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THEORY AND METHOD IN URBAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

Thematic Issue

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Editor: *Zuzana Jurková*

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THEORY AND METHOD IN URBAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

Most of us live in cities. Surrounded by an urban environment, more and more ethnomusicologists are investigating urban phenomena. Despite that, when we started with more systematic research of Prague musics, we couldn't find a theory in which "urbanness" would be conceived as a substantial feature.

In the realm of concepts, two directions have appeared most important: "actor-specific," combining sound primarily with a social aspect, and "environment-specific," combining sound with a spatial one. The former, usually more or less convergent with anthropology or sociology, is thus focused on questions of how different urban groups connected with a certain type of music behave in the broadest sense, (e.g., what is the cultural orientation of the performers?; what are the social and economic motivations for their acts?). The latter, most often referring to the sound-ecological school of Murray Schafer, is concerned with local ties of sound phenomena (that is what makes Toronto, Tokyo etc. sound-specific, what creates their "soundscaspes") and/or how they are locally perceived, etc. For "urbanness," however, we consider the connection of both concepts to be fundamental. Secondly, we were convinced about the key importance of grasping the dynamics and complexity of different phenomena (including the musical ones) because this is actually what is characteristic of the urban environment.

In an attempt to come more deeply to the problematics of the theory of ethnomusicology, we organized a round table "Theory and Method in Urban Ethnomusicology" in June 2011 in Prague. We invited those who we knew were involved in urban problematics in ethnomusicology. The contributions of the round table are the main contents of this issue. The theoretical approaches and topics are very diverse. I see the emphasis of the first three articles on theory (I read the text of Kay Kaufman Shelemay as an exemplum *par excellence* of the above-mentioned sociologically oriented direction) or on methodology (McMurray).

In the following block there are examples of research in Wroclaw (following up on and reconsidering that spatial direction), Vienna, Prague and Singapore, differing in material through which the urbanness is investigated (to a great

extent, they confirm the words of Adelaide Reyes: "the strong tendency to focus on parts…"). The Nestor of applied ethnomusicology, Kjell Skyllstad, describes in his theoretically rather unorthodox article a monumental Norwegian multicultural project, *Resonant Community.*

The article by Zita Skořepová Honzlová in the Students Work section originated in her thesis and is not only thematically connected to this issue, but is even more concretely related to the Viennese research presented here by Ursula Hemetek.

I hope you will find the individual articles as well as all of them as a whole as interesting and stimulating as I do.

Zuzana Jurková

URBAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY: A BRIEF HISTORY OF AN IDEA

Adelaida Reyes

Abstract: *The nature of urban ethnomusicology and its relations with its parent discipline have been nebulous almost from the start. Some four decades ago, when urban ethnomusicology first entered the ethnomusicological scene, the term was taken to signal an expansion of ethnomusicology's research field beyond self-contained societies into the urban area. It has now become clear that that expansion required a re-thinking of prevailing practices and theoretical orientations. To better define the issues at stake, this paper traces the development of urban ethnomusicology not as praxis but as idea. The essentially multidisciplinary nature of urban ethnomusicology is examined in the context of its relations with anthropology and sociology in particular. Problems and benefits derived from urban ethnomusicology's multidisciplinary heritage are identified for the purpose of putting ethnomusicology into the best possible position to meet the challenges posed by a world that is rapidly and inexorably becoming urbanized.*

Keywords: *urban ethnomusicology; multidisciplinarity; purposive redundance*

What is urban about urban ethnomusicology and what is ethnomusicological about it? I borrow that question from the Swedish anthropologist, Ulf Hannerz, who asked anthropologists the analogous question about a half century ago when urban anthropology was struggling for self-definition (1980: 3). Since then, urban anthropology has gained a measure of autonomy as a subfield of anthropology, with at least one journal of its own and courses on the subject offered in many universities. In contrast, urban ethnomusicology has become a name quite unsure of what it names.

Coming into existence not long after urban anthropology did, urban ethnomusicology had a promising beginning. Courses were offered and at least one program in ethnomusicology took it as its focus. Now, however, people in American academia question its relevance. Many dismiss it as passé—an idea whose time has come and gone.

How did this happen? Do events justify this development? What does it say of ethnomusicology in the context of its development as a discipline and its capacity to respond to contemporary circumstances?

This paper will address those questions by looking into the "genealogy" of urban ethnomusicology to see what contingencies gave it birth and what "genetic material" it might have drawn from its disciplinary lineage. The intent is to find clues into the nature of urban ethnomusicology, into its potential or actual capabilities, inherited or acquired, as it made its way in the academic world. By juxtaposing those capabilities against the challenges that ethnomusicology faces now and in the foreseeable future, we might find the grounds for either redeeming urban ethnomusicology from undue obsolescence or speeding it along that path.

To lay the groundwork for the rest of this paper, I would like to emphasize that what I am about to examine is urban ethnomusicology not as praxis but as *idea*. According to Webster's Seventh Collegiate Dictionary an idea is "a transcendent entity that is a real pattern of which existing things are imperfect representations." Note the three elements: the transcendent entity, the reality of a pattern drawn from existing things, and the imperfection of those things as representations of that pattern. The idea admits the imperfection. But rather than conform to the reality of the imperfection or to the imperfection of the reality, the idea chooses to transcend that imperfection; hence, the transcendent entity.

I could have chosen to focus on the existing things that have answered to the name urban ethnomusicology. Instead, I have chosen to take urban ethnomusicology as idea. It is a choice dictated by the lack of what Thomas Kuhn called "normal practice," by the lack of coherent systems of thought[1] (using Liah Greenfeld's criteria 1992: 493 fn) that could coalesce into a real pattern definable as urban ethnomusicology. The idea of urban ethnomusicology—the idea that recognizes but chooses to transcend the imperfection of its representation—is therefore what the rest of this paper will be referring to.

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1   Hannerz 1980 describes urban anthropology in similar language: lacking "a coherent, unifying structure of ideas" (4).

With this clarification, I now turn to the principal disciplinary "bloodlines" that have had a formative effect on urban ethnomusicology.

Conditions surrounding the birth of urban ethnomusicology

We all know the debt that ethnomusicology owes anthropology. No history of urban ethnomusicology as offshoot of ethnomusicology can be complete without an acknowledgment of that debt. Most of what ethnomusicology has adopted or adapted from anthropology and has passed on to urban ethnomusicology is common knowledge, so I will mention only what is salient and pertinent to this discussion.

Besides following early anthropology's lead into so-called primitive societies and, subsequently, into folk and peasant societies, ethnomusicology also embraced aspirations, assumptions, and methods derived from anthropology. Like anthropology, ethnomusicology has aspired to be a science. In its early years, it has shared assumptions pertaining to human evolution. In the area of methodology, ethnomusicology has adopted anthropology's strong reliance on empirical observation. Sharing common attitudes that derived from colonial Europe, ethnomusicologists and their anthropological role models maintained what they assumed to be a scientific distance between themselves and their subjects of investigation in situations commonly described as first contacts with previously undiscovered peoples (Wikipedia, "Sociology" and "Anthropology", 4/6/2011).

The ramifications of these fundamental borrowings or appropriations and their impact on urban ethnomusicology were far-reaching and profound. They, too, are well-known. I will thus confine myself to two because their effects on methodology have been both consequential and problematic.

The first ramification came out of an assumption that turned into bias. Cultural homogeneity was a defensible assumption in the context of ideas prevalent in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and in the context of societies believed to be simple and insular. It became an expectation which ethnomusicologists held on to even as they moved into urban areas. Urbanized societies which are a radically different social form, severely challenged that expectation with observable reality. But having become ingrained by decades-old practice, the expectation had become resistant to critical review and to the findings of decades-long research on cities from other disciplines, mainly sociology. The effects of what is tantamount to bias on methods in general and on analysis in particular cannot be underestimated.

The second ramification comes from a methodological procedure that delineates the boundaries of the unit of investigation. Habituated and eventually conditioned by long experience studying units with pre-defined boundaries, early urban ethnomusicologists presumed the existence of or sought such well-bounded units in cities. The result was too often the obfuscation of the more obvious and in most instances the more significant fact, namely, that in urban areas, the fluidity or porousness of boundaries is far more characteristic and more revealing of urban dynamics than the insularity that results from boundaries drawn or taken for granted without due consideration of the wider context and the shifting conditions on the ground.

These ramifications—effects of what Thomas Kuhn (1996) called paradigm-induced expectations and, as habit, often operating below the level of consciousness—thus had a far-reaching impact on the fledgling efforts of ethnomusicology to enter the urban field. Those ramifications had, in effect, upended the commonsensical dictum that the tool should fit the task. Embarking on urban research armed with tools intended for a radically different kind of social form led in most instances to shaping the task to fit the tool. The results call to mind the old proverb: "To the man with a big hammer, all problems look like nails." On a more sober note, the philosopher and communications theorist, Marshall McLuhan, delivers an analogous precautionary message: "We shape our tools, and afterwards our tools shape us" (quoted in Carr 2011: 1).

It was inevitable, therefore, that those ramifications would stand in the way of a clear-eyed view of the urban—of the very context from which urban ethnomusicology would draw meaning.

Urban ethnomusicology: its disciplinary lineage

While anthropology and sociology are not the only disciplines implicated in the development of urban ethnomusicology, they are the principal ones. This paper will therefore focus on these two disciplines.

Theoretically, there is a considerable overlap between them. Both belong to the social sciences, the former referred to as the science of society, the latter as the science of man. But the focus of much research in each of the two disciplines could hardly be more different. That branch of sociology led by Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber responded to the intellectual challenges posed by industrialization and urbanization. In contrast, that branch of anthropology which came to be known as cultural anthropology responded to the challenge

posed by previously unknown societies that colonialism made accessible. It was on this basis that Ulf Hannerz called anthropology anti-urban by definition (1980: 1). And it was on the basis of anthropology's and sociology's divergent foci that these disciplines, at least until the first quarter of the 20th century, were taken to be mutually exclusive. (Note that in the schema, "Disciplinary Flow of Influences...," there is no arrow representing a flow of influence between the two disciplines until half-way down the diagram.)
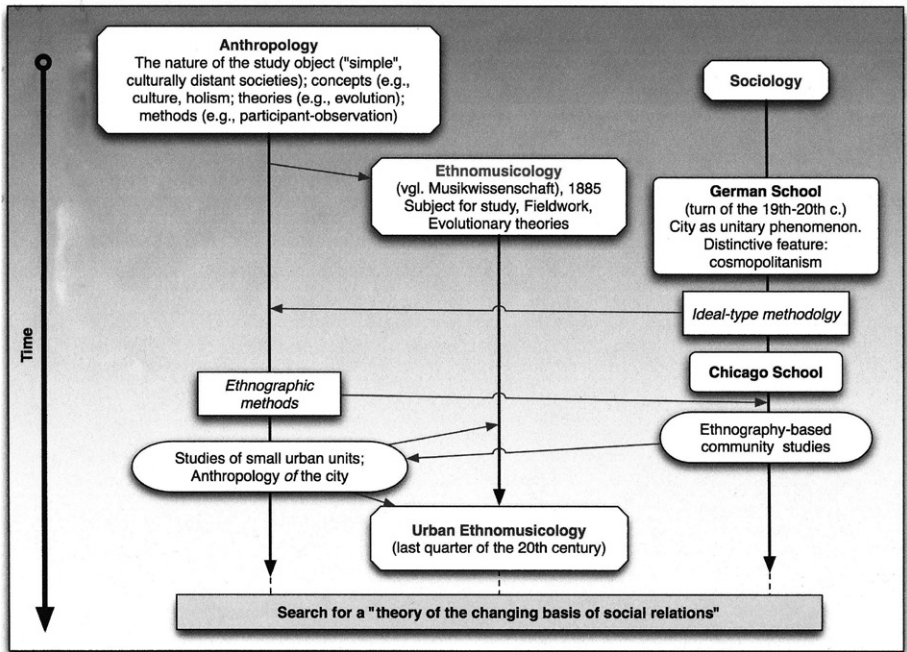
But as will soon become evident, forces internal and external to each of the disciplines would conspire to replace that mutual exclusivity, first, with tentative receptivity on the part of each, and subsequently with a mutually enriching exchange of ideas. The results of this cross-fertilization became part of the lineage that took form as urban ethnomusicology.

While modern sociology and its studies of urbanism and cities go back to the 19th century under the leadership of figures such as Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim, those efforts did not coalesce into a school of thought until the turn of the century with the emergence of the German School of Urban Research. Based

in Heidelberg and Berlin, the German School was represented by sociologists such as Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Ferdinand Toennies and Oswald Spengler. What Richard Sennett, called "the first modern effort in urban studies,"(1969: 5), Max Weber's book, *Die Stadt* (1906), came out of the German School.

For Weber, the principal defining feature of the city was cosmopolitanism, a consequence of different life styles, different sorts of individuals coexisting and permitting "the greatest degree of individuality and uniqueness" (Sennett 1969: 6). It is a formulation that foreshadows heterogeneity, a feature that was to become embedded in subsequent descriptions or definitions of the city. The contrast between this defining feature and homogeneity, which anthropologists and, later, ethnomusicologists attributed to the societies they studied, illustrates the mutual exclusivity of anthropology and sociology at the time.

Scholars of the German School differed in their individual emphases; some focused on the social and the psychological aspects of urbanism, others on the bureaucracy, still others on the over-all social structure. But what bound them together as a school of thought was a conception of the city as a unitary phenomenon illumined by its relations to units beyond it, units such as the national transportation systems that served the city, and the state, which connects the city to the world.

In many ways, the German School laid the groundwork for the Chicago School which became at least as influential as the German School in urban studies. The towering figure from the Chicago School, Robert Ezra Park, had done graduate work in Germany at the University of Heidelberg where he had attended Georg Simmel's lectures. Ten years after Weber's book, *Die Stadt,* Park produced the first major work that came out of the Chicago School: the landmark essay titled "The City: Some Suggestions for the Study of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment" (1916).

While the members of the German School were predominantly if not exclusively sociologists, the Chicago School attracted scholars from a variety of disciplines. Park was a practicing journalist when he decided to go to Harvard to study philosophy and thence to Germany for graduate work in Heidelberg. Back in the U.S., before he came to the University of Chicago, he worked on race relations, and was an assistant to the eminent African American educator and political leader, Booker T. Washington. This background predisposed him to a strong advocacy of anthropology's ethnographic method. Using a systematic empirical approach to urban studies (as opposed to the "armchair" approach of the German School scholars), the scholars of the Chicago School called attention

to the value of "qualitative data" (in contradistinction to the quantitative data of sociological survey research, for example).

Another member of the Chicago School, Robert Redfield, well known as an anthropologist, followed the efforts of the German School to define the city and urbanism through the ideal-type method. This consisted of identifying oppositions and then creating ideal types to represent the polar ends of that opposition. Weber had compared ideal-type cities from different historical periods. Ferdinand Toennies contrasted the *Gemeinschaft* of rural folk with the *Gesellschaft* of urban dwellers. *Gemeinschaft* bound people through ties of kinship, community, and common goals. *Gesellschaft* was characterized by the impersonality, individualism and self-interest that marked urban social relations.

