland," shot by Turkish artist Halil Altındere, premiered at the 2013 Istanbul Biennial and featured in both domestic and foreign reports of the Biennial's political bent. See Batty 2013; Yalçinkaya 2014.

of real estate developers and politicians[9], both parties sought to redefine their intimate geography, choosing to highlight their unique values in order to resist the often-unseen forces who want to restructure these places as part of capitalist enterprise. Thus, the public space of Gezi Park became "our park" on the *Ayağa Kalk* flyer – an entity that residents must "save" from the unsavory potentials of redevelopment. I saw many other physical manifestations of this attitude during the government protests of 2013, but one placard captured the local opposition to top-down restructuring with unparalleled concision: it read "Don't touch my home, my neighborhood, my city" (*Evime, mahalleme, kentime dokunma*). The parallels with the efforts to save Sulukule are clear to see. These localities, from the personal to the urban, again seem to be imagined in opposition to the forces – often unarticulated – which impose global mandates on citizens' public and private lives. The difference is that while Sulukule residents were powerless to defend their homes from the realization of the Municipality's plan, Gezi Park protestors benefited from their site's visibility and, to this date, have succeeded in protecting the park from redevelopment. So as Tahribad-ı İsyan took to the stage at Gezi Park that April night, and launched into their aggressive-sounding track "Ghetto Machines," the audience responded in cheers that signified an appreciation of their music, yes, but also populist support in the face of top-down urban policy.

The cheers, it should be said, likely had to do with the popularity of the "Ghetto Machines" video as well, which since being uploaded to YouTube in 2012 has amassed more than 400,000 views. I imagine that many of the group's fans in attendance had been introduced to the group by watching the video on the internet, as I had been the previous year. The video had been made in a spirit of collaboration: enlisting the help of activist photographer Nejla Osseiran and children from the Sulukule Children's Art Atelier, Tahribad-ı İsyan were responsible for most of the video's stylistic direction. They largely improvised ideas for the shoot and chose their favorites in the editing room later. "We weren't really influenced by anything," Zen-G told me, reflecting on the

[9] The discourse surrounding the city's changing landscape has been near-constant in liberal circles recently, with the most common narrative pitting residents' right to the city against business interests who wish to remake Istanbul as a receptacle of global capital. Ekümenopolis, a Turkish documentary from 2011 that is revered by many Istanbul liberals, embodies the left's standard narrative when it contends that the onset of neoliberalism in post-1980s Istanbul has amounted to a "greedy vision based on real estate speculation, shopping mall frenzy, and the construction of identical concrete slabs [which] not only takes Istanbul away from its inhabitants under the guise of [developing] a touristic, financial, and cultural center, but also requires the plunder of the [city's] northern forests."

aesthetics and direction of the video. "We just did whatever came from inside of us." We should look to the video, then, as collaboration between three principal bodies: Tahribad-ı İsyan, the volunteer network of activists around Sulukule, and the neighborhood's younger generation. And because Tahribad-ı İsyan enjoyed complete agency in creating their visual environment, to analyze the "Ghetto Machines" video is to give warranted attention to Sulukule's new generation, the way they wished to be seen[10]. The group has repeatedly told me that videos are a key medium for their music, and "Ghetto Machines" and other videos have, indeed, attracted them the most attention: they have been viewed by hundreds of thousands online, and plentiful others in contemporary art exhibits as far away as Brazil, and as prestigious as the Museum of Modern Art in New York[11]. Though what follows is undoubtedly my own interpretation of the video, I hope to communicate the potential of music video analysis for popular music scholars, particularly those working in visually rich musical subcultures like hip-hop.

Urban Borders

Before looking at a few shots from the video, I want to direct attention to the work of urban geographers Ozan Karaman and Tolga Islam, who in 2011 introduced the historic neighborhood of Sulukule in terms of "bordering;" the idea is borrowed from cell biology but applicable to intercity neighborhoods all the same. "An entity is defined by its borders," they write, adding that urban boundaries differ from their biological counterparts in that they often are "inchoate" and "escape facile designation" (2011: 1). To counter this ambivalence, "border" becomes "bordering", signifying "an ongoing process of regulating mobility of flows (of people, goods, information) through which distinct places are defined and identified" (ibid.). In other words, while the idea of "borders" implies concrete and well-defined boundaries, "bordering" allows for them to be nascent, incomplete, degenerative, or any such state that denotes fluidity and incompletion. In the context of urban geography, "bordering" defines the phenomenon of boundary generation most effectively: the term refers at once to the blurred aspects of intra-city boundaries, and the ongoing nature of their (de)construction. Questioning the nature of intra-urban borders from

[10] The video for the group's song "Wonderland" (see footnote 8), for instance, attracted significant controversy over what some saw as misrepresentation of the Sulukule hip-hop scene by director Halil Altındere. See Van Dobben Schoon (2014).

[11] See Demir 2014.

a politico-ethical point of view, Karaman and Islam suggest that a case study of Sulukule may provide answers when asking a question thoroughly of our times: "to what extent are intra-urban borders acceptable at a time of proliferating discourses about a borderless world, and open cities?" (ibid.). This recognition, of so-called closed and open places existing in flux with one another, informs a principal point of their paper, one from which my own, currently, will proceed. "Intra-urban borders," they write, "may disable by excluding strangers, yet they also enable by defining a communal territory" (ibid.: 2).

The concept of "bordering" in Sulukule is important due to the neighborhood's long-standing marginality and physical and social distinction. Situated just inside of the city's ancient walls in a conservative neighborhood, Sulukule's marginal location within the old city provides a backdrop for its "closed" aspect in later years. It's vital to understand that the neighborhood's peripheral location in the old city has little to do with land claims. Sulukule was in fact one of the oldest neighborhoods in the city, part of a select group in which the street patterns of Ottoman-era Istanbul were still visible. But the history of it as a Romani settlement extends far past the Ottoman Empire, as there are accounts of Romani inhabitants there as far back as the year 1050. Once they settled around the walls, in Karaman and Islam's view, Romani residents constructed "a variety of physical factors [that] separated Sulukule from its immediate surroundings" (ibid.). These included complex street patterns, culs-de-sac, and narrow passageways. And just as there were physical instances of "bordering", there were also social ones. Karaman writes elsewhere that Sulukule was also very rare in terms of the existence of a highly communitarian lifestyle, and that most of the residents were related to one another. Moreover, there was a lack of basic amenities in the neighborhood's living spaces, which meant that Sulukule's communitarian lifestyle most often materialized in public spaces: the streets, courtyards, gardens, etc. It is also likely that the neighborhood's collectivism was at least in part a reaction against widespread anti-Romani sentiments among the Turkish public and its institutions. This recognition, of so-called closed and open places existing in flux, informs their claim that neighborhood boundaries operate in two very different ways. First, they can allow communities to survive by claiming territory as their own, and second, they can also isolate communities by marginalization at the hands of outside majorities. By looking at how the "Ghetto Machines" music video interacts with these concepts, I will show that part of hip-hop's appeal for the community in question is its capacity to reframe urban decay as something positive. For Tahribad-ı İsyan, hip-hop is an enabling device that overcomes marginalization.

Ghetto Machines

"Ghetto Machines" is a short (two minutes and nineteen seconds) rap song recorded and put to video by Tahribad-ı İsyan in 2011 and 2012 respectively. Musically speaking, the song has a simple verse-chorus structure that highlights individual contribution: each of the group's three members delivers a verse in turn, separated by a chorus sung by Slang. Compared with other songs by the group, the lyrics are non-provocative and politically tame in that they center on casual boasting and the expressive power of hip-hop[12]. As a visual document, the video conforms to hip-hop standards in two principal ways. First, it depicts the artists' local neighborhood without a narrative arc, showcasing instead a variety of shots of the group in and around the crumbling houses and derelict streets of the old Sulukule. Second, in featuring low-angle camera shots, washed out colors, graffiti-inspired digital graphics, and young people dressed in hip-hop clothing, the video engages with the aesthetics of mainstream hip-hop. Both of these points are instrumental in constructing Tahribad-ı İsyan's urban landscape as "ghettocentric," a term Nelson George refers to as "making the values and lifestyles of America's poverty-stricken urban homelands central to one's being" (1992: 95). By enlisting these globalized stylistic and aesthetics standards, the "Ghetto Machines" video responds to the opening of Sulukule's borders by promoting a new and communal vision for the neighborhood.

Following the video's opening shot (Fig. 3), which shows the border between the new development and older houses in the midst of demolition, we see various shots of the urban landscape around Sulukule, of which I want to discuss three in particular.

The first consists of shots of group members in closed spaces that look out onto the urban environment (Fig. 4). This image is an example of how the video uses ghettocentric aesthetics in order to comment on urban dilapidation. With its blackened interior, this shot orients group member Slang and the viewer to the realities of locality in Sulukule, in which public areas overrode private ones in terms of social importance. Though Slang is inside of a building here, our attention is drawn to what is outside; careful attention to the background

12 From Zen-G's verse: "Flow yapabilir koma" (This flow can put you in a coma); from V-Z's verse: "Bak bu kalem benim helalim, yok haberim, yaşadıklarımda benim kaderim" (Look this pen is my partner, no it's my message, my fate in what I've lived through); from Slang's verse: "Satır başı yine hayat, hip-hop lafa dayak" (At the start of a line [of writing] there's life again, hip-hop's a beating for your empty words).

reveals the urban conditions of post-redevelopment Sulukule: no more than a bleak, lifeless, run-down neighborhood. The aestheticized contrast between interior and exterior space suggests that Sulukule's once vibrant public sphere has been reduced to dereliction. Having lost their principal social territory, those displaced by the redevelopment have little to turn to. The shot, then, amounts to a critique of the renewal project and its effects on locality, as if Istanbul's urban policy has led to abandoned houses, decaying walls, and unchecked power lines. The social hazards on view in this shot, and others with similar visual orientations, are not entirely lost on the viewing public; YouTube user Qaramsar Qara confirms the dangerous appearance of the neighborhood when commenting on a similar shot of Asil in a darkened interior space (00:47 of the video). He (mistakenly) identifies the location as the site of a recent murder of an American female tourist, and mockingly asks the group if there is anything suspicious going on[13]. Though he is almost certainly joking, his comment acknowledges that the video's unabashed treatment of urban dereliction has been transmitted to and absorbed by its viewers.

The video, however, does not only lament the loss of positive local space. While its commentary on changes in public space does amount to a critique of the redevelopment plan, the "Ghetto Machines" video introduces and tacitly celebrates a new vision of locality in Sulukule. Here, two concepts discussed in depth in Adam Krims' book *Music and Urban Geography* are revealing. The first is of integrated aestheticized space, which refers to the tendency in advanced capitalist cities to "coordinate aspects of urban spaces to unified, or complementary, aestheticized purposes" (Krims 2007: XXXI). The second is of design intensity, which Krims defines as "the tendency in advanced societies for products and services to owe much of their value to aspects of design and informational content, and for design and informational aspects of products and services to develop rapidly."[14]

Both of the shots I have shown from "Ghetto Machines" reflect how integrated aestheticized spaces can rely on design-intensity to instigate cultural regeneration and add value to urban environments. The video celebrates locality

[13] See the comment section of the "Ghetto Machines" video on YouTube. Qaramsar Qara writes: 00:47 amerikalı fotoğracı kadının öldürüldüğü yer :D hayırdır gençler :D (*00:47 is the spot where the American photographer* [the tourist was taking pictures of the city walls at the time of her murder] *was killed :D what's going on guys :D*).

[14] For a more in-depth look at how design-intensity interacts with advanced capitalism in Istanbul and Sulukule, please see Yıldırım (forthcoming).

Figure 3: The opening shot of the "Ghetto Machines" video.
Source: Tahribad-ı İsyan "Ghetto Machines" video.

Figure 4: Darkened interiors in the "Ghetto Machines" video.
Source: Tahribad-ı İsyan "Ghetto Machines" video.

in Sulukule by aestheticizing its damaged environment, thereby reconstructing urban bleakness into a ghettocentric setting. Both shots feature dilapidated urban environments, which in the context of the song's name and its musical style, come to symbolically represent the ghetto of Sulukule. In doing so, the video concocts a vision of the neighborhood as an integrated aestheticized space. When we consider that the government imposed their own, top-down aesthetic on Sulukule, an aesthetic that hints at the imperial hegemony of the Ottoman Empire no less, the remodeling of Sulukule as a ghetto amounts to a populist claim for self-representation. The ghetto has so often served as a key site of black popular music for two interlinked reasons. The site at once roots musicians to their local neighborhoods and connects them to other ghetto inhabitants. So when teenagers from Sulukule claims through rap music that their neighborhood is a ghetto, they connect themselves and their milieu to other oppressed communities from around the world. This is what George Lipsitz had in mind when he claimed that one of the functions of Black Nationalism has been to "turn national minorities into global majorities" (1994: 31) by uniting people of color.

I asked Slang once why he preferred hip-hop to traditional music, and he answered simply that "this was the age of hip-hop". I want to resist the temptation to brush this off, and suggest instead that one aspect of hip-hop's great relevance for young people today is its capacity to contain and transmit symbolic information. In comparison to the more traditional music cultures available to youth in Sulukule – principally in the Romani tradition – hip-hop offers more opportunities for participants to engage with contemporary globalized culture and aesthetic signifiers, which may be an end in and of itself. As a subculture with culturally significant and ubiquitous visual signifiers around the world – think of the rise of baggy clothing and graffiti over the last thirty years – hip-hop can not only empower young people to reclaim their neighborhood, but also offer a platform from which entrance to the information-rich world at large is made possible.

The second notable image of the "Ghetto Machines" video (Fig. 5) serves as a focal point in this regard; we see a lingering shot mid-way through the video that features satellite dishes and a communication tower, an image that is significant for two reasons. For one, these shots reflect that the opening of Sulukule's borders is not just the liberation of an enclosed neighborhood into its immediate urban surroundings, but also the connection of a once-isolated community to the rest of the world. Importantly – and this is the second reason – these shots communicate the genesis of Tahribad-ı İsyan and the video itself.

Figure 5: Communication Technology in the "Ghetto Machines" video.
Source: Tahribad-ı İsyan "Ghetto Machines" video.

That is, network technology speaks to the group's discovery of hip-hop through foreign media and the internet, their adoption of its sounds by pirated music production software, visual aesthetics through Hollywood films, and the very production of this symbol-laden video[15]. And because this video reorients the viewer's impression of Sulukule in the wake of its destruction, we see how these international networks actually allow Tahribad-ı İsyan to construct their sense of musical locality. Although the images of the group's urban environment are bleak and ghettocentric, their aestheticized qualities – including the low-angle shots, suggestive contrasts of wealth and poverty, and highly symbolic content – imbue the video with a message of celebratory adjustment to the world at

15 Group member Slang imparted as much when he told me about the group's genesis. Influenced first by the music videos and dance moves of Michael Jackson, he turned to hip-hop around the time he and Zen-G discovered the 2004 film *You Got Served*. The film tells the story of two friends in Los Angeles who try and win a breakdancing competition in order to follow their dreams and open up a recording studio. After watching the film, the pair saved money for months in order to buy a tape recorder (later, using pirated music production software like Fruity Loops) with which they recorded rudimentary songs influenced by American rappers like Eminem and Busta Rhymes.

large. The ghetto machines referred to in the song's title then may just as well refer to the infrastructure of network technology as they do to bulldozers and heavy machinery.

The implications behind the group's design-intensive construction of a musical locality depends on my third image (Fig. 6), which features group members rapping against backdrops of walls. If the first image showed the damaging effects of the renewal plan, and the second image hints at the neighborhood's redefinition, then this third image might tell us that we are dealing with an ongoing process. Returning to Karaman and Islam's paper, a clearer understanding of this emerges: "We maintain," they write, "that it is important to make a distinction between the two ways in which neighborhood boundaries perform: 1. Enabling communities to survive and self-sustain through appropriation and demarcation of territory, 2. Entrapping and isolating communities through marginalization and negative discrimination by the majority" (2011: 8). My central contention here is that "Ghetto Machines" video overcomes Karaman and Islam's second function by enacting the first. While Sulukule's borders may have once stood for the isolation of a subaltern group, the video transforms the neighborhood's marginality into something powerful; it achieves this by appropriating what is left of its urban environment in line with global hip-hop and design-intensive urbanism. The video's heavy use of shots featuring borders reveals the process of "opening up" as gradual and ambivalent, as if "Ghetto Machines" situates Tahribad-ı İsyan in a liminal moment, caught between their neighborhood and the world at large. The video thus amounts to an instance of bordering, in which the flow of new information in and out of the neighborhood amounts to a redefinition of place.

This liminal moment expresses itself in musical as well as visual form. In this regard it is important to note two things. First, Tahribad-ı İsyan themselves did not create the musical accompaniment for the "Ghetto Machines" track; instead, they heard the beat from a friend of theirs and selected it from among others as a suitable piece to rap over. Second, the song has only been released as a music video on YouTube, at the time of writing. Watching the video online, in other words, is the only way audiences can hear "Ghetto Machines" outside of a live performance setting. I suggest that musical and visual cues complement each other to the effect that the group's liminal position – as identified above in the video – finds its aural equivalent in the music.

To borrow once more from Adam Krims, much of "Ghetto Machines" fits into what he labeled as "reality rap," a subgenre of hip-hop music whose main

Figure 6: Backdrops of walls in the "Ghetto Machines" video.
Source: Tahribad-ı İsyan "Ghetto Machines" video.

focus is to "map the realities of (usually black) inner-city life" (2000: 70). As a particularly active site of development and innovation (ibid.: 72) throughout the history of hip-hop, reality rap includes many musical and stylistic fluctuations, with one constant: the connotation of "hardness." Central to the "hardness" factor in Krims' view is the "hip-hop sublime" (ibid.: 74), a stylistic feature resulting from dense combinations of musical layers. Rhythmically, these layers reinforce a four-beat meter, but, in the domain of pitch, they comprise a sharply dissonant combination. Beyond the parameters of rhythm and pitch, reality rap also involves layering clashing timbral qualities that are often associated with varying sound sources.

When brought together, these discordant characteristics create a "sublime" quality that incorporates both Edmund Burke and Frederic Jameson's classic definitions of the word. Drawing from Burke, the hip-hop sublime embodies a simultaneous response of fear and pleasure. And from Jameson, the term becomes at once the pretext and occasion for intuitive, sheer power, which in its "unfigurable force…stuns the imagination in the most literal sense" (ibid.: 34). For Krims, both Burke and Jameson indicate how the layering involved in the hip-hop sublime comes to involve both "hardness" and "realness." On the part of audiences, he claims that the consumption of such production techniques

involves "both an "unfigurable force" of layering combination and a pleasure of stunned musical imagination," (ibid.: 74) which come together to form a vision of the sublime that is specifically musical. Because this production style has become an important signifier of "realness" in hip-hop over the years, Krims sees the musical poetics of the hip-hop sublime as intimately connected to the semantics and representations of identities in rap music.

Listening to "Ghetto Machines" on YouTube, one is struck with incongruous musical qualities from the very beginning of the track. "The beat has a hard manner to it," Zen-G told me, "and so do our vocal techniques." Though somewhat vaguely described by Zen-G, one can immediately grasp the instrumental "hardness" of Ghetto Machines from its opening hook: a two-note melody played on a synthesizer programmed to generate multiple octaves of the same note simultaneously. In its very basic exploration of a minor second interval, this synthesizer hook embodies anxiety. With an effective though now worn-out tenor, brought to public consciousness as part of the infamous *Jaws* theme song, melodies founded on minor second intervals often seem to acknowledge two distinct bodies in contention with each other, and "Ghetto Machines" in this regard complies with convention. Coupled with the metallic timbre of the synthesizer, this hook inaugurates an unsettling sonic environment that continues throughout the track. Aurally, these shifting tones may communicate unease, but its looming quality finds no embodiment and thus the hook is dreadful only in hypothetical terms. But when experienced in tandem with the video, the hook's anxiety manifests itself in the opening shot, which contrasts the demolition and renewal of Sulukule[16]. The renewal project is cast into unease and incongruity.

The chorus of "Ghetto Machines" takes this anxious melodic line to the very forefront of the song by vocalizing it. Slang delivers his lines in a semi-spoken daze, mimicking the principal hook of the song with an undecorated melody based on a minor second interval. Slang's chorus and the instrumental track are nearly harmonious, but the rapper's intonation is conspicuously flat. When he repeats the chorus, the listener notes the addition of a distinct dissonant layer: a backing vocal line appears, laced with the auto-tune audio effect. As originally intended, the auto-tune effect corrects errant sung pitches by bending vocal

[16] This is not to say that the song was created with this effect in mind, but rather that Tahribad-ı İsyan likely chose to rap over this track because of its jarring, dissonant qualities. Once they wrote and recorded the song, its sonic environment likely informed their conceptualization of the music video.

signals to their nearest semitone, theoretically creating a sonic environment of perfect harmony. "Ghetto Machines" inverts its purpose, however, by keeping Slang's off-key vocal line at the forefront of the song, using the addition of an auto-tuned vocal line in the background to create a disharmonious union between two voices: one of them human though lifeless, and the other his mirror, vitalized through machines. And while auto-tune was at first meant to remain hidden in a song's mix – to create the impression of a singer's perfect pitch – in recent years it has been a conspicuous feature of popular rap music, as well as other genres. In "Ghetto Machines", as elsewhere, the prominence of auto-tune reveals conscious and mechanical design as a central feature of contemporary rap. Technology may raise Slang's voice to its proper intonation, but the overall sonic environment is aesthetically dissonant and unsettling, bringing together the music video, song, and the group's place in Istanbul's changing urban atmosphere.

Conclusion

Facing the homogenization of their city at the hands of real estate developers and politicians, certain Istanbul residents have redefined their intimate geography in a bid to lay a claim on it. As I have shown here, in the case of Tahribad-ı İsyan and Sulukule, these efforts have amounted to the appropriation of global hip-hop, especially the notion of ghettocentrity. By redefining Sulukule in its post-redevelopment age as ghettocentric – a move that demands the aestheticizing of place – the group and its team of volunteer filmmakers concoct a vision of locality that resists the neighborhood's restructuring in line with social conformity and the advanced capitalist enterprise. The "Ghetto Machines" video uses the visual conventions of hip-hop alongside design-intensive urbanism in order to demarcate Sulukule's new borders, and yet this demarcation is unclear due to its rawness, an ambiguity expressed visually through liminal imagery and aurally through anxious melodies and dissonant layering in line with Krims' "hip-hop sublime". This claim to self-definition is in itself an act of empowerment, but parallels between local claims to public land use in Sulukule and Istanbul at large render the video a rallying cry that, ironically, extends past the very borders it seeks to construct. As a response to Karaman and Islam's questioning of the values of intra-urban boundaries in a borderless world and open cities, "Ghetto Machines" testifies to the relevance of hip-hop in our age: its conventions simultaneously demand a turn both to the local and

the global. Spread globally by network technology, ghetto aesthetics transform the conditions of urban austerity into prideful surroundings, and in doing so form connections between oppressed populations separated by vast physical distances. Ghetto borders are accordingly caught in a liminal place between local and global applicability. As residents of Istanbul struggle to maintain local claims over the physical spaces that matter most to them, the fluidity of hip-hop's urban boundaries seem as strong a tool as any in the fight against urban expropriation.

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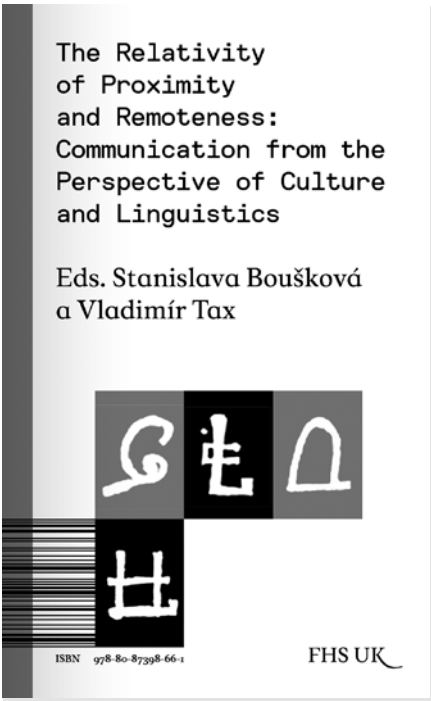


Contents

The Relativity of Proximity and Remoteness: Communication from the Perspective of Culture and Linguistics

edited by Stanislava Boušková and Vladimír Tax

A collective monograph presenting articles by various scholars concerned with language and communication, Africa and African languages. In each paper it can readily be seen that languages, cultures and their contact have been a source of undeniable influence on the researched phenomena. Although the articles – some in English, some in French – are individually self-standing, they display sufficient interconnections to warrant assembling them here as chapters in a coherent volume.

The publication is offered both as an e-book and in printed form.