Redfield's ideal types were of the polar opposites, folk and urban. Using the results of his fieldwork in Mexican villages he abstracted the ideal folk type in an effort to show that "views of the modern city were based on assumptions about the lives of non-urban...or 'folk' societies" (Sennett 1969: 17).

The ideal type method eventually proved unwieldy. But tracing its use longitudinally from the German School to the Chicago School, and latitudinally, within the Chicago School, exemplifies both the continuity which has marked urban studies within sociology, and the cross disciplinarity of urban studies as it gained a foothold in the United States.

Here we see the interaction of sociology and anthropology through their individual practitioners. Sharing an interest in the urban, scholars had ideas and methods flowing across disciplinary lines. (See the lower half of Figure 1.)

Cross-fertilization continued to bear fruit as exemplified notably by sociology's ethnography-based community studies which took neighborhoods, gangs, ghettoes, and small units within cities as subjects of investigation.

The outreach in the opposite direction—anthropology seeking out concepts and methods from sociology—came about in the second half of the 20th century. With massive population movements mostly into cities, with accelerating urbanization, and the virtual disappearance of the self-contained, insular societies that had claimed so much of anthropology's attention until the middle of the 20th century, the urban began to attract fresh and intense interest. This was the climate in which urban anthropology, urban sociology, and urban ethnomusicology subsequently emerged.

Plagued or blessed—depending on one's point of view—by ideas outside their respective disciplines, all three struggled with self-definition and faced questions of relevance. Ulf Hannerz formulated the issue for urban anthropology with the

question I appropriated for the beginning of this paper: what is urban about urban anthropology and what is anthropological about it? (see also 1980: 2–3). Peter Saunders, professor emeritus of sociology at the University of Essex explored the issue in his book, *Social Theory and the Urban Question* (1981), which grew out of his suspicion "that there was no such thing as urban sociology" (p. 7).

To my knowledge, there has been no substantive discussion of the issue in urban ethnomusicology. Almost from the start, urban ethnomusicology was seen mostly as a declaration of independence from the rural, the simple, the folk, the peasant societies that had dominated ethnomusicological discourse until well into the second half of the 20th century. Having finally been granted the freedom to go into previously restricted territory by its parent discipline, ethnomusicology, urban ethnomusicology, many have contended, lost its presumed raison d'être. What had been labeled urban ethnomusicology, so went the argument, had become part of the ethnomusicological mainstream. And since an ethnomusicology *of* urban areas has not found a definitive voice that can articulate its distinction from ethnomusicology *in* urban areas, no counterargument has been heard.

Re-thinking urban ethnomusicology

Is urban ethnomusicology's virtual disappearance, at least from the American scene, then the result of a natural process of evolution in which an organism or one of its parts, having lost its function, becomes vestigial or just fades away? To address this issue, a quick look at urban sociology can be instructive.

Peter Saunders's suspicion that there was no such thing as urban sociology (quoted above) seemed to rest on grounds similar to that upon which much of American ethnomusicology takes urban ethnomusicology to be a duplication of functions already served by the parent discipline. Paralleling ethnomusicology's reasoning, the question that obtains for urban sociology may be formulated as follows: since sociology has traditionally been involved in studies of urbanism and urbanization, what would be the point of urban sociology? Saunders's response, however, went in a direction opposite that taken by American ethnomusicology. Instead of simply dismissing urban sociology as a non-entity, he set about identifying, first, the grounds for his skepticism and, from these, the grounds on which urban sociology's existence might be justified after all. It is an alternative course that urban ethnomusicology might do well to consider.

"[E]ach of the different approaches to urban sociology," Saunders wrote, "has foundered on the attempt to fuse a theory of social processes with an analysis

of spatial forms" (1981: 7). Such attempts fell short, he argued, because it is precisely the distinction between a theory of social processes and the analysis of spatial forms that makes possible the dialectic tension between them. This dialectic tension, in turn, pervades all things urban, is essential to urban social cohesion and, thus, holds the key to understanding the distinctiveness of the urban.

For Saunders, an intrinsically urban problem requires "not a theory of the city [as subject of study] but a theory of the changing basis of social relations" (ibid.: 12) that is at the heart of urban life. The tension is "between a concern with social processes operating with[in] a spatial context, and a concern with the spatial units themselves" (p. 256). This is a formulation that, to my mind, adds specificity and clarity to the distinction that the anthropologist, John Gulick[2], made between research *in* the city as opposed to an anthropology *of* the city which urban ethnomusicology had adopted. But more important, Saunders's formulation underscores the importance of the cohesive tension that underlies and in fact characterizes urban dynamics. For as the highly respected historian of cities, Lewis Mumford, so strongly puts it:

"It is in the city... that man's most purposive activities are formulated and worked out, through conflicting and cooperating personalities, events, groups, into more significant culminations. Without the social drama that comes into existence through the focusing and intensification of group activity, there is not a single function performed in the city that could not be performed—and has not in fact been performed—in the open country." (1970: 490).

At this point in the narrative, it would have been reasonable to expect sociology's and anthropology's mutual exclusivity to have yielded to disciplinary cross-fertilization. Points of convergence had emerged among which the most obvious was in the disciplines' view of what urban studies does *not* stand for. It does not stand for what Saunders called "a theory of social processes" fused into an "analysis of spatial forms," and not for what Gulick called an anthropology in the city, a view which ethnomusicology has not actively disputed.

Perhaps less evident but nonetheless emphatically underscored by Saunders's and Mumford's words quoted earlier, an undoubtedly substantive point of convergence is the concern for relations. Underscored by a whole line of thinkers from Galileo to Charles Sanders Peirce to Alfred North Whitehead, a concern with relations has become all the more imperative in light of the dynamism and

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2   See also Eames and Goode 1977: 30–35 and Leeds 1968: 31.

complexity of the urban social organism. That concern involves a fundamental confrontation with a methodological mindset that is all too often brought to bear upon anthropological studies and, through these, upon urban ethnomusicological studies.

The strong tendency to focus on the parts (e.g., on ethnic or minority groups, on urban neighborhoods, or urban genres such as hip-hop), or to take the part and assume that it is the whole calls for a countervailing force. Nourished by a long history of dealing with insular wholes, this tendency has long stood in the way of confronting fully the complex methodological problem of relations between constituent parts and wholes in the context of the urban. The problem needs particular attention because the city is an emergent organism.

Such organisms belong to that category of complex systems that, in the words of the sociologist Liah Greenfeld, "cannot be explained by any of the properties [of its constituent elements]; [rather] it is the relationship between the elements...which gives rise to it, and which in many ways conditions the behavior of the elements [in the system]" (1992: 494). The parts, therefore, are not predictive of the whole, and the whole is not the mere sum of its parts. In many cases, one could say that the parts are in search of the whole to which they owe their status as parts. Mumford put it this way, "Each group, each community, each vocation, each habitat...by their interaction within the close medium of the city... provides endless permutations and combinations in all its members." (1970: 456)

As an emergent organism, the city's cohesion depends not in what has been called "the replication of uniformity" (Hannerz 1980: 282). The cosmopolitanism and heterogeneity that are now taken to be part of the city's birthright call for and respond instead to what the anthropologist Anthony Wallace calls "the organization of diversity" (Hannerz 1992: 12). It is a call echoed in linguistics by Uriel Weinreich, William Labov and Marvin I. Herzog in their concept of "orderly heterogeneity" (1968); by the "orderly disorder" espoused by physicists working on complexity (Gleick 1987: 266); and by the urban historian, Lewis Mumford, in his concept of "contrapuntal order"—an order that accommodates "more significant kinds of conflict, more complex and intellectually stimulating kinds of disharmony" (1970: 485).

Whether the primary focus be on culture (as it is in anthropology) or on social life (as it is in sociology) or on musical life (as it is in ethnomusicology), what this means is that urban life, musical or more broadly social, in its parts or what the investigator takes to be its whole, is best thought of as an open system. While the object of investigation may be a small unit, its identity as urban is to be

sought nonetheless not only in its internal relations but in its relations with units beyond it. In studies of urban life or urbanism, the search for cohesion is ongoing; it is "never carried once and for all to completion" (Hannerz 1992: 164). The mosaic, therefore is not the proper metaphor for the city's cultural diversity and heterogeneity. The kaleidoscope, Hannerz suggests, better reflects urban social life where "the multitude of parts again and again take on new configurations" (1980: 15).

This, then, in a highly abridged form, is the historic legacy, and the intellectual ferment that urban ethnomusicology has inherited from its forebears. That the ethnomusicological focuses on musical activity and musical life takes nothing away from the richness of its legacy from anthropology and sociology. That legacy verifies not only urban ethnomusicology's identity as *urban* but solidifies its claim to be *ethnomusicological*, for it is only by making the contributions of anthropology and sociology inherent to its nature that urban ethnomusicology can honor its commitment to sociocultural context. What is ethnomusicological about urban ethnomusicology resides *as much* in its choice of a musical subject and the way this is treated *as* in its ties to those disciplines that will enable it to honor its commitments *to itself,* to its nature as urban as well as ethnomusicological.

Urban ethnomusicology in the 21st century

It is with these considerations in mind that we can now turn to the question of whether ethnomusicology is well served by treating the urban as an indistinguishable part of the mix that is the ethnomusicological mainstream. Does affixing "urban" as a marker create a redundance we can do without?

If the argument for removing the marker, urban, rests on redundance, then the question revolves around the functions of redundance. There is needless redundance, a repetition of what is already obvious. But there is also purposive redundance, ubiquitous because it is indispensable to enculturation and in such areas as formal rhetoric, pedagogy, or advertising. Deliberately embraced for strategic reasons, purposive redundance serves the purposes of emphasis and for keeping the term itself or what it represents in the forefront of people's attention. It is a reasoned response to the human tendency to forget, to be distracted, particularly in a complex world where so much vies for our attention. If "urban" is a redundance that reminds us that we are in territory still waiting to be fully explored, then urban ethnomusicology, it can be argued, is a case of purposive redundance.

But if the question has to do not with "urban" as a marker or modifier of the general category, ethnomusicology, but with its potential utility as a conceptual and methodological toolkit designed expressly to address the challenges of today's world, then the discussion must turn to what those challenges might be. Even a summary of such challenges would require far more space. Some data should therefore suffice inasmuch as cities and urban areas are highly visible, open to observation and, in an almost global sense, part of our experience of daily life.

A little more than a year ago, the Chief Executive of IBM writing on "The Future of the City" noted that the world had crossed a threshold. For the first time, more than half the human race is living in cities. By 2050, the figure will rise to 70 percent. ...This means [that] the most important locus for 21st-century innovation—technological, economic, and societal—will be our cities." (Palmisano 2010).

The historian, Kenneth Jackson, had made a similar point earlier (Wills 1999: 25). And Geoffrey West, the British-born physicist who is credited with giving Jane Jacobs's classic work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* a scientific basis, reiterates the demographic trends. For him, "urban population growth is the great theme of modern life." The city, therefore, is "an intellectual problem with immense practical applications" (Lehrer 2010: 48).

Since practical applications are likely to be felt more immediately on the local level than the global level we could zoom closer to where we stand.

For some time now, and especially in the last few months, concerns over "multiculturalism," national identity, and assimilation vs. integration as policy to address cultural diversity have gained greater prominence. As migration, especially forced migration, accelerates and grows in magnitude, prime ministers, chancellors, and presidents have voiced those concerns as have ordinary citizens. Complex social relations fuel those concerns.

What has all this to do with ethnomusicology?

They all have to do with human agency, with the increasingly diverse and heterogeneous makers and consumers of music, in an environment that, of necessity, conditions or impinges upon their behavior. They all have to do with social processes operating in a spatial context the density of which and the cultural differences within which can encourage fragmentation, even violence, or can promote the innovation and creativity that is mandatory if urbanism as a way of life is to be sustained. They all have to do with music and musical life as expressive culture, as an expression of collective sentiments, and, as scientists increasingly have been suggesting, as a human adaptive mechanism.

These are issues ethnomusicologists have been examining through the lens of musical behavior. Whether we have been doing them to the fullest potential of our interdisciplinary nature is a matter for debate. But what is fairly certain is that the musical lives of a culturally diverse population living in close proximity, within the confines of an urban environment where insularity is not an option, can be an important window into the kinds of relations that make the city a laboratory for studying what Saunders called "the changing basis of social relations." Conversely, the changing basis of social relations revealed by studies of urbanism cannot but have an impact on the musical life that emerges as a result.

Perhaps Iain Chambers suggests the magnitude—and the magnificence—of the challenge: "This transformation in our understanding of movement, marginality and modern life," he wrote, "is inextricably tied to the metropolitanisation of the globe, where the model of the city becomes...the model of the contemporary world" (1994: 27).

Is generic ethnomusicology up to meeting the challenge that this implies? Upon the response to this question may rest the justification for urban ethnomusicology's existence.

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RETHINKING THE URBAN COMMUNITY: (RE) MAPPING MUSICAL PROCESSES AND PLACES

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Abstract: *Urban musical research continues to present theoretical and methodological challenges. This paper suggests a revised approach to the study of the urban diaspora community, mapping ways in which musical processes have been instrumental in shaping the cultural places central to the development of the Ethiopian diaspora community. Following cultural geography's attention to "place-making" rather than residential proximity as the locus of community formation, the discussion tracks aspects of musical transmission and performance that have helped generate, shape, and sustain new communities among Ethiopians in the diaspora.*

Keywords: *urban; community; diaspora; music; Ethiopians*

If studies of urban musical phenomena have come to dominate ethnomusicological research since the 1970s, there remain both theoretical and methodological issues surrounding this complex area of inquiry. While approaches to urban musical life had their roots in the study of ethnic communities (Reyes 1979) and often continue to focus on collectivities united by descent, our changing world has reshaped the processes through which urban communities are formed, encouraged their increasingly porous boundaries, and transformed the networks and media through which they are sustained. Indeed, the very notion of musical community itself merits considerable rethinking and expansion, a discussion I have initiated in a recent publication (Shelemay 2011a). In this paper I will take a close look at ways in which musical processes have been instrumental in shaping urban musical communities through music's role in establishing

the ethnic places that unite a collectivity from within and represent it to the outside world.[1]

Here I am interested in approaching musical transmission and performance not as static symbols of established social groupings, but rather as dynamic processes that can generate, shape, and sustain new communities. In urban settings, these musical processes operate in distinctive ways. My comments here derive from observing the formation of Ethiopian diaspora communities since their beginnings in the second half of the 1970s, most particularly in heavily urban North American locales, and from tracking music's pivotal role in generating differentiated social groupings. An unusually large number of Ethiopian musicians have migrated abroad since the advent of the Ethiopian revolution in 1974, providing a unique opportunity to document their roles in both sustaining existing social ties and galvanizing new collectivities during the processes of resettlement. Ethiopia is an intensely multi-ethnic country with many different musical traditions; a signal challenge in the diaspora is to discern how multiple musical styles figure into a complicated process of community formation. During 2007–2008, I tracked individual immigrant musicians who performed the widest range of Ethiopian musics in various settings, seeking to understand their musical lives in their new urban environments.[2] The theoretical proposals in this paper emerge both from this recent round of ethnographic research and from my longer-term studies of the Ethiopian homeland and subsequent diaspora formation.

In bringing the urban area into clearer dialogue with the role of music making in generating new Ethiopian communities, I will draw on an article by cultural geographer Elizabeth Chacko, who studied the growing numbers of African immigrants, with special attention to Ethiopians among them, in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area (Chacko 2003). Ethiopians are the second largest of the new African immigrant groups who have arrived in North America since the period of African independence post 1965 and who are today

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[1]   In this discussion, I will use the terms community, collectivity, and social grouping interchangeably.

[2]   I am grateful to the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, where I spent two summers as the Chair for Modern Culture during 2007–2008, carrying out fieldwork with Ethiopian musicians in the Washington, D.C, metropolitan area. I acknowledge the many musicians who participated in the project and shared their experiences and music with me. More than sixty oral histories, sound recordings, and related ephemera gathered during this residency have been deposited in the archives of the American Folklife Center. Fellowships from Harvard University's Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and the National Endowment forj the Humanities made possible release time from teaching for the 2007–2008 academic year.

widely dispersed across the United States and Canada.[3] There are estimated to be approximately 250,000 Ethiopian immigrants living in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area alone. Chacko has noted that Ethiopians (and other new African communities) are not concentrated in a single residential area, but rather are widely dispersed across a number of neighborhoods in the District of Columbia and nearby municipalities in Maryland and Virginia.

The shaded areas on Chacko's map reproduced in Figure 1 identify residential concentrations of Ethiopians, although it should be noted that Ethiopians constitute only 18% of new African arrivals even in those areas where they have the greatest concentrations, a "palpable," but by no means dominant presence (Chacko: 29). We should also take into account that there have surely been some subtle changes in residence patterns and place-making since Chacko's map was published in 2003, notably a shift of commercial institutions from the Adams Morgan neighborhood north of Dupont Circle, to areas a short distance east on the U Street corridor.[4] The residential neighborhoods highlighted on Chacko's map and the relative numbers of Ethiopians in each area, with the largest number of Ethiopians dwelling in Virginia, followed by Maryland, with the District in third place, are quite congruent with the more limited residential data I gathered from 31 Ethiopian musicians active in the D.C. metropolitan area during 2007–2008. Among my research associates, the largest number (13) lived in Virginia (primarily in Arlington and Alexandria); 10 resided in Maryland, spread mainly across the Takoma Park/Silver Spring area; and 8 dwelled within or near to the District of Columbia's Columbia Heights area. Thus Ethiopians are dispersed across multiple neighborhoods, although they undoubtedly will encounter other immigrants from their homeland in each. At least 4 of the 31 musicians I interviewed moved within the metropolitan area or away from it during or shortly after the interview period in 2007–2008, a familiar profile

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3   See Shelemay and Kaplan, 'Introduction," 2006 (2011) for a fuller account of Ethiopian migration, past and present, and the challenges of providing data such as firm population figures. In some sources and population surveys, the designation 'Ethiopian' may include Eritreans, people from the former Ethiopian province along the Red Sea coast that has been an independent country since 1991, as well as a large number of Ethiopian communities collectively known as the Oromo.

4   The U Street Corridor in Northwest Washington has since the early twentieth century been closely associated with the African American community. It is within walking distance of Howard University and home to the Lincoln Theatre and many African American music clubs. The African- American Civil War Memorial is located on U Street adjacent to the Cardoza Washington Metro Station. A large mural of Duke Ellington decorates a wall of the U Street True Reformer Building, itself across the street from the legendary Ben's Chili Bowl Restaurant.
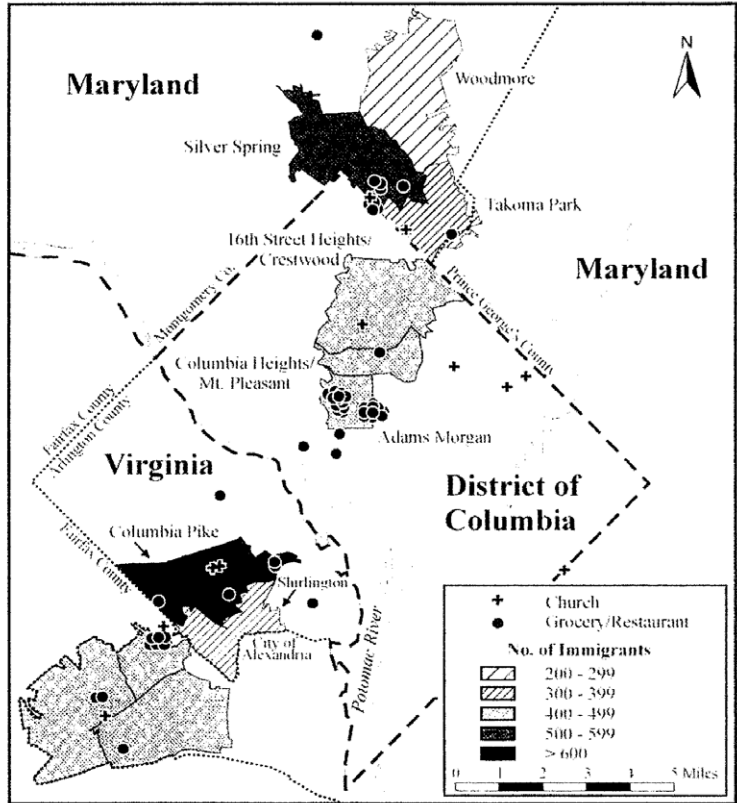
Figure 1: Map of Ethiopian Community in Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area.
Source: Elizabeth Chacko, "Ethiopian Ethos and the Making of Ethnic Places in the Washington Metropolitan Area," *Cultural Geography* 2003 (20/2): 23. Used by permission.

in which new immigrants are quite mobile as they search for employment and economical housing in a new locale.

The black dots on Chacko's map mark the locations of Ethiopian grocery stores and restaurants, while the crosses provide locations of Ethiopian churches. These are the physical sites that serve, to use Chacko's term, as "ethnic place makers" and that hold both real and symbolic meaning in the construction of the Ethiopian diaspora community (Ibid.). Most strikingly, the map shows that locations of many of the most prominent Ethiopian institutions and commercial establishments, which are the most important ethnic place-makers, are found

outside the boundaries of major Ethiopian residential areas. Building on Zelinsky and Lee's (1998) notion of heterolocalism,[5] and Wood's (1997) concept of ethnic place-making [6], Elizabeth Chacko suggests "that ethnic place-making in metropolitan areas has been loosened from its traditional centrality moorings," and differs from one immigrant community to another (Chacko, p. 24). She suggests that urban ethnic identities are not to be sought or displayed in the residential centers, but are vested in specific *places* where community is forged and embodied (Ibid., p. 25). Chacko further suggests that Ethiopians' efforts in urban ethnic place-making can serve as a model for understanding the creation and maintenance of ethnic community by other new immigrant groups. (Ibid., p. 28)

Chacko goes on to provide a taxonomy of places that serve to generate a sense of community among ethnic communities in urban settings characterized by residential scattering. She proposes that these types of places include ethnic institutions, ethnic sociocommerscapes, ethnic arenas, and intangible ethnic places, as Figure 2 summarizes and defines in detail.

Ethnic institutions (churches, civic and political organizations, etc.)

Sociocommerscapes (ethnic businesses that provide goods and meeting places)

Ethnic Arenas or Transient Ethnic Places (spaces used repeatedly by a given community, but lacking permanent ethnic markers)

Intangible Ethnic Places (Internet sites, radio and television stations, musical recordings, etc.)

Figure 2: Ethnic Place-Making in Heterolocal Urban Settings.
Source: Based on Elizabeth Chacko. 2003. "Ethiopian Ethos and the Making of Ethnic Places in the Washington Metropolitan Area," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 29/2: 29–39.

I would like to draw on Chacko's taxonomy of ethnic place-making, but wish to complicate it in two ways. First, I would like to heighten our awareness of the processes through which these types of ethnic places arise as venues of

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[5]   Heterolocalism "refers to recent populations of shared ethnic identity that enter an area from distant sources, then quickly adopt a dispersed pattern of residential location, all the while managing to remain cohesive through a variety of means." (Zelinsky and Lee 1998: 281).

[6]   In Wood's study of Vietnamese Americans in Northern Virginia, he suggests that the community does not construct residential clusters, but invests with "novel meanings" specific sites for economic or other community activity (p. 58).

community activity and affiliation. And, second, I would like to suggest that musical performance and the agency of musicians play critical roles in the processes that give rise to ethnic place-making as well as their social outcomes.

With this in the way of introduction and theoretical framework, I will briefly sketch the history of the Ethiopian diaspora in order to provide an overview of issues related to the community's migration that frame the processes of place-making through musical activity. Following this overview, I will briefly track aspects of musical transmission and performance that have helped generate, shape, and sustain new urban sites in diaspora. I will then connect place-making with cross-cutting Ethiopian taxonomies of music in order to clarify the dimensions of musical heterogeneity at work as well as the social outcomes. The conclusion will offer a brief summary of ways in which musical processes shape the collective in the urban environment.

I. A Brief History of the Ethiopian Diaspora

The Ethiopian diaspora was sparked by the inception of the Ethiopian revolution in 1974, a conflict that commenced with urban protests and soon led to widespread conflict, forcing hundreds of thousands to flee across Ethiopia's borders, some south to Kenya, some east to Djibouti, others west to the Sudan. [7] In addition to the strong push factors stemming from revolutionary violence and related hardships, musicians experienced additional pressures to emigrate. The imposition of stringent curfews extending from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. for months at a time effectively shut down all performance venues, rendering musical performance impossible in restaurants, clubs, and churches.[8] Additionally, secular musicians were historically viewed as agents of political commentary in Ethiopia. During the Italian occupation of the country from 1936–1941, traditional minstrels (*azmari*) were systematically taken into custody and murdered by the Italians lest they give voice to patriotism and inspire resistance. Stringent censorship measures put in place by the revolutionary government also rendered creative activity problematic or even dangerous. Many musicians were harassed and even imprisoned for periods of time, and thus an especially large number of them fled the country and sought asylum abroad.

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[7]   The long civil war with Eritrea that resulted in Eritrean independence in 1991 rendered escape to the north and east quite dangerous.

[8]   The most substantial portion of the Ethiopian Orthodox liturgy in terms of its musical content occurs during the performance of the Cathedral Office, which extends on holidays throughout most of the evening and early morning hours.

The revolution ended the long reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I and also overturned the hegemony of the Christian Amhara ethnic-/religious group that had for centuries dominated Ethiopian political, religious, and economic life. The revolutionary government by 1975 was headed by Mengistu Haile Mariam, a military officer who ruthlessly executed his opponents, jailed former leaders, and nationalized all urban and rural land and buildings. In 1991, Mengistu[9] was overthrown by northerners from Tigray Province who still head the Ethiopian government today, more than twenty years after the revolution's end. Building on long-standing ethnic differences that had been accentuated during the revolutionary period, the post-1991 government re-divided the country according to ethnic boundaries and introduced a multi-ethnic policy that pitted one community against another as a means to retain their own power.

As one of the oldest Christian countries in the world, with an Orthodox church founded in the early fourth century, Ethiopia's Christian Amharas, numbering around 35% of the population, fell on particularly hard times during the revolution. The revolution ended in 1991, but the subsequent 20 years saw a second wave of Christian Amhara emigration as a response to the establishment of the Tigrayan government. One new factor, however, was that, although travel to and from Ethiopia was severely limited during the revolutionary years 1975–1991, after the change of government in 1991, many were able to depart legally and others living abroad were able to return to Ethiopia for visits or to repatriate. This change increased diaspora mobility and allowed some musicians to maintain careers both in the diaspora and in the Ethiopian homeland.

As I have noted above, the largest number of those leaving Ethiopia for the diaspora were Christians whose historic church had lost its land and economic foundation through the 1975 nationalizations, and who, by 1991, were chafing under increasing ethnic pressure. But a number of Ethiopian Muslims and evangelical Christians also departed the country, as did virtually the entire community of Beta Israel/Falasha, known since the 1980s as the Ethiopian Jews.[10] My larger research project includes attention to processes and events crossing religious boundaries as well as extending to Eritrean and Oromo peoples. Since 1991 as well, some part of the emigration from Ethiopia has been voluntary, with pull

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9   Ethiopians are traditionally called by their first names.

10   Ethiopians are today dispersed world wide, with certain locales becoming international centers for subsets of the population. For instance, virtually the entire Ethiopian Jewish community migrated to Israel. North America, including both the United States and Canada, attracted the majority of Ethiopian Christians and Muslims.

factors such as family reunions and economic opportunities abroad sparking departures now that borders are no longer closed; many Ethiopians have also won the lottery for U.S. diversity visas.

As a result, the largest Ethiopian diaspora community of the early twenty-first century is found in North America, with the majority being Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. Many, especially those who left the country surreptitiously, spent time in transit in refugee camps in the Sudan or in other countries along the way to final resettlement. Most arrived without much in the way of material resources and in need of supportive networks.

Thus Ethiopians who arrived in North America had a number of shared concerns as they began to build their new lives abroad. They needed a variety of goods ranging from materials for traditional dress to special ingredients that would enable them to prepare Ethiopian food and drink; they required venues in which they could celebrate their distinctive Orthodox Christian religious heritage[11]; and perhaps most keenly, immigrants longed for social networks with others who shared aspects of their background, language, culture, and experience as well as those who could help them negotiate unfamiliar demands of life in a new place. All of these needs required the establishment of places where these desires could be fulfilled.

II. Ethnic Place-Making and Musical Activity

At this point we can turn our attention to Ethiopian communities dispersed across major North American cities, with the largest concentrations in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. There are also substantial Ethiopian populations in Los Angeles, Seattle, Minneapolis, Boston, Atlanta, and Toronto. Ethiopian immigrants are almost invariably heterolocal in their residential patterns and do not for the most part tend to cluster together residentially. Therefore, in each city one finds what may be termed Ethiopian places that can be discussed with reference to the four categories of ethnic places set forth by Chacko, detailed in Figure 2 above.

Some of these ethnic places may in fact be unmarked and known only to insiders, such as a Starbucks in downtown Minneapolis that was packed to over capacity with Ethiopian, Oromo, and Somali men on one Saturday afternoon

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11   Ethiopian Muslim immigrants tended to join already established local mosques. In only a couple of places of resettlement did they found their own houses of worship.

when I visited there in March 2011. But the vast majority of Ethiopian ethnic places are marked in order to garner attention when they are encountered in an unexpected locale.

Institutional Places

Institutional places in the Ethiopian diaspora are dominated by churches.[12] That the Ethiopian Orthodox church features a liturgy that is almost entirely musical, with highly trained musicians necessary for its mounting, provides a clear indication of the important role of musicians in this type of diasporic institution building. Generally, a musician will be one of the founders of a local church since, without a musician, the liturgy cannot be performed.[13] A good example would be the distinguished L.M. Moges Seyoum, trained as both a priest and a musician, who was one of the founders of an Ethiopian church in Dallas, Texas, in the 1980s, and in the 1990s, of St. Mary's Church in Washington, DC., one of the largest Ethiopian churches in the diaspora (Shelemay 2011b: 309–11).[14]

Only at large churches such as St. Mary's Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Washington, DC, do you find a full cohort of musicians performing the liturgy, as seen in Fig. 3.