TRANSIT MIGRATION: AN UNNOTICED AREA IN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY[1]

Evrim Hikmet Öğüt

Abstract: ***As a result of the expanding human mobilization in the today's world due to wars, workforce markets, etc., the scope of migration and diaspora studies has increased in many areas. This is also true for musical studies, where a growing body of literature has been produced about these issues. However, by focusing mainly on settled communities and their musical productions, such as hybrid genres and forms created in the destination land, this literature does not adequately cover "transit migration". Transit migration, being a particular type of human mobility, refers to the migration that includes at least three or more steps. This means that transit migrants do not permanently inhabit the land they firstly enter as migrants, but are supposed to stay in this transit country for a while and then continue their journey in order to reach a final destination point.***

In this article, I deal with this specific type of migration based on my intense field study on the Chaldean-Iraqi migrant community in Istanbul. The Chaldean community in Iraq, as a religious minority, is one of the most affected groups in the ongoing situation in Iraq, especially after the US invasion in 2003. Turkey functions as a transit country on their way to their prospective destination points, mainly including the US, Canada, and Australia.

While dealing with the role of music during the indefinite time period that the participants are in the process of being temporary inhabitants in a foreign land, the applicability of the theoretical concepts of permanent migration to temporary migration is also discussed.

Keywords: ***transit migration; Chaldean-Iraqi migrants; migration studies in ethnomusicology***

[1] This article is derived from the doctoral dissertation of the author, approved in March 2015, entitled "Music in Transit: Musical Practices of the Chaldean-Iraqi Migrants in Istanbul".

Timothy Rice (2010), in his article *Disciplining Ethnomusicology: A Call for a New Approach,* published in the Call and Response section of the journal *Ethnomusicology*, criticized the tendency of ethnomusicology to accept the paradigms that other disciplines in the social sciences offer instead of developing its own theoretical framework. Although Rice focused his criticism on the concept of identity, I believe that this critical point of view might also be applicable to the studies on migration in ethnomusicology. In this respect, this article, through the analysis of the musical practices of the Chaldean-Iraqi migrant community in Istanbul, aims to address this theoretical question directly in the context of transit migration by focusing on its specific nature.

Although human mobility is not unique to the 20th century, studies on folklore and musical folklore have tended to examine the effect of mass migration movements after World War II on community, region, nation, ethnicity, et cetera. Consequently, because of both the increase in human mobility and its visibility via the communication opportunities of a globalized and more technologically advanced world, migration has become one of the main interests of ethnomusicology since the 1970s (Bohlman 2011: 155–156). Aside from this fact, the effect of the paradigm shift in ethnomusicology due to postmodern tendencies (Barz and Cooley 1997: 11) has also made migration in the post-colonial world one of the new study areas in the discipline.

As might be expected, the interest of ethnomusicologists lies mainly in the musical production of settled migrant communities in various countries, usually the musical products of second and third generation migrants. Since these migrant communities, which are constantly in contact thanks to the growing effect of globalization, are generally spread out over many regions and countries, the literature on music and migration has appealed to a theoretical framework of diaspora studies and transnationalism.

During the expansion of migration studies in social science literature, temporary migration, namely transit migration, has become one of the main focal points in various fields of social science. But ethnomusicology has hardly paid any attention to this type of migratory processes, and transit migration has remained an unexplored area in the discipline.

Transit Migration and the Chaldean-Iraqi Migrant Community in Istanbul

The Chaldean-Iraqi community is a Catholic Christian ethno-religious community rooted in Mesopotamia. Even though Chaldean migration, beginning in the early twentieth century, has led to their establishment of economic and social networks spanning Europe and North America, the emigration of this group gained speed following the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s and the Gulf War in 1991, reaching its peak after the 2003 US invasion. Especially with the United Nations advisory in December 2006,[2] the ongoing violence in central and southern Iraq was officially recognized, and applicants from these regions were accepted as asylum seekers. Subsequently the number of Iraqis in Turkey rose to 10,000, with the Chaldean Christians comprising the majority of this flow.

I conducted a long-term field study from September 2011 to September 2014 with the Chaldean transit migrant community in Istanbul, whose members emigrated from Iraq mainly in recent years. Members of this community have been granted or are seeking asylum status in order to migrate to a third country and to stay in Istanbul temporarily as transit migrants. My field research was mostly conducted with the young members of the community; considering age and gender as the basic axis, even if in a limited manner. I have tried to also deal with the participation in the musical practices of the older generations. My field research in Istanbul has also covered many formal and informal interviews with the members of the Chaldean-Turkish community[3], with other Iraqi communities in Istanbul, and with the officials of some migrant organizations. The research also had a six-month phase, carried out in the US, which consisted of interviews with Chaldean families from Iraq who recently immigrated to Houston, Texas through Turkey. I have also interviewed second-generation Chaldean migrants who live in New York, USA and Toronto, Canada.

When I started to conduct my fieldwork in the church, I found the opportunity to participate in the services and rehearsals as an observer. But as soon as they learned I play the violin, they asked me to accompany them in their ceremonies. After playing in some services together, the community members accepted my presence as a member of the church. Thus, my starting to accompany them was a turning point for my position in the field. I not only

2 "UNHCR Advisory and Position on International Protection Needs of Iraqis outside of Iraq".

3 The Chaldean community that lives in Turkey as Turkish citizens.

went from the position of an observer to a participant-observer, I also became a "member" of the church choir, an object of my own study. Briefly stated, the respect I gained from them was not from being a researcher in a field they are not familiar with, but from the fact that I play the violin, an instrument that they really adore. Thus, my musical expertise allowed me to connect with them on a deep level.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UN/ECE) defines the term "transit migration" as "the migration in one country with the intention of seeking the possibility there to emigrate to another country as the country of final destination" (1993: 7). Because of various cases in which migrants enter the transit land illegally or stay past the expiration date of their visas, transit migration is generally referred to as "irregular" and "illegal" in migration literature. Additionally, in other types of transit migratory processes, such as circular labor migration, asylum seekers and refugees constitute transit migrant groups in official literature.

Turkey, because of its geographical location, is a transit zone for the migrants from African, Asian, and Middle Eastern countries who intend to migrate to European and the other Western countries (İçduygu and Yükseler 2010). The Chaldean-Iraqi community is one of the asylum seeker/refugee communities in Turkey. Being members of one of the communities of Iraq that must leave the country due to ongoing violence, especially after the 2003 invasion, the Chaldean-Iraqi migrants enter Turkey in order to apply to the United Nations for formal refugee status. This will allow them to be sent to a final destination in the US, Canada, or Australia. Although the application process sends them to satellite cities in Turkey, because of the economic possibilities (informal job opportunities, et cetera) and the given social networks, such as the established community of Chaldean-Iraqi migrants, and religious networks, the Chaldean church, Christian organizations, et cetera, many find ways to stay in Istanbul, whether it is legal or not.

Kurtuluş[4] and Dolapdere are two of the main areas of settlement in Istanbul for the Chaldean migrants from Iraq, as well as other Iraqi and non-Iraqi immigrant communities. However, since Istanbul is an expensive city, staying there brings financial difficulties in addition to the risks associated with living with an

[4] These are two areas are in the center of the city in terms of their locality, but they have hosted religious and ethnic minorities and migrants throughout their history. Iraqi immigrants call Kurtuluş "Little Baghdad."

illegal status. Unfortunately, the asylum seekers and the refugees in Istanbul, as well as in Turkey in general, face chronic unemployment. Even if they are lucky enough to find a job, they are usually paid less than Turkish citizens. Moreover, immigrants are often forced to work illegally, making them vulnerable to abuse. Because of the high numbers of illegal cases in transit migration, these migrants are usually portrayed "as victims as opposed to a threat" (Düvell 2006: 7). However, another perspective posits international migrants, especially transit or "irregular" ones, as infringers of the borders of the nation-state and of the order which it symbolizes. This perspective brings the aspect of security into the discourses and policies towards migrants. It is important to keep in mind that these approaches do not offer an adequate understanding of the given situation and ignore the fact that these migrants are indeed human agents that can develop strategies to integrate themselves into the cultural and economic life of the countries they live in, albeit unofficially.

Transit migration transcends the dichotomy that dominates the theoretical framework of migration studies between the country of origin and the destination point, as seen in migration theory based on pull-push factors. Instead, transit migration adds a third component: the transit phase/land. The best word to describe the essence of this transit phase as the core of this type of migration can be "uncertainty," both in an economic and a psychological sense. The uncertainty felt today discourages migrants from creating permanent relationships with and developing expectations from the circumstances that surround them. Rather, these expectations and hopes are postponed to the future.[5] In other words, the feeling of being "unsettled" restricts the social and cultural relationships that can be formed with the local culture[6]. For instance, Chaldean-Iraqi migrants in Turkey are reluctant to learn Turkish. Hence, the cultural production in this specific phase of migration has shown relatively limited interaction with the climate of the local culture. In this sense, the theoretical framework for migration in the ethnomusicology literature, which deals with settled communities, provides very limited insight.

[5] Considering the extensive human mobility of today, one can assume that the concepts of settled and migrant become questionable; in this case, however, the knowledge of being unsettled provides a consciousness of the migrant's own temporary situation.

[6] Of course, this "local culture" cannot be seen as a united entity, but rather a fragmented whole, and migrants develop separate relationships with each unit. In this point, it is important to note that Istanbul is a cosmopolitan city, and the neighborhoods in which the Chaldean migrants live also host multiple other ethnic groups, such as Kurds, Romani people, Armenians, and Syriacs, among others.

The Literature on Transit Migration in Ethnomusicology

Unlike the musical products of transit communities, those of settled migrant communities bear the traces of the interactions between the migrant and host cultures. This can create a newly visible, hybrid form of music. In this context, studying the change or re-shaping process of musical genres or styles that migrant communities have brought with them, and the "mimetic" reproduction of the given forms in the destination point, constitute the main tendencies of the field. On the other hand, transit communities have remained at the margins of migration studies in ethnomusicology, because they tend to not stay in the transit region long enough to create new musical styles or establish strong enough bonds with the host culture to create hybrid musical products that ethnomusicologists can study.

Literature on migration and music in general has expanded rapidly in the beginning of the 21st century, during the same years that the concept of diaspora emerged as a new paradigm in music and migration studies (Solomon 2014: 319). One of the earlier attempts in ethnomusicological literature that focused on migration was the special issue of *World of Music* in 1990, which had a particular emphasis on the term "exile" (Reyes 1990). This issue was a starting point for a few articles, but it did not cover any studies on transit migration. Until the 2000s, the interest in migration was further explored via individual articles and book chapters. In 2003, a book compilation, *Musical Migrations: Transnationalism and Cultural Hybridity in Latin/o America* (Aparicio and Jáques) was published. Thomas Turino's book, *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities* built upon this work by shedding light on a wider artistic area. In 2006, the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (Bailey and Collyer) published a specific issue (vol. 32, No. 2). In 2007, Tina Ramnarine edited the book *Musical Performance in the Diaspora,* and in the following year, the journal *Ethnomusicology Forum* published an issue with her introduction.

The year 2010 was very prolific for migration studies in music. The special "Music and Migration" issue of *Migraçoes*, the Journal of the Portuguese Immigration Observatory, included thirty articles, and a book compilation was published in the same year. *Music and Displacement*, which mainly focuses on displacement after World War II in Europe (Scheding and Levi 2010), was also among the fruits of the increasing interest in migration. In 2011, another book compilation and a special issue of *Migrating Music* were published. It is

a compilation which covers a set of papers presented at the symposium entitled "Migrating Music," which was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London in 2009 (Toynbee and Dueck 2011). *Music and Arts in Action* published the special issue "Music and Migration", which mostly handles the transnational aspect of migration.

Within these special compilations on migration and music, the articles and chapters which tackle transit migration are very limited. Indeed, many of them, such as the chapter of Philip V. Bohlman in *Music and Displacement,* "'Das Lied ist aus': The Final Resting Place along Music's Endless Journey," which focuses on composed and performed music in the concentration camps erected by the Nazis, centers on the personal experiences of individual musicians, but not on the musical practices of the communities (Beckerman 2010, Bohlman 2010 etc.). Thus, these studies can be seen as a continuation of the *Exilforschung* (exile studies) of the post-war period in Europe (Scheding 2010: 123–126).

In the limited literature on music and migration, the book of Adelaida Reyes (1999) *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free,* which focuses on the musical practices of Vietnamese refugees in refugee camps, is a noteworthy contribution to the literature on transit migration and refugee studies. Similarly, Tania Kaiser's 2006 article on the music and dance practices of Sudanese refugees deals with the music in refugee camps in which people temporarily stay. In addition, Carolyn Landau's 2011 chapter in *Music and Displacement* focuses on the music consumption of individuals and the relation of this consumption with the multiple features of their identity, or identity formation. During the three phases of the migratory journey of her protagonist, Mohamed, Landau's work contributes to the small extent of literature focusing on transit migration in the ethnomusicology discipline.

Despite the limited literature on transit migration, musical relationships among transnational migrant or diaspora networks have a greater presence in the ethnomusicology literature. In this respect, two specific writings of Dan Lundberg on the musical creation of the Assyrian diaspora, "Assyria – a Land in Cyberspace" (2003) and "Trans-local Communities: Music as an Identity Marker in the Assyrian Diaspora" (2010), are directly related to Chaldean-Assyrian migrant networks. Even though Lundberg's study is specifically on the Assyrian community and not on the Chaldean community, due to the common history and roots of these two groups, these articles provide a rich understanding on the diaspora networks of the two communities.

Music in Transit

In migration and music studies, the strongest theoretical discussions mostly involve two basic concepts: diaspora and transnationalism. In this respect, stating some critical points on both concepts will help in the discussion of their usefulness regarding the transit community that this article is focused on.

For the diaspora communities that spread out to more than one geographical region, the interrelation with the homeland constitutes one of the major interests. At this point, it can be useful to remember that immigrant and diaspora communities are contrasted according to the sites with which they are connected; while immigrant communities refer to the connection between two specific places, the homeland and the host society, and diaspora communities are characterized by multiple connections with various sites (Turino 2004: 6). A characteristic feature of diaspora communities is the interaction with the homeland, such as having affinity towards being aware of and being active in the social and political issues of the homeland, or being willing to return to the homeland. However, it is obvious that the level of desire to return to the homeland is not the same for each community or for each generation. Indeed, "home" is a disputable concept taking into consideration that for some diaspora communities, such as the Romani community, there is no "home" to go back to; similarly, Dan Lundberg assumes a virtual "homeland," which is created through the Internet for the Assyrian diaspora (2003). Furthermore, as Bailey and Collyer (2010) remind us, even if it were possible to go back home, it would not be the same "home" they are referring to anymore (170–171).

The discussion on the cultural behavior of diaspora communities assumes two main tendencies: one is accentuating the identity, and the second is negotiating with the other in social interactions. While the former emphasizes the nostalgia, the collective memory, and protection of the culture, the latter asserts the change and an exchange in which "new musical repertories and practices emerge, yielding processes of hybridization" (Bohlman 2001).

In regards to these basic features of diaspora communities, it can be called into question whether the Chaldean migrant community in Istanbul can be considered to be a diaspora community or not. Even though the Chaldean migrant community in Istanbul can be seen as a part of a wide Chaldean diaspora around the world, as a transit community, it is deprived of the opportunities to behave like a diaspora community. For instance, some Chaldean-Iraqi communities in Europe or in the US are willing to be active in political issues both in their

settled country and in the homeland. The attempts to procure the acceptance of the Assyrian-Chaldean genocide in the Parliament of Sweden and the call for voting in the elections in the homeland are some of the examples I have witnessed in a church in Houston, Texas, USA. But because of some practical reasons and the ambiguity of their legal status, the migrants in Istanbul are essentially not capable of doing that.

Transit communities staying for a short period of time in the transit country do not live in the host country for sufficient generations to create new cultural forms and fusions. Furthermore, being a transit community brings limitations to the possible cultural relationships and bonds formed with the host culture. Even though these conditions make the creation of hybrid forms of music almost impossible, this does not mean that transit communities are static communities closed to cultural interrelations and change. Change in the cultural productions of the Chaldean community is easily tracked in the repertoire of religious music. In the transit land, the change in this repertoire occurs in two ways: firstly, in a continuum with the globalization process of the community that has started much earlier, while the group was still in the homeland, and secondly, it can be seen as the result of practical necessity in the process of maintaining cultural practices.

The former can be exemplified with the samples of the religious hymns of the Chaldean culture that can be found widely on the Internet. Regardless of whether they are produced in the homeland or in the diaspora countries, these examples are based on "modernized" and "westernized" musical backgrounds with various musical styles. The accompanists of the church choir (usually a keyboard player) maintain this kind of innovative application in the transit phase mostly by choosing various musical styles for the basis of their accompaniment on their electronic keyboards (Fig. 1).

Additionally, Chaldean-Iraqi people continue to create new hymns in the homeland and the diaspora, most of which are based on popular songs from the region, and in some cases on songs from the soundtracks of Turkish TV series. But it should be noted that these creation processes are not seen in the transit phase; the migrants in the transit zone are mostly the performers and the mediators of the transmission of these newly composed hymns.

Because of the constant circulation of the members and the small size of the community,[7] the instrumental accompaniment of the church choir was not

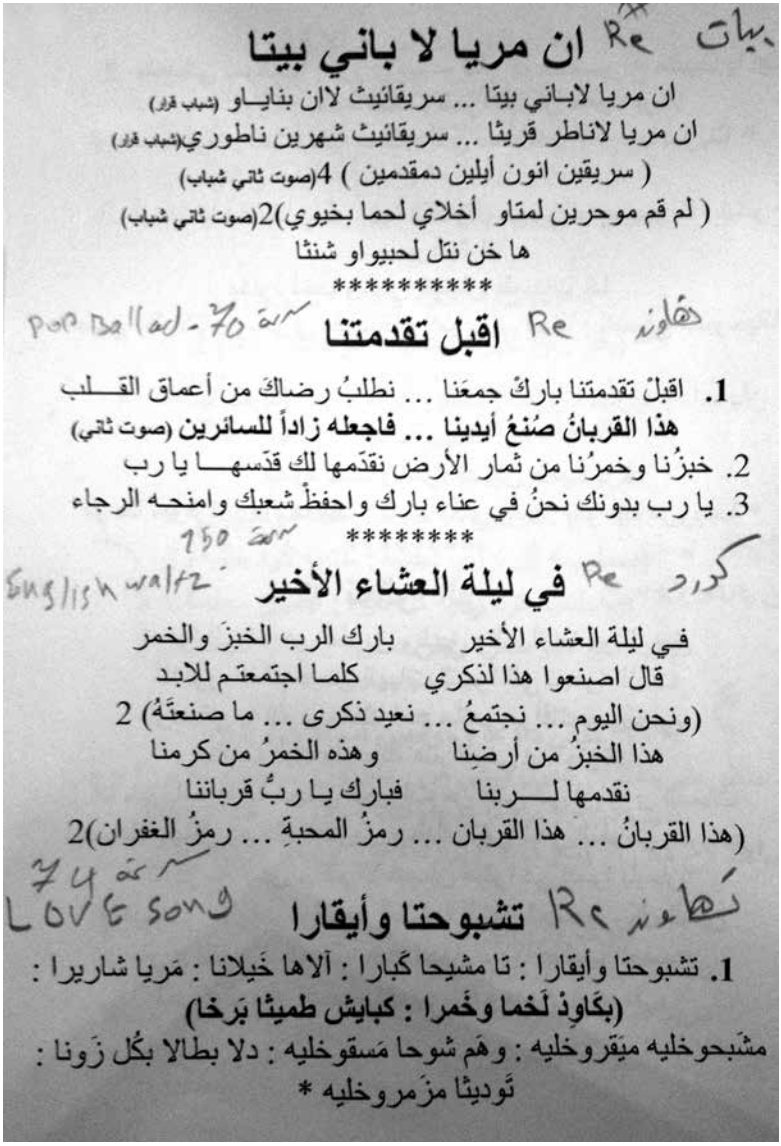
[7] We do not have reliable data on the numbers of the community members in Istanbul, but the number has fluctuated between two to five thousand, depending on various impulses, such as the current situation in the homeland.

stable, although it was almost indispensable for the members. As I have mentioned above, during my long-term field research and with the invitation of the Chaldean-Iraqi community members, I attended the church music performances as an accompanist. As a foreigner who has a Western polyphonic music background, I was obviously not an ideal musician for that ritual repertoire, and my presence affected the musical outcome with a loss of subtle details intrinsic to this *maqam*-based musical tradition. Obviously in the conditions of the homeland and of some of the diaspora countries in which the community widely settled, such as of Detroit, Michigan, USA, my presence would not be desirable by the members. But in the case of the transit experience, the attention of the community members is mostly on maintaining their cultural practices until they reach a final destination that offers knowledgeable and talented Chaldean musicians.

Since one of the major criticisms of the efficiency of the diaspora concept is its overemphasis of relations with the homeland, transnationalism can be thought of as a term that creates room for multiple horizontal relationships among the migrant societies in which the domination of the homeland is overthrown. As one of the tools to explain the circulation of capital around the world in the new economic climate that arose in the 1960s and 70s, the term transnationalism has been used to signal the ideas, people, and political institutions that cross national boundaries in several disciplines, emphasizing the diminished significance of national borders in our globalized world. In the case of Chaldean migration, the concept of transnationalism is a useful tool to understand the transnational migrant networks in terms of the creation of a common musical universe among the Chaldean communities in various geographical regions.

"[T]he systematic interconnection of formerly remote parts of the world is clearly a precondition for many musical migrations. And it is capitalism and its precursor, mercantilism, that have been major engines in creating these networks, and in encouraging the circulation of European musical genres and instruments within them" (Toynbee and Dueck 2012: 3–4). In this respect, the political economy behind those relations, in the neo-liberal phase, constitutes one of the recent interests in migration studies. This interest has a largely critical point of view, and it can be seen in ethno-musicological literature on migration as well. But in transit migration, the economic activity of the migrant community is likely to be temporarily interrupted[8]. In the case of the musical practices of

[8] Iraqi migrants have to sell their properties and bring an amount of money with them, but in many cases in the post-2003 period, they did not have the time or the opportunity to sell their properties. During their stay in Istanbul, most of the young male migrants that I interviewed work as carriers in



ان مريا لا باني بيتا

ان مريا لاباني بيتا ... سريقانيث لاان بنايـاو (شباب قرار)
ان مريا لاناطر قريثا ... سريقانيث شهرين ناطوري(شباب قرار)
(سريقين انون أيلين دمقدمين) 4(صوت ثاني شباب)
(لم قم موحرين لمتاو أخلاي لحما بخيوي)2(صوت ثاني شباب)
ها خن نتل لحبيواو شنثا
****

اقبل تقدمتنا

1. اقبلْ تقدمتنا باركْ جمعَنا ... نطلبُ رضاكَ من أعماق القـــلب
هذا القربانُ صُنعُ أيدينا ... فاجعله زاداً للسائرين (صوت ثاني)
2. خبزُنا وخمرُنا من ثمار الأرض نقدّمها لك قدّسهـــا يا رب
3. يا رب بدونك نحنُ في عناء بارك واحفظْ شعبك وامنحـه الرجاء
****

في ليلة العشاء الأخير

في ليلة العشاء الأخير بارك الرب الخبزَ والخمر
قال اصنعوا هذا لذكري كلما اجتمعتم للابد
(ونحن اليوم ... نجتمعُ ... نعيد ذكرى ... ما صنعتَهُ) 2
هذا الخبزُ من أرضِنا وهذه الخمرُ من كرمنا
نقدمها لـــربنا فبارك يا ربُّ قربانَنا
(هذا القربانُ ... هذا القربان ... رمزُ المحبةِ ... رمزُ الغفران)2

تشبوحتا وأيقارا

1. تشبوحتا وأيقارا : تا مشيحا كَبارا : آلاها خَيلانا : مَريا شاريرا :
(بكَاوذ لَخما وخَمرا : كبايش طميثا بَرخا)
مشَبحوخليه ميَقروخليه : وهَم شوحا مَسقوخليه : دلا بطالا بكُل زَونا :
تَوديثا مزَمروخليه *

Figure 1: Notes of a keyboard player, Sadeer, taken during the rehearsals of a special ceremony on a page that includes the lyrics of the hymns. On the right-hand side there is the name of the *maqam* and the tonic of the scale. On the left-hand side there is the tempo and the style he chooses from the musical backgrounds preset on his electronic keyboard.

Chaldean migrants in Istanbul, this disruption can clearly be seen. There is a developed Chaldean music market both in the homeland and in third countries, which includes musicians who perform live music and make recordings, record labels, studios, and listeners who consume these products regularly. But in Istanbul, several intrinsic features of transit migration become prominent, such as temporality, uncertainty – not just in the economical sense, but emotionally and physically as well, and the smallness of the community. Because of these factors, it is almost impossible to develop a market for music or to provide a live music scene.[9] In addition to the lack of professional musicianship during the course of my three years of field research, I have only encountered one situation in which migrants make their livelihood through music; the consumption of the music has become possible mostly through free facilities via the Internet, producing little or no profit.[10] In other words, bearing in mind that even the use of those facilities refers to this type of relations, the transit community in Istanbul is relatively far away from such market relations, and in this context, they seem to be invisible.

Conclusion

A close examination of the musical practices of the Chaldean-Iraqi migrant community in Istanbul shows that the economic strictness and small size of the community, as well as the lack of professional musicians, determine various features and the quality of performances. In addition, the vulnerability of their legal status and the awareness of their uncertain conditions affect the musical behaviors of transit migrants. It mostly directs them to create *ad hoc* strategies in order to cope with the difficulties they face in the "limbo" of unsettledness.