Churches in diasporic locales with fewer Ethiopians may be staffed by a single clergyman who both chants the liturgy and performs sacraments; on occasions, recordings may be used. Maintaining these religious institutions is a high priority and in the last decade a few churches have initiated classes instructing their congregants in the musical liturgy. At St. Mary's church in D.C,. L.M. Moges Seyoum teaches liturgy for approaching holidays to members of the congregation. The members of the class record the chants and commit them to memory before the liturgical occasion in question. Thus the very existence of Ethiopian Orthodox churches as well as the performance of its rituals in the diaspora are heavily dependent on the presence of musicians, from the moment of their founding forward.[15]

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12   Quite common also are community centers organized by different ethnic groups within the greater Ethiopian community, such as Oromo community centers in locales ranging from Toronto to St. Paul.

13   The Ethiopian liturgy is quite esoteric, set in the ancient Semitic language, Ge'ez, and possessing an indigenous system of musical notation dating to the sixteenth century. Thus performance of the liturgy depends on musicians possessing a high level of training acquired within traditional church schools. For further details, see Shelemay and Jeffery.

14   Moges Seyoum carries the title "Liqä Mezämmòran, which means "head of the cantors [of the church choir]." (Sokolinskaia 2007: 577)

15   An additional musical component that has become an integral part of Ethiopian diaspora churches since the 1990s is the youth and women's choirs performing hymns in the Ethiopian vernacular, Amharic.

Fig. 3: Musicians Performing the Cathedral Office at St. Mary's Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Washington, D.C. Photograph by author.

Ethnic Sociocommerscapes

The various small shops of the *ethnic sociocommerscape* category provide goods and foodstuffs otherwise unavailable outside Ethiopia as well as a place where community members can congregate. Most shops also sell sound recordings and provide a venue for distributing posters and postcards announcing upcoming community social and musical events. See Figure 4 for a representative small shop, Maru Grocery on Bissonet Street in Houston, Texas, the only Ethiopian enterprise in a diverse immigrant shopping center.

Beyond the markets and shops, the most prominent Ethiopian socio-commerscapes worldwide are surely restaurants found in virtually every city with an Ethiopian resident who has resources to establish and run it. These restaurants are always well-marked and well-advertised within their respective urban areas for obvious commercial reasons: they serve simultaneously as gateways for the broader population in search of exotic food experiences as well as magnets at which Ethiopians gather.[16] One North American Ethiopian restaurant, Dukem

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16   James McCann (2006: 385) argues that cooking and cuisine are more fundamental than any of the

Fig. 4: Maru Grocery, Houston, Texas. Photograph by author.

Restaurant of Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, is so famous that it has been advertised on billboards in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia.

However, a closer look at restaurants also makes it clear that Ethiopian place-making in sociocommercial domains is closely tied to musical life: Ethiopian restaurants are at the same time musical venues, with music and its performance integral to their missions and success. For instance, almost all Ethiopian restaurants play recordings of Ethiopian music, with live performances if any Ethiopian musician is available in the area. At large restaurants in major urban centers, such as Washington, D.C.'s Dukem, the musical offerings receive nearly as much publicity as the food. Immediately following its "Welcome to Dukem Restaurant" heading, the restaurant's website proclaims: "Dukem Ethiopian Restaurant is the most enduring Ethiopian music entertainment landmark in the district." (http://dukemrestaurant.com/, accessed August 30, 2011)

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aesthetic arts to Ethiopian cultural identity in the diaspora, serving as both an "economic engine and identity marker" of the diasporic community. However, he does not consider the role of music in these establishments.

Fig. 5: Dukem Restaurant Billboard, Bole Road, Addis Ababa, 2006.
Source: Photograph by author.

It is important to emphasize the diversity of Ethiopian musical offerings that span an array of musical styles from the most traditional to jazz. Dukem offers live music four nights a week, with a "cultural show" of Ethiopian traditional music and dance center stage from 7–10 p.m. on Wednesday evenings and Ethiopian popular music performed from 11 p.m. until the wee hours of the morning on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday evenings.[17] On both Ethiopian and American holidays, as well as other special occasions, Dukem mounts an expanded menu of musical offerings. For instance, when the annual Ethiopian soccer tournament sponsored by ESFNA (Ethiopian Soccer Federation of North America) was held in Washington, D.C., in July 2008, Dukem stayed open twenty-four hours a day and had live entertainment seven days that week. As seen in Fig. 6, the

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17   Before the 2008 economic downturn, Dukem offered two cultural shows weekly, mounting a show during early dinner hours on Sunday evenings as well as on Wednesdays. The cultural show attracts mainly non-Ethiopians and tourists, while the late night performances featuring popular Ethiopian singers accompanied by synthesizer and traditional Ethiopian instruments such as the six-stringed lyre (*krar*) attract a primarily Ethiopian audience.

Fig. 6: Dukem Restaurant in Washington DC, 2007.
Photograph by Itsushi Kawase, used by permission.

banner displayed outside the restaurant during that event pictured the musicians performing there, including both immigrants living in the metropolitan area and an artist brought from Addis Ababa.

Ethiopian sociocommerscapes such as restaurants or other shops can, but do not necessarily, occur in clusters. The Washington, D.C., U Street corridor has for the last decade been the site of several Ethiopian restaurants and clubs. Other similar sociocommercial clusters exist in locales ranging from downtown Silver Springs, Maryland to Arlington, Virginia.

Ethnic Arenas or Transient Ethnic Places

"Ethnic arenas" are spaces that provide "a temporary location for the convergence of the ethnic community" (Chacko 2003: 35) and are an important part of Ethiopian urban life. Like institutions and sociocommerscapes, their use is heavily associated with musical performance and most of the events held are generated at least in part by musicians.

Fig. 7: Sunset at Masqal Celebration, River Park, Cambridge, MA, 2009.
Photograph by David Kaminsky, used by permission.

For Ethiopian Christian holidays traditionally celebrated outdoors, such as Masqal, the festival of the True Cross observed annually in late September, many Ethiopian churches mount ceremonies in local parks, where they temporarily demark and decorate the space. River Park, bordering on Memorial Drive in Cambridge, MA, has become a regular site for the annual Masqal ceremony mounted by several Ethiopian Orthodox Churches located in different areas of Boston and its suburbs.

The park is temporarily rendered a sacred space, with a tent mounted to shield the clergy, their ritual objects and instruments, and prominent church leaders from the elements. A sound system is set up to render the ritual audible in the outdoor soundscape that abuts busy Memorial Drive and a shopping center. Diasporic creativity is also on clear display when the Masqal bonfire (*dämära*), traditionally lit at sunset as the climax of the ritual in Ethiopia, is replaced in deference to local fire laws by a fake bonfire made of gold-bordered cloth that reflects the rays of the setting sun. (See Fig. 7) Instead of lighting the bonfire, the congregants light tapers and sparklers as they festively circle the "bonfire."

Fig. 8: Musical Performance, Ethiopian Soccer Tournament, Washington, D.C. Robert F. Kennedy Stadium, 2008. Photograph by author.

Many other ethnic arenas can be identified, including, most prominently, the stadiums that host regular Ethiopian athletic tournaments. Annual Ethiopian national soccer competitions attract thousands from all over North America and beyond. Large gatherings, such as these tournaments at ethnic arenas, always feature a wide range of musical performances, some within the stadium itself, every evening, as seen in Fig. 8.[18] Invariably, booths are mounted to constitute a temporary sociocommerscape on the stadium grounds, marketing traditional food, musical recordings and videos, and many other souvenirs. Many Ethiopian-American philanthropic and community organizations also set up displays, reaching out to the large number of Ethiopian expatriates in attendance.

On other occasions, including both American and Ethiopian holidays, other local venues—from hotels to social halls—become temporary ethnic arenas

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18   These concerts often feature several prominent musicians as well as traditional music ensembles; many venues have large open spaces in front of the musicians to accommodate social dancing.

for concerts and festive celebrations. Most of these events are spearheaded by musicians who tour and depend on local representatives for arrangements and ticket sales.

Intangible Ethnic Places

Finally, one finds intangible ethnic places in most major diasporic urban centers, including local Ethiopian radio and television stations. There is an overwhelming presence in the diaspora of Internet networks to "reflect on identity, to forge new communities, and to promote cultural innovation" (Hafkin 2011: 221). Music is, of course, ubiquitous on many of the web sites as Ethiopians attempt to overcome distances from the homeland and to forge new, virtual social networks (Ibid.: 224). There is widespread circulation of video footage and recordings both in intangible ethnic places on the web and in all of the other physical places I've mentioned. Most musicians advertise and distribute their own CDs and DVDs to Ethiopian shops internationally, circulating clips on the web for advertisements.

This quick overview of ethnic place-making in the Ethiopian urban scene should make clear the point that each category of place (institutions, sociocommerscapes, ethnic arenas, and virtual arenas) owes its existence at least in part to musical activity, with which it is prominently associated. To quote one of the musicians with whom I've worked:

"Music has a strong role within the Ethiopian youth community, or in the general community. Ethiopians have always explained their anger, pride, problems, and love of country through music… At the same time, music in Ethiopia, as anywhere else, is very special. It brings people together for common purpose, for national purpose, for religious purpose, for anything you like" (Interview with Getahun Atlaw Garede, 3 August 2008).

III. Musical Heterogeneity, Processes, and Places

If music plays an important role in shaping ethnic urban spaces, it is important to discuss briefly the heterogeneous musical styles that help construct communities in these locations. It is quite clear from my research to date that no single musical style correlates exclusively to a particular ethnic place nor is its music directed only at a single social grouping. For instance, as we have seen above in the example of Dukem, music at Ethiopian restaurants spans traditional and popular styles. One may often encounter traditional musicians performing secular songs following the church rituals held in urban parks. And finally, public concerts

may juxtapose a full range of musical styles from liturgical chant, to traditional music, to popular music. At the concert held in Washington, DC, to celebrate the Ethiopian Millennium in September, 2007,[19] the performance divided into three sections separated by intermissions.

A bit more detail is useful in this case. The first section featured church musicians performing a sequence of ritual chants and sacred dance in full liturgical regalia. The second section consisted of an ensemble of secular musicians playing traditional instruments, accompanying singers and dancers who did a series of fast costume changes as they performed a medley of songs and dances associated with a cross-section of Ethiopian ethnic groups and regions. The final portion of the concert, for which a Western-style bandstand was quickly put in place, featured popular singers accompanied by a modern jazz band.

The three divisions of this iconic concert correspond to a taxonomy of music long established in highland Ethiopia and actively maintained in the diaspora. Distinctions are first made between sacred music (*zema*), notably Ethiopian Christian chant, and secular music (*zäfän*), with secular styles breaking down into two broad subdivisions, each with its own internal complexities. The first secular category is cultural music (*bah∂lawi*), referring to traditional musical styles associated with ethnic or regional communities, accompanied by traditional instruments. The second broad secular category is named *zämänawi* (literally "timely" or "modern" music), referring to popular music, including international styles such as jazz and hip-hop long ago introduced from abroad into the Ethiopian homeland experience. However, the boundaries between cultural and popular music prove to be permeable in practice, and there exists an ambiguous middle zone known as *bah∂l zämänawi* , literally "cultural popular music."[20]

All of the Ethiopian ethnic places discussed above accommodate a substantial range of musical styles. The one exception may appear at first glance to be the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, where traditional chant (*zema*) occupies center stage. However, even in the church, another musical style, that of vernacular (Amharic) hymns performed by choirs of young people and women, has since the revolution introduced a new set of musical traditions. Thus a concert with

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[19]   The Ethiopian calendar is seven and one-half years behind the Western calendar, hence the dating of their Millennium celebration to September, 2007. See Shelemay 2009 for more details.

[20]   *Bah∂l zämänawi* music is generally a popular song with a text in an Ethiopian language that is accompanied by one of the traditional instruments, such as the lyre (*krar*) or one-string bowed lute (*masenqo*). Some traditional songs accompanied by synthesizer also fall into this category.

multiple styles, as in the case of the Millennium Concert, in fact incorporates musical heterogeneity in order to signal inclusivity to the diverse Ethiopian audience numbering in the thousands. At the same time, music within one category can have extremely porous boundaries with that of another, as we have seen in the case of *bah∂l zämänawi*. No one musical style correlates absolutely to a single place or collectivity, although there are moments at which a given musical style is preferred in order to attract or reinforce a particular social grouping. For instance, the cultural music performances at restaurants like Dukem are intended to attract individuals from outside the Ethiopian community and to enhance the appeal of Ethiopian food for those unfamiliar with the culture. Here traditional music is used largely to attract a community of affinity, outsiders attracted by new sights and sounds (Shelemay 2011a). In contrast, Ethiopian popular music (almost entirely with Ethiopian language texts) mainly appeals to an audience of Ethiopian immigrants, most particularly of a younger generation; scheduling these popular music performances very late in the evening hours further insures that a primarily Ethiopian audience will attend.[21]

Thus a very heterogeneous array of musical traditions, all of which may be glossed as "Ethiopian," give rise to an array of different collectivities. They provide moments in which aspects of the Ethiopian experience past and present can be shared, and the diaspora environment rendered familiar. Music, then, defines a given space at a particular moment as "Ethiopian."

Conclusion

In this paper, I've wedded theoretical ideas about place-making drawn from cultural geography to consideration of musical practices that shape in important ways to the character of these "ethnic places." That immigrant urban residential patterns are often heterolocal is surely well known to scholars of urban musical communities, as is the dispersal of ethnic places outside the boundaries of even modest residential clustering. However, the typology of heterolocal ethnic places opens up a rich area of exploration, one that reveals the surprising role of music in place-making across the board.

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21 Ethiopian popular music concerts will often be announced for a conventional hour—beginning at 8 or 9 p.m.—but in practice almost always start at least several hours later. This reflects a longstanding tradition from Ethiopian culture, where promptness is understood to connote a state of anxiousness. This practice of arriving late at most events has been maintained in the diaspora, no doubt exacerbated by distance, complex work schedules, and transportation challenges in large urban areas.

Music plays a decisive role in shaping each of the four types of ethnic places discussed above and helps catalyze new collectivities associated with each place. Thus we have seen that musicians are vital to the founding and perpetuation of institutions such as Ethiopian Orthodox churches in the diaspora, performing both liturgical form and content that defines and unites an otherwise dispersed religious community. In ethnic arenas and sociocommerscapes, music generates and sustains new social groupings linked by shared culture and language; they mount musical events that run the gamut of musical styles, ranging from the celebration and commemoration of community occasions such as the Ethiopian new year, to attempts to attract new audiences beyond the boundaries of the ethnic community. Some major concerts held in various arenas serve to underscore diaspora dissent from homeland politics; a notable example was a 2009 concert in Washington, D.C., following the release of singer Teddy Afro from an Ethiopian prison on what were widely perceived to be false charges lodged by the current government. Finally, Ethiopian diaspora musical initiatives seek to attract and build new affinity communities, whether through performances of traditional music and dance, or through new hybrid styles on the jazz and popular music scene. In all cases, music-making imprints the various spaces with a full panoply of ethnic sounds. The range of musical styles invites multiple modalities of ethnic identity. Through (re) mapping musical processes and places, we can clarify ways in which the immigrant community both reinforces ties within the social group and, at some moments, invites others to cross those boundaries and join with them.

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URBAN HETEROPHONY
AND THE MEDIATION OF PLACE

Peter McMurray

Abstract: *This paper explores a variety of methodologies that offer ethnographic access to the kinds of "humanly organized sound" that typify urban acoustic spaces. The case studies draw from ongoing research on Sufi Muslim rituals in the Western Balkans (especially Kosovo), exploring ways in which sound articulates difference in cities (urban heterophony) and in so doing mediates notions of place. Three methodologies are put forward here: first, documentary sound studies, an attempt to bring together the kinds of media-rich practices of visual anthropology, acknowledging that academic prose has inherent limits in its ability to represent; second, media archaeology, a critical reappraisal of media archives (whether intentionally designated as archives or not) as repositories for audio and other materials—both physical and virtual—which simultaneously reflect and shape the priorities of the archive and its discursive practices; and, finally, aural flânerie, emphasizing passage through city spaces as a way of interrogating the boundaries and marginal spaces comprising the city. These ethnographic approaches offer a set of tools particularly suited to the socially enmeshed, collaborative realm of urban ethnomusicology, all the more so as technological developments raise questions about many of the basic premises of what constitutes fieldwork and ethnography in the past.*

Keywords: *sound studies; mediation; Sufism; Kosovo*

Al-ṣalatu khayrun min al-nawm. "Prayer is better than sleep," declared the Sunni Muslim *adhan*, or call to prayer, in its first iteration of the day.[1] As the call

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pealed into the still air on a chilly March morning in Macedonia, I stirred, trying to shake off a night of fitful sleep and regain my bearings. A few feet away from me lay a Bektashi dervish—a Sufi Muslim—sleeping soundly and even snoring gently. Still a week before the vernal equinox, the day dawned slowly, almost begrudgingly. Like a chorus behind a soloist, several other nearby *müezzins* were simultaneously reciting their call as well, with a more ornate and refined style. Their faint backdrop of acoustic piety offered gentle counterpoint to the abruptness of the (very) local call—the soloist, as it were—which lacked many of the expected vocal inflections and embellishments. Instead, due to proximity, I found my ear drawn to the traces of mechanism and amplification, the uncanny experience of being too close to the loudspeaker to simply hear it as a voice. Occasionally, taking the role of auroral collaborators, roosters would pipe in too with their crowing, serving as a reminder that this tekke, on the outskirts of the city Tetovo, was marginal in many ways: geographically, theologically, politically and acoustically.

The tekke is part of a larger complex, which in 2002 was occupied by Sunnis, who appropriated several buildings in the complex—according to the Bektashis there, with the threat of violence during a broader Albanian insurgency in Macedonia. One of the buildings, the Sunnis argued, was originally a mosque and had been improperly transformed into a Sufi ritual space since. Seizing this building, these Sunnis turned an ornate chimney into a quadraphonic minaret, adding loudspeakers (as is customary) to broadcast the call to prayer through the city. The call, however, sounds not just devotion but also contestation, highlighting differences between Sunnis, for whom the ritual *salah* prayers are obligatory, and Bektashis, whose "heterodox" (i.e., non-Sunni) practices are more fluid and internal.[2] Indeed, since the dervishes and Sunnis tend to avoid one another within the tekke complex,

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convey local variant spellings. Since the groups described in this paper natively speak Albanian, Turkish, and/or various Slavic languages (e.g., Bosnian, Macedonian), no single spelling holds across all groups, making a full accounting of all three variants quite cumbersome. For this same reason, I have used the more widespread spelling "Kosovo" (rather than the Albanian spelling, "Kosova"), but for city names I have tried to adopt the most widespread spelling within a given country (e.g., "Gjakovë" in Kosovo, but "Tetovo" in Macedonia). In the case of text transliterated from Arabic, I have included diacritic markings to clarify spellings.

2   "I pray continually throughout the day," said the dervish who maintains the tekke. "Why should I interrupt that five times a day to walk over and pray with others?" This comment, while uttered with more than a hint of ironic humor, highlights this internal sense of religious devotion, especially in contrast with the more public manifestations of such devotion in local Sunni practices. For a general overview of Bektashi practice and belief, cf. Birge 1937, Haas 1988, Faroqhi 1981, and Trix 2009. For an overview of the adhan and its sonic aspects in more "orthodox" Sunni and Shii traditions, cf. Sells 2007: 61-171 and Behrens-Abouseif 2010.

this sounding of difference becomes a primary medium of interactivity (or lack thereof). This particular morning, the counterpoint of the highly public calls of the adhan (including those in the distance), with the implicitly resistant snores of the dervish, created a rich locus of sonic activity and meaning, one that produced and reiterated social difference, if only for that ephemeral moment.

This articulation of cultural and other social difference through sound typifies the notion of urban heterophony I explore in this paper. While my ethnographic work here focuses on Sufism in the former Yugoslavia—Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and especially Kosovo—my broader aim is to pose larger theoretical questions that still vex ethnomusicology, including (perhaps especially) urban ethnomusicology.[3] Central among these questions is an ontological one: what is (or should be) the object of study in ethnomusicology? And, by extension, is that object of study the same for "urban ethnomusicology" as a particular subdiscipline? Various entanglements of music and culture have been proposed in answer to the former question, but I would argue that urban ethnomusicology inherently points to a number of shortcomings in many of these formulations, precisely because of the kinds of sonic interactions I've described above. In short, cities create dense acoustic environments in which music can hardly be disentangled from the world around it, let alone reduced to a singular, satisfactory object-of-study or definition. In the age of sound's mechanical reproduction, any notion of "the work" is tenuous at best, if not mediated into oblivion.[4] I touch on these larger questions throughout the paper, but narrow my focus at present to the sonic life of cities and the ways in which difference is made manifest in urban sound: How does a city sound? How and when do we hear it, whether as scholars, residents, musicians or others? What kinds of mediation impinge on or facilitate such hearing? What voices and sounds are privileged over others, and how? What are the stakes in listening to, describing and interpreting a city's sonic life (or lives)? I take as axiomatic John Blacking's definition of music as "humanly organized sound" (1973: 10) and for now defer the question of distinctions between music and sound, rather focusing on the humanness—and by extension, the differences in humanness—reflected by and generated in urban sound.

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[3]   While my discussion here is limited to a handful of particular Sufi groups in this region, several studies have provided general overviews in the past two decades, coinciding with the breakup of Yugo-slavia and reopening of Albania. Cf. Ćehajić 1986, Clayer 1990, and Popović 1994.

[4]   Although less concerned with the adhan than other forms of public sounding, Charles Hirschkind's work on Cairo's "ethical soundscape" poses many similar questions about a very different Muslim urban space (2006, especially 1-31).

As suggested by my questions above, my central argument here is that cities themselves sound; that is, people have organized and built cities in such a way to facilitate certain kinds of sound practice which then take on a momentum and life of their own. Some of these manifest human agency in obvious ways: a street musician, public protestors singing together, an outdoor orchestral concert, a live performer at a nightclub with open doors. Other instantiations of sound are embedded more deeply into the city itself, obscuring human agency through a kind of sedimentation or mediation: church bells ringing or mosques calling believers to prayer, a subway train slowing to a stop with chimes to warn of opening and closing doors, the sonic menagerie of an urban zoo, or even the architecture of a music conservatory or concert hall. All of these sounds are still organized by humans, and in most cases were designed by humans to produce a specific kind of sound. They are, however, largely mediated (through a variety of technologies and architectures), and these sounds in turn mediate our understanding of place.[5] This mediation can be understood as both a material medium that facilitates (or disrupts) perception and also as a site of (sometimes failed) negotiation of difference between two parties. The call to prayer at the Tetovo tekke illustrates both, albeit in a highly discordant situation: architecture has been seized upon and altered to amplify a human voice reciting a call to prayer; this amplification immediately delineates and highlights difference (Sunni vs. Bektashi, etc.) that might not otherwise have led to conflict.

I present here not only examples of such phenomena (again, in the context of Balkan Sufism) but also a set of theoretical perspectives and methodologies that seem especially well suited to urban ethnomusicology: first, documentary sound studies, or the combination of critical approaches to research about sound along with audio(visual) documentary practice; second, media archaeology and the exploration of the city-as-archive; and, third, sonic navigations and audiovisual flânerie. This augmented toolkit for ethnography facilitates a decentering of urban ethnomusicology away from traditional studies of music-making in/as culture, drawing attention instead to the rich margins of sound production, where even traditional practices such as religious rites resist easy categorization as "music." Or, in other words, ethnography becomes better attuned to the differences embedded and embodied in urban heterophony.

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5   In this regard, my interests here align quite closely with Steven Feld's in his discussion of "acoustemologies" (1996), discussed briefly below.

Documentary Sound Studies: The Acoustic Inscription of Space

A central focus of my research on Balkan Sufism has been the celebration of Nevruz (often called Sultan Nevruz), a holy day commemorating the birth of Hazreti Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad and a central figure in Shi'a Islam. The day also corresponds with the beginning of spring and in places like Iran is an explicit acknowledgment of *nowruz*, literally a new day. Many Balkan Sufi orders, or *tarikats*, hold a special *zikr*, a ceremony in which dervishes communally recite various names and attributes of Allah and sing religious songs, culminating in a variety of ecstatic practices ranging from group spinning to self-mortification. Each order has its own traditional practice for structuring the ceremony, but in all cases the zikr is an acoustically rich, highly complex ritual. For example, a small group of *zakirs*, or designated musicians, are typically tasked with singing (or more properly, reciting) *ilahi* hymns, whether in a regular zikr or on Nevruz. For the most part, other dervishes in the ceremony are responsible for the aforementioned recitation of Allah's names, much of which takes place simultaneously with the zakirs' singing. In addition, certain portions of the ceremony are recited by an individual, often in a call-and-response style with other dervishes. These various sonic layers interact contrapuntally, sometimes with clearly aligning rhythms, other times polymetrically, resulting in a rich heterogeneity of vocalization.

The arrangement of these two main groups and designated individual reciters—often the sheikh or a special guest—during the course of regular, weekly zikrs creates a distinct set of soundspaces, in which each new configuration enlivens the ceremonial space in slightly different ways. Fittingly, this space is typically called the *semahane*, literally the place for (sacred) listening.[6] So, for example, the Halveti tekke in Prizren starts with most dervishes kneeling in concentric semicircles around the sheikh, while the zakir musicians are off to one side. Later the main body of dervishes stands and forms actual concentric circles around the sheikh, who leads the chanting of Allah's names while also stomping or clapping rhythmic pulses; the zakir dervishes stand but remain in place. Then

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6   According to Brahimi and Kokaj, "The place where the zikr ceremony is held is called semahane by all the tarikats. They typically have an octagonal shape, though many are almost round" (2002: 119). They then go on to describe a typical layout, including the sacred and mystical implications of the space. It bears mention that the root "sema," meaning audition and hearing, especially in sacred contexts, is the same measuring stick used by orthodox Sunnis legalists in determining the legitimacy of music, discussed below.

finally, at the end of the ceremony, the larger group of dervishes divides into two lines, kneeling and facing each other a few meters apart. The zakirs then fill in the space between these two rows. This shifting set of relationships creates a very different sense of space and physicality; or, as Heidegger might describe it, the degree of sonic "nearness" between these various groups is constantly changing, and, in so doing, the semahane hall, this place for listening, resonates in very different ways.[7] This set of physical, acoustic space is of course layered on top of a complex web of power relationships that play a central role in the day-to-day operations of the order itself.

Significantly, for the holiday Sultan Nevruz, many orders use amplification for the sheikh and singing zakirs. (Some zakirs play drums and cymbals as well, which are not amplified). The result is a very different soundspace in which the fixity and prominence of loudspeakers remaps the soundspace and removes much of the sonic nuance and mobility generated through a regular zikr. These microphones further amplify (literally) the hierarchy of the order and of their vocal practices, as the sheikh and select zakirs have microphones, while rank-and-file chanting dervishes do not. This mediation of power and sound is audible, not only as increased loudness, but again, as the mechanized flatness attendant in simple amplification systems—not to mention a whole host of sounds that were presumably not intended to be amplified, such as coughs, microphone feedback, brushing against clothing, spoken instructions between the sheikh and certain individuals, and so on.[8]

At Sultan Nevruz in 2011, two particular acoustic interactions at the Kadiri tekke in Gjakova, Kosovo, brought together these various strands of sound, space, authority and amplification—and extended them beyond the confines of the tekke

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7   In his essay "The Thing" (Das Ding) Heidegger contrasts between a technology-driven elimination of distance, or Entfernung, and actual physical proximity, or Nähe (1954: 167ff.). This distinction seems useful here precisely because the introduction of amplified technologies (as described in this section) enacts a recalibration of physical space, intended to reduce the acoustic "distance" between every listener and the person being miked. But the net outcome is a remapping of physical space that fundamentally alters (if not obliterates) the delicate oscillations of nearness in the dervishes ritual movements themselves.

8   The significance of such sounds, these unintended acoustic consequences of amplification, is difficult to evaluate with certainty. On the one hand, they heighten the acoustic hierarchy in that space—not only is the voice of the sheikh or imam or other guest made more important, so too is the entire acoustic presence of their bodies. On the other hand, these amplified byproducts also introduce (or at least draw greater attention to) a new set of acoustic competition between authorized voices and what might be termed "noise," the unwanted sounds of the room. In any case, no one I spoke with had noticed or seemed to care especially—clearly the intended acoustics of these amplified ceremonies carried to listeners and participants alike.

building itself and into the city more broadly. A huge group of people turned out for the zikr, such that the main semahane hall was packed. As described above, several zakirs had microphones to amplify their singing of ilahis, while other dervishes did not. Dozens of spectators crowded in behind the dervishes and sheikhs, several of whom were visiting as honored guests from nearby cities—a network I discuss below. With such a large group, the hall became quite warm and eventually instructions were circulated to open the windows of the semahane for some fresh, cool evening air. But this tekke, as with most in Kosovo, sits in a highly populated area. Indeed, just next to the tekke sits a bar—a better-known landmark often used to help first-time attendees navigate to the tekke. On this particular Sunday evening, a rock band happened to be playing live, apparently covering popular songs. On multiple occasions as the zikr ceremony drew to a quiet pause, those near the windows (i.e., on the margins of the semahane hall) could hear this music fairly clearly. The bass in particular carried into the sema-hane, sounding at one point like "Sweet Home Alabama." Those on the margins perceived and were clearly disturbed (at least intermittently) by this rupturing of the sanctuary space; but those in the middle of the hall apparently never noticed, despite the stir among those along the periphery in deciding whether to endure stifling heat or the acoustic spillage of a local cover band.