As these practices differ from the ones of settled migrant communities, the theoretical framework that music and migrant studies widely apply may be inadequate to discuss the transit communities. Thus, widening ethnomusicological studies focusing on temporary migration and bringing out proper theoretical tools for a deeper understanding are necessary to deal with this lesser-known but widespread phenomenon.

textile firms and the young women as unqualified textile workers in small studios. It is important to note that jobs can be deemed as mere drudgery, and all my interviewees have complaints about the long working hours, bad working conditions, low payment, and the precarious nature of these jobs.

[9] Even though there are well-known Assyrian-Chaldean singers such as Janan Sawa who travel to various countries to give live concerts during the special events of a community, the community in Istanbul is unable, or unwilling – because of the uncertainty surrounding them – to afford the expenses of these trips.

[10] On the other hand, these new media create their own market relations.

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CZECH BLUEGRASS IN PLAY

Lee Bidgood

Abstract: ***Drawing from scholarship on play, ritual, and performance, I propose that Czech bluegrass thrives – as does my fieldwork – in a state of in-betweenness, in a territory that is between work, play, here and there, self and other. Being comfortable with this kind of in-between state is important for fieldwork, and for music-making – play, I find, is both a central activity and metaphor in both. The bluegrass play I discuss in this essay can become a response to the encroachment of Americanization in economic and cultural globalization, but also a way of being "Americanist" – and entirely Czech.***

Keywords: ***performance; play; Czech; bluegrass; ethnomusicology***

Context – America / Americ/čan

As I entered circles of acquaintance and music-making during my initial ethnomusicological fieldwork among bluegrassers (bluegrass music-making participants) in the Czech Republic in the years 2002–3, friends often introduced me as a foreigner by adding a label to my name. I gained an honorific that sometimes seemed like a new surname: "…an American". This essay focuses on this period and process of "entering the field" as a participating and observing ethnographer. My Americanness played a larger role then than in the body of "Czech" experiences that I have built up in the decade since. Then, I was still on the doorstep of the field, in-between here and there – with a perspective that still included two separate worlds.

During this threshold period in my work I was brought into a re-creation of "America" that made me reconsider what that word could mean with regard to my own "Americanness." For many Czechs, *Amerika* (how I refer to Czechs' imaginative transformations of elements from the United States) resonates with fictional visions of the Wild West (or *divoký západ*), but is also informed by

memories of the United States' role in founding the first Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, the post-WWII Cold War, as well as more recent experiences with a post-socialist and globalized marketplace in which the US plays a prominent role. Czechs who recreate elements of America – whom I call Americanists – carry out a powerful form of play that adds some more fanciful visions to discussions of economy, politics, and social concerns.

The sense of threshold-crossing that I felt as I first engaged with Czech bluegrass caused me to consider it as an independent world of imaginative play at work within Czech society, providing in its musical form a space that is identified with the past, with the present, with the Czech lands, and with the United States. Through this essay I follow Johann Huizinga's writing as his framing of play brings key elements of my fieldwork into relief. I push against some of Huizinga's ideas, pointing towards a wider consideration of scholarly conceptions of play, especially its ambiguity. While its nature and value might be less clear, I join these scholars in presenting play as a key part of cultural activity.

As I explain below, the deep participation of bluegrassers in financial investment in instruments, attendance at festivals and weekly jam sessions is often akin to a religious devotion – whether the canon a bluegrasser holds to is a set of recordings, a particular set of social ideals, or a family tradition or practice. I use the concept of play not in the sense of Bentham's formulation (via Geertz 1973) of "deep" play as an activity too consequential to engage in, but more in the vein of Diane Ackerman's (2000) formulation of a state, an ecstatic engagement of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1990) that does involve risk, but can approach or suggest transcendence.

As I will indicate through this essay, this transcendence can emerge as a form of interstitial negotiation; play often affords ways of creating and dealing with ambiguity. Drawing from scholarship on play, ritual, and performance, I propose that Czech bluegrass thrives – as does my fieldwork – in a state of in-betweenness, in a territory rife with ambiguity and paradox that is between work, play, here and there, self and other. Being comfortable with this kind of in-between state is important for fieldwork, and for music-making; play, I find, is both a central activity and metaphor in both.

Play in Czech

During the half-century of Czechoslovak state socialism, a job was often a placeholder, a way of enacting the ideal of socialist labor systems, in many

cases arbitrarily assigned by the government. Productivity on the job was not necessarily rewarded, so energy and creativity were often transferred to the private sphere, where people were free from state controls. In the private sphere, these energies were self-directed with results retained by the individual who exerted them.

The various forms of play that have filled Czech the avocational space in recent history seem to persist in spite of external changes. An illustration: While tending a garden is not a uniquely Czech activity, urban Czechs have a heightened relationship with the small plots of land that they rent or buy, and to which they travel and work on during weekends and holidays throughout the year.

These *zahrady* and small cottages, *chalupy* or *chaty*, are a central part of Czech recreation, an ennobled sort of play that has offered a variety of benefits to Czechs for more than a century. Anthropologist Melinda Reidinger lists some of these benefits in her cultural history of cottaging:

> ...cottages are inextricably linked for many people with memories of early childhood, with their early years of marriage in which hard work brought great rewards, with the provision of a "healthy" environment for their children to grow in, with the trials and rewards of gardening and sometime raising small livestock, and with expectations of a leisurely retirement in the country (Reidinger 2007: 46).

Cottaging and gardening were also part of the impetus for the Czech environmentalist movement, when in the 1970s Czechs noticed that their recreation spots were deteriorating under the deleterious effects of pollution (Jehlicka 2008: 22). Czechs valued their personal gardens not only as their own small space of beauty and order, but also as a means of providing foodstuffs unavailable through the state-run mercantiles.

I first witnessed the value of this sort of production when my 2002–3 landlord in the Prague borough of Střešovice welcomed me as I moved my bags into the basement apartment of her building with apples from her orchard outside the city. In this gesture, I first realized that the value of play is multilayered. My landlord said she was proud to share apricots and apples from her garden outside the city with me – as she does with her granddaughter – because they were free of the chemicals and processing that are part of foods from the globalized chain supermarkets in the neighborhood (Tesco, Delvita, and Norma). While the scope of this study cannot illustrate the extent to which play suffuses Czech

life (in gardens, hiking, etc.), I follow Reidinger in arguing that the "second life" of cottaging and other forms of often Americanist play has comprised

> ...a complex parallel and overlapping world with alternative systems of labor, exchange, and socialization. The cottaging "archipelago" has provided conduits for goods, services, and even moral values to circulate when the "official" channels would not or could not oblige (Reidinger 2007: 62).

The main connection between this world of cottages and the bluegrass-related practices that I study lies in the practice of tramping. Tramping began in the early 1900s, when Czechs "...carved out their freedoms in the landscape of the Czech countryside, using the images of romantic pioneering America to live on their own terms during the weekends..." (Bren 2002: 129). Stories and idealized representations of the U.S. Wild West and other frontier locales (from films, books, and records) are central to both the history and current state of tramp play (Hurikan 1940; Pohunek 2011; Jehlička and Kurtz; Symonds and Vareka 2014). This traffic in images could be posed as facile imitation that proves American cultural hegemony; Paulina Bren's analysis focuses on tramping as a bottom-up "tactical" response to supercultural pressures, using Michel de Certeau's work (1984) to pose Americanism as a "ruse" of co-production rather than a capitulation of consumption (Bren 2002: 135). In the rest of this article I connect the people, sounds, and sights of my first year of fieldwork with these narratives of recreation from Bren and Reidinger.

Meeting Zbyněk Podskalský, banjoist for the Prague-based bluegrass band Sunny Side, first led me to consider the intersections and divergences of play and work in my fieldwork. Podskalský has a vocation that seems to emerge from a "hobby": he works making video productions of historical military aviation events and subjects for Czech Television. I saw more of Zbyněk's life when the band's fiddler, Jirka, invited me to come and practice with Sunny Side after we met at a Prague bluegrass jam. We met up with the band in Zbyněk's studio, located at an automotive garage on the northeastern edge of Prague to Zbyněk's studio behind the building where Mirek, Sunny Side's bassist, works.

Shelves around the walls held bluegrass paraphernalia, aviation ephemera, and in the corner, there were muddied cycling shoes and a mountain bike suspension fork: objects that point to where Zbyněk directs his time, energy and money. Within the realms of endeavor he participates in, what is "work" and what is "play"? The economic requirements and benefits of the various

endeavors are one way to determine what is "play" and what is work – work is an endeavor that earns money. But in many ways, the work of play (and vice-versa) is shown to have need-fulfilling qualities that go beyond financial benefits. As with the gardens, above, there is something intangible that adds value to effort that is not otherwise necessary.

In their dedication to the music they love and play, Czech bluegrassers prove in concrete ways how important their endeavor is. The cost of suitable instruments, the time and labor required to attain performance proficiency, finding other musicians to play with, are just some of the obstacles that Czechs overcome in their pursuit of the music. And all the while most maintain a solid backbone of intense amateurism that seems in tension with the effort they make. Czech bluegrass seems to live within the music's "play" qualities: if the music became a profession, it wouldn't provide the extra-curricular qualities that make it so precious. The avocational nature of the music remains its power, as well as its raison d'être.

Text and Czech Americanist Playspaces

> ...play is not 'ordinary' or 'real' life.
> It is rather a stepping out of 'real' life into
> a temporary sphere of activity
> with a disposition all of its own
> (Huizinga 1955: 8).

In *Homo Ludens*, Johan Huizinga suggests a spatial component to play: "All play moves and has its being within a playground marked off beforehand either materially or ideally, deliberately or as a matter of course" (Huizinga 1955: 10). The Czech bluegrass play-space is laid out in the same territory, and intersects with that of early twentieth-century tramps, who provided a model for many bluegrassers. Images, musical sound, and elements of language are some of the clearest signs of the Americanist disposition; they often serve as signposts that signal entrance into its playspace.

The first Czech tramps were young people anxious to leave not only the industrializing twentieth-century city, but also to escape the social controls that it placed on them. Like the Anglo-American Boy Scouts and the German Wandervogel, they began to "tramp" in woods and fields outside urban areas (Pohunek 2011; Symonds and Vareka 2014). Much of the structure as well as the content of the tramp endeavor was inspired by imaginative reinterpretations

of American texts that ranged from Emerson and Thoreau to Jack London and western novels--even those from non-US sources, e.g. Karl May (Sammons 1998). The flourishing Czechoslovak Republic of 1918–1938 imported not only literary, but also musical and cinematic American artifacts. Based on this array of media, Czech tramps developed sophisticated recreational systems that included camps (*osady*), playful organizational hierarchy (with *šerifové* - sherrifs, and other honorary functionaries), as well as a wide array of costume possibilities that enabled participants to immerse themselves in the play.

In addition to dressing up as cowboys, Native Americans, or gold-prospectors, tramps also created a music-text world that amplified the tramping experience. *Trampské písně* allowed musical participants to evoke images and situations from the *osada* in other milieus, such as the theater stage and commercial sound recordings (Kotek: 158). The roots of Czech bluegrass lie in this process of evocation and musical celebration – most origin stories from bluegrassers start with a tramp singing and the musical activity that grew around it.

While the visual aspects of tramping are striking – with totem poles at tramp camps along the Sázava River south of Prague, cowboy hats and US military uniforms pervading Czech recreational attire, etc. – the musical and linguistic borrowing was also a significant part of tramp play and bluegrass projects that followed. Tramps have used pieces of English language to heighten the Americanness of their projects (the name of a cabin, of a tramp camp, characters in a song, etc.) Terms such as "kariboo" or "Klondike" have been potent signifiers of Americanness.

While English proficiency has increased since the end of Communist party's primacy in 1989, many Czech bluegrassers are still not proficient enough in English to reasonably pronounce song names, much less to understand the verbal play and doubled meanings common in country music. During 2002–3, I observed that few bluegrassers were willing to converse with me in English, and even fewer were able to do so with proficiency. One common solution to the language gap is translation; most of the grass-roots-level Czech bluegrass activity is conducted entirely in Czech.

The jam session at the Country Saloon U Supa displayed the eclectic Americanist images common in tramp representations of *Amerika:* rough wood paneling, wagon wheel light fixtures, with Western ephemera on the walls. At the back of the main room was a long table looked over by portraits of US bluegrass luminaries like Bill Monroe and Flatt and Scruggs. The group

of men and women who met under this gaze on Tuesday evenings every week would gather in this Americanist atmosphere to play bluegrass, with a similarly Czech touch.

The first time I made my way from the #9 tram stop *Bertramka* up the gritty shadowed streets of Smíchov to get to U Supa, I wasn't sure that I wanted to keep going. Up the final steep stretch of Na Čečeličce Street, I saw the sign "Country Club" and heard music float through the louvered swinging doors. I walked in and was directed by the bartender who, upon seeing my fiddle case, pointed me to a circle of musicians at the end of the left-hand wing of the L-shaped space.

When I brought out my fiddle and sat down at the jam table, I got a surprise: I was immersed in songs familiar from bluegrass jams and performances at home – all retexted into Czech. Zdeněk, a tram-driver for the city's transportation authority, always sat at the pub table with a fat 3-ring binder open amid the beer glasses in front of him, leading the singing and playing. In a pre-internet world, this collection of texts represented years of collection and editing – a trove of information useful for keeping the fun of the jam going. As the group would go from song to song, Zdeněk thus held a position of authority and prominence. He would clue me in to the original English title and composer of each song, often opening a discussion of important recorded performances of it by Czech and US artists, a liminal space indicating the transcultural mixing of bluegrass with Czech practices.

The Czech texts that this and many other groups use were the output of early bands such as the Greenhorns, White Stars, Rangers, Pavel Bobek, and others who were the first to encounter and reproduce American country and bluegrass in the 1960's and 1970's. In the several generations of musical transmission since these songs were hot pop commodities, there has been a wide dissemination of these songs (and their texts) throughout Czech musical life. One song that I was particularly struck by in 2002–3 was "Myslím na Colorado," a retexting of the Monroe/Carson classic "Cheap Love Affair" (Rosenberg and Wolfe 2007: 126). The song, which I heard countless times at U Supa, allows Czechs to sing with reference to iconic Americana: the place of Colorado (pronounced, following COP frontman Míša Leicht's lead, as "Coloraydo") and the sound of the "blues."

The playful grasp of *Amerika* in this and many other songs is a powerful suggestion, one that can inspire communal singing from not only the participating musicians at U Supa, but from individuals who are part of the normal

crowd at the bar or foosball machine. The world created in bluegrass' English lyrics is one that evokes nostalgic longing with its seemingly timeless landmarks like "mother", "home", and other rooted and rooting entities. As I continue to expand my fieldwork network, I learn of multiple text translations of standard bluegrass and country texts. The geographic nature of this textscape shows how Czech bluegrassers' tinkering with words has established a new territory in which to play and innovate. But what is the nature of this play space, and how far can textual play and innovation extend it? In the next section I consider clothing choices to illustrate some boundaries that emerge for Czech bluegrass playspaces.

Putting on Bluegrass in Czech

> ...[I]t is a temporary activity satisfying in itself and ending there...Play is distinct from 'ordinary' life both as to locality and duration...It is 'played out' within certain limits of time and place. It contains its own course and meaning. Play begins, and then at a certain moment it is 'over'. It plays itself to an end (Huizinga 1955: 11).

This statement from Huizinga seems to clash with the Czech term "*životní styl*", or 'life/living style.' While the word "*styl*" might suggest that an Americanist musical project is a temporary mode one can put on or remove quickly, the term also points to habits of lifestyle which are more extensive. In my daily life while living in the Czech Republic, marks of Americanness lived outside of the bluegrass endeavor were reminders that this musical effort is a part of a larger phenomenon of appropriating the American "other" for a myriad of purposes. The "costume" of performers is just one layer of a multifaceted play with images of *Amerika* that are put on and off, yet which persist even when they are not worn.

The physically evident *životní styl* of Czechs in the bluegrass community (both audiences and performers) is as varied as that of the Czech landscape, but I was able to identify two major trends that are visible among performers on stage during the performances I observed in 2002–3: those, whose dress "style" emulated Americanness, and those who do not. The appearances of bands like Monogram and Reliéf (who dress in a street-style indistinguishable from any other person one might encounter in Prague) presents a distinct contrast to groups like Sunny Side and Bluegrass Cwrkot, who dress for their performances in suits, cowboy boots, string ties, Stetson-style hats, and other "western" or otherwise American-coded clothing.

Figure 1: Sunny Side and Bluegrass Cwrkot adopt what has become standard attire for classic-bluegrass oriented Czech bluegrassers: suits, ties, and cowboy hats.

One clue as to the motivations for the differences in dress is the nature of the music played, and the goals of the performers in their various endeavors. The bands that 'dress up' tend to perform more "classic" repertory, one that draws from the 1940's U.S. bluegrass models of Bill Monroe and Flatt and Scruggs. Cwrkot's 2004 disc "The Evening at the Old Rebel Pub" includes four original compositions by banjoist Milan Leppelt, with the remaining nine a mix of early bluegrass repertory. Sunny Side's 2000 release "Tall Pines at the Old Home" is even more focused on core bluegrass repertory, with fourteen classic numbers with only one exception, a more recent gospel song attributed to Ricky Skaggs.

In costume and musical emulation, these groups deal with the history and the esthetic of the tramping movement. Indeed, Americanness in music and the *životní styl* of Czechs has been common since the early twentieth century – these bluegrassers are putting a new spin on a cultural practice of flamboyant Americanism with a long history.

Reliéf and Monogram do incorporate a healthy dose of emulation into their performance. The singing voice of Zbyněk Bureš, lead singer and bandleader of the top bluegrass band Reliéf, has a high-lonesome bluegrass sound: he navigates idiomatic vowels and diphthongs with ease. Jakub Racek of Monogram imitates James Taylor's vocality with uncanny precision (Monogram, 2000). Although their music is almost entirely sung in English – and therefore for

the most part foreign to the Czech audience at large – they appear much more normal than the groups who use Americanist attire.

Reliéf's 2003 release "Suburban Street" represents their approach of creating bluegrass not as Czech Americanists. While this might on a superficial level make them seem more "Czech," this strategy simply indicates a different, updated Americanist practice. These bands "put on" identities, using more updated US models for their play instead of the typical Czech Americanist signifiers of *Amerika*.

The repertory on "Suburban Street" features nine original, English-language songs by lead singer Zbyněk Bureš, an instrumental by mandolinist Tomáš Dvořák, two covers of songs linked to experimental singer Tom Waits, and an *a cappella* gospel quartet classic by Cleavant Derricks. This pattern of self-authored and adapted songs differs from the approach by Cwrkot and Sunny Side, but is remarkably similar to that of Reliéf's US contemporaries, the Steep Canyon Rangers. The Rangers' 2005 release "One Dime at a Time" contains 8 original songs, a tune composed by banjoist Graham Sharp, and three covers, including Wade Mainer's gospel classic "I Can't Sit Down." Their 2007 disc "Lovin' Pretty Women" reinforces this distribution of songs, with the same structure as all three of these albums, with covers distributed through the original material, and the gospel tune squarely in the middle of the track list.

Reliéf's everyday clothes and their pose in a nondescript but clearly Czech cityscape could be read as signs of Czechness. However, comparisons with the Steep Canyon Rangers' publicity photography indicate that the Czech band has adopted the faded urbanity, street clothes, and even the frowning expressions that common among US bands in the early 2000s.

While they take on images, sound, and repertory similar to the standard of contemporary US bluegrass industry models in their media products, the members of Reliéf also work to localize their performances. During 2002–3 at their monthly performances at Malostranská Beseda, I observed how Reliéf's guitarist Jirka Holoubek acted as an interlocutor (a role called a *bavič* among Czech bluegrassers), filling gaps between English language songs with jokes and commentary that engages the crowd effectively – in Czech. Jirka's dance between Czech and English indicates how practically important it is to engage an audience in a language that they can understand – yet it also shows how central the dance between Czech and American is to Czech bluegrassers. Even when they downplay or carefully compartmentalize "Americanism", they still play with it.

Figure 2: Prague-based bluegrass group Reliéf's frowning faces and casual clothing present an image similar to that of North Carolina-based Steep Canyon Rangers as shown in a publicity photograph from ca. 2005.

My performances with the band Sunny Side through the winter of 2002 and the spring of 2003 led me to reconsider the stance of bands who used a more overtly Americanist costume. In preparation for my first public show with the band, Jirka lent me a vest, as I had dark pants and a white shirt that would work. I arrived at the club a bit earlier, anxious about the evening, about my ability to play up to Jirka's standard, to his speed! I had worn my "costume", thinking nothing of it. When the band members arrived, I was surprised: all of them were wearing 'normal' clothes, and carrying suit bags with their outfits. As they all changed in the green room, I noticed that the suits and shirts were well-worn, hard used from many costumed performances. I also noted that they were most certainly costumes. Whereas some people in Czech daily life do, indeed, have a "western" esthetic in their daily dress – I saw plenty of cowboy hats, boots, and large belt buckles on Prague's trams – these bluegrassers did not. They

did have an Americanist stage presence, but were otherwise unaffected by the "*životní styl*" that their music can sometimes entail. It seemed a tired ritual, to mount up in garb before heading out on stage, but the musicians did it for show after show every time I have seen them, without fail.

The visual image has become an essential part of Sunny Side's self-presentation, with their faces and costumes signifying the content of the music, the location of the lyrics, and the style with which it will be delivered. Although the costume that they have chosen is a bit eclectic, it instantly speaks its purpose, to indicate Americanness – and with the unmistakable white face of the banjo in the picture, there is nothing else it could be but bluegrass. Huizinga portrays the solidifying through repetition that play fosters:

> ...it at once assumes fixed form as a cultural phenomenon. Once played, it endures as a new-found creation of the mind, a treasure to be retained by the memory. It is transmitted, it becomes tradition. It can be repeated at any time ... In nearly all the higher forms of play the elements of repetition and alternation (as in the *refrain*), are like the warp and woof of a fabric (Huizinga 1955: 9–10).

Just as the early songs of the Czech bluegrass pioneers have become a body of common knowledge that joins together many in the Czech communities I observed, Sunny Side have become an institution in their own right as performers of "traditional bluegrass" in Czech circles. The album this group was selling in 2002 when I played with them inscribed a new circle of "tradition" – it is a collection of songs by the Greenhorns, a tribute but also a commercial venture – and a successful one (Sunny Side, 2001). These songs were often requested in the parts of performances when audience input in song choice was integrated into the band's typical audience-participation games. This is another "tradition" that they reproduce with good effect: Pavel Handlík's vocal emulation of Greenhorns singer Honza Vyčítal is as compelling as his performances that evoke Bill Monroe or Charlie Waller. The performances that reference the Greenhorns use a musical aesthetic that Sunny Side have mastered in bluegrass to convey, instead of Americanness, something more overtly Czech.

On the spectrum that runs between "American" and "Czech" identity extremes, their "Greenhorns" album is the only one they have published with Czech lyrics, or any artistically articulated "Czechness" at all. This deviation from their American traditionalist program is an example of recent formal/generic improvisation, similar to the ways that Jirka Holoubek spins

an impromptu Czech frame around Reliéf's English-language bluegrass. Many Czechs adapt their version of bluegrass music-making to improvise within the ritualized standard of tradition.

Enriching / Improvising within Rituals

Taking part in the jam at U Supa, I sensed aspects of ritual, especially in the regularity of its setup and in the devotion of participants. I sensed that this jam was not a good place to observe how the construction of bluegrass music-making in the Czech Republic happens, as at the jam, people were focused on performing and socializing, not on learning. Huizinga warns, "Tricky questions such as these will come up for discussion when we start examining the relationship between play and ritual" (Huizinga 1955: 8). How, indeed, do Czechs playfully make the rituals of bluegrass their own? Margaret Drewal adds dimension to the tricky nature of ritual "in play":

> Practitioners ... are aware that when ritual becomes static, when it ceases to adjust and adapt, it becomes obsolete, empty of meaning, and eventually dies out. They often express the need to modify rituals to address current social conditions (Drewal 1992: 8).

Spending Easter weekend with the twenty-or-so other "students" at the *Lhotka u Telče* bluegrass workshop, I observed more ways that Czech bluegrassers cultivate a flexibly changing tradition. Czech bluegrass, as I observed it in that spring of 2003, was a process of transmission characterized by a careful balance of innovation and tradition, within a constant flow of media. The various playspaces that participants constructed and honed during this event showed a variety of approaches and esthetic values, but all were in motion, developing and changing.

The principal part of the workshop was the transmission of the practices of instrumental, vocal, and theatrical performance. Students had paid two thousand Czech crowns (around 100 USD at the time) to learn from members of the band Reliéf, with help from banjoist Zdeněk Roh, and Dutch bluegrass polymath and Czech resident Ralph Schut. The long holiday weekend included breakout classes for specific instruments (I joined the mandolin class); in larger sessions, the whole group learned about vocal harmonizing, microphone setup, songwriting, and other issues that come up in bluegrass performance.

At the workshop, I got to see beginners under the tutelage of Czech bluegrass experts. In their interactions I observed – and was taught – what was most valued by these experienced musicians – what they felt was important enough to impress on their students. The tension between the written or received tradition and the necessary flexibility of individual expression seemed ever-present. The music's nature as a flexible and personally-grounded performance medium was emphasized at many points, even as a strict adherence to norms of sound production, song form, and group dynamics was enforced. I felt in my own musicality the challenge to maintain the enlivening flux of the music even as I crystallize it into a standard, durable entity that I can hold on to, keep for the future, and share with others with compatible musicalities. At the *Lhotka* workshop and elsewhere, I came across many examples that reveal this tension at play.