Toward the end of the ceremony, a very different kind of rupture took place: the electricity went out. Such an occurrence is extremely commonplace in Kosovo and has been since the war for independence from Serbia (then still Yugoslavia).[9] This infrastructure difficulty has a striking impact on the sound of Kosovar cities more generally, as one can hear power outages by virtue of the hum (or roar, depending on proximity) of generators that starts up in chorus immediately thereafter. More generally, it serves as a constant reminder of the political ecology of the region, an abiding concern for any electricity-dependent event (like this amplified religious ceremony). As the power went out, a subtle but clearly audible recalibration of the sound-space in the tekke took place. Suddenly the overt sonic hegemony of the zakirs—by dint of amplification—was gone, and so the entire group of dervishes began to adjust to the sounds of the other participating groups.

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9   For a brief overview of this issue, cf. Xharra 2005 and L. Friedman 2011. Although power short-ages have been a continuous problem since the conflicts of the late 1990s, Kosovo's declaration of independence from Serbia (February 2008) reignited this issue along ethnic and sociopolitical lines. For my purposes here, the critical issue is simply that power shortages/outages are a regular part of life in Kosovo (cf. Sinani and Demi 2011) and that they have meaningful consequences in societal structures and interactions.

A different acoustic balance settled over the room for a few minutes, with a spatial result similar to that described above with Halveti dervishes in Prizren—a clear sense of acoustic nearness, and a dialogic counterpoint between those dervishes chanting names of Allah and the zakirs singing ilahis or playing percussion. Besides this sonic readjustment, visual adjustments also came into play. In particular, with the lights out, candles and other handheld light sources began to be distributed immediately. The illumination by candlelight similarly reconfigured the visual space of the tekke—in particular, it drew attention to a tinted window in the back of the semahane. On the other side, women spectators could suddenly be seen, lit by the candles they too were holding, offering a gentle reminder of the gender divisions that add yet another layer of authority and inclusion (or lack thereof). Thus this rupture of electricity was indeed a rupture of sensation and power on multiple levels: sound and sight were both recalibrated in the absence of technologies that extended the sonic authority of some participants relative to others, whether along insitutional or gender lines.

My analysis so far has focused on margins, sonic and otherwise. Traditional ethnomusicology would, most likely, focus on the zakir dervishes. After all, they both play percussion and sing ilahis—activities ripe for traditional musical analysis, to be sure. But the ritual itself is driven in equal measure by the larger aggregate of dervishes who chant divine names. As mentioned above, the very name of the ceremony, zikr, suggests that this recited act of remembrance is *the* ceremony, its core substance. Furthermore, the variety of vocal timbres employed by the chanting dervishes are diverse and performatively compelling, especially in moments of "*kalbi*" zikr, or zikr of the heart, when they heavily aspirate a given divine name, often reformulating it's rhythm and accentuation. But Sufism, as part of Islam more generally, faces an ontological crisis here too: is this music? The debate over music in Islamic contexts goes beyond the scope of this paper, but for my purposes here, suffice it to say that the religious propriety of music has long been questioned in Islam—raising the question, naturally, of what constitutes music, a theological debate Kristina Nelson calls "the *sama'* polemic" (1985: 32–51).[10] And here, vocal recitation (and typically percussion) have generally been understood as something different from singing in other contexts, as well as instrumental musics (al-Fārūqī 1985: 175–209, Nasr 1997). A highly developed vocabulary has thus emerged (and continues to be used) in

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[10]   For further treatment of this issue within the context of Sufism and the "legalist" Islamic tradition, cf. also Gribetz 1991.

Bosnian, Albanian and Turkish, in which a müezzin or *hafız* (Qur'anic reciter) does not "sing," but instead "reads" or "recites"—a rhetorical element found throughout the text of the Qur'an, especially in the famous opening of the 96th sura ("Recite!," *iqrāʾ*), as well as in the word "Qur'an" itself, meaning a reading or recitation.[11] In other words, Muslim vocal practices are already marginal to music, and thus inherently resist inclusion in music studies. Granted, many branches in Sufism have much more inclusive attitudes toward music (e.g., the Mevlevi *ayin* or South Asian *qawwali*). But sound and music have a complicated relationship in Islam, thus requiring different approaches for their study.

To that end, I propose a warmer embrace by ethnomusicologists, especially those working in urban areas, of the emergent field of sound studies. In particular, the basic premise of sound studies—that sound, and not just music, can serve as a stable and rich object of study—seems fruitful in cases such as these Sufi rituals, which sit at the margins of music studies. More specifically, questions of the voice, of amplification, of vocal and instrumental timbre, of intersections between architecture and sound, of recitation and speaking as sonic matter, of presence and nearness, of "desirability" of sound and "noise," of body movement and breathing, of theologies of sacral uttering, of materialities of sound production and resonance, and many others can and should be addressed, and indeed may be understood as priorities in sound studies. Furthermore, while these issues certainly have relevance in a variety of contexts, they are particularly pressing in cities, where increased density of people and sonically rich activity (whether "music" or otherwise) all but assure a confluence of sound that merits study.

If sound studies itself sets a theoretical agenda while positing such questions as these, visual anthropology offers a compelling set of techniques with which to begin exploring such sound phenomena. Visual anthropology radically reorients the discourses of representation by introduction technologies of inscription that are not reducible to text. In other words, by using photography, film and video, visual anthropologists have offered new modes and media of representation. Of course, like writing, these come with their own baggage—for example, the tendency to privilege the aesthetic over the representational. But by furthering the "crisis of representation" in anthropology, visual anthropologists have helped

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11   As Michael Sells writes: "The first auditory revelation is believed to have been the Qur'anic words (Sura 96): 'Recite in the name of your lord who created...' The term Qur'ān, given to the revelations Muhammad would convey, is related to the Arabic word for 'recite.' It might be translated as the Recitation" (Sells 2007: 5). For more on "qur'ān" as recitation within the Qur'anic text itself, cf. Graham 1987: 90ff. For more on the 96th sura, cf. Esack 2005: 39–41.

pose critical questions that have many analogies for the sound- and music-worlds ethnomusicologists inhabit.

Bringing these two threads together, I have suggested here the need for documentary sound studies, or an approach to sound-based phenomena that seeks not only to rethink current notions of music-making, but also to question the usefulness of prevailing modes of inscription/documentation and dissemination. (Of course, the irony of typing such a sentence is not lost on me.) Composers and recordists like Luc Ferrari, Steven Feld, Francisco López and collectives like the World Soundscape Project have already broken considerable ground here.[12] Like observational documentary filmmaking, such an approach demands a balance between ethnographic and aesthetic concerns, but also offers the possibility of enhancing representation, especially in urban settings where the delination between "music" and other sounds, as in the ritual described above, is not especially clear. Here, because recording equipment can readily document a wider swath of sonic activity than academic prose can describe, a reader/listener is empowered to decide what material is most important and what is peripheral.[13] And yet, while some might consider such a practice-inflected approach to ethnography dehumanizing or surveillant, it could also be seen as an extension of bi-musicality and participant observation, where modes of practice serve to supplement the reified (and often misleading) sphere of interviews and silent observations. And of course in the ever-increasing contexts (especially in urban settings) where the ethnographer is one of many documentarians, documentation can become participatory and even collaborative. Indeed, as the following section elaborates, in an age of smartphones and handheld digital recorders, ethnographers are also able—and perhaps intellectually responsible—to consider the growing archive of documentary material accumulating ever more rapidly.

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12   Among many other recordings, cf. Ferrari 2009, Feld 1991 and 2004, López 2009, and World Soundscape Project 1974.

13   Friedrich Kittler describes such a process in relation to early phonography: "Media technology could not proceed in a more exact fashion. Thanks to the phonograph, science is for the first time in possession of a machine that records noises regardless of so-called meaning. Written protocols were always unintentional selections of meaning" (1999: 85). For Kittler, the development of such meaning-free documentation was far from meaningless; indeed, it played a decisive role in experimental psychiatry and psychology, allowing a psychiatrist to document broadly and, in the words of Freud, "make use of everything he is told for the purposes of interpretation...without substituting a censorship of his own for the selection that the patient has foregone (in Kittler 1999: 88). In this case, however, my concern is less with giving the researcher special access to information, but rather with ensuring that an eventual listener will have access not only to the documented sonic text—the kinds of acoustic events ethnomusicologists have reduced to transcriptions for years—but also to sonic context, to the marginal soundings or heterophony that are so central to urban acoustic spaces, in particular.

Media Archaeology: Excavating Urban Sound

The burgeoning field of media archaeology stands as a second locus for new entanglements for urban ethnomusicologists. As with any discipline or academic approach, a precise definition of "media archaeology" proves elusive, though the subtitle of Siegfried Zielinski's book of the same name suggests a move "toward the deep time of hearing and seeing by technical means" (Zur Tiefenzeit des technischen Hörens und Sehens). Or, in other words, the intent is to engage in a Foucaultian-style archaeology, delving into the deeper historical strata found in archives and embedded in recordings of various kinds with the aim of inter-rogation the vagaries of media reproduction, or technologically-enabled hearing and seeing, which then supplement the more general discursive practices that attracted Foucault's attention in the first place in works like *The Order of Things* and *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.[14]

How might ethnomusicology, and especially urban ethnomusicology, ben-efit from such an archaeological turn? Most fundamentally, such a turn signals a heightened awareness of the past, but not solely in the sense of re-engaging with history as part of ethnographic practice, as scholars like Kay Shelemay (1980, 1986) and Philip Bohlman (2008, and collaboratively in Blum, Bohlman and Neuman 1991) among many others,[15] have shown in their work. Instead, archaeology calls for a critical re-engagement with the archive as a domicile of both the "sequential" and "jussive" orders, the "commencement" and the "commandment," as Derrida famously describes it (1996: 1). In other words, the archive functions not only as a point of chronological departure, but also as a site for re-examining the norms of intellectual engagement and discourse. Eth-nomusicology as a discipline, of course, has deep roots in precisely such archival ground: the earliest archival collections of comparative musicology (in Europe) and salvage ethnology (in the U.S.) were bound up with projects of large-scale collection and "armchair analysis" that, while productive in their own right, inadequately accounted for context or authority. In other words, the foundation

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14   While much of the theoretical foundations of media archaeological studies date back to writers like Foucault and Walter Benjamin, some of the seminal recent works on the topic (in addition to Zielinski) include writings by Thomas Elsaesser (2004), Wolfgang Ernst (2000, 2005), and Jussi Parikka (2012, and with Erkki Huhtamo, 2011).

15   This more recent discourse on "historical ethnomusicology," distilled by Shelemay as "synchronic study [used] for illuminating the historical continuum from which it emerged" (1980: 233), unsurprisingly grows out of a longer-standing debate within American ethnomusicology about the intersections of ethnography and historiography, as seen in Nettl's 1958 article, "Historical Aspects of Ethnomusicology."

of the ethnomusicological (meta)archive is from the outset shot through with both sequential and jussive privilege.[16]

But technology in the 20th century has been a wild, woolly thing. And its dramatic spread has changed ethnomusicology considerably, not to mention music-making more generally, and media archaeology offers useful tools for unpacking these developments. A brief set of examples of Rufa'i dervishes in the cities of Skopje, Macedonia, and Prizren, Kosovo, illustrate the potential value of media archaeological practices. In 1951, a leading Macedonian filmmaker, Aco Petrovski, made the film *Derviši*, a 10-minute documentary depicting a zikr during Ramadan in 1951 (released 1955), held in the Rufa'I tekke in Skopje. Some 40 years later, the Belgian filmmaker Dirk Dumon would document the same tekke as part of his film *I am a Sufi, I am a Muslim* (television 1994, released 1996). The historical significance of Petrovski's film merits attention in its own right, given his place in the development of Macedonian cinema, but, for present purposes, I would point out his long-term narrative strategy: He begins with shots of the city of Skopje, especially the mosques in the old town. He then narrows his focus to the Rufa'i tekke, where he follows dervishes gathering for a religious holiday. He narrates the zikr, which culminates not only in the dervishes' ecstatic singing and chanting but also their self-mortification. And, from there, he turns once again (briefly) to the broader cityscape around. Dumon's film follows an almost identical pathway: from the city-at-large to the Sunni mosques of the old town, and then to the tekke with a very similar depiction of ceremonies.

This contextualization certainly gives a visual flavor of Skopje—one of the richest sites of multicultural encounter in Europe.[17] And yet it simultaneously marginalizes Sufism as a form of Islam that is somehow less legitimate, less orthodox than its better-known Sunni counterparts. The decision to depict the violent piercing ritual creates a sense of spectacle and (relatively) instant gratification, compared to the process of sitting through several hours of other singing and chanting leading up to this climax, such that these moments of ecstatic violence come about like a slow boil rather than the jarring puncture they appear to be in

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16 Music scholars and anthropologists have grown increasingly aware of this complicated relationship with archives and begun to reassess them (both as archives and as "the archive") in a more critical way, from perspectives of disciplinary development (Seeger 1986, Brady 1999), ethics and ownership (Seeger 1996), discursive histories (Ernst 2002), and critical histories of listening (Sterne 2003, Katz 2004).

17 While this longstanding multiculturalism in Skopje is fairly evident to any visitor, it has been emphasized more emphatically in recent years in scholarship on language, culture, and identity politics in Pettifer 1999, Ellis 2003, Hamzaoğlu 2010 and V. Friedman 2011.

these films. Of course, a 10-minute film has obvious constraints,[18] and, again, both films give a meaningful portrait of Skopje Rufaʻis in short order. But questions of ethnographic authority haunt both endeavors, not only because Sufism had such a marginal status in the Yugoslav period, not being officially recognized, but also because of the fragility of religious existence in the region more generally over the past two decades. Both films neglect to show the ritual of *muhabbet*, or affectionate conversation, that precedes and follows the zikr—arguably of equal importance as a site of ethical training, theological discussion and fellowship. Here Rufaʻi and other branches of Sufism show themselves to be peaceful, contemplative forms of worship with strong intellectual underpinnings, not just a "howling" attraction.

Staying within the Rufaʻi order, but moving into Kosovo, the usefulness of critical engagement with media archives continues. During the Yugoslav years, the center for coordinating various Sufis groups throughout the country (or *meshihat*) was based at the Rufaʻi tekke in Prizren, for decades under the direction of Shejh Xhemali Shehu, and now his son Shejh Adrihusejn Shehu. In 1973, recordist Bernard Mauguin, who had previously recorded Mevlevi dervishes in Turkey (recording 1964, released 1968), made an audio recording of a zikr ceremony in Prizren for distribution with UNESCO (1974). The album cover included a number of photographs, suggesting the difficulty of adhering to an audio-only format in such a visually rich environment. But, by limiting himself to audio recording, Mauguin (or whoever made decisions for this album) is suddenly operating in a realm of documentary sound—not entirely unlike the approach described above. The recording draws attention to the rich timbral inflections of the various reciters, of the staggering entrance of percussion, and of the variety of intra-group dynamics between trained reciters with formal roles, the dervish group as a whole (reciting the names and attributes of Allah), and other elements like percussion.

This recording, however, generates more questions than it answers, especially compared to the two filmic depictions, with their voice over, didactic explanations and short durations (i.e., they contain a much smaller fraction of the entire zikr ceremony).[19] But questions also arise because Mauguin gives so little information

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18   As one Sufi sheikh I spoke to explained, "Anything that happens at a tekke can be viewed by others, it can be recorded, and so on. The problem is of course that these things are always edited. It changes the meaning of things we say and what we do." While this comment was not made in regard to this particular film, it raises questions about the ethics of editing as a process, as well as the kind of narrative practices so common in news and documentary media work. I discuss editing practices more below.