The continuous change effected within the music through composition was one aspect of the music I observed. Composition of a traditional sort, as Tomáš Dvořak demonstrated in our mandolin workshop session, was a large part of his preparation for performance. As Tomáš showed us, the formulaic composition that he uses in the construction of his mandolin solos is one that employs individual creation. He handed out notated versions of tunes and songs and then talked to us about what we could do to the written notes in creating our own version. He demonstrated a slide that joins the first few notes of the Monroe tune "Big Mon", saying that this was an example of making it *bohatší*, "richer", that this kind of ornament adds *něco navíc*, "something more" to the bare bones of the tune as he has written it out on staff paper for us.

I also realized the importance of the infrastructure and media to the learning and adaptation of bluegrass in a Czech context. One afternoon towards the end of the workshop, a local organizer hauled a photocopy machine to the rural workshop site in the bed of his truck. Despite the importance of face-to-face transmission at the workshop, that copier was almost continuously in use for the whole afternoon as students furiously copied tablatures, songbooks, and technique tutors made available by the staff – expanding their bluegrass libraries, and spreading further more integral parts of the music's repertory and performance. At this same workshop in 2008, I saw people making similar exchanges with more advanced technology: laptops and multi-gigabyte hard drives full of sound recordings and other media.

Back at Prague after the 2003 workshop, I reflected on this tension of traditions/innovations, and the effort to enrich a performance. My work with Sunny

Side revealed a similar desire to enrich performance. Jirka Králík proposed that we play some tunes in a "double fiddle" style, following the model set by Bill Monroe and other early bluegrass performers. He used the same adjective to describe the benefits of adding another fiddle to Sunny Side's sound: *bohatší*. With this new element, the performance would be richer and more satisfying for us as performers, and more rich an experience for the observing audience. There would be the innovation of a new element, but also a rooting of the practice in established bluegrass practice.

'Enriching' the performance is not always a pre-determined effort. For my first 'double-fiddle' performance with Sunny Side at club CI-5, I joined the band for the first set and we played all the songs that Jirka and I had rehearsed and worked out duet parts for. During the intermission, I was packing up my instrument, when banjoist Zbyněk Podskalský asked me what I was doing: "*Co děláš?*" He indicated that I should come back to join them for the second set. Jirka and I looked at each other, shrugged, and ad-libbed the rest of the performance in various ways – improvising duo figures and whole instrumental verses, passing off accompanying lines and solo breaks. It was exhilarating, risky, and though not perfect, was an enlivening point of excitement for the band as we performed, and for an audience that knew it was seeing something on the edge of its creation. As Drewal points out in discussing ritual and change, "(s)ometimes change is the result of long deliberations, oftentimes it is more spontaneous" (Drewal 1992: 8).

One other source of excitement at CI-5 that evening was...me – an American fiddler was on stage. Though I was disguised in Czech Americanist costume, I was still "Lee ze Severní Karoliny," someone with a connection to the real United States. Czech innovations could enrich a bluegrass performance, but I sensed that for these folks at CI-5, I might have the connoisseurship to authenticate or validate it. This made me uncomfortable, on reflection. As I refined my approach to fieldwork in 2002–3, then, I wrestled with the fact that I could not apprentice myself to a master musician in the traditional ethnomusicologist model of "bimusicality" (Hood: 1960). I realized that I could most effectively study not the way that Czechs played the music as such, but how they created the space and community that would enable the larger play of bluegrass. Whether in a cowboy hat or cosmopolitan dress, playing at a high level or just beginning, bluegrassers cooperated in making the music work in a Czech context. How could I pose my fieldwork to understand this play without somehow disturbing the playspace?

Ruining Play with Work / Outlining It as Play

> ...it creates order, *is* order. Into an imperfect world and into the confusion of life it brings a temporary, a limited perfection. Play demands order absolute and supreme. The least deviation from it 'spoils the game', robs it of its character and makes it worthless (Huizinga 1955: 10).

In exploring the possible deformations of play, Huizinga distinguishes "spoilsports" and "cheats" (Huizinga 1955: 11). A spoilsport ruins play by denouncing its validity, revealing its un-reality. The cheat actually reinforces what Huizinga calls the "magic circle" of the game by attempting to get ahead, pretending to play the game within its rules while bringing in exterior (non-play) elements that further play goals. I have not been able to name any instances of "cheating" in the play of this music.

There don't seem to be a lot of Czechs who spoil the "game," either. People not in the community of "players" in the ČR tended, in my observations, to regard it with neutrality or, at worst, with an ambivalent disregard. People don't seem to go out of their way to question the performances or motives (and the play) of Czech bluegrassers.

Except for me: I was the only one there who was posing questions, trying to find out what was going on. I was questioning the existence of the music and its community. What would drive someone to do that? This essay itself is a possible spoiling of the unquestioned functioning of this music's undisturbed play. I feel the spoiling process going on most strongly when I play recordings of my Czech friends to musicians and others, especially in the U.S. The reaction is one of disbelief, amazement, and often amusement. Even with knowledge of the cultural context and my strong relationships with many of the musicians involved, the sounds themselves still clash with US bluegrass performances, and can sound skewed or distorted (especially voices and texts). When does a music lose its ties and begin to create new ones that connect it to other people, places, things and encompasses a new world of creative play?

At a performance by Reliéf in Prague during fieldwork in 2008, Jirka Holoubek introduced me onstage, telling the audience about my background and history in the Czech Republic, and called me to the microphone to explain *why* I was in Prague, and what exactly I was doing for my "work".[1] He didn't press

[1] He used the word *práce,* a word that in Czech can refer to employment, or a specific "work," such as a *disertační práce*, or "dissertation".)

the issue all that long, but did get all of us laughing about the fact that I was there that evening *pracovně* ("workingly") while playing the fiddle. Moments such as these indicate that Czech bluegrassers *know* the play they are engaged in, and that they accept the oddness that my work is based in our shared musical play just as they do the persisting, distinct, and somewhat unusual Czechness of their Americanist performances.

During the years since I entered the Czech bluegrass world in 2002, I have had many chances to continue in the play and work of my fieldwork, both at home in the US and while traveling. One of the aspects of Czech bluegrass work and play that continues to intrigue me is the Czech production of bluegrass musical instruments. While I still haven't saved up enough money to buy one personally, I see that a growing trade in Czech instruments has become a major way that these two worlds of bluegrass that I know separately are becoming more connected. Czech luthiers produce instruments that rival bluegrass banjos and mandolins made in the United States – at lower cost and with a unique European cachet.

Names such as Čapek, Prucha, and Krishot adorn the pegheads of these instruments, bringing a trace of Czechness into US musical practice. These musical objects serve, in a way more concrete than Reliéf's album packaging, as a reproduction of bluegrass norms in the United States, one that is validated by US consumption. Czechs have found ways that their bluegrass experience and efforts can profit them in very tangible ways – yet also validate their play. Instead of ruining the game, then, this particular form of bluegrass-related work has provided more ways for play to thrive.

The Ambiguity of Play

Sunny Side's 1998 album "Lonesome Station" has a subtitle, "In Czech Canada" printed at the bottom of the liner notes' cover, below a photo of the band in costume standing next to a railroad siding labeled with a "Lonesome Station" placard. They refer to the nickname of a protected natural region southeast from Prague, a popular recreational destination since the 1920s. Sunny Side's members place themselves within the Czech landscape, and within the history of the land as an imaginary playspace. The play crosses boundaries between real and imaginary, between the Czech trees and railroad ties and the cowboy boots and banjo that accompany bluegrass music making, opening spaces that can be both Czech and *not* Czech at the same

time. A playful sense of humor, I have found, underlies this paradox, easing the tension that it embodies.

Like bluegrassers returning home from the U Supa jam, or from the Lhotka bluegrass workshop, the members of Sunny Side know that they are not in Canada. Their earnest and devoted costumes and CD packaging show traces of self-deprecating humor that is play within that play, in language, thought, and action. In humor, the contradictions of play are resolved as things are meant to be other than they seem. While Huizinga's conception of play hints in numerous places at flexibility, scholars have more recently developed the ambiguous aspect of play:

> Geoffrey Bateson (1955) ... suggests that play is a paradox because it both is and is not what it appears to be. Animals at play bite each other playfully, knowing that the playful nip connotes a bite, but not what a bite connotes. In turn, Richard Schechner (1988) ... suggests that a playful nip is not only not a bite, it is also *not* not a bite. That is, it is a positive, the sum of two negatives. Which is again to say that the playful nip may not be a bite, but it is indeed what a bite means (Sutton-Smith 1997: 1).

The ambiguity of play, as Brian Sutton-Smith here suggests, is its ability to suggest, invoke, warn, or entice through creating territories that are distinct from the non-play world even as they effect real change in that world. The bluegrassers' assertion of Americanness within Czech society seems similar to the meaning-laden nips of animals at play, while an "actual bite" suggests *actual* Americanness.

My presence as an observing, participating ethnographer – who is also a U.S. citizen – adds new elements to the play in which Czech bluegrassers assert American-ness. I have taken part *pracovně* and playfully, knowing that what I wear or sing as an adopted Czech bluegrasser connotes Americanness, but not always invoking everything that Americanness or Czechness connotes. The Schechnerian model seems more applicable to this discussion driven with paradoxes: Czech bluegrass is not only not an actual Americanness, it is also *not* not a real expression of something from the United States. As the sum of two negatives (not American yet also *not* not American), Czech bluegrassers' playful representation of Americanness deals with imagination, but also with reality – making it, I conclude, an ideal way of dealing with social change. Bren (2002) and Reidinger (2007) both link tramping and cottaging to political concerns

and movements present in the Czech lands since before 1900, posing them – as I pose bluegrass play – as serious responses to social change.

Indeed, the changes in the past half-century are dramatic. Since 1965, Czechs saw a thaw in socialist control, normalization, the changes of 1989, a split with Slovakia, and entrance into the European Union in 2004. Bluegrassers have seen similar change in these five decades; 1965 marks the beginning of banjoist Marko Čermák's career with the five-stringed banjo (Cermak 2010: 55), the first weekend-long bluegrass festival in the US state of Virginia (Rosenberg 2005: 205–212), and other watershed moments for this music as it has become a global form of work and play.

Czechs' play in bluegrass illustrates a particular creativity in dealing with both local and global issues. As a form of recreation during the Communist party primacy, Americanism provided tramps and other participants with an ambiguously dissident form of expression. After 1989, the ambiguity of Czech bluegrass play continues. While I detect in some bluegrass projects a political support for various political or social views connected with the United States (for instance, flying the Confederate States of America's "rebel flag"), more often I sense that Americanism has become a distinct way of being Czech. Geographer Petr Jehlička describes some forms of post-1989 Americanism as social alternatives ... "to the dominant individualistic and consumerist culture" (Jehlička 2008: 128). The bites and nips of bluegrass play that I discuss in this essay thus are both local and global, becoming responses to the encroachment of Americanization in economic and cultural globalization, but also a way of being "Americanist" and entirely Czech.

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Acknowledgements

The generous support of a Fulbright IIE grant supported me during that research year of 2002–3. For their patience, for all the experiences and words, guidance and suggestions, notes, jams, and tunes many thanks to all the following who helped me through the field work and play in this article: to Irena Pribylová and Zuzana Jurková (and their respective universities – MU and UK); to all at the Czech Fulbright Commission; to Zdeněk Roh and all of Roll's Boys (Vít Piskač, Jirka Hebký, Aleš Weselý, and Ralph Schut); to Jirka Králík and the rest of Sunny Side (Pavel Handlík, Zbyněk Podskalský, Mirek Prokop, and Radim Duda); to Reliéf (Zbyněk Bureš, Pavel Peroutka, Tomáš Dvořák, and Jiři Holoubek); to all my fellow "students" at the Lhotka *bluegrassová dílna* workshop; and to the folks at *U Supa* (Ivo Drbohlav, Mira, Tomáš Tichý, Zdeněk, Věra, Mírek, Karel, Slávek), and to all the rest.

CZECH ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The Czech Association for Social Anthropology (CASA) is a civic association of professional academics in social anthropology, graduates in social anthropology (MA level) and supporters from related disciplines. It is part of the academic community of the Czech Republic. CASA has been a member of Council of Scientific Societies of Czech Republic since 2010 and a member of World Council of Anthropological Associations since 2012.

The aims of CASA are

- to support the development of scientific research and education in social anthropology;
- to represent Czech social anthropology in relation to the government, public and non-governmental organizations and on international anthropological forums;
- to popularise the achievements of social anthropology among wider public;
- to create and cultivate relations among social anthropologists and specialists of related disciplines in the Czech Republic and internationally;
- to maintain contacts and establish cooperation with similar professional organizations in the Czech Republic and abroad.

To attain its aims, the association organizes specialized conferences, lectures and seminars, prepares and publishes publications, elaborates and presents suggestions concerning the improvement of education and research in social anthropology, and offers the findings of social anthropology for practical implementation. It strives for the improvement of quality of social anthropology and for respecting the rules and norms of science and teaching, and observes the ethics of scientific work. The association assists its members in research and other investigative activities. The association actively cooperates with similar organizations abroad and participates in the global development of social anthropology.

Anyone with a Master's degree in social anthropology or related discipline who is interested in the development of social anthropology and honours the norms and rules of CASA is welcome to become a full member of CASA. CASA is also open to students of social anthropology and related subjects who may attain limited membership.

THE *OŞENI* AND THE DYNAMICS OF THEIR EMBLEMATIC MUSIC

Speranța Rădulescu

Abstract: ***The Oaş is a small rural region in the far north of Transylvania. Before 1990, its community life and local culture was still very lively. Music, with its distinct identity, was supported by several traditional institutions: the Sunday dance, the wedding, collective pastoral feasts, the bee, and caroling. The Oşeni were better off than their fellow countrymen, because the men often left their villages to find employment, taking hard, but well-paid seasonal jobs all around the country (e.g. repairing high-voltage poles). As their wealth grew, so did their ambition to show it off. Like today, the symbols of prosperity were houses (multistory, with monumental gates), and music, deliberately different from all other Romanian music.***

Emigration to the West began in the 1990s and intensified in the 2000s. At the beginning, it was riddled with deprivation. In a few years, the Oşeni organized themselves in communities where each newcomer could find shelter and a job. After a turbulent period, the Oşeni adhered to lawfulness, and their earnings from construction work grew substantially. They invest all of their money in houses (the construction of which is supervised by their parents, who stayed behind in the village), in lavish parties with live music, and in expensive traditional costumes, which they put on occasionally, making sure they are also photographed in them. They come back on short vacations at Easter, on the Feast of Dormition, and at Christmas. The rest of the time, their houses are empty.

In the new socio-economic mechanism, music, which the Oşeni play at home, but also take with them abroad, plays an essential role. Like houses, it runs a constant race to the heights, the super-acute register symbolizing prestige, success, and uniqueness. This music, which I am going to speak about, has now reached a pitch that threatens the singers' throats and the physical integrity of the accompanying violins.

Keywords: ***Romanian (rural) music; emblems of identity; musical identity***

The Oaş is a small rural region in the far north-west of Transylvania (Romania), with infertile soil and orchards and forests once rich, but today mostly shrunk. Before 1990, its community life and local culture was still very lively. The music, with its distinct identity, was supported by several strong traditional institutions: the young men's group (*ceata feciorilor*), the young women's group (*ceata fetelor*), and the communities of married women and men, respectively. These groups used to organize the Sunday village dancing parties (*horă*) and Christmas caroling, as well as weddings, funerals, and events related to customs, such as the feast of the patron saint of the local church, collective pastoral feasts, bees – all accompanied by or concluded with music.

At the beginning of the Communist period (1950–1989), the life of Romanian peasants who had joined the cooperative farms was full of hardships. The inhabitants of the Oaş used to live precarious lives, too, according to Cernea (1940, 1941) and to the local elders' memories of the 1990s (Bouët et al. 2002: 191–193). However, they soon became better off compared to their fellow countrymen, because the men often left their native region to do well-paid, seasonal work all around the country, e.g. electric network repairs on high-voltage posts, lumbering, ditch and tunnel digging, mowing on large areas. As their relative prosperity rose, so did their ambition to make it visible. The emblems of welfare and symbols of their *oşean* identity were, similar to today, two-storied houses with impressive wooden gates, the local costume, then preserved by most people, and the music, completely different from that of the rest of rural Romania.

The courage and the practice of leaving their homes and looking for jobs, no matter how strenuous, made the *oşeni* the first Romanian peasants to emigrate to Western countries: at first to France, then to Austria, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the UK. Music, in addition to photographs, mobile phones, and later the internet helped them cope with the distress of lengthy displacement.

Furthermore, I **will** refer to the changes undergone by *oşenească* music over time, insisting on those that occurred during the period of massive emigration of the oşeni to the West in 1990–2014. On the one hand, I will rely on bibliographic research, and on the other, on field investigations that I undertook between 1990 and 1998 – with significant returns in 2000, 2006, 2010, 2013, and 2014 – in Oaş and in Paris, respectively, together with two French ethnomusicologists: Bernard Lortat-Jacob and Jacques Bouët[1]. Our field information and documents

[1] I should mention that Jacques Bouët had already been to Oaş in 1969 and 1979. It was he who suggested that his colleagues concentrate on this small region, one of the most dynamic and with the most well-preserved traditional music in the entire province of Transylvania.

Figure 1: Dancing Party at *Sâmbra oilor* (spring agricultural custom: when the sheep are first taken to pasture). Painting of Ion Țânțaș (1909–1973).

Figure 2: Sunday dancing party (*horă*) in the village of Racsa, 1998.
Photo: Bernard Lortat-Jacob.

corroborated with those inherited from Béla Bartók's 1912 research and with those from the archives of the Folklore Institute, allowing the three ethnomusicologists to shape a sequential image of the musical life of Oaş covering roughly a century. We transformed this image into a discourse incorporated into a book and a CD (Bouët, Lortat-Jacob, Rădulescu, 2002; Lortat-Jacob 2014). Here, I will briefly describe some of the sequences.

1912–1990

In 1912, when Béla Bartók did brief investigations in the region[2], the major genre of occasional *oşenească* music was the *danț* (pl. *danțuri*). Like today, the *danț* was an elastic musical category: any of its subsumed melodies can be performed slowly and parlando rubato, like a vocal or instrumental lyrical song, or giusto, with equalized phrases covering two two-beat bars each, like dance music. In other words, a *danț* may have two versions, named *de țîpurit* (to sing) and *de jucat* (to dance), respectively. The performance of the *danț* was monovocal as such, or with a violin (*ceteră*) accompaniment, or just instrumental, on the violin (*ceteră,* pl. *cetere*). The violin was a recent instrument in the region, which only a handful of Roma musicians (*ceteraşi*) could play. The tuning of the violin was unsystematic, either in the vicinity of the standard pitch (up to a major second higher), or a minor third lower (Bartók 1967–1975)[3]: the musicians ignored the standard pitch or they couldn't see any reason to care about it.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the available sound documents[4] indicate that the tuning had stabilized at a minor third above the standard pitch. The rise – this one and the following – was done by preparing the violin: by moving the tailpiece closer to the neck, shortening the bridge, bringing the strings nearer to one another on the bridge, and repositioning the soundpost. Such prepared violins (*ceteră*) allowed the musicians (now both Roma and

[2] Bartók spent 11 days in Oaş county. There, he recorded 20 pieces from the villages Tarna Mare, Comlăuşa, Turț and Iapa. Their musical notations were included in his *Rumanian Folk Music*, *vol. I. Instrumental Melodies* and *vol. II. Vocal Melodies* (Bartók 1967–1973).

[3] Acc. Béla Bartók (*Rumanian Folk Music*, vol. I), the *danț* is a musical category with undetermined form. However, in this article we do not go into details, as the issue was dealt with in Bouët et al., 2002, ch. XXVII: 275–294.

[4] Recordings existing in the archive of the Constantin Brăiloiu Folklore Institute, made by Iosif Herțea in 1962.

Romanian) a dense instrumental performance in double chords and even in parallel fifths[5]. The *cetera* could be accompanied by a second *cetera* that played "disordered" bichords (i.e. that in no way suggest a mode or the Western tonality). In the 1970s, the second violin was replaced by an instrument for harmonic accompaniment: the *zongora*[6]. Like today, it produced major chords, always in "disordered" succession.

1990–2002

In the 1990s, young, unmarried men crossed borders and illegally reached Western countries (illegally, since getting a visa is still difficult). Emigration to the West became a kind of rite of initiation: to become a real man, a young *oşean* had to confront it. Some found employment in construction and worked in frenzy, scaring the local unions, and saved to buy used cars and to organize lavish weddings in their villages. In Paris, the *oşeni* live in abandoned buildings without utilities[7]. Others, in search of employment, commit minor offenses, sometimes discovered and punished by the police. The *oşeni* spend their free time listening to cassettes with their music from home and perusing family wedding photos. Some brought along their *cetere*, which animate the modest parties they organize. Back at home, traditional life follows its course. The tuning of the *cetera*, whose rise began in the 1960s and 70s – perhaps even sooner – continues to go higher. The *oşeni* associate high pitches with masculinity, force, energy, and success in life[8]. Therefore, very high voices are privileged: both women and men sing in a piercing, super-high pitch. The village *hora* continues, although the young men left at home are few. People have started to abandon traditional costumes, but still don them during important feasts: Easter, Christmas, Dormition, and some wedding parties.

The *oşeni* now distinguish "their" music from all the other music that circulates on the territory of Romania: music from other regions, folkloric

5 This style was already heralded in the pieces gathered by Bartók in 1912.

6 The *zongora* is a guitar with four chords tuned in a major chord.

7 For details and photos, see Bouët et al. 2002: 299–303.

8 The association between high pitches and success in life indirectly resulted from our conversations with the Oşeni. There was also one occasion when it was confirmed in public. Upon the release of the disc *Glasuri şi cetere din Oaş* in the only town of the region, Negreşti (2014), this author mentioned the connection in her short speech. Powerful cries of approval and deep satisfaction broke out at once in the auditorium packed with Oşeni.

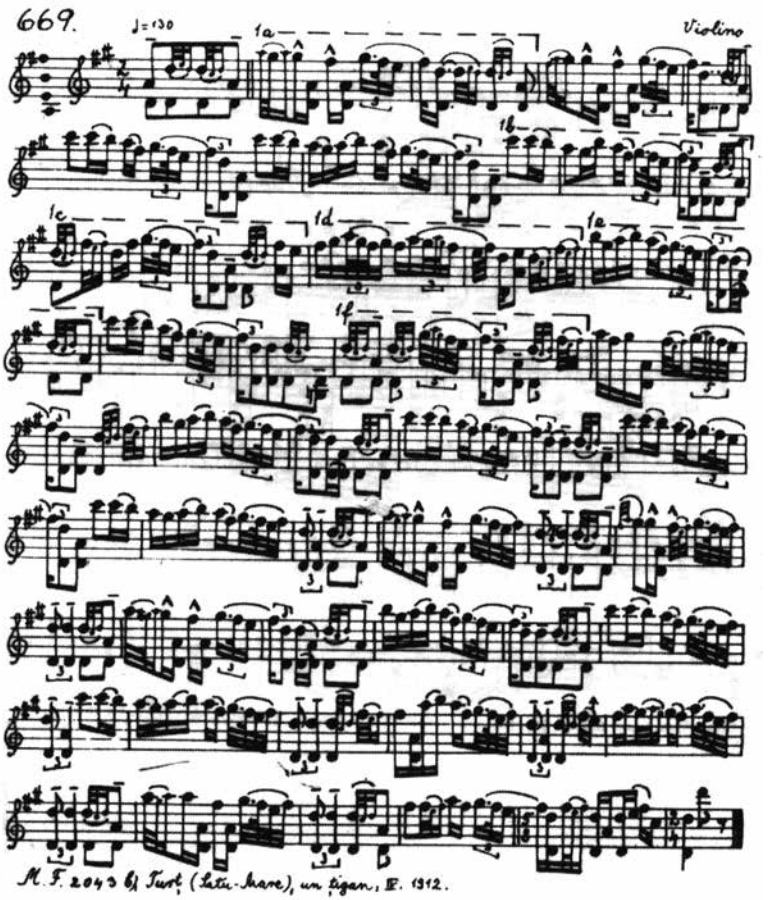

Figure 3a: *Danț* from the village of Turț, Oaș. Collected by Béla Bartók and included in Bartók 1967: *Rumanian Folk Music, vol. I*: no 669.

music, and popular music from the town called *muzică domnească* (music for gentlemen). The latter is performed by small ensembles invited from the city only at wedding banquets, in a space devoted to them[9]. The vernacular has assimilated the opposition between *oşenească* music and *domnească* music. The former, never amplified, is performed before people of all ages who participate in its production both physically and emotionally; the latter, even if

[9] *Muzica domnească* is produced with a strong amplification in a tent in the yard where the nuptial dinner takes place or in a hall rented for the purpose. *Oşenească* music is performed by 2–3 *ceteraşi* either in the barn or in another isolated place.