19   Of course, these more authoritative approaches raise different questions (ethical, structural,

about the ceremony itself, about both the event and his recording process. A few passages from the Qur'an are labeled on the sleeve/liner notes (a CD has since been reissued, 1993), as well as some genre descriptions, but little beyond that. As Kurt Reinhard summarized in a review of the recording:

Other listeners, however, would doubtless want to know more about the music itself....One is never told what Mauguin recorded from the complete ceremony, what was omitted, what cuts were made (whether this happened in respect of inessential sections or whether the necessary parts agree, at least, with the real sequence of performance)....It remains to note that one does not often come across published recordings of this sort dealing with the cultic ceremonies of Islamic sects; nevertheless, one sorely misses a musical commentary in such a production (1978: 212–214).

Reinhard's review offers an excellent account of the issues under scrutiny in assessing media as ethnographic representation, especially editing practices. While ethnomusicologists have given considerable thought to questions of recording ethics and etiquette, critical reflection on the reproduction and distribution of these media require another distinct set of conversations. What kind of editing practices are acceptable? As audio recorders become more portable with increased recording capacity, are other models emerging? And finally, given Reinhard's final sentence, how unique are these recordings now? In many ways, these questions have stood at the heart of critical discussions of other forms of documentation (cf. MacDougall 1998, Rouch 2003) but sound has proved a paradoxically more opaque medium to document and interrogate.

The Prizren Rufa'i tekke remains arguably the vanguard of documentation in the Balkans, from what I have seen. While other sheikhs forbid recording devices altogether or only permit their own camera crews for major holidays, Shejh Adrihusein allowed (perhaps reluctantly) several video cameras in the space, in addition to his own crew. (One set of media archives I hope to explore in the near future are those of the tekkes themselves, many of which have begun to accumulate their own recordings from these events. This would certainly offer rich insight into several of the issues I discuss here.) In addition, a granular haze of digital camera "shutters"—artificially created sounds that cue a user that a photo has been taken—hung over most of the ceremony. A quick search on Flickr or other

methodological), but they at least offer an explicit narrative of what is happening, both verbally and visually, something that can only be inferred in a stand-alone audio recording.

major photo sharing sites shows a half dozen users who have posted photos from the ceremony in recent years, not to mention an equal number of short videos to be found on YouTube and other media-sharing sites. I was intrigued to see that these documentary practices are not perceived (entirely) as documentary invasions of privacy. Though a few dervishes expressed some discomfort about the number of cameras present and their proximity to the events themselves, I saw others taking photos or movies on smartphones, even on one occasion during an initiation during a weekly zikr ceremony. While not necessarily an urban phenomenon, the ubiquity of such recording devices and their pervasive deployment suggest a capitalistic cosmopolitanism that demands attention in research contexts, particularly as it gives rise to a parallel archive outside the realm of academic institutions. Quite simply, as anthropologists and ethnographers, "our" microphones are no longer the only ones in use—the result is a kind of polyphonic mediation, with images and sounds replicating themselves almost at will across the web and through other forms of digital sharing.

The pros and cons of recording merit an increase in serious attention moving forward: How (well) does recording function as documentary practice? What specific recording technologies should be used to capture and reproduce what different kinds of sound? What kinds of the recording and archival practices should take hold among academics and also their collaborators "in the field"? Needless to say, these methodologies are changing both within and outside of ethnomusicology. Media archaeological practices offer a means of excavating the recorded past and of re-encountering the present through that past. Documentary media can hardly be ignored, as I described above; nor should they be embraced uncritically. The tandem pairing of documentary sound studies with media archaeology offers a platform for such research.

The City as Medium: Aural Flânerie and Passages of Sound

Documentary sound studies and media archaeology offer a potent set of tools for urban ethnomusicology but in many regards these tools are equally applicable to rural sites. My final methodological approach, aural flânerie, or walking through a city with particular mindfulness toward listening, is much more dependent on the nature of cities themselves. Furthermore, it moves away from the technologically-dependent methods described above. Appropriating from visual studies a notion of moving through a city with the intent of observing it, I suggest that aural flânerie can offer as much or sometimes more insight into

the life of a city than its visual counterpart. Granted, the totality of sensation is hardly separable into self-contained senses (as sight, as hearing, etc.) and as such rarely functions in a clearly hierarchical way. But, because of sound's diffusive, permeable character relative to the visual and because the density of city architecture resists easy viewing of its entirety, listening becomes a critical practice for understanding the cultural differences that lie within city spaces.[20] In this sense, urban heterophony, or the sounding of such difference in the city, can be considered the thing-listened-to in concepts like Steven Feld's "acoustemology," a way of knowing place through hearing ("acoustic knowing," 1996: 97). My contention here is that cities are particularly rich sites for such acoustemology, but that such knowledge in urban contexts comes particularly effectively by means of sensorily-engaged "kinetic analysis"[21] of the city undertaken while passing-through, rather than while merely being-in.

The idea of urban passage as productive practice lies at the heart of Walter Benjamin's *Das Passagen-Werk*, usually rendered in English as The Arcades Project. Benjamin's fascination with Parisian arcades, articulated in a fragmentary manner in his unfinished treatise, was grounded in the immersive modes of vision these architectural structures offered. Functioning as urban microcosms, they created and housed routes through the city that, in an almost dreamlike manner, opened up new vistas embedded in architecture, and in doing so they energized a swath of creativity and urban exploration. In other words, Paris's arcades—and in different ways, any city's architecture—and its visual richness are bound up with one another, and in order to experience them one must navigate through the city.[22] Thinking of moving images specifically, film theorist

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[20] In drawing these distinctions between listening and seeing, I am wary of creating too sharp a binary, a central component in what Jonathan Sterne has called the "audiovisual litany" (2003:15-20), in which sound and hearing are erroneously posited as functioning independently and entirely differently from image and sight. Navigating through a space with an explicit intention of listening to it engages the sense of sight deeply, as well, and indeed is suggested by the original notion of flânerie.

[21] Bruno 1993:4. Bruno's provocative analysis of Elvira Notari's films and their intimate connection with Naples offers an intriguing model, if by analogy (drawing on film, rather than sound), to the kind of productive "streetwalking" I suggest here. Similarly drawing on Benjamin, she suggests that, at least in fin-de-siècle Naples, "arcades and cinemas are to be understood as forms of optical consumption by a mobile collectivity," thinking of the two together as "topoi of modernity" (47). However, my concerns here lies less with "modernity" or the discursive Foucauldian-style archaeology she uses in her narration, and more with an actual physical process of aurally-engaged walking as a literal mode of ethnographical research in urban soundspaces.

[22] Benjamin 1982. While a number of commentaries on the Arcades Project exist (cf. Buck-Morss 1989 and Hanssen 2006), I find Bruno's aforementioned work the most useful for drawing on Benjamin's writing as a methodology besides being a piece of scholarship.

Raymond Bellour comes to an analogous conclusion: that "the passage of the image," or the ways in which, say, a film is always laden with connections to other sets of images—past, present and future—generates a visually intertextual web (e.g., images somehow connected to or suggestive of other films), but one rife with in-between spaces that defy simple interpretation or characterization, yet are somehow characteristic of the experience of viewing. As such, the viewer's recognizance of these webs of relationships generates a kind of visual passage in which a sequence of images like a film does not simply pass in front of spectators sequentially, but it loops forward and backward, side-to-side, always connecting to other visual contexts and the spaces between those contexts.[23] While Bellour's "passages" are perhaps not a reference to the kind of glass-and-steel *Passagen* that fascinated Benjamin, both authors' passages point to the kind of traversal of physical space implicit in embodied viewing, such that film and city spaces are suggestive of one another.

Media theorist Friedrich Kittler takes these ideas even further, stating baldly that "the city is a medium" (1996). Kittler's argument focuses on the characteristics of cities as architectural and social spaces that function much like electronic media, with their internal circuitry and networks. But his argument also suggests the possibility of bringing together Benjamin's architecturally-situated flânerie through city passages (or arcades) with Bellour's deeply-contextualized mode of viewing images that are themselves in the process of passing before us. As a concrete example (no pun intended), the resulting visual passage—again, both a passage through a visually rich environment and a passage or interconnection of things-seen with other contexts—would offer immediate insight into the existence of Sufism in two Kosovar cities, as one example, in accounting for the difference in experiencing tekkes in Gjakovë, with its richly clustered old town, and Prizren, which has an old town but has little Sufi presence in that visually demarcated space. In Gjakovë, one can walk down narrow cobblestone streets and move quite easily from one tekke to another; the tekkes play a prominent architectural role in giving a historical, Ottoman inflected visual identity to the area. On the other hand, Prizren has only one functioning tekke (Halveti) in or near the city center, and it actually lies across a bridge from the heart of the old town, or Shadervan.

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23   In clarifying what he means by "passage," Bellour writes: "This is what, in their way, the words *passages of the image* refer to. First of all, the ambiguous word *of* includes the sense of *between*. It is between images that passages and contaminations of beings and systems occur more and more often, and such passages are sometimes clear but sometimes hard to define, and, above all, to give a name to" (author's italics, 1996: 194).

Instead, the Shadervan area is more defined by the prominent placement of mosques, mingled with Christian churches (both Orthodox and Catholic).

Leaving behind visual passages, the sound passages one encounters in Kosovar Sufism are perhaps even more emphatic, if sometimes generating such emphasis through absence as a silent "counterpublic" to the highly audible public space of Sunnism.[24] As I mentioned above, Balkan tekkes are strangely silent places—at least externally, as public architectural spaces—compared to the mosques of their Sunni counterparts. That conflict is particularly marked in the ongoing standoff at Arabati Baba tekke in Macedonia, but the tension that exists between these two branches of Islam often simmers in less hostile entanglements as well. For example, one dervish who was visiting Prizren from Istanbul recounted that, upon his arrival in Prizren, he had accidentally ended up in a mosque with a strong Salafi (or fundamentalist Sunni) orientation. He asked the imam there for directions to the Rufaʻi tekke in the city, only to find himself held up in conversation about the propriety of such religious practice. After two hours, he finally succeeded in making the 15-minute walk to the tekke. (I myself was similarly challenged by Salafis in Prizren as to the legitimacy of my research, given their views of Sufism as problematically heterodox.) But the fact that tekkes lack an adhan, or call to prayer, does not actually mean that the Sufis do not pray. The Bektashis above are perhaps an extreme example, but for most orders, ritual prayer (*salah*) is an important practice and in fact marks the beginning of the zikr ceremony. Yet, because of the absence of public announcement, zikrs (in my experience) tended to have a more fluid beginning time—"sometime after the last salah prayer" or "right around the midday Friday prayer."

Of course, Sufi practices inside a tekke are not usually a silent venture (though certain orders like the Nakshibendi typically practice a silent rather than an audible zikr). Sufi teachings privileging spiritual interiority (*batin*) over worldly exteriority (*zahir*) begin to account for the disparity between this external absence of sound and the rich, almost overwhelming sounds that take place inside Sufi ceremonial spaces. Whatever the theological reasons, these resonant ceremonies offer a number of rich moments of sonic passage, but I draw on three particular

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24　Here this silent counterpublic can be seen, to a certain degree, as standing in opposition (or at least contrast) to the kind of hegemonic discourse of Sunni Islamic sound practices in the public sphere, much as Charles Hirschkind asserts that Egyptian Sunnis' use of cassette sermons and the discourse around them stands in opposition to Western assumptions about media consumption, individualism and rational deliberation (2006: 105-108). But, in this case, the counteracting is done for the most part in a highly secluded way.

instances here, expanding in scope: first, passage within a tekke; second, passage between tekkes in a given city; and, third, passage between tekkes in different cities. In looking at these expanding scales of passage, I hope to illustrate the variety of interactions that take place between sound-making practices and urban spaces in Kosovar Sufism. Or, to retool Kittler's phrase, these examples illustrate ways in which sonic passage enlivens the city as a resonant medium itself.

As with any sanctuary, inside these tekkes, certain spaces are reserved for certain activities. Two major sounding activities occur in most tekkes: muhabbet, or intimate conversation, and the zikr ceremony. Muhabbet can be seen as the lifeblood of a tekke, as many sheikhs are almost constantly playing host to dervishes or other guests who stop by throughout the day to converse, seek counsel, or learn formally about spiritual matters. But prior to and after the zikr, this form of conversation takes on a more ritualized format, usually in a separate space (usually called either the *meydan*, or gathering place, or else the room for *sohbet*, another ritually inflected term for conversation). The sheikh sits at the front of the room (as he most often does on other occasions) with dervishes sitting around the wall of the room, and then filling in toward the middle of the room. Tea (especially) as well as coffee and sometimes food are distributed by a designated dervish; these activities generate their own idiosyncratic sound as small tea spoons clink against the hourglass-shaped traditional tea glasses in counterpoint to the discussion at hand. On special occasions like Nevruz or Muharrem, a meal may also be prepared and served in a kitchen area before or after the ceremony. The muhabbet conversation may last for several hours as dervishes and guests gather prior to the zikr, especially for evening ceremonies. Conversations often function spatially like a (semicircular) wheel with spokes connecting to a central hub: the sheikh sits in a central position and takes questions, responds with answers, engages various individuals in conversation, and mediates the flow of conversation with very little conversation happening on the side.

As these ritualized acts gather momentum, the entire group then moves to the semahane—the main gathering hall for the zikr. While every order has its own particular traditional practices, the zikr typically begins with a more subdued form of vocalization, the salah prayers, much of which is recited silently by each participant with an audible leader. From here, the zikr proper begins and follows a similar principle of gradually building momentum, reaching an ecstatic crescendo that is tied not only to the particular names of Allah being recited and the ilahi hymns being sung, but also to the movements that dervishes make in the semahane hall. These movements are enacted both on a macro-level as

dervishes make up larger group formations and on a micro-level as many sway back and forth, sometimes quite emphatically, while chanting. After reaching its climax,[25] the ceremony cools down and essentially moves in reverse, eventually shifting locations back to the gathering room for conversation, tea and (perhaps) cigarettes. This fluid-yet-ritualized shift from speech to scripted recitation to what would generally be called singing is one commonly observed in ethnomusicology (e.g., Feld 1990, Fox 2004, Seeger 2004); but the physical movements from one ritual space to another that accompany these verbal shifts suggest the kind of sonic passage under discussion here.[26]

Passage beyond the confines of a given tekke are also significant to Sufi practice in Kosovo. Here urban geography becomes a much more significant factor in how and where particular sounds are articulated, as dervishes and other guests known for having good voices are welcomed as reciters (i.e., singers of ilahis, kasides, or other genres of religious poetry) among multiple tekkes. Nevruz celebrations in Prizren in March 2011 offered, once again, an illustrative realization of this phenomenon. On the morning of March 22, a large group of dervishes, visiting sheikhs, local non-participants and even peacekeeping forces wedged into the semahane of the Rufa'i order. Among these dervishes were several people who participated fully (i.e., they acted as dervishes, though without ritual robes) and were even called on to perform solo recitations.