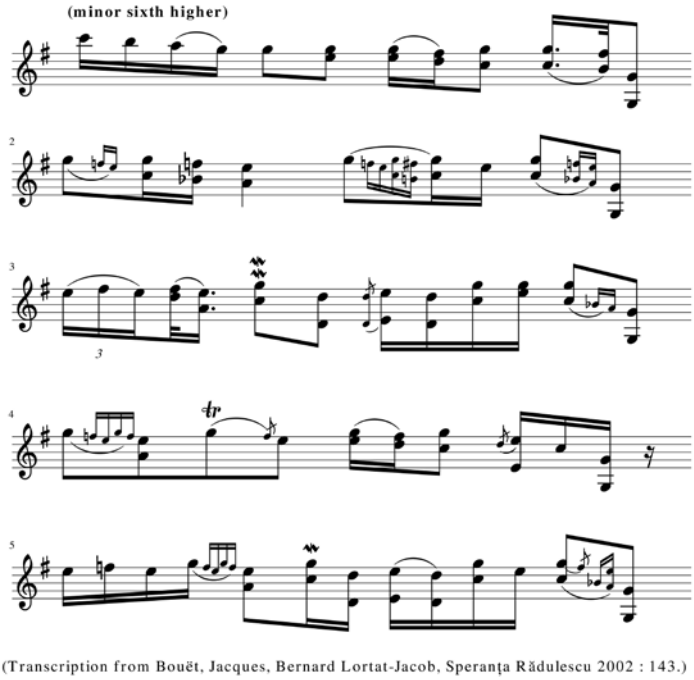

Figure 3b: *Danț* from the village of Moișeni, Oaș. Included in Bouët, Jacques, Bernard Lortat-Jacob, Speranța Rădulescu 2002: 143.

(Transcription from Bouët, Jacques, Bernard Lortat-Jacob, Speranța Rădulescu 2002 : 143.)

noisily amplified, acts like a musical background. Presently, less than half of the *ceteraşi* are Roma: Romanians seem determined to regain full control of their music[10].

2002–2007

The year 2002: All Romanians, including the *oşeni*, are granted the right to travel to the West without visas. The criminal activity of the *oşeni* often presented by the Western media gradually decreases. Men get jobs in construction and in deforestation, they rent apartments, and they start bringing their wives with them, who soon find jobs as housekeepers. People past their 30s start emigrating, too. The successful *oşeni* from foreign countries take photographs in their traditional costumes, which become symbols of an "*oşenity*" they are

[10] In 1912, Bartók recorded instrumental *danțuri* performed by three Roma musicians. At the beginning of the 21st century, most *ceteraşi* are Romanian. However, the most valued musicians in the region are Roma.

strongly attached to[11]. They start organizing parties to which they bring *ceteraşi* from their villages. Back at home, the *hora* (Sunday dancing party), the most important and frequently iterated event that in principle mobilizes the entire community, is vanishing. Traditional costumes also begin to disappear, but festive costumes are preserved for important events and *oşeneşti* weddings, which are different from Western-style ones, labeled as *domneşti* weddings. The *cetera* continues its flight to new heights: it is already tuned a minor sixth above the standard tuning.

2007 and onwards

Romania joins the EU. The *oşeni* are now fully legal residents of Western Europe. They bring in their whole families, rent decent lodgings, and some even purchase apartments. The more resourceful establish their own construction firms. Their revenues increase. Many of them return to their homeland, where their parents look after the construction of huge, two- or three-storied houses, which they inhabit only 4–5 weeks a year.

Babies are born that will learn foreign languages and attend foreign schools. The emigration trend broadens its geographical radius, but the most compact communities remain to be those in France. At the age of four or five, every child of an *oşean* immigrant is photographed in the complete *oşenesc* costume, and the photo is sent to the grandparents to adorn the empty family house. They rent large halls not only for parties among the *oşeni*, but also for weddings and for baptism parties animated by violin players (*ceteraşi*) from their native region. The tone of the *cetera* goes up, again: it is now between a minor and a major sixth above the standard tuning. Demand for music has become frequent, so some *ceteraşi* take up a second residence in large Western cities: this is the case of the *ceteraş* Florin Mihăilă from Seini, who advertises his London address on the internet[12]. At home, the weekly *hora* seems to be extinct. However, it comes back to life in a different form, on great feast days, especially during the August vacations. Those who now organize it are not necessarily the young men, but 30–50 year old immigrants. In August, the *ceteraşi*, now mostly Romanians,

[11] During our field research, most musicians expressed their belief that their music is "wild" (a word they often use with pride) and different from that of the other Romanians, who are incapable of understanding it. In fact, their music is unique in the whole world, they say, in the same way that they themselves are.

[12] Two months ago (in February 2015), the advertisement disappeared.

Figure 4: New houses in Oaș. Photo Petruț Călinescu.
See also www.mandriesibeton.ro/film.php.

Figure 5: Party in the village of Racșa, 2013. Photo: Bernard Lortat-Jacob.

perform, with small breaks, throughout the whole month to meet all of the requests for community or family parties. At the beginning of September, they are exhausted. Overstretched and overworked, their instruments deteriorate quickly, so the active *ceteraşi* must buy new ones every two years[13]. The *hora* takes place on religious feast days following ad-hoc agreements between villagers and the available *ceteraşi*. From a chiefly premarital institution, it has now turned into an occasion for solidarity, for the assertion of identity, for the proclamation of success in life of both the young and old. At the end of the *hora*, singing and drinking parties begin, usually lasting through the following night.

Today, *oşeni* immigrants are facing an unexpected problem: their children, educated abroad and now in their teens, do not seem interested in returning to Romania. This means that the sumptuous houses built for them become worthless. We will be following future developments.

The *oşeni* do not reject the world and its various music, which they indiscriminately call "*muzică domnească*". However, they isolate them, accepting them only at wedding parties, when they allocate relatively generous time and space for them, albeit their minor significance. "*Muzica domnească*" as an symbol of modernity and welfare, allowing them to demonstrate to everybody that they can afford it financially; but in fact, it is listened to with relative indifference, like any sound in the background[14]. The truly important music remains to be "their" *oşenească* music. Although no longer linked to a patriarchal, autarkic way of life, it continues to function as a sound emblem, albeit with a different meaning: through it, the *oşeni* flaunt themselves as strong, determined, victorious people.

The *oşeni* are aware that their music is very different, "wild", and incomprehensible to other Romanians or to anybody else. This suits them well, because they also consider themselves to be unique not only among Romanians, but also on the face of the earth. Hence, there is one more reason to preserve it, emphasizing its – in their opinion – most important and distinctive feature: the very high pitch. Its constant rise is, in fact, the only perceptible transformation of their music over the last decades. However, this rise has become a little slower in recent years, due to the incapacity of the violins and the human voices to support it. I wonder what solutions the *oşeni* will find to overcome these physical and biological limitations of their unlimited ambition.

[13] Acc. the violin player Vasile Batin Tompoşel from the village of Trip (2014).

[14] The authors of À tue tête... (Bouët et al. 2002) reached this conclusion by carefully observing people's reactions during the many wedding parties in which they participated in from 1990 to 1998.

Cultural Hall managers and some schoolteachers, professors, and other *oşeni* intellectuals are bothered by the almost primitive harshness of the music, which could suggest the backwardness of their region. They try to sweeten its "savageness" by encouraging the folklorization of music and dance in schools and cultural halls, and by organizing conventional shows that they hope will become exemplary. But the *oşeni* do not take the folklorized versions seriously, and in no case do they contemplate taming their music to fit such models.

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ACROSS THE CULTURAL DIVIDE: IMMIGRANT ORIENTAL JEWISH CHILDREN MEET ISRAELI FOLKSONG

Shai Burstyn

Abstract: ***Many songs created in pre-State Israel incorporated certain Oriental elements, but their overall stylistic slant, like that of other contemporaneous local cultural products, was largely Occidental. The radical demographic change caused by a massive immigration of Jews from Middle Eastern and North African countries to the new state created enormous pressure to absorb the newcomers both physically and culturally. The ensuing melting pot policy declared by the young state as its supreme national task proved unsuccessful. This failure had many reasons, not least of them the condescending attitude of the absorbing establishment and its inability to fathom the socio-cultural processes involved in such a colossal national project. Against this background, I examine in this article the encounter of immigrant Oriental children with Israeli folksong, mainly from the perspective of musical perception and cultural conditioning. In the 1930s and 1940s, ingrained musical perceptual habits made European-oriented audiences insert variants into the newly composed modal, mildly Oriental songs they used to sing. In the 1950s, however, the musical perceptual habits of immigrant Oriental children hindered them from embracing Israeli folksongs created mainly by composers of Eastern European origin.***

Keywords: ***Israeli folksong; immigration; melting pot; cross-cultural music perception***

מִמִּזְרָח אָבִיא זַרְעֶךָ וּמִמַּעֲרָב אֲקַבְּצֶךָּ
(ישעיה מג:ה)
I will bring thy seed from the east
And gather you from the west
(Isaiah 43: 5)

These words of the prophet Isaiah reverberated in Israel for over a decade after the establishment of the state in 1948. They were a slogan, succinctly expressing the national foundational ethos of the ingathering of the exiles. The Hebrew folksong, resonating the cultural locus of the society in which it grew, is indeed a stylistic mix of Occidental and Oriental elements, whose varied shades reflect the cultural makeup of the human tapestry which gave it voice.

The socio-cultural history of Israel may be likened to a bridge spanning a great divide, linking West and East. The direction of traffic on this bridge mirrors the demographic configuration of the successive waves of Jewish immigration to Eretz Yisrael (Land of Israel): from the late 19th century and on to the 20th century – from West to East; in the 1950s, the time of the great Oriental immigration to Israel – from East to West.[1]

The Occidental orientation of the future State of Israel was self-evident for Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), the "visionary" of the Jewish state. In his epoch-making pamphlet *Der Judenstaat* (1896), he claimed that "Palestine is our ever-memorable historic home... we should there form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism" (Herzl 1896). In Herzl's Eurocentric view, the immigration of European Jews to Palestine would not create a weighty cultural problem: Jewish settlers were to continue their life in the Middle East as if they were in Europe, complete with what he called their "little habits":

> Whoever has seen anything of the world knows that just these little daily customs can easily be transplanted everywhere. The technical contrivances of our day, which this scheme intends to employ in the service of humanity, have heretofore been principally used for our little habits. There are English hotels in Egypt and on the mountain-crest in Switzerland, Vienna cafés in South Africa, French theatres

[1] From a strictly geographical viewpoint, the North African immigration arrived from West to East. Throughout this article the terms Orient(al) and Occident(al) are used in their cultural sense. Furthermore, by Orient, I mean the Middle East rather than East Asia.

> in Russia, German operas in America, and best Bavarian beer in Paris. When we journey out of Egypt again we shall not leave the fleshpots behind... (Ibid.: 36).[2]

In order to gain insight into the cultural background of the Occidental/Oriental stylistic mosaic of which the Israeli folksong is made, it is necessary to take a close look at the waves of immigration from Europe to Palestine, for out of them emerged the elite layer which dominated Israeli society and culture throughout the 20th century and even beyond. It is customary to divide the immigration to Jewish Palestine into five waves, extending from 1882 through the 1930s with short interruptions.[3] The majority of immigrants hailed from Eastern Europe, driven out by incessant anti-Semitic pogroms and/or ideologically motivated by socialist and Zionist goals. Particularly influential were small groups of immigrants from the second and third *Aliyot* made up of young idealistic pioneers, determined to realize their Zionist-socialist convictions. They rebelled against their parents' traditional way of life in Diaspora and sought to create a better, healthier Jewish community in Eretz Yisrael, the land from which their ancestors had been exiled some 2000 years earlier (Bartal 1997; Naor 1984; Hacohen 1998).

Notwithstanding their ideology and aspirations, the culture these young immigrant pioneers brought with them was the one in which they were born and raised and to which they were conditioned. They admired Tolstoy and Pushkin and listened (whenever they could) to Mozart and Chopin. Essentially, they were Europeans in the same deep Eurocentric sense as the Austro-Hungarian Herzl. They mostly spoke Russian and Polish, sang Slavic and Yiddish songs (essentially Eastern European in style) and danced the polka, the Krakowiak, and the hora.

Things began to change when the first generation of children was born in Eretz Yisrael, and the first kindergartens and schools were opened. The teachers, mostly of Eastern European origin, were often educated in Germany (Katinka 1933: 55) (Fig. 1).

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[2] Herzl refers here to *Exodus* 16: 3: "And the children of Israel said unto them, Would to God we had died by the hand of the LORD in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the **flesh pots**, and when we did eat bread to the full; for ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger" (King James Version).

[3] The customary dating of the five *Aliyot* (plural form of *Aliya* – Hebrew for immigration to Israel) is: Aliya I – 1882–1904; Aliya II – 1904–1914; Aliya III – 1918–1923; Aliya IV – 1924–1929; Aliya V – 1930–1939. The historiography of the Aliyot is currently under scholarly revision. See Alroey 2004.

Figure 1: Tel Aviv kindergarten (1915). Photo: Avraham Soskin. Soskin collection, Eretz Israel museum, Tel Aviv.

At first, central European songs were sung with the original German words translated into Hebrew, but soon thereafter some enterprising kindergarten and elementary school teachers voiced dissatisfaction with the noticeable gap that existed between the European musical style of the songs and the new Hebrew life in the Middle East. They demanded Hebrew melodies that would mirror this new life (Ibid.). Responding to this demand, Yehiel Halperin (1880–1942), a pioneer of Hebrew kindergarten education, collaborated with Joel Engel (1868–1927), a world-renowned Russian Jewish composer, in creating 30 new Hebrew songs, specifically designed as "play songs for kindergartens and [elementary] schools" (Halperin 1927).[4] In the introduction Halperin wrote:

[4] *In the Corner* (B'keren Zavit) appeared in two parts containing fifteen songs each. Both parts were published in 1927; the second volume includes a eulogy for Engel, who had died a few months earlier. Engel had immigrated to Eretz Yisrael in 1924, and made relentless efforts to advance the local musical scene. His sudden death nipped in the bud his quest for developing a new Hebrew melodic style from materializing. For an early assessment of his work, see Ravina 1947.

Figure 2: Camels on Tel Aviv beach (1937). Photo: Rudi Weissenstein, Zalmania.

> When you pass by a Hebrew kindergarten in Eretz Yisrael, and when you listen to the songs sung by toddlers, if you have a discerning ear you will hear Russian, Polish, German, and French melodies. You will then realize that this is not a Hebrew kindergarten but a strange concoction of many nations translated into Hebrew (Ibid.: 3).[5]

One of the songs in this new songster was *The Camel*. Halperin's verses describe the camel's gait and the important role camels played in hauling the sand and the cement used to build Tel Aviv (Fig. 2). Engel's melody is purposely simple and repetitious, attempting to capture the Oriental scene portrayed by the words (Ibid.: 6).

Several camel songs were created in the late 1920s and 1930s, ostensibly because camels were at once exotic animals and a common sight of everyday life. Fig. 3 shows the striking opening phrase of the *Camel Driver's Song*, composed in 1927 by Yedidyah Gorochov-Admon (1894–1982):

[5] This and subsequent translations from the Hebrew are mine.

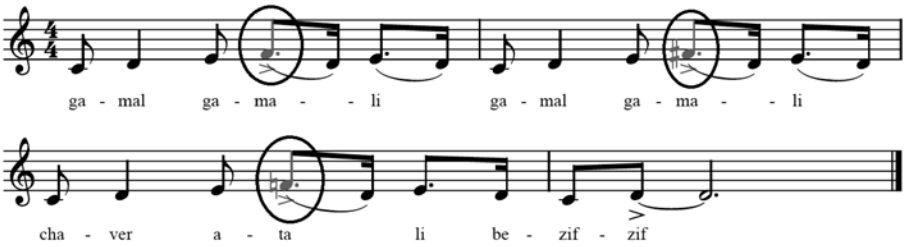

Figure 3: Camel driver's song.

Noteworthy here are the three successive tetrachordal ascents, presumably meant to invoke desert monotony, and the unusual chromatic shift between the stressed f and f#, ostensibly designed to emulate microtonal Arabic singing. Like most other composed songs of the time, this camel song was meant to be sung on various informal communal occasions, and to thereby attain folksong status. The drastic departure of the opening phrase from the stylistic mainstream of the Slavic repertory sung at the time raises the question of the song's reception, which in turn depends on the song's perception. When dealing with questions of musical reception, one might do well to expose the ingrained musical processing schemata of both the listeners and the performers. In order to understand the response of an audience to a given musical stimulus, one should define the horizon of musical expectations that arise from its deep-seated schemata.[6] Fig. 4 shows how the song was notated in *Shirej Eretz Yisrael (SEY)*.[7]

The intriguing pseudo-microtonal shift has disappeared. The initial motif is repeated here three times without any change, thus losing its strikingly original mark and making little musical sense. The editor of the songster was Dr. Jakob Schönberg (1900–1956), a German-Jewish learned musician, composer and music historian. He had probably received the correctly notated melody from his contacts in Palestine, yet found it advisable to "fix" it. Why? Because he must have been convinced that Hebrew folksongs cannot possibly start this way, and that the f-f#-f shifts were therefore notational errors.[8]

[6] The horizon of expectation concept originated in the work of Hans Robert Jauss in the field of literary reception theory, especially with regard to reader response criticism. I find it an effective tool in dealing with musical reception in general and with the topic at hand in particular (Jauss 1982).

[7] An important collection of Hebrew songs that appeared in Berlin in 1935. The title שירי ארץ ישראל means "Songs of the Land of Israel". Among the almost 250 songs, the editor managed to include some of the newest songs composed and sung in Jewish Palestine, including this camel song.

[8] In the introduction to the songster Schönberg mentions that he notated some of the songs as they were sung to him. His informants were most likely Eretz-Yisraeli pioneers visiting Berlin. Since there

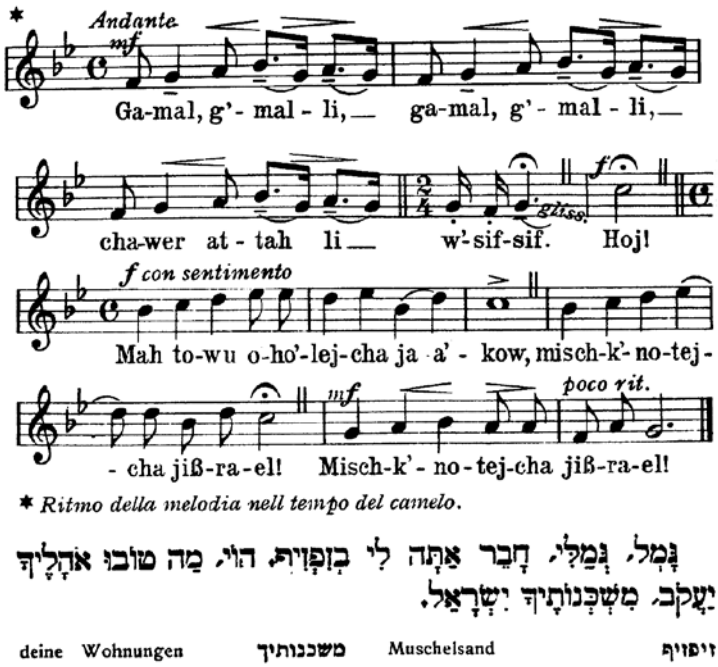

Figure 4: Camel driver's song (*SEY* 1935: 87–88).

It should be pointed out, however, that notating a song correctly in a songster in no way ensures that it shall be faithfully performed. A good example from the same songster is the highly popular *Lo sharti lach artzi*[9] by Yehudah Sharett (1901–1979).

When sung without the support of notation (as is the norm in folk singing), the purposely modal 7th degree in the first two measures (notated accurately by Schönberg) was replaced, in fact, "corrected", on countless community singing occasions, by raising it a minor second, thus making it a leading tone (Fig. 5). This dubious "improvement" considerably impoverished the opening phrase and made it quite mundane. The singing crowds changed the beginning to fit

is no documentary evidence as to which songs were sent to him in notation and which he had learned orally, it is not possible to determine positively whether the "simplified" version of the *Camel Driver's Song* was effected by him or sung to him. If the latter, the oral transmission of the song was already the result of a reception process influenced by Western musical bias. See also the comments in Bayer 1968: 76.

9 "I have not sung to thee, my country". The famous lyrics by the poetess Rachel (1890–1931) were written in 1926 and set to music soon thereafter by Yehuda (Shertok) Sharett.

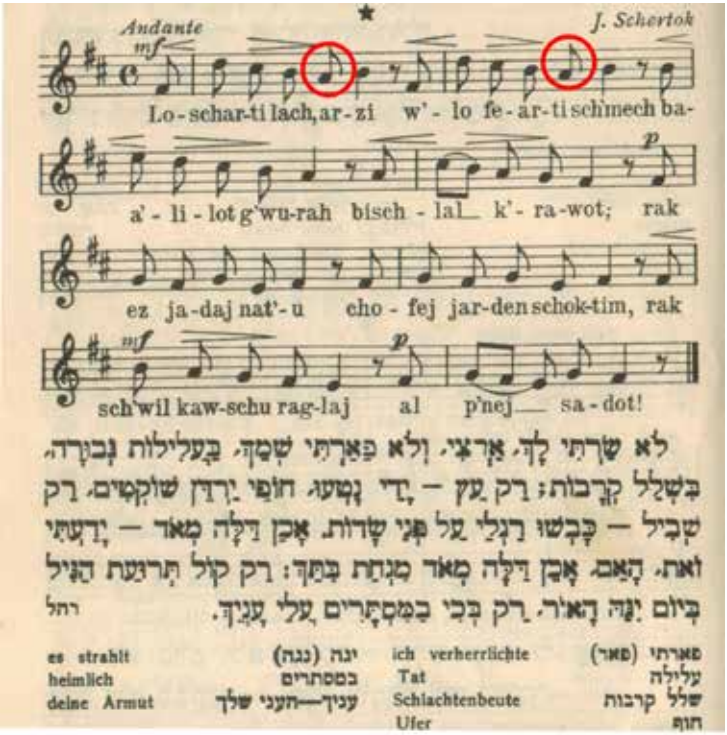

Figure 5:
Lo sharti lach artzi
(SEY 1935: 154).

better into their ingrained Western musical expectations.[10] The major-minor system and especially the leading tone, that powerful agent of the harmonic foundation of Western music, are the forces behind such variants. They are a direct outcome of the musical facet of deep-rooted cultural conditioning that was evident everywhere, in all walks of life: in the architectural style of most houses built in Tel Aviv, the new city built on sand dunes on the shores of the Mediterranean; in the absurdity of living in the hot Middle East but nevertheless insisting – as many European immigrants did – on dressing as if they lived in

[10] Ravina (1971: 302) thought that the great popularity of this song "proves that the style of the Russian romance is still very close to the heart of [Eretz-Yisraeli] audiences" and that by changing the natural minor into melodic minor, they have "brought this melody still closer to the European spirit". I have encountered and collected hundreds of similar variants. Interestingly, a few folk composers, attentive to the "vox populi", adopted the changes their songs underwent in oral transmission. For song composer David Zehavi's reaction see Hacohen 1981: 11.

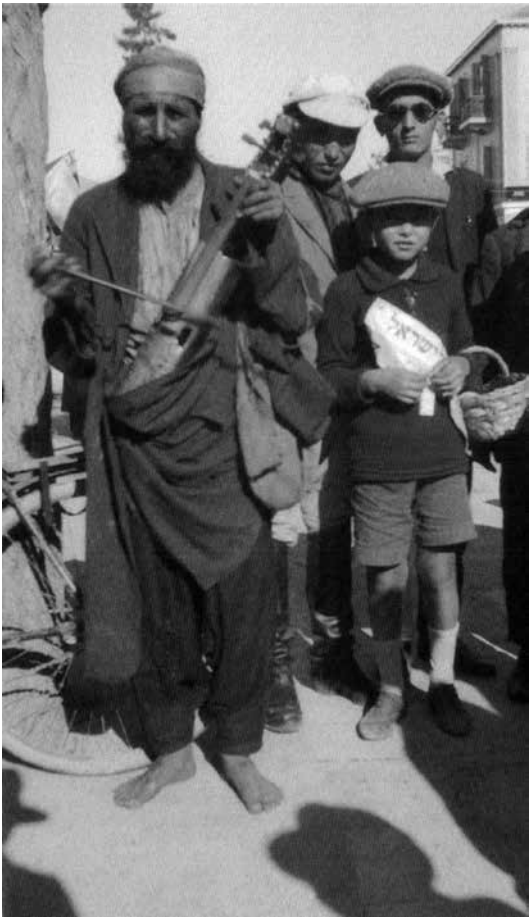

Figure 6: Arab rababa player in Tel Aviv (1925). Photo: S. Korbman. Korbman collection, by special permission of the Administrator General, the State of Israel, as the executor of S. Korbman estate and Eretz Israel museum, Tel Aviv.