After the ceremony, about 10 of these participants proceeded across the city to the heart of the old town, where a small Melami gathering place is located. Melami practice in Kosovo, I was told time and again, differs quite dramatically from other orders, not least because they have no formal zikr ritual. Instead, on this occasion, they simply gathered for a several-hour session of muhabbet with a Melami sheikh visiting from Prishtina. After this extended (and deeply metaphysical yet playful) conversation, most of the group walked back the exact same

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25   As alluded to above, most zikr ceremonies do not entail self-mortification, instead being reserved for special holy days. The relative infrequency of these practices is one more reason why the films mentioned above are somewhat misleading.

26   For the sake of brevity and maintaining focus here, I choose not to deal with the actual movements of dervishes in the zikr ceremony itself. One might argue, however, that the kinds of larger-scale movements that take place within the whole of the tekke are an extension of the movements of the body and group configurations within the ritual precinct. Several sheikhs have pointed out the symbolic significance of these positions as a kind of spiritual narrative of their own. Given the care for detail in Islamic architecture more broadly, and especially of these Sufi ceremonial halls, such a connection between personal movement inside the semahane and movement between various other ritual spaces in the tekke hardly seems far-fetched.

route as the morning zikr to attend the Nevruz zikr of the Sinani tekke across the street from the Rufaʻis. And, again, one older man in particular was called on to be a reciter for the Sinani ceremony. When I asked him which order he belonged to, he said simply that he goes where he is welcome and that he finds deep satisfaction in reciting. The location of these two zikrs was not merely an issue of walking back and forth, though. Several people mentioned them in relationship to one another, and, after I mentioned to the Sinani sheikh that I had attended the Rufaʻi ceremony that morning, he expressed his disappointment to me that his dervishes had not executed some of the more difficult chants—apparently in contrast to the well-organized Rufaʻi tekke, one of the most prestigious in the Balkans. On the other hand, the Sinani ceremony included a musical performance with a small Turkish ensemble (featuring ud, kanun, tanbur, percussion, and so on). While it would be too strong to suggest that these two tekkes are competitors—again, as evidenced by their welcoming of the same attendees and sharing of reciters—the geographic proximity as literal neighbors gives a clear sense of entangled engagement and continual exchange on multiple levels.

Finally, the passage of sound extends beyond the limits of a given city as well. The ontological status and definition of "the city" in Kosovo is fraught from the outset, as the entire country is small enough that the question of whether these places are cities or towns is arguable, and has been argued in my presence on multiple occasions by Kosovars. Given the historical status of places like Prizren and Gjakovë as cities—again, highlighted by the particular architectural style and layout of their old, Ottoman period centers—I find this question less pressing. But perhaps it suggests one more manifestation of how the sonic practices of Sufis in Kosovo lie at the fringe of urban ethnomusicology: one could argue that Sufi rituals there are neither music (but recitation) nor urban (rather approaching some quantitative notion of cityness, at least at present). This marginal urbanism, however, has important implications for Sufi networks. In particular, because so many different cities lie nearby and are large enough to warrant their own tekkes, networks emerge as dervishes from one tekke in one city (e.g., Rufaʻis from Rahovec) are invited to visit a different tekke in a different city (e.g., Kadiris in Gjakovë), particularly on special occasions. Once again, special status is given to those dervishes who add something otherwise absent to a ceremony. For example, the Rufaʻi sheikh from Rahovec and his dervishes were invited to the Kadiri Nevruz ceremony in Gjakovë (after which a reciprocal invitation was extended in reverse). The Rahovec Rufaʻis, I was told repeatedly by dervishes in Gjakovë, were "crazy" and had "very good zakirs" (musicians). What "crazy"

meant, I was to learn, was that they not only skewered their faces (as is fairly common for special occasions among several Kosovar orders) but that their sheikh also would walk on a sword and perform other acts of ecstatic violence. Interestingly, however, I first heard of this reputation while traveling between Prishtina and Prizren with a group of dervishes and non-initiated participants who were convinced that Gjakovë, not Prizren, was the best place for Nevruz. Here the network was not merely one of dervishes coming and going to different ceremonies, but also an overlapping information network, in which many of these dervishes had not personally seen these ecstatic Rufaʿis. Yet their reputation was enough to generate a rich discourse about them through an informal discursive network that passed from person to person as dervishes were themselves traveling from city to city.

In my preceding examples of methodologies—documentary sound studies and media archaeology—I suggest not only a theoretical object of study but also a practical approach to encountering and, where possible, documenting it. In many ways movement or passage through space resists easy documentation. The tension between representing *a place* and representing movement *between two places* demands a simultaneous depth (place) and breadth (betweenness). This mapping of sound remains one of the persistent challenges, I would argue, for urban ethnomusicology that concerns itself seriously with a notion of place. The turn toward "soundscapes" or other Appadurai-influenced notions of mobile, fluid "-scapes" has significantly highlighted the tenuousness of claims to geographical fixity of music (or sound, or any other sociocultural phenomenon). On the other hand, this notion of soundscape is ultimately somewhat facile, failing to take stock of things that actually are *there*, that is, architecture and cityspaces that do not move; that sound and resonate; and that mediate sound, images, other media, and our perceptions of them.[27] The process of rectifying these divergent approaches to understanding passage-through-space, whether invoking the term "soundscape" or not, seems less important than models of those who are attempting to navigate and map out these intellectual and aesthetic contours. American

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[27] Previous versions of my own paper here addressed this issue more directly, positioning many of the foregoing ideas at the confluence of two distinct soundscape lineages: first, a heritage from Murray Schafer (1977) to Steven Feld (1996), tied to recording and sound-art (though Feld prefers the term "acoustemology"); and second, drawing on postcolonial and critical theory, the work of Arjun Appadurai (1996) and Kay Shelemay (2006). Recent work by Thompson (2002) and Hirschkind (2006) added a critical element by considering architecture and actual physical spaces/places. For a different approach to "critical genealogy" of the term "soundscape," cf. also Kelman 2010.

composers like John Luther Adams and Betsey Biggs have set out intriguing paths bringing together musical composition with geography, architecture (or lack thereof) and space; soundwalk composers like Christina Kubisch and, more traditionally, Hildegard Westerkamp, have similarly contributed; and record labels like Gruenrekorder offer albums whose compositions sit tenuously between documentation of a place and of a series of interconnected fragments-of-places. But a full-fledged critical cartography of passage-through-sound, or aural flânerie, has yet to emerge from ethnomusicology, whether in print or other media.

Mediating Place

To conclude I would briefly remark on the idea of sound as a mediation of place. The foregoing comments have been necessarily tentative: not only is my own research still very much in progress, but, like so much of the field of sound studies, my methods are also emergent. Even so, I am optimistic that the foregoing examples suggest rich possibilities for parsing out difference in the city, sometimes by particular technological means, sometimes merely by doing what ethnomusicologists have always done: by listening carefully. The stakes of urban sound are very real, especially when sounding from marginal spaces (like Sufi tekkes) in marginal places (like Kosovo and Macedonia). On the margins—whatever that may mean—difference is negotiated continually, and sounds permeate space in ways that older models of ethnomusicology have not yet adequately addressed. But, if sound can articulate difference as tension and conflict, it can also mediate, in both senses of the word, as described above. First, like Zielinski's archaeology, it provides a means or technological medium through which one hears and sees—hopefully more clearly. Secondly, mediation is the arbitration of difference, something engaging and bringing together two parties, allowing them to communicate more readily. In the case of the urban heterophony here, sound brings these two types of mediation together: its transmission and transformation entail countless forms of technological mediation, and yet it can similarly offer a common sensory language and meeting point as well.

Returning briefly to my opening example, I found myself ill at ease through much of my stay at Arabati Baba tekke in Macedonia. The tension was, as described above, literally audible and figuratively palpable. But a strange act of violence and music offered, at least for a moment, a very different (and more harmonious) form of mediation. My second afternoon at the tekke, reports began appearing on Turkish television of the near-fatal shooting of İbrahim Tatlıses,

the renowned Turkish singer (Köhne 2011). The tekke had Turkish news on for much of the day, so the reports flowed in almost continuously. Midway through the afternoon, the Sunni groundskeeper brought a group of elementary school students into the tekke for a tour, and we took to discussing Tatlıses —"the best singer from these parts," according to the groundskeeper. My dervish host concurred, noting that the shooting was a tragedy. For a few minutes, shared grieving and musical taste brought us all together in common concern, while occasional excerpts of Tatlıses's singing drifted outside from the tekke television. Meanwhile, children clamored for attention in a mix of four different languages, while the chickens in the tekke yard crowed boisterously in response. A sense of community and shared values, however fragile, emerged momentarily, mediated by the rich abundance of sounds present. But, before long, as if on cue, the call to prayer lurched to life again, mediated as ever by those deceptively powerful loudspeakers. And once more heterophony reigned.

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STUDIES ON SOUNDSCAPES OF POLISH CITIES. THE CASE OF WROCLAW

Bozena Muszkalska

Abstract: *The soundscape of cities is a subject of research of various disciplines, e.g., acoustics, cultural anthropology, landscape architecture, geography, urban studies, sociology, musicology. Whereas the representatives of other sciences concentrate on non-musical phonic elements which co-create the audio sphere of towns, phenomena of the so-called melosphere or the characteristic, significant sphere, singled out by men from the sound background, are in the center of interest of musicologists. The aspect of significance in the above definition has a strict musical reference, but also a social one. It concerns significances and values of the melosphere as cultural transmission. Research on these phenomena covers not only its documentation but also an identification of the phonic identity of the city. Studies on functional and axiological aspects of musical sounds in the city space require taking into consideration their reception by inhabitants of the town which is examined through interviews.*

The presented assumptions are, e.g., program guidelines of the Studio of Research on Soundscape in the Institute of Cultural Studies at the Wroclaw University. The scope of its activities is to record the phonic phenomena during field research conducted in the area of Lower Silesia with its capital in Wroclaw and to investigate a problem of cultural identity of this region in the context of phonic experiences of its residents. Much store is set by music which is connected with the given city through its historic or ethnic tradition (for example bugle-call, city folklore) as well as by music performed on the streets by foreign musicians.

Key words: *Wroclaw; soundscape; audiosphere*

My presentation is a report on the state of research on soundscapes, carried out among Polish musicologists, cultural theorists and anthropologists. The city of

Wroclaw mentioned in the title is not only the subject of the case studies, but is also a major center of such research in Poland.

Discussions on the philosophies and methodologies for studies on issues related to urban soundscapes take place in Poland in broad, interdisciplinary groups. Results are presented at conferences which bring geographers, ecologists, urban planners and landscape architects, who emphasize the pragmatic aspects of research related to health, together with ethnologists, cultural theorists and musicologists, who give priority to the cultural context of experiencing the audiosphere. The latter course of research will be the subject of my article.

Projects and activities undertaken in Poland refer to the soundscape concept of Raymond Murray Schafer, which was popularized after his works were translated into Polish (by Danuta Gwizdalanka and Maksymilian Kapelański) and monographs concerning it were written by some musicologists and composers (Kapelański, Lidia Zielińska, Anna Archer). In 1982, the first Polish translation of Schafer's The Music of the Environment (Vienna 1973) was published; afterwards other texts were translated in the '80s.

In Wrocław academic studies of the city soundscape were begun by Maciej Gołąb, who was the author of the project "Wrocław soundscapes. Research on the audiosphere of the Central-European metropolis" in 2004. As a musicologist with a systematic approach, Gołąb's first step was to find an adequate set of concepts. He linked the concept of soundscape with the usual topics of his interests, among which the most important is art music of the 20th century. Gołąb organized sound phenomena of the city audiosphere into distinct categories: the phonosphere, that is, the natural background or ambient sounds; the melosphere, which consists of utilitarian sound events of the phonosystem; and the sonosphere, which includes the artistic sound discourses of the phonosystem. He derived these categories from a trichotomical division of all acoustical events: tones, sounds and noises.

As for the most important sources of the urban phonosystem, Gołąb created the following categories:

1. the acoustic effects of the area's environment and its urban flora and fauna (musica naturalis);
2. non-musical yet anthropogenic sounds—the phonosphere of metropolitan civilization (musica humana);
3. the cultural melosphere of media, advertisements, computer games and technical gadgets (musica vulgaris);
4. the artistic phonosphere of homes and their adjacent areas, parks, discotheques and nightclubs, concert halls and sacral places (musica artificialis).

The Latin terms alluding to the medieval systematization of music, quoted by Gołąb along with the categories he introduces, show – as was his intention – the historical universalism of human perception of soundscapes. He also refers to an anonymous treatise from the first half of the 16th century, preserved in the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław. In the treatise is the following passage:

"There are three types of musica diatonica: naturalis, usualis and artificialis. Naturalis is the sounding of celestial objects, caused by the motion of the spheres [...] Usualis or irregularis is the emission of sounds released in different ways, in ascending or descending motions, without any proper musical rules. And artificialis is the proper science of modulation, which considers a number of sounds for playing a melody: so there are two types of this music, instrumentalis and vocalis" (Witkowska-Zaręba 1986: 249).

In the treatise musica naturalis means music existing beyond any human being, totally autonomous; musica artificialis refers to music whose existence depends on man and his skills, while musica usualis indicates music given by nature, not according to human-made rules (Witkowska-Zaręba 1986: 250).

The trichotomical division in the aforementioned treatise can be seen – in Gołąb's opinion – as a paradigm of a long-lasting process of gradual narrowing and then, in the works of 20th-century composers – widening the very essentials of what is understood by the term musica in the history of thought on music (Gołąb 2004).

The audiosphere in Gołąb's framework is a complex and layered communication system whose structure in particular urban centers is unique, yet is becoming more and more unified as globalization progresses. Any research on this subject should focus on revealing the changes in the urban phonosystem. This should be achieved by critical studies and interpretations of sources: analyses of literature and iconographical studies as indirect sources and phonographic documents as direct research sources.

The agenda proposed by Maciej Gołąb was the impetus for developing studies on the audiosphere of Wrocław by ethnology and cultural studies researchers. Since October 1, 2009, such studies have been aligned with the Interdisciplinary Department of Soundscape Research opened at the Institute of Cultural Studies at the University of Wrocław, with the head of the department, musicologist and cultural studies researcher, Robert Losiak. In these studies the focal point has shifted toward the cultural context of experiencing the audiosphere, including the perceptive as well as the semiotic and axiotic aspects of such an experience.

The most important issue for the research associated with this department is the relationship between man and his phonic environment. Phonic space that surrounds man is recognized as an important factor in the process of "making a place for himself" in the world. The experience of phonic presence in the environment is a deeply existential experience that strongly influences both the biological and the cultural dimensions of human beings.

The project "Soundscapes of Wrocław" carried out by the department consists of field research followed by descriptions and analyses of musical phenomena registered in the public spaces of the city, while respecting the functional and infrastructural differentiation of urban space and also bearing in mind situational and time contexts. The term "soundscape" is defined by the project's author, Robert Losiak, as an image of the individual experience of the audiosphere; it depicts a process in which the objectively existing acoustical environment is transformed into environment for an observer. "Audiosphere" is a wider concept, as it includes all phonic