Berlin or Warsaw; in continuing to speak European languages and refraining from making an effort to learn Hebrew; in establishing Viennese-style cafés and European-like theater houses. In short, this cultural conditioning has led to the creation of a small Jewish version of Europe in the scorching Middle East. It must be stressed, however, that the overall acculturative situation was considerably more complex, and that concurrently with the phenomena just described, Oriental elements of various kinds gradually – and inevitably – made their way into the life of the Eretz-Yisraeli community, whether in food, social customs, architecture, or visual art (Zalmona 2010). As an integral part of this process, the Oriental soundscape – the muezzin call to prayer, or Arabic folk

music encountered on the streets of the new Jewish towns – was ever-present, and began to influence Hebrew music, both art and folk (Fig. 6).[11]

In folk music, initial experiments similar to the *Camel Driver's Song* have soon matured into an original song genre featuring stylistic traits more appropriate to the new environment. These newly composed songs set themselves apart by adopting Oriental musical elements such as a small range and repetition of short motifs, and above all by minimizing their dependence on harmonic structure (Burstyn 2008).[12] The reception picture of the new song idiom is mixed. Songs in which Oriental features were introduced in moderation were incorporated into the community singing repertory, while stylistically more radical ones did not fare well. Essentially, numerous songs remained anchored in Western tonality in spite of having adopted "Oriental" features such as modality and small range ornamental motifs. For a while such songs seemed capable of challenging the hegemony of the traditional Slavic song style (Ravina 1943: 7). These songs, still popular in the 1950s, were able to – and to some extent probably did – serve as a link, albeit not a strong bridge, between the singing practices of the "old-timers" and the new Oriental immigrants.

At this point, we arrive at the second major change in the direction of traffic on the metaphoric bridge: Following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, huge waves of immigrants from Arabic countries (like Syria and Iraq) and North Africa (mostly Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya) inundated the newly born, Western-oriented state, and caused a far-reaching demographic change, which could not but produce a cultural friction of tremendous magnitude. The numbers involved are hard to comprehend: in the first three years of its existence, Israel, with a previous Jewish population of around 650,000, absorbed almost 700,000 immigrants (Lissak 1999: 3–15), thus abruptly doubling its population and drastically upsetting its demographic makeup. By 1960, Israel had absorbed one million newcomers. Obviously, this

[11] Arabic music heard on the radio was received less well: Many new settlers found it plainly intolerable. Immigrants of German descent sometimes dubbed it "Katzenyammer Musik" – cat wailing music (Interview with Meir Goldstein, 14.5.2003). Their reactions reflected that of many immigrants raised in European culture. Despite (possibly even because) of their high education, the integration process of Jewish immigrants from Germany in Eretz Yisrael in the 1930s was not entirely smooth. They were perceived as condescending, sure of the superiority of their European culture, and tending to shut themselves in a cultural bubble all their own (Shefi 2006: 104).

[12] Gorochov-Admon's song *Yaleil* (composed in 1925) is the earliest composed song attempting to capture the style of Arabic singing. His *Camel Driver's Song* followed two years later (Admon 1973: 9). For the integration of Eastern elements into early Hebrew songs see Barth 2014.

Figure 7: Immigrant tent camp in Israel (1950). Photo: Rudi Weissenstein, Zalmania.

historically unprecedented phenomenon gave rise to numerous severe problems. The new immigrants, mostly, but not only, from Islamic countries, were settled in makeshift temporary tent camps. Daily living conditions were harsh, and affected all aspects of life (Fig. 7).

The leadership of the young state attached utmost national importance to the goal of achieving a speedy social and cultural cohesion between all Jewish Diasporas, and to forging a new collective Israeli identity. The means to attain this ambitious goal was the sociological concept of the "melting pot", first developed during the great waves of immigration to America in the early 20th

century. The meaning of the "melting pot" approach is graphically portrayed in the theater program of Israel Zangwill's play with the same name, first performed in New York in 1909 (Fig. 8).[13]

In a typical melting pot process, immigrants from numerous diasporas and diverse cultures are melted together in a giant virtual pot, thereby losing their original cultural identity and acquiring a new one, shared by all.[14] The melting pot policy, declared by Israel a supreme national goal, was implemented in earnest, not to say with a vengeance. According to Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973), the foremost advocate of the melting pot policy,

> The exiles that are being uprooted and ingathered in Israel do not yet constitute a people, but a mixed multitude and human dust without a language, without education, without roots, and without being able to draw upon a tradition and a vision of a nation...The transformation of this human dust into a cultured, independent nation bearing a vision is no easy task, and the difficulties involved are no less than those of economic absorption (Quoted in Lissak 2003: 7).

Fearing that it would lose the hard-earned achievements which enabled the creation of the State, the political and socio-cultural hegemony misconstrued the metaphor of the melting pot as a license for enforced integration, in which the newcomers were pressured, at times forced, to relinquish their cultural values and adopt those of the absorbing society. Indeed, "melting pot" became a laundered term for cultural coercion.[15] The results were meager at best, especially in the social and cultural domains. All in all, the Israeli melting pot was a colossal failure (Lissak 1999; Zameret 2003).

[13] Zangwill's play was highly successful and ran through 136 performances.

[14] Because this rather crude nation-building social venture has more often than not failed, many countries have later opted for multiculturalism, which they hoped would prove a more amenable approach to forming a new national fabric. In a multicultural process (sometimes described as the "salad bowl" manner) a new entity comes into being, but not at the expense of its individual components, which are allowed to preserve their original identities.

[15] Many members of Israel's political and cultural leadership blatantly criticized the new Oriental immigrants in a paternalistic, condescending manner. *Haaretz* newspaper's respected journalist Arie Gelblum wrote in one of his biting articles: "This is the immigration of a race we have not yet known in the country... We are dealing with people whose primitivism is at a peak, whose educational level borders on absolute ignorance and who have no talent for grasping anything intellectual...They are at an even lower level than that of the former Arabs of Israel...They lack any roots in Judaism, and are totally at the mercy of savage and primitive instincts. As is the case with Africans, you will find among them gambling, drunkenness, and prostitution... chronic laziness and hatred for work; there is nothing safe about this asocial element. [Even] the kibbutzim will not hear of their absorption" (Gelblum 1949).

Figure 8:
Theater program
of Zangwill's play.

The vast majority of educational endeavors were directed at the young.[16] In his semi-autobiographical novel *Scapegoat,* Israeli author Eli Amir (b. 1937), who immigrated to Israel from Iraq at age thirteen, describe superbly the pains of absorption of a group of immigrant children in a kibbutz to which they were sent in order to "integrate" and acquire the values of their new homeland:

[16] Adult immigrants were often collectively referred to as a "desert generation", in allusion to the Biblical desert crossing by the people of Israel after the exodus from Egypt. Criticizing the melting pot policy, the former minister of education Aharon Yadlin said: "We've sinned by considering the fathers' generation a desert generation; Fathers living in a spiritual desert raise their sons in a cultural wasteland". He further castigated the melting pot strategy as a "failure, a pressure cooker and a one-sided coercion of norms that caused spiritual assets to be lost in vain" (Hakak 1980).

> Their [the counselors'] efforts to teach us how to behave, what to sing, how to dance, what to read and how to be different from what we were imposed a strain on us and on them. They tried to provide us with ready-made identities, which we were supposed to put on like a new suit of clothes in order to be like them. We had, indeed, shed our old clothes, but the new ones were too new, as uncomfortable as brand new shoes. Our meetings grew less and less frequent until one day they ceased all together without anyone even noticing. Our mutual failure lay heavily between us (Amir 1987: 72).

In an effort to instill in them the values of Israeli, Western-oriented culture, immigrant children were exposed to the latter's main achievements, among them music. At this point one may ask: What went on in the musical processing mechanism of Oriental children when they were all at once confronted with harmony-based songs? Granted that no human is merely a passive recipient of external stimuli, how did they process musical information that was new and largely foreign to them? Needless to say, no one thought in real time to investigate the cognitive musical processes involved; indeed, the field of music cognition itself had not yet developed appropriate conceptual tools to study the subject. More important, even an optimal cognitive understanding of the musical acculturative process would at best have yielded a partial picture, had it failed to consider the weighty sociological facets involved. Especially pertinent to this issue is the reminder that "reception is a process in which the subject, however conceived, is only relatively autonomous from broader social, economic and political structures" (Press 1994: 231–232). As far as music is concerned, it was found that "affective response to music is determined more by cultural tradition than by the inherent qualities of the music" (Gregory and Varney 1996: 47).

In spite of these reservations, recent music-cognitive research may offer some tentative responses to the above questions. A study carried out at the department of musicology of Tel Aviv University found that completing a musical phrase by improvising its second half is an effective way to expose the internalized stylistic schemata that subconsciously guide musical activities (Bar David 2006). 100 subjects were examined, half of them children. More important for our purpose, half of the subjects were Israelis with Western orientation, the other half – Arabs.

Clear differences were uncovered between the two groups' approach to the pitch parameter, i.e. their use of skips, range and especially concluding tones.

As expected, Western-oriented children always ended phrases on the tonic, or on one of the tones of the tonic chord. In contrast, Arab children ended their phrases on a wide range of diverse tones, and in some cases created continuations that would not have occurred to Westerners (Ibid.: 87) (Fig. 9).[17]

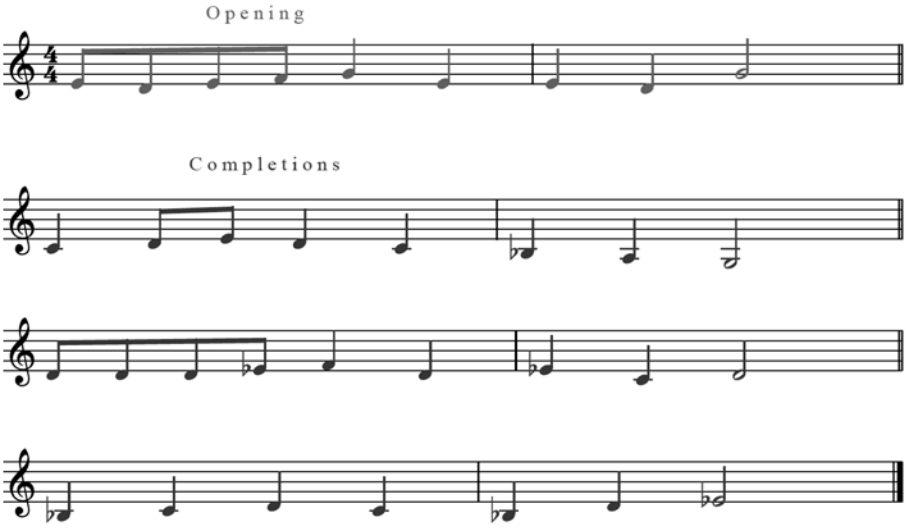

Figure 9: Phrase completion by Arab children.

This experiment supports what is already known about cultural-musical preferences concerning directionality. In broad general terms, classical Western music is dynamic and based on functional harmony. It is teleological, i.e. featuring a directional motion towards a tonal goal. In contrast, Oriental music is essentially static and melody-centered, and is interested above all in celebrating the moment with tiny melodic embellishments. The microtonal arabesques that irritate many Western listeners are its best delicacies. We have here two fundamentally different esthetic attitudes and consequently two divergent musical styles.

Participating in the national effort to mold old-timers and newcomers into a unified cultural entity, the music education leadership tried its utmost to bring

[17] Some Arab children adhered to what Bar David calls the "variant model". Their completions essentially repeat the opening, leaving structural tones in their original place, but manipulating the "filling tones" around them, thus creating melodic nuances and tiny embellishments (Ibid.: 85–86).

Occidental and Oriental musical traditions into closer proximity. The viewpoint of Ben-Zion Orgad (1926–2006), a notable composer and Chief Music Inspector of the Ministry of Education between 1975 and 1988, is especially revealing:

> Israel is in a process of amalgamating its various ethnic communities. This process is also reflected in musical expression; slowly and gradually, the unique tonal character of each community is fading away. For example, microtonal intonation, as existing in Middle Eastern music, and which is so characteristic of the traditional music of our Oriental communities, is disappearing. Gradually, there comes into being a sort of "tonal equalization", and the diatonic-natural scales have become the common denominator of music in Israel. This common denominator does not impair the vast richness of the sources because the melodic expressive values which exist in the melody types of our communities find their expression in the art and folk music which is created within the inevitable blending (Orgad n.d.: 23).

The hold that the melting pot concept had even on prominent music thinkers such as Orgad is easy to discern here. Like others, he seems to be indifferent to the loss of the "unique tonal character of each community".[18] As an ardent believer in the melting pot ideology, Orgad found it important to dissociate it from the trendy adoption of Eastern elements by Western composers whose escape to exoticism was part of their constant search for new expressive means (Orgad n.d.: 54):

> It is clear that with us this process of blending and joining together of different stylistic currents is activated by the pressure of the reality of our life and the force of typical ethnic and social factors. This is why the music created here is deep-rooted and its expression is authentic and genuine (Ibid.).

In an effort to assist in the absorption of immigrant children, the music education establishment devised several programs designed to acculturate newly arrived immigrant children to Israeli folk music. In one of those, called

[18] A contrasting voice was uttered in 1966 by Ovadya Tuvya, a noted musician of Yemenite origin and the director of the State Music Teachers College in Tel Aviv. In a letter to the general manager of the Ministry of Education, Tuvya protested that an Oriental music student, whether in elementary or high school, is forced "to strip down his entire musical heritage"; even the odd Oriental song taught to him in school "has been distorted , castrated and equalized to the tonality common in European songs" (Tuvya 1966: 70).

Figure 10: Folk composer Mordechai Zeira leading immigrant oriental children in singing (mid 1950s). Photo: Israeli music archive, Tel Aviv University.

"Composer's Stage for Immigrant Settlements", noted song composers were sent to meet immigrant children, lead them in community singing and teach them some of their own composed songs (Fig. 10).[19]

Extant documents shed light on the wide scope and organizational efficacy of this operation. The 1958 itinerary shown in Fig. 11 itemizes the settlements to be visited on the specified dates.[20]

Most ingenious was the development of what was in effect a mobile music center: Several station wagons equipped with listening equipment, loudspeakers and microphones were sent to the periphery, where most new immigrants were settled after leaving the temporary tent camps. The writing on the van in Fig. 12 announces the arrival of the "mobile music club".

19 The project was a joint venture of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Israel Composers' League and the Committee for Musical Activities in Immigrant Settlements (a branch of the America-Israel Cultural Foundation). The latter organization also issued individual song sheets to assist music instructors in teaching Israeli songs to immigrant children. The song sheets were printed in batches of 500 copies and were expressly meant for internal use rather than for sale. For correspondence between the organizing organs and the composers, see the files of E. Amiran and D. Sambursky in the Israeli Music Archive at Tel Aviv University.

20 D. Sambursky's file, Israeli Music Archive, Tel Aviv University.

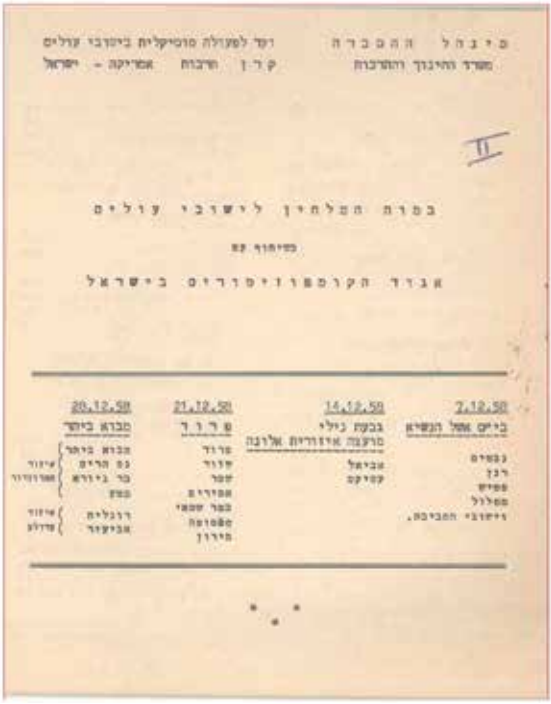

Figure 11: "Composer's stage for immigrant settlements" itinerary (1958).

The music counselor in charge of teaching Hebrew songs to Oriental immigrant children (as well as introducing them to Mozart and Beethoven) was also the driver and the operator of the technical gear: a veritable one-man operation.[21]

Fig. 13 captures Mizrahi in action. Accompanying himself on the popular accordion, a preeminently harmonic instrument, he is teaching a new Israeli song to a group of Oriental immigrant children. The mimeographed sheets of song texts have been distributed, difficult words have been explained, and now we observe but, alas, cannot listen to, the crucial moment of the children learning a new song. In effect, at this moment they are struggling to broaden the horizons of their musical expectations to encompass and make sense of music of an essentially foreign culture. It may not come as a surprise that "...non-Western children may not be able to process Western music, at least initially, as successfully as they can music of their home culture" (Morrison, Demorest, Stambough 2008: 126).

[21] Interview with Mordechai Mizrahi, 19.6.2012. See next note.

Figure 12: Mobile music club (1959).[22]

Figure 13: Music counselor teaching a Hebrew song to Oriental immigrant children.[23]

22 Ironically, the mobile music van about to leave for the periphery and make musical contact with disadvantaged Oriental immigrant children is parked in front of the Tel Aviv Mann auditorium, the home of the Israeli Philharmonic orchestra and a symbol of the Western orientation of Israeli culture.

23 The young music counselor is Mordechai Mizrahi, by now a retired music teacher and an M.A. graduate of the Department of Musicology at Tel Aviv University. I thank Mr. Mizrahi for Figs. 12 and 13.

Save perhaps for songs composed in the new pseudo-Oriental idiom, in this and similar musical encounters, Oriental immigrant children had no choice but to come to terms with the songs they were taught in school and heard on the radio. Most of these were Hebrew national songs conceived in Western, largely Slavic style. They were, in fact, forced to re-educate their internalized mental schemata to embrace, i.e. to make sense, of an entirely new musical style.

The fallacious premises behind the activities of the absorbing music education leadership are accentuated by E.M.Gombrich's profound observation that "as soon as a familiar sequence of impressions is triggered we take the rest as read and only probe the environment perfunctorily for confirmation of our hypothesis" (Gombrich 1979: 171). Because the internalized cultural musical schemata of the immigrant children were based on fundamentally different premises, these schemata could not function properly by being "modified or corrected by matching [them] against reality" (Ibid.: 5).[24]

As already explained, the music education activities just described were specific and integral facets of the general melting pot policy (Shiloah and Cohen 1983: 234). In retrospect, both must be criticized as essentially misguided efforts to turn immigrant children away from their "primitive" culture and to indoctrinate them into the supposedly superior Israeli culture.[25] Over six decades after these events, there is hardly any need to elaborate on the patronizing, essentially arrogant attitude that has motivated these efforts.

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[24] Although Gombrich is concerned with visual art, his insights, *mutatis mutandis*, have great value for elucidating processes of music perception.

[25] Various aspects of the indoctrinating role of formal and informal education in forming Israeli national consciousness have been investigated by several researchers. See Sitton 1998, Bar-Gal 1999, Dror 2008, Tadmor-Shimony 2010.

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ISRAELI MUSICIANS AS NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES[1]

Jitka Pánek Jurková

Abstract: ***This paper researches how Israeli musicians represent their nation during performances for a foreign audience. It claims that a nation is not always portrayed as a homogenous entity; rather, the musicians relate in various ways to different "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991) through their performances. These strategies are traceable by the musicians' verbal statements, visual markers, and music. The paper proposes four such strategies.***

Keywords: ***cultural diplomacy; cultural representation; imagined community; representation strategy/strategies***

When a Czech musician travels abroad to perform in front of a foreign audience, the probability of hostile reactions to his or her nationality is close to zero.[2] The same goes for most of the (European) national cultural representatives, for example German musicians invited to perform abroad at the Goethe Institut or Spanish artists performing at the Instituto Cervantes. However, for Israeli artists, the situation is very different. They are routinely boycotted ad-hoc (demonstrations in British and Australian concert halls during performances of the Jerusalem Quartet) (Bray 2010), or systematically (the movies by Eran Riklis excluded from Arab festivals and distribution due to the author's Israeli nationality, even though content might be admissible for an Arab audience).[3] When interviewed abroad, the questions about the artists' homeland, political situation and their opinion about it are common. As a result, these artists are

1 Research for this article was supported by the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University Prague, grant SVV 260-118/2014.

2 As noted also by the author of this paper while working in the Czech Centres.

3 Public talk by Eran Riklis, March 20, 2015, Prague, Febiofest.

pushed to formulate a stance – a strategy of approaching the issue of nationality and their role as its representatives.[4] Such strategies, as this paper claims, are reflected in verbal expressions of the artists, in their performance, and in visual markers.

The given strategy reflects a) the image of the community the artist intends to represent, and b) the tightness or looseness of the artist's relation to that community. Concentrating on these two aspects, the following pages aim at describing four possible ways of how Israeli musicians deal with the expectations of their counterparts (foreign audiences, journalists, etc.).

This research might have bearing for Israeli culture studies that mostly concentrate on inner-societal phenomena (e.g., Talmon and Peleg 2011), but also for cultural diplomacy. As it has been noted above, most Europeans do not have to face conflicts pertaining to their nationality. Due to the fact that the academic concept of cultural diplomacy originated in Europe (specifically in France /Roche, Pignau 1995/), it builds on the assumption of the European type of state-nation, a concept built on the assumption of homogenous nations and peaceful relations. Thus, the most widely used definitions of cultural diplomacy, stemming from historical studies or studies of diplomacy and international relations see it a) either pragmatically, as a tool of advancement of government policy (such as the notion of soft power by Joseph Nye (2004), or b) idealistically, as a way towards mutual understanding through state-orchestrated contact of different cultures (Minnaert 2014; Glade 2009). This paper will show, however, that even though these notions are relevant, they do not exhaust the reality of contemporary cultural diplomacy.

Most of the studies based on the concept of cultural diplomacy deal with the macro-level, i.e. they describe selected tools of cultural diplomacy, a target audience, and finance flows. But they do not deal with the performers of cultural diplomacy themselves, simply because in the European context, they do not dramatically alter the transmitted message as intended by the administration. Anthropological theories of interactionism (Goffman 1956) and cultural intimacy (Herzfeld 1997) allow us to bring the individual level to the picture, which is beneficial for the studies of cultural diplomacy per se, but notably becomes more important for divided societies and societies with an internationally contested image. Since cultural diplomacy – including the cultural diplomacy of

[4] This mechanism is explained by the concept of cultural intimacy (Herzfeld 1997), which was also applied to international relations (Subotic, Zarakol 2012).

non-European countries (Asian countries, especially China) – is globally gaining prominence[5], an enhanced notion of cultural diplomacy that could apply also to non-European states would be highly beneficial.

Theoretical Background

Enacted Imagined Community

This paper works with Erwin Goffman's notion of interactionism (1956) that sees human actions and behavior as a performance, since people are in constant rituals of interaction with other human beings, their counterparts. This applies also to music-making: musicians are "active agents consciously developing the overall design of musical activities as their own self-presentation whose constitutive elements are planned in advance" (Skořepová Honzlová 2012). For musicians, the counterpart, for whom the self-presentation is designed, is the audience.

"Self-presentation", however, is not a purely individual enterprise – each person's identity is tied to different collectives that he/she is a part of or relates to. While there are different types of such collectives ranking differently on a personal hierarchy of identity layers (Chang 2008), this paper is especially interested in *national* identity, as we are analyzing representatives of a specific nation (Israel), defined by an allegiance to it.[6]

However, research has shown that various artists represent their nation in different manners. In fact, they choose such diverse tools for the enactment of the same nation that different musicians seem to be standing for different communities. Anderson's (1991) concept of a nation as an "imagined community" is helpful: a nation is defined as an entity whose members feel a "deep horizontal comradeship" towards the other members of the community despite the lack of a personal familiarity with them.[7] This feeling of affinity is conditioned, however, by the fact that there are other people that are not subject to it and

[5] In post-industrial society, branding – including place branding – gains significance (Uldemolins, Zamorano 2015) because of growing importance of symbolic capital due to the globalized market of material products and intangible goods. Cultural diplomacy is among the popular tools of state branding.

[6] We define nation as a human community with mutual bonds of which it is aware, and with claims to political sovereignty (Badie, Smouts 1999).

[7] Among other traits of Aderson's imagined community, we can also mention the "claim to sovereignty", which is less relevant for our purpose.

who do not belong to the community: the imagined community is thus limited. Typically, the imagined community is a nation. But the meaning of one's own community becomes less apparent in divided societies or societies in conflict, such as Israel, where various groups identify themselves as antagonistic or in opposition to other segments of the same nation (Lederach 2008).

This paper thus argues that various musicians relate through their music to different imagined communities, making cultural diplomacy heavily dependent on individuals for its results.

Music and Its Role in Delineating a Community

Kaufman Shelemay (2011) describes the collective dimension of music by pointing to its function in descent communities,[8] where music is crucial for sustaining the community over time "through the catalyzing impact of musical performance" (Shelemay 2011: 368). What does a musical performance catalyze though? As other authors emphasize, music can both either establish/cement or penetrate the social boundaries of a community. As O'Connell (2010: 7) writes in *Music and Conflict*, "...music is thought by some to present a neutral space for fostering intergroup dialogue,"[9] but it can be used also to strengthen opposition when it becomes a sign of nationalist or ethnic group identity. The individual dimension of music-making is related to its social function: through the musical structure, the performer models his or her relationship to a society (Small 1998). Through Anderson's optics: while making music, musicians refer to their imagined communities, and through their performances, they present it to the foreign audience. The notion of their own (imagined) community is enacted (Reyes 2013). Therefore, music can help cast light on societal dynamics (which it is also co-creating).

Music as a symbolic system unites in itself the expression system as well as the content system (i.e., the sounds and the meanings) (Reyes 2013), unlike the visual arts that usually encompass only the expression system (without verbal explanation), and literature that works only (or mostly) with the content system. Therefore, music allows a more multifaceted analysis – while visual arts are open to many interpretations, and literature tends to be too explicit and self-explanatory, music contains a message of what it represents as well as the means of representation.

[8] Described as communities united through shared identities (Kaufman Shelemay 2011: 364).

[9] These postulates show how the notion of cultural diplomacy, as a way towards mutual understanding, narrows our understanding.

The research for this paper was based on observation of performances of Israeli musicians and their media coverage in the period from autumn 2013 to spring 2015, with a focus on the verbal expressions (communication with audiences, press releases, media interviews), visual markers (attire, CD covers, posters, political symbols such as flags displayed in the venue) and the music (music themes and their national or ethnic connotations, lyrics, titles of songs and albums), as well as the relations between all of these factors. The performances were personally attended by the researcher or watched on the internet (YouTube, etc.).

The key requirement was that the musicians were aware of performing for a foreign audience, and not for compatriots or the diaspora.[10]

Four Strategies of Representation

The observation of Israeli musicians' performances in front of foreign audiences revealed four distinct strategies of representation of the imagined community: 1) the denial of the nationality's major impact on their music, 2) the imagined community defined ethnically (in this case Jewish, the majority one), 3) the imagined community represented through positive characteristics, and 4) the imagined community represented through ethnic characteristics, with music-making serving as a bridge towards the Other[11]. Let us elaborate on each of these categories, with the use of specific examples.

Denial of Nationality's Major Impact on Music

A certain – and probably a growing (Isikovich, Ashkenzai, Naveh 2015) – number of Israeli musicians abroad do not manifest their nationality in any well-marked way. They have either absorbed global influences, are living outside of Israel, and perform a particularly globalized genre (such as jazz or classical music)[12], or they have more intentionally decided not to emphasize their nationality, often due to reasons such as disaccord with their state's policies or

10 Performances for diaspora members might differ significantly from others – for instance, they might be more militant (Sugarman 2010).

11 Individuals outside of one's own imagined community.

12 We could, indeed, say "Westernized" instead of "globalized", as both jazz and classical music scenes are genres characteristic for Western music making. However, we use the term "globalization" not as a geographical denominator, but as a notion of blurring state borders – in favor of a broader significance.

discomfort posed to them by sanctions, demonstrations, and the reactions of foreign audiences and media.

As an example, we will use the performance of Avishai Cohen[13] during the International Jazz and World Music Exposures in Jerusalem in November 2013.[14] Avishai Cohen played a repertoire that could be heard in any French or American jazz bar (at least to a non-expert listener).[15] Also, the instruments of his band players were typical of a jazz ensemble (trumpet, double-bass, drums), just as their "New Yorker" attire. Avishai typically does not introduce himself or the band as Israeli (not even during concerts outside of Israel), and when asked about his Israeliness, he answers that he does not feel the need to be distinguished as an Israeli musician. According to him, music is a universal language; it should not have national or ethnic connotations.[16]

A similar approach could be seen during the Prague performances of the Israeli musicians Dida Pelled[17] and Daniel Jakubovič, and several others. Daniel even presents himself in all accessible PR materials as an artist from the US.[18] Both of these artists, similarly to Avishai Cohen, present globalized repertoire, not bearing any visual markers of Israeli identity, and not expressing themselves verbally in this way, either.

A prominent Israeli musician, Asaf Avidan, took the same stance and was willing to elaborate it for the media: he distinguishes himself "not as an Israeli artist, but an artist from Israel". "I don't show up to represent Israel. I'm not a politician. I'm not a diplomat," he says (Isikovich, Ashkenzai, Naveh 2015).

Sometimes, artists identify themselves for the audience as coming from Tel Aviv, but they do not use the word "Israel". At times, it is related to the fact that the band does not play almost any songs in Hebrew, even though their CDs contain substantial parts in this language.[19] The hypothesis is that this

13 The trumpet player, not to be confused with the better known double-bass player of the same name.

14 International Exposures are showcases of different genres of Israeli art (music, dance, theatre...) co-organized by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Even though it takes place in Israel, the audience is almost exclusively foreign, as its aim is to present the Israeli art scene to important stakeholders (promoters, journalists) from abroad – the performers are well aware of it.

15 Avishai Cohen is based in New York.

16 Interview with Avishai Cohen by Dubi Lenz, International Jazz and World Music Exposures 2013, Jerusalem.

17 Concert of Dida Pelled Trio, Reduta, Prague, on February 15, 2015.

18 Concert of Against the Wall, Rock Café, Prague, on February 25, 2015.

19 Concert of Fast Food Orchestra, Smola a Hrušky, and Los Caparos in Prague, November 13, 2014.

occurs when the musicians are required by a sponsor (Israeli Embassy, Israeli Chambers of Commerce, Israeli companies or donors) to identify where are they from, but do not feel comfortable with the word 'Israel'.

Music-making as the Representation of an Ethnically-defined Imagined Community

The second group of Israeli artists enacts through music an ethnically defined group, in this case the Jewish majority.[20] Daniel Zamir, a renowned jazz saxophonist, can serve as an example. Being an ultra-orthodox Jew, he performs dressed in a characteristic way (wearing a yarmulke, tzitit,[21] and a long beard). His music stems from Jewish melodies (it is sometimes referred to as "Jewish jazz"),[22] and he sings in Hebrew. Also, his CDs' covers are decorated with the Hebrew alphabet and the names of his songs oftentimes relate to Judaism ("Echad", meaning "One," which stands for the name of God). Among others, he claims that by his music, he aims at the "exposure of Jewish culture abroad"[23].

The reader may ask if the Jewishness is necessarily meant to represent Israeliness. This is indeed a valid question. Another of Zamir's songs provides us with an answer: Daniel Zamir created a jazz version of Hatikvah,[24] the anthem of the State of Israel, and plays it extensively. Also, one of his albums is called "The Children of Israel", and he often performs at events clearly aiming at representing Israel abroad ("Israeli Night" at JazzAhead! 2013, Jazz and World Music Exposures 2013, etc.). In sum, Zamir's performances enact Israel as a Jewish community.

There are other examples of this strategy; for instance, Alex Bershadsky and Liron Meyuhas, special guests of the Gathering of Drummers in the Czech Republic in 2014, introduced themselves to the audience of the event as Israelis, continuing by a song of their own, clearly drawing from traditional Sephardic Jewish melodies and based on the Song of the Songs from the Bible.[25]

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20 The Israeli-Arab ethnic identity and its role in cultural representation abroad is addressed below.

21 Ritually knitted fringes of a prayer shawl.

22 CultureBuzzIsrael converses with Daniel Zamir, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=at0AGMTTi_c (August 20, 2014).

23 Interview with Daniel Zamir, International Jazz and World Music Exposures 2013, Jerusalem.

24 https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=daniel+zamir+hatikvah; August 8, 2014.

25 Slet bubeníků (Gathering of Drummers), October 22, 2014, Lucerna Music Bar, Prague.

Music-making as the Enactment of the Imagined Community's Positive Traits

The third set of artists, including some prominent names, uses certain positive characteristics to enact the imagined community, which is not defined as ethnic ("ethnic" meaning composed of people of the same ethnicity). The most representative example is Idan Raichel, a real star of Israeli world music, who, from the beginning, has built his music on the inclusion of the ethnic minorities of Israel by performing the music of the marginalized Ethiopian population. He performs with a range of musicians of different ethnic backgrounds (according to his own words, he has performed with more than 150),[26] adopting melodies from various Israeli cultural groups, and arranges them, preserving the original language (Hebrew, Amharic, Ladino, Spanish, Arabic...). During the concerts, he calls on to the audience to remember the music "as the soundtrack of Israel"; sometimes, he even carries the Israeli flag.[27] Also, in media interviews, Idan Raichel tirelessly explains that "Israel is a very multicultural country", a "melting pot"[28]. He also noted: "Mostly when we perform out of Israel, people find it interesting to know about Israeli society; people are fascinated by how people that came from such diversity are singing side by side." (Berrin 2007).

Idan Raichel obviously perceives the promotional dimension of his music making as an important part of his mission, since he even lowers his fee requirements in order to be able to access new audiences.[29]

Another example is DJ Skazi. This producer of trance music, with a Star of David tattooed on his shoulder, claims that "the audience in Israel is unique, because it is very free" and that his "unique style could come out only of the energy and passion that Israel produces".[30] He said to the major Israeli newspaper Haaretz: "I'm proud of my Israeliness. I feel that through my music I'm another ambassador for us around the world. I pass on to all electronic-music lovers around the world that good things come from Israel." DJ Skazi sometimes even performs with an Israeli flag on the stage. According to his own

[26] Interview with Idan Raichel in Prague, February 26, 2015.

[27] For example: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=axZzxXobRQo; March 27, 2015 – note that the video is a live stream for a Dutch TV.

[28] Na Plovárně with Marek Eben, forthcoming.

[29] Interview with Idan Raichel, Jerusalem, November 2013.

[30] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ne5UAImFun4; March 31, 2015.

words, "being an Israeli comes first, being a musician comes later" (Isikovich, Ashkenzai, Naveh 2015).

This strategy is in stark contrast to the first one outlined in this paper (the denial of nationality's major impact on music-making), as some artists see their national identity as paramount to the activity of music-making. This strategy fits in well with the pragmatic concept of cultural diplomacy as an "advancement of foreign policy goals through art", aiming at the betterment of the national image abroad.[31]

Music-making as a Bridge between Conflicting Cultures

The fourth strategy of representation complies with the idealistic/normative notion of cultural diplomacy as a "way towards mutual understanding" (Minnaert 2014).

It is based on the enactment of the imagined community as rooted in a certain culture (in this case Jewish) while aiming at reaching out through the arts to a supposedly antagonistic culture. An example of such a strategy was demonstrated at the Prague concert of the heavy metal band *Orphaned Land*.[32]

Visual markers show a strong identification with Jewish culture – band members have tattoos in Hebrew, their music videos use stylization of biblical characters, and the song lyrics say "we are the orphans from the Holy Land, the tears of Jerusalem" and "we're...the keepers of Or-Shalem", i.e., one of the names of Jerusalem. However, the same text claims: "All is one" and "Who cares if you're a Muslim or a Jew"[33] – the proclamation of one's ethnicity serves as an initial position for a dialogue with the Other.

Orphaned Land always goes on tours with either a Palestinian or a Jordanian band, and the Prague performance was no exception – the group was joined by the Jordanian band Bilocate. Communicating extensively with the heavy metal audience at the venue, they proclaimed several times that their mission is to let the world know that they love Arabs.[34] Their playlist included one of the band's greatest hits called "Brother", introducing to the audience the

31 The sentiment that Israel is misperceived abroad is common among the Israelis, as well as the urge to contribute to the betterment of the image of Israel (Attias 2012).

32 Concert of Orphaned Land and Bilocate in US-Exit, Prague, October 11, 2013.

33 Lyrics of the "All is One" song.

34 As all Israeli artists, Orphaned Land are not allowed to perform in Arab countries, but they often tour throughout Turkey, attracting a large Muslim fan-base and even Arabic fans, travelling to see them from Arab countries.

biblical story of Abraham's sons Isaac and Ishmael, the mythological forefathers of the Jews (Isaac) and the Arabs (Ishmael), who, even though separated by the course of events, are still brothers. This fact was also verbally emphasized. Among the other songs of the band are pieces with very telling names: "All is One", "Let the Truce be Known", etc.

Another example of such an approach is the *Kedem Ensemble*, a music group, which performs abroad (mostly in Europe) under the name *Kol Kedem Ensemble* together with musicians from other countries, including Iran. As a central piece of their repertory, they feature the song "Shnei Shoshanim", a traditional Jewish song, which is a "metaphor for a profound connection and love as an unbreakable bond"[35].

However, even though this strategy complies with the view of cultural diplomacy as a bridge towards other cultures, it also shows the limits of such a view, which is the political reality. Because Israel does not have diplomatic relations with most Arab countries and Israeli artists are not allowed to enter them physically or participate through recordings at art competitions there, such efforts have a limited impact. As other studies have confirmed, cultural diplomacy cannot go where the political borders do not allow it to.[36]

Israeli Arabs and the Cultural Representation of Israel

By now, the reader might have asked him/herself about the imagined community of an Israeli Arab musician. There are examples of artists who take part in activities representing Israel abroad (such as the famous singer Mira Awad performing with Idan Raichel for Dutch TV[37] or with the Jewish singer Noa at Eurovision 2009[38]), but the majority of Israeli Arabs refuse to be associated with Israel,[39] identifying themselves culturally as Palestinians.[40] Even if they do participate at Israeli cultural enterprises, as Mira Awad does, they are strongly criticized by their own community (Sherwood 2010).

35 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ek2pDcZO6KE ; September 3, 2014.

36 Ginenow-Hecht, Donfried 2010.

37 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZT0nKzzem7Q ; September 3, 2014.

38 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RN8B1xvCxI0 ; August 20, 2014.

39 With the exception of Israeli Druze community, which identifies with the State of Israel, even representing it abroad (an example being the performance of Israeli Druze debke group at the festival of folklore dances in Pisek in August 2014, where they enthusiastically introduced themselves as representatives of Israel).

40 Katz, Sella 1999.

As Reyes writes, if the sides of the conflict are asymmetrical (which is the case of Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs), the weaker side avoids the conflict-generating issues and the "interaction is restricted to what is mandatory" (Reyes 2010).

This might help us answer the question whether cultural diplomacy can ever be just, adequately representing all ethnic groups encompassed by the given state. Probably not – and this is not only due to the fact that one party might try to monopolize the representation (as described on the example of Spain, whose cultural diplomacy entirely omits the minorities of Catalunya, Pays Basques, etc. /Uldemolins, Zamorano 2015/), but also because the marginalized group possibly does not want to be represented.

Changes and Instrumentalism in Representation Strategies

The examples above were deliberately selected for being especially pronounced. Nevertheless, not all of the artists perfectly fit the outlined strategies. The most common strategy is the first one – a significant portion of artists do not demonstrate their national affiliation strongly or maneuver around the nationality issues, refraining from the word "Israel". Some artists over time shift from one strategy to another – as did Idan Raichel during his last tour with the Muslim musician from Mali, Vieux Farka Touré, framing and defining the tour as a "bridge between Bamako and Tel Aviv," and thus getting closer to the fourth strategy (art aiming at transgressing barriers).[41] Furthermore, the frequency of different types of identification changes over time; the current generation of artists is more internationalized than the preceding ones (Times of Israel staff 2014). It also changes with the political situation (for instance, during the Operation Protective Edge[42], Israeli artists were confronted with their nationality with more urgency), and – finally – with different audiences (some audiences, such as the British, are more likely to demonstrate negative reactions to the presence of artists from Israel, compared to the Czechs). All of these factors influence the artists' strategies of representation.

The strategy of representation is often influenced by pragmatic considerations, aiming either at avoiding a conflict, and thus concealing the Israeli

[41] A similar case is the Repertory Theater, whose members during a theatre competition in Scandinavia were first aiming at concealing their Israeli identity, but later exposed it, claiming that they "are Israeli and their art comes from Israel" (Isikovich, Ashkenzai, Naveh 2015).

[42] Military operation in Gaza in summer 2014.

identity, or emphasizing the multicultural or dialectic aspects that are especially appealing to sponsors and the media, and possibly also to the audience.[43]

Conclusion

This paper has proven using specific cases that 1) cultural representatives of a divided nation with a contested image are pushed to select a strategy of representation of such a society, 2) following from that, there is a range of possibilities of undertaking a strategy, using differently imagined communities, and ascribing various importance to the representation of the imagined community, and 3) individuals play a major role in portraying a society to a foreign audience.

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[43] Which, for instance, criticized Days of Jerusalem in Prague 2014 for not representing Arabs enough, as testfied by an informant from the audience. It should be noted, though, that in countries with a strong Jewish diaspora, performances with strong ethnic (Jewish) connotations might be favored.

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BALKAN SESSION – CZECHS PLAYING FOR THE BALKANS[1]

Alena Libánská

Abstract: ***This paper discusses Balkan music performed in the Czech Republic, especially in Prague. Balkan music is performed by musicians not enculturated in Balkan culture. Their music production can be understood as a social practice initiated by certain stereotypes, viewed as Balkanism (Todorova 2009). In doing so, they display their attitude towards their Slavic neighbors.***

Using an ethnographic snapshot of a festival evening called Balkan Session, the main objective of this paper is to show the interaction between Balkan music as performed in Prague and the Balkans, represented by the migrants from the Balkan Peninsula in Prague. The concepts of Balkanism (Todorova 2009), Safe Enterprise (Laušević 2007) and Intimate Distance (Bigenho 2012) are used in the interpretation.

Keywords: ***Balkan music; Balkanism; ethnic stereotyping; Intimate Distance***

The festival called Balkan Session was held on 12 December 2014, and it took place in Vinohradsky brewery in Prague. The event was organized by the Prague Integration Centre, and the main idea behind the event was Balkan-Czech integration. The party was held especially for migrants from the Balkan Peninsula, but most of the musicians were Czech. The Balkan Session thus proposed a good opportunity to introduce Balkan music in an interesting milieu.

This paper is based on my research on Balkan music in the Czech Republic, with a focus on ethnic stereotypes. Whilst my previous work dealt with Czech musicians playing Balkan music and the images about the Balkans created through music (Libánská 2012; Libánská 2014), this paper deals with ethnic

[1] Research for this article was supported by the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University Prague, grant SVV 260-118/2014.

stereotypes promoted by Czechs as well as migrants from the Balkan Peninsula. At the Balkan Session, Balkan music was created not only by Czechs, but also by negotiation with the Balkan migrants. The main objective is, then, to examine in detail the interaction between Balkan music as performed in Prague and as performed in the Balkans, represented by the migrants from Balkan Peninsula in Prague. Considering the character of the Balkan Session, some questions arise: What do people, i.e. the audience and the musicians, expect from the event? How is the Balkan music soundscape[2] in Prague pervaded with and influenced by the audience that consists mostly of migrants from the Balkan Peninsula? Does the enterprise of Czech musicians remain to be "safe"?

To answer the questions we use the theoretical approaches on ethnic stereotyping and globalization, i.e. Balkanism (Todorova 2009), Safe Enterprise (Laušević 2007) and Intimate Distance (Bigenho 2012), as well as the ethnomusicological approach which states that the mere description of the musical sound is not sufficient enough to understand a musical event, because music is always created by people for other people (Merriam 2000). The term Balkan music represents the emic designation of the music style, referring to its music sources from the Balkan Peninsula; it is understood here as a transnational genre. The term thus designates the music style, only slightly associated with the music reality of the geographic Balkans.

Using the framework of **Balkanism**, Todorova (2009) explains the construction of the Balkan Peninsula as an "opposite part" of Europe. The Balkans became the object of European political, ideological and cultural frustrations, being considered a depositary of negative characteristics towards which the contours of Europe and the West were constructed. I consider the Balkan music performed outside the Balkan Peninsula as a strong medium of showing (and sharing) ethnic stereotypes towards the Balkans.

The framework of **Safe Enterprise** (Laušević 2007) is useful when thinking about the character of the concerts of Balkan music in Prague[3]: Czech musicians playing Balkan music for a Czech audience. Their performance (enterprise) is safe because of the context in which the music is performed. No one in the

[2] I use the concept of *soundcapes* as K. K. Shelemay does: *Soundscapes* refers to the world of music (-scape is a morpheme we can find in the word "landscape", for instance) in its dynamic variability (Shelemay 2006).

[3] Laušević (2007) uses the framework to describe the character of the subculture called Balkanites in USA: Americans with no further connections to Balkans, playing (and dancing to) Balkan music in a purely American environment.

audience understands the lyrics or the way the music *should* sound because of the rather exotic character of that music style. The Czech audience thus appreciates the irregular rhythm, "oriental" melodies, unusual harmonies, and exotic-sounding language, although none of these properties is performed precisely.

At the Balkan Session, the set up was rather absurd: Czech musicians who were performing for the "real insiders" – the enculturated Balkans. We would expect that by doing so, Czech musicians would adjust their performance whilst stepping out of their comfort zones of safe enterprise. As was explained to me in the interviews[4], the Balkan migrants in the audience, as well as the Czech musicians themselves, were well acquainted with the character of the event – which was primarily integration and meeting with other migrants, not only the music; the set-up was known beforehand, and the Balkans knew that the bands were Czech and knew them already from previous concerts. The enterprise was thus still safe, although the musicians adjusted the repertoire and performance to adhere to the recommendations of the main organizer.

Besides the musicians and the audience, the organizer is thus an important actor at play. It is indeed the organizers who decide what and for whom will be played. When the bands were asked to modify their repertoire with regard to the political-religious situation in the Balkan Peninsula, Laušević's idea of **Intimate Distance** (2012) and Herzfeld's **Cultural Intimacy** (2005) was shown. Both deal with the sense of attraction mixed with the sense of actual distance, connected with the "tension between official self-presentation and what goes on in the privacy of collective introspection" (Herzfeld 2005: 14). By intimate distance, we hereby designate the similarity of both (Czech, as well as Balkan) of the Slavic languages, the feeling of Slavic brotherhood, as well as the feeling of the return to the roots and the tradition (Laušević 2007). The repertoire and performance restrictions were explained by the problematic political-religious relations on the Balkan Peninsula[5], as well as the organizer's wish to show Balkan culture in a good light (Todorova 2009).

[4] Informal interviews with members of the band Džezvica, held in December 2014 (Slovakian singer Petra Majerčíková and Czech accordeonist Josef Prexl), and interviews with two students attending the event in the audience held in April 2015 (Bosnian Vanja Neretljak, living in Prague for 3 years; and Serb Vlada Perić, who came to live in Prague 6 years ago).

[5] Interview with Alen Kovačević, October 2014.

The Balkan Session

The main organizer from the Prague Integration Centre was Alen Kovačević[6], a professional coordinator of cultural events. Kovačević's motivation for choosing Czech musicians over the native Balkans was twofold. First, there is a certain 'shortage' of Balkan musicians in the Czech Republic[7] (moreover, those available were not willing to perform for such a small fee), and second, the very idea of letting Czech musicians play Balkan music for a Balkan audience seemed to be very interesting to the Integration Centre. Eventually, four bands were assembled for the evening, two of them entirely non-Balkan (Džezvica, Mijaktič Orkestar), one composed of a Czech and a Bosnian (Fes), and one entirely Balkan (Sarma Band).

The brewery is divided into three spacious rooms, with a total capacity of about 450 people. In the basement, there is a music hall with a stage (but there are neither chairs nor tables, only a couple of benches alongside the walls); the overall capacity of the music hall is about 250 persons. At the back of the stage, there was a large banner that links the event to the organizer: "Pomáháme migrantům a migrantkám. JE TO INtegrace. Multikulturní centrum Praha" ("*We're helping migrants. IT IS INtegration. The Prague Centre of Integration*"[8]). Next to the hall, there is a restaurant with 100 seats; upstairs, at street level, there is another restaurant of the same size. The stereotypes are omnipresent in this set-up, raising many questions: Why does a *typical* Balkan event take place in a *typical* Czech brewery? Why do Czechs perform (what they think is) typical Balkan music for Balkan migrants in a typical Czech brewery? Does the fact that this event took place in a brewery encourage more people to participate? In fact, a brewery is a typical Czech venue, and the main criteria for selecting this particular one was its availability and rent price[9]. Moreover, the brewery was newly reconstructed and it gave the event a certain feeling of 'cleanliness' which, incidentally, does not fit the general Balkan stereotypes. There were no posters inviting to the event placed at the entrance to the

6 Born in 1983, originally from Bosnia. Twenty years ago, he came to Czech Republic with his parents. From interview with A. K., October 2014.

7 In Prague, there are several professional musicians – migrants from the Balkan Peninsula. Most of them perform different music genres, accepted by wider range of listeners – rock, pop-music (we can name, for example, Petar Veljiković or Boro Prelić). Interview with A. K., October 2014.

8 Written in Czech language. Transl. by author.

9 Interview with A. K., October 2014.

Figure 1: Balkan Session Poster.[11]

brewery; the Balkan Session was advertised mainly on Facebook[10], which lured the audience with a colorful poster, the profiles of and musical videos of the performing bands.

As seen in the Fig. 1, the poster shows a combination of cartoon pictures and photos. The range of pictures on the poster is rather wide: musical instruments such as brass instruments, accordions, and tambourines – arranged into a heap, a rooster standing on a crocheted mat, a sheep lurking in the background, wood logs, and firs. The symbolism of the poster images is certainly not accidental, as Alen Kovačević, the main organizer, explained in an interview[12]. A graphic designer, originally from Bosnia, used the different figures to indicate a mixture of stereotypical symbols of the Balkans: the sheep symbolizes the countryside, and lamb as a prototypical meal is consumed in

10 https://www.facebook.com/events/1500076820279397/?ref_dashboard_filter=past [accessed 2015–01–08].

11 The poster was posted on Facebook site. Also, paper flyers were distributed.

12 An informal interview with A. K., February 2015.

the Balkans across all nations and religions (unlike pork). Musical instruments (accordion, tambourine, brass instruments) symbolize the musical folklore of the region. Wooden logs, trees, and a haystack in the back symbolize the Balkan country and countryside typically associated with the Balkans (rather than the metropolitan areas). The glasses in the foreground are *čokančiči* – glasses for the brandy *rakia* brewed in Serbia and Bosnia. In the background, there is another symbol: knitted *priglavke* – warm woolen socks (particularly popular in Bosnia and Serbia). The last symbol is a crocheted mat, used in the countryside to decorate tables and other flat surfaces. Under the picture, there is a table listing the four performing bands in the order in which they appeared at the event. Underneath we find the date, the time, the address and the purpose of the festival – all written in Czech and in a rather small font[13]. At the very bottom, there are logos of sponsors and media partners[14]. In the upper right corner, there is a noticeable sign "VSTUP ZDARMA/FREE ENTRY", in Czech and in English. This sign is highlighted in red color and written in capital letters, to attract people. On the other side of the poster, there are short profiles of the performing bands, written in Czech. Next to each of the profiles, there is a picture symbolizing the band's name: Džezvica – *cezva*[15]: a cup used to boil coffee; Fes – the red Muslim hat *fez*; Mijaktič Orkestar – accordion; Sarma Band – a picture of the fried meet roll *sarma*.

According to the event's organizer[16], around 3,000 people were invited. In fact, the event was well-attended; around 500 people arrived (which is more than the capacity of the brewery). This meant that many of the potential listeners were discouraged by the crowded space and thus left, while others came later. The attendees were mostly young people – the vast majority of which were between 20 and 35 years old. There was no special dress code; the clothing was casual. The majority of the audience was comprised of foreigners who spoke Balkan languages, English and Russian. Czech-speaking people represented one third of the audience, according to the estimates of the organizer[17]. Despite the international make-up of the audience, all communication (the organizer's

13 „Tato akce je pořádána na podporu integrace migrantů z třetích zemí žijících na území hl.m. Prahy" ("This event is organized to support the integration of migrants from Third World countries who live in Prague.")

14 Centre of Integration in Prague; Prague; Vinohradsky brewery; Radio 1; etc.

15 In Bosnian, Serbian, and Czech; the actual spelling is *džezva*.

16 An informal interview with A. K., February 2015.

17 Interview with A. K., February 2015.

welcoming speech, introductions of bands, and the audience competition) was in Czech. This poses a question: wouldn't it be more suitable to provide an interpreter for at least one of the Balkan languages or to speak English, to make a compromise?

However, as the main organizer, Alen Kovačević pointed out that speaking Czech was required[18] by the sponsoring Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, given the purpose of the Session, namely, **Integration**. The integrational role was imposed on the music in order to connect the Czech and Balkan representations of the Balkans. Despite the intentions of the Prague Integration Centre, it is apparent that this ideal was not completely fulfilled. Firstly, when the moderators and bands were talking, the foreigners didn't understand. Secondly, it seems that most of people didn't come to listen to the music at all; their intention was to meet their friends, drink Czech beer, or eat Balkan food. Furthermore, the restrictions posed by the organizer (and the sponsors) made it impossible to play Muslim or Bulgarian songs, and no band presented the origins of any of their songs, despite the well-established practice at Czech Balkan concerts (Libánská 2012).

We identified Kovačević as the steering agent not only of the event's composition and of the invited musical groups, but also of their repertoire. He specified *what* and *for whom* the musicians should play. He discouraged Muslim or Bulgarian songs for political and religious reasons; he recommended that the bands do not introduce the origins of their songs. The bands were more or less strictly assigned what to play: musicians from Džezvica were required to play quieter folk songs, Fes was to play specific songs known as *sevdalinka*, Mijaktič Orkestar was asked to make the audience dance with fast and rhythmic songs, and Sarma Band – as the final band of the official part of the evening – was asked to please the Balkans with *starogradska muzika* songs, based strongly on the Balkan lyrics. The last two bands, Rooombaaa and Cirkus Problem were the "after-bands". The Balkan bands played repertoire designed especially for the Balkan part of the audience (they placed an emphasis on the lyrics rather than on the stereotypical elements mentioned below). Only one of them (Rooombaaa) had adjusted its performance to the non-Balkan audience: they played rhythmic songs and songs of the Central European Roma.

Having introduced the organizational details of the event, in the next section, we will discuss the actual music produced at the Balkan Session.

[18] Interview with A. K., February 2015.

Balkan Music

In total, six bands played at the event, each for approximately one hour (with the exception of the Czech band Mijaktič Orkestar that played for two hours). Five of them played onstage with amplified sound; the last band (Cirkus Problem) played off-stage, in the restaurant room, without amplified sound. The repertoire was coordinated by the organizer, with two concerns in mind. The first was to 'avoid politically and/or religiously problematic songs', and the second was to not repeat songs, since the bands all have nearly the same playlist of songs which are popular outside of the Balkan Peninsula[19]. During intermissions, Pavel Trojan, writer, musician, coordinator of the Polish Cultural Centre in Prague, and organizer of Balkan events and festivals in Prague, was given the stage. In contrast to the 'usual' Balkan events that have raffles, the Balkan Session used the intermissions for quizzes for the audience, and the questions concerned the Balkan Peninsula (the winner was rewarded with Slovenian wines).

At 7:30 pm, when the event was supposed to start, the hall was full of people. At 7:50 pm, the first band **Džezvica**[20] started their performance. The band Džezvica consists solely of non-Balkans: six Czechs, one Slovak, and one Russian (five women – two vocalists, one vocalist/flautist, one violist, and one percussionist; and three men – an accordionist, a violoncellist/vocalist, and a guitarist/vocalist). The arrangements of the songs are based upon female three-voice harmony, with the accompaniment of the guitar and the accordion. The importance of voices is evident: all three vocalists stand in front of the other musicians leading the group on stage. In addition, there is a cello playing the bass line, and the flute, the viola and the accordion alternate leading the melody in the interludes. Some songs are sung by men, some by everybody (i.e. the *a cappella* arrangement of the Macedonian song *Macedonian devojče*). The rhythm is maintained by the Cajun and darbuka drums. Only two of those instruments are heard in Balkan Peninsula, the darbuka and the accordion. The Cajun is often associated with Balkan music in the Czech environment (although the instrument originated in Latin America). The voice register is diverse; the chest as well the classic register is included.

[19] Interview with A. K., October 2014.

[20] Music video from Balkan Session: Džezvica, song *Nane Cocha*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dDrN3mczCug [accessed 2015–03–04] Video: Alena Libánská.

Figure 2: Džezvica: from front to back Petra Majerčíková, Kateřina Sequensová, Alena Libánská, Adéla Bryan. In this picture, the other group members (Alina Schupikova, Vojtěch Nejedlý, Josef Prexl, Jan Václ) are missing. Photo: Kamila Ostružinová.

At the Balkan Session, the repertoire was rather calm, consisting of folk songs from various regions, in band arrangements. Mostly, the group's popular songs were played, such as the Serbian *Ajde Jano*, the Macedonian *Jovano, Jovanke*, the Bosnian *Ramo, druže moj*. The audience standing in the first rows sang these songs along with the band. Džezvica also included non-Balkan gypsy songs, such as the Russian *Nane Cocha*, the Hungarian *Tuke Bahh* or the Slovenian *Pašo Paňori*. These songs were received with most enthusiasm – the audience danced and sang along with the refrains of unspecified lyrics ("lailail", "nainai"). These songs do not have anything in common with Balkan gypsies, nor do they fit the characteristics of the repertoire of the Czech Balkan groups. However, they are still played because of the positive reception they receive[21].

21 This assessment is according to an informal interview with the band members and according to my own [A.L.] experience. These songs, especially the first one "*Nane cocha"* is well-known in the Czech environment due to the famous Soviet musical movie "Queen of the Gypsies" (orig. Табор уходит в небо). See http://romove.radio.cz/cz/clanek/19773 [accessed 2015–03–13].

Figure 3: Fes: from left to right: René Starhon, Aida Mujačič. Photo: Alena Libánská.

The band **Fes**[22] started the concert of Bosnian *sevdah* at 9:00 pm. The main person in the group is the lead female singer Aida Mujačić, originally from Bosnia. She devoted her professional life to the research of the Bosnian song style *sevdalinka*, living and studying in Prague. The repertoire of the band originates mainly from Bosnia. The singer was accompanied by a skillful Czech guitarist, René Starhon, by double bassist Filip Kinecký, and by trumpeter Milan Mikšíček. The band thus consisted of one woman – vocalist, and three instrumentalists. None of the instruments originally came from the Balkans. The band played elaborate arrangements with *authentic* sound and melodies, rather unfamiliar to the Western ear. Aida's voice was sharp; she sang in a chest voice, richly ornamenting the melody lines. Most of their songs were slow, emotional, and strongly linked to the meaning of the lyrics (as is typical for the song style

[22] Music video from Balkan Session: Fes playing the song *Jablani se povijaju*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j2OK2Pn1P4w [accessed 2015–03–04]. Video: Alena Libánská.

Figure 4: Mijaktič Orkestar: Jan Klíma, Ondřej Koblížek, Dalibor Bzirský, Marek Vojtěch, Bety Josefy, Karel Zich. Photo: Alena Libánská.

sevdalinka; the emphasis is put on the story the song tells). The audience stayed rather calm, listening to the songs, or talking.

Mijaktič Orkestar[23] was the third band that played; it consists only of Czech musicians. Most of the songs were sung by front man Jan Klíma in a loud, strong voice. The band is formed of six musicians, five men – a vocalist/guitarist/bagpiper, a double bassist, a clarinetist/vocalist, a violist, an accordionist; and one woman – drummer/vocalist. The microphones were placed in front of all of the musicians who joined Klíma in the chorus or, occasionally, as a second voice. For some songs, the guitarist Klíma switched instruments to the cittern or gajda (bagpipes). Apart from the guitar and the gajda, their instrumentation included the double bass, the Cajun, and the darbuka (similarly to the other Czech band Džezvica). The gajda and darbouka are typical for the Balkans. The

[23] Music video from Balkan Session: Mijaktič Orkestrar playing the song *Niška Banja* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Bcy_xaxNkk [accessed 2015–03–04]. Video: Alena Libánská.

Figure 5: Sarma band: Aco, Robin Finsilver, Zoran Dukič, Petar Jakšič. Photo: Alena Libánská.

band's repertoire covered folk songs from the Balkans (the Serbian Niška Banja, the Bulgarian Mitro, le Mitro, etc.), as well as gypsy songs (Opa tsupa), all in their own arrangements. Their songs sounded brisk and loud. The audience danced during the whole set, and after the applause, the band continued for another 30 minutes.

Sarma Band[24], which started playing at midnight, differed from all of the other bands, since mostly Balkan migrants form the group. Only one of the musicians is English, the others originate from Bosnia and Serbia; only men form the group, and all five of them are in their 50's. The musicians sit on chairs while playing. Besides the accordion and the guitar, they have a tambourine, a riq, and a keyboard. A single voice leads the melody, while others join in unison. The voice sounds in a chest register, with slight ornamentation. The drums

[24] Music video from Balkan Session: Sarma Band playing the song *Nema ljepše djevojke*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M-FfOZxsB0Y [accessed 2015–03–04]. Video: Alena Libánská.

Figure 6: Roooombaaaa: Vojtěch Pošmourný, Vojtěch Nejedlý, Saša Vidovič, Zoran Dukić, Petar Jakšič. Photo: Alena Libánská.

are from the Balkans. The band played so-called *starogradska muzika*: songs performed in the cities of Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Croatia, especially at restaurants. The tempo of these pieces is slower; the emphasis is placed on the lyrics, with themes such as love and relationships. The aim is not to energize the audience, but to move them gently and play on their emotions[25]. The music was aimed mainly at the Balkan audience, who stayed in front of the stage, dancing and singing with the group. For the Czechs, the music was not particularly appealing: they did not understand the lyrics and, in addition, they did not find the rhythm suitable for dance[26]. Usually, this type of music is played around a table, and not performed on stage.

25 Interview with A. K., February 2015. See also http://secanja.com/2012/starogradske-2/ [accessed 2015–03–13].

26 Informal interview at Balkan Session night, December 2014.

With the beginning of the after-party, another band came to play. Most of the musicians from the previous group remained onstage, and three more joined them: one Bosnian and two Czechs, thus creating the band **Rooombaaa**[27]. They played gypsy and lively folk songs (the Serbian *Moja mala nema mane*, the gypsy *Čaje Šukarije*...) in simple arrangements that were often created on the spot[28]. Most of the songs were performed by a solo voice, sung in Saša's charismatic baritone; sometimes there were two voices, with harmonic and rhythmic guitar accompaniment. The bass line was played by a cello, while the violin and the cello alternated leading the melody in the interludes. The band consisted of five men: two Czechs and three Balkans. The band also featured Slovenian gypsy and folk songs (such as *Číže sú to koně* or *Načo pôjdem domov*). Similarly to their predecessors, Rooombaaa chose songs popular with diverse audiences. At that point, there were still about 80 people dancing and singing with the band, or talking in the hall.

The band concluded their performance at about 1:40 am, giving the stage to the MC Alen Kovačević for the last time. He thanked the audience and musicians for coming and announced that the last band – quite unexpectedly – has arrived at the Session – the Czech band **Cirkus Problem**[29], which consisted of six men: five Czechs and one Ukrainian. They started playing in the restaurant room, standing on the tables and chairs. Their repertoire featured the most well-known songs, often those that are stereotypically connected with the Balkans: songs from the movies 'Underground', 'Black Cat, White Cat', and others composed by Goran Bregović, Boban Marković, or Emir Kusturica. Their instrumentation was different from the previous bands: drums and brass (bass horn, trombone, euphonium, trumpet and clarinet) appeared for the first time, with accordion and violin. Such instrumentation is the closest to contemporary Balkan bands as they are known outside the Balkans: brass bands. Only the violin makes the sound different from the Balkan stereotype. The whole performance was characterized by less-than-perfect order, bordering on chaos, which was to be expected, given the spontaneity of their gig. Most of the songs were instrumental. Only some were sung by the accordionist and the leader of the group, Jiří

[27] Music video from Balkan Session: Rooombaaa playing the song *Čaje šukarije*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V8MGQG9IcRU [accessed 2015–03–13].

[28] Informal interview with Saša who explained to me that they consider concerts as "public rehearsals". December 2014.

[29] Music video from the Balkan Session: Cirkus Problem playing the song *Misirlou*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Em-px_JQL-E [accessed 2015–04–06]. Video: Alen Kovačević.

Figure 7: Cirkus Problem: Martin Sedlák, Jiří Čevela, Bohdan Skibinsky, Martin Zavodňan, Tomáš Mašek, Tomáš Knotek. Photo: Stanislav Bakalár.

Čevela. The Czech as well as the Balkan audiences stayed until the very end, dancing to all of the songs.

In summary, the most *authentic* Balkan music at the Balkan Session was the *sevdah* and the *starogradska muzika*; however, the response of the audience gave the impression that what was conceived as (and asked for as) typical Balkan music was the music known from Bregović and Kusturica[30]. This was common to both the Czech and Balkan audiences. All Czech bands (Džezvica, Mijaktič Orkestar and Cirkus Problem) were better received than the Balkan ones, despite the fact that the audience was mostly non-Czech. The reason might be that the Czech bands had adapted their repertoire and performance to certain

30 Goran Bregović (and his brass band) is considered as the most important exporter of Balkan music outside of the Balkan Peninsula. See more in Marković 2013.

stereotypes connected to audience's expectation of the music labeled as Balkan: temperament, emotions, external attributes such as colorful clothing and noticeable accessories, improvisation, fusion, use of close harmonies, irregular rhythm, and high volume (Libánská 2012). In addition, these groups also followed the perceived stereotype in that the songs were originally from the Balkan Peninsula and inspired by Goran Bregović. The stereotypes of the Balkan music pointed towards the stereotypical images connected with the Balkans: chaos, temperament, roughness, and opulence (Moravcová et al. 2006).

On the contrary, the Balkan bands played more *authentic* Balkan repertoire that puts emphasis on the lyrics; they played in a slower tempo. In their arrangements, the keyboard emerged, which contradicts the stereotypical image of Balkan music in the Czech Republic: considering the instrumentation, the guitar or accordions were present in all bands. The non-Balkan drum Cajun was included in two Czech bands (Džezvica, Mijaktič), and is very often seen to be associated with Balkan music in the Czech environment. Very often the violin/viola is heard, less often the cello or the flute. In all of the bands, the solo voice is very dominant, often performed by the leader of the group. Only two bands used more typical Balkan instruments, such as the gajda or the riq (Mijaktič, Sarma Band). Only Cirkus Problem played brass instrumental music, extensively associated with modern Balkan music outside of the Balkans. When considering stereotypes in gender roles connected to the instrumentation, there is no significant distribution. Men as well women sing and play different instruments. Only the Balkan group consisted of only men, as well as in the brass band Cirkus Problem. But these observations do no allow making generalizations, and the soundscape of Balkan music does not seem to be gender imbalanced.

Conclusion

Balkan music in the Czech Republic is an emic construct, whose shape is negotiated by all of the actors of this soundscape: the musicians, the audience, and the organizer. Music is distancing the participants of the soundscape from the actual Balkans (the *distance* evoked in Bigenho's concept). Based on the Balkan Session musical event and the three Czech groups that participated in it, it is evident that the Czech musicians are not interested in the form of music as performed on the Balkan Peninsula; rather, they (and their audience) follow the stereotypical image of the Balkan music.

The fact that the Czech musicians played at the Balkan Session for the Balkan audience raised the question of to what extent do musicians adjust their performances depending on the specific audience, and how does their interpretation influence the audience? Czech musicians, being forced to lightly step out of "the zone of safe enterprise" (Laušević 2007) characteristic of their usual performances, adjusted their repertoire and performance to adhere to the recommendations of the main organizer, who appeared to be a steering agent not only of the event's composition and of the invited musical groups, but also of their repertoire.

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When Even Listening to Music, Dancing, and Escaping from Auditoriums is Educational. Ethnomusicology at the Faculty of Humanities

According to the head of the program doc. Zuzana Jurková, the evolution of ethnomusicology at our faculty is progressing like a partly-controlled improvisation. "I started out with just a couple of overview courses. Now it is an all-round proper program. This semester we opened 15 courses, out of which eight were led in English by lecturers such as prof. Shelemay from Harvard University, prof. Reyes from Columbia University, or prof. Radulescu from Universitatea Națională de Muzică in Romania. Last year, we published a book entitled *Pražské hudební světy*, whose English version *Prague Soundscapes* was distributed by Chicago University Press. And we also held an international conference whose materials are in print at the moment," says docent Jurková adding that in her opinion, "There is no university-level ethnomusicological program in Europe that is this dynamic." Ethnomusicological courses at FoH predominantly focus on the music of the marginalized and on urban spaces. The approximate form of education of future ethnomusicologists is indicated by the recently concluded summer school of Jewish music.

Jewish Musics

"It was amazing to come back to Prague, where I had already spent some ten days a couple of years ago. I am enjoying the contact and discussions with students outside of my home university," diplomatically stated Kay Kaufman Shelemay, Professor of Ethnomusicology at Harvard University, in our short interview. The block course led by Shelemay entitled *Jewish Cultures through their Musics* was held between 16 and 22 May at Charles University's Faculty of Humanities. Using the music of various Jewish communities (Ethiopian, Syrian, and American) for her material, prof. Shelemay focuses on a couple of general topics, for instance on the role of music in our conception of memory. For her, to be an anthropologist means "both an obligation and a privilege to discover the borders between different cultures." Some students, including myself, thought of this course as sort of a challenge, for it gave them an opportunity to meet the author of *Soundscapes*, the book we translated (and some still do) as part of our Language Skills Exam.

Block Course at Times in Hebrew and with a Yarmulke on Your Head

The course began on Saturday by visiting the Jerusalem Synagogue in Prague. We had an exceptional opportunity to personally witness a part of an orthodox Jewish service during which men read from the five Books of Moses, a scroll of Torah. It is uncommon to allow access to people from outside of the community. We put on our disposable yarmulkes and the men and women separated. Separating men and women for the service by a symbolic see-through wall is part of the tradition of Orthodox Judaism. Thanks to this experience, many of us discovered how little we could speak Hebrew (the whole service was held in this language),

that books can also be read from right to left, and that even Orthodox Jews like to chitchat about profane things during the service.

The acquired anthropological knowledge is, of course, much less banal than it may seem from my description so far – even though it stems from the analysis of the same banal sense of everydayness. The subsequent theoretical class we attended in the afternoon helped us to make more sense of the proceedings in the synagogue, as well as to put these experiences and mechanisms in the broader context of Jewish cultures. Thanks to prof. Shelemay's ethnographic experience with a community of Ethiopian Jews, we had a chance to see how abstract terms such as ritual, identity, memory or community stem from behavior legitimized by practice. Our knowledge thereof gave sense to the fact that in the synagogue that morning, some women had their heads covered while others did not. And to the question why the men counted themselves over and over again, and if there were less than ten of them present they could not continue reading the holy text. It gave us the reason why a little girl was allowed to dally under the altar in the men's part. And revealed how (un)substantiated the first impression that women never get involved in religious life is.

The Theresienstadt Ghetto Is at Peace

In Theresienstadt, the Sunday of 17 May belonged to the memorial meeting commemorating the last execution which took place here on 2 May 1945, virtually only several days before the liberation. After a lecture given by docent Jurková on the topic of Jewish musical life both in interwar Czechoslovakia and in the Theresienstadt concentration camp, we headed into this fort town for a concert by House of Freedom. It is strange how much Theresienstadt does *not* seem repulsive nowadays. Bathed in the spring sunlight, it does not seem like the sort of place where dozens of people would die every single day. Visitors enjoy the idyllic sights not dissimilar to those from the propagandist films made for representatives of the Red Cross, whose purpose was to show them how great the life of Jews was during the war. Nevertheless, when an excerpt from the children's opera *Brundibár* by Krása was played in the museum, it was difficult not to feel a lump in one's throat.

The main concert took place in the Theresienstadt riding-hall. The roof of the building has a beautiful frame-work which, considering the occasional hungry peeping is home to at least several avian families. The concert was mainly dedicated to the musical output of composers who had been through the ghetto themselves. The disturbing and emotionally broken pieces composed by Viktor Ullmann and others were played by an orchestra and accompanied by commentaries setting the music into the context of its time. The only downside is that the organizers forgot about the Czech language. Those in the audience who did not speak English unfortunately did not understand a word. The hall was quickly brimming with people, mostly foreigners. But there was also a couple of living witnesses of the Theresienstadt hell. For instance, I saw Helga Hošková-Weissová, who spent the nightmare of her ghetto childhood drawing pictures, and who was one of the few lucky ones to survive Auschwitz. Apart from the Czech Republic, her childhood drawings have

been exhibited in Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Italy and the United States.

The following week, lectures were held about *pizmonim*, the traditional musical genre of Syrian Jews which records the memories of the whole community, about Leonard Bernstein and his Bostonian Jewish roots, about Czech Jewish communities, and also about more abstract terms such as identity, memory, and community. We had a chance to visit Jewish cemeteries, Jewish dance classes, or – for all of its depressing success – an exhibition about the historical context of the work of Viktor Ullmann.

The Faculty of Ethnomusicological Studies

The intensive course ended on Thursday, and I have to pose the question if similarly experiential and multimedia forms of education should not be a standard practice at all universities. According to doc. Jurková, it seems that the FoH department of ethnomusicology is indeed taking this approach, "Right now we are following up with the so-called Small Summer School focusing on Romany music. My dear friend prof. Speranta Radulescu is expected to arrive. She has amazing experiences from the field and has managed to tape the most phenomenal field recordings I know. In June, we have already scheduled two previously tested block courses led by prof. Adelaida Reyes from Columbia University. Prof. Reyes is not only an incredibly kind person, but also one of the greatest intellectuals I know. Kay Shelemay, who is her former student, has this to say about her, 'Everything I know I learned from Adelaida.'" The Small Summer School of Romany music took place before this article was published. I and colleagues of mine, mostly students coming to Prague through erasmus program, received free guest passes to the Romany music festival called Khamoro, so from Monday to Saturday we familiarized ourselves with Romany music from all around the world. Sometimes it truly is great to be a student.

Jaromír Mára
Translated by David Koranda

Call for papers
for special issue No. 2/2016 of Urban People

Proposed title:

AGEING and MIGRATION

Editors:
Petra Ezzeddine Ph.D., Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague
Hana Havelková Ph.D., Department of Gender Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague

You are invited to submit abstracts of papers to be considered for publication in the journal.
The following themes are of particular interest to the journal:

- **migrants 50+ and labour market**
- **social inequalities in migrant retirement system and migrant pensions**
- **transnational care for seniors, mobility of care**
- **intergenerational relations in migration**
- **gender consequences in ageing in migration**
- **intersectionalities of ageing in migration (gender, 'race', class, sexuality, disability, etc.)**
- **social situation of senior refugees**

This list is not exhaustive and interested authors are encouraged to contact the editor with alternative proposals.

Submission Details:

Authors are welcome to submit their abstracts in English (max. 500 words).
The deadline for submission of your draft article is October 31, 2015,
the deadline for the submission of your full article is January 31, 2016.
All submissions should be sent to Petra Ezzeddine (petra.ezzeddine@fhs.cuni.cz) or to the editor-in-chief Hedvika Novotná (hedvika.no@gmail.com).

Special issue is founded by Norway grants, programme Let's give women a chance – Dejme (že)nám šanci.

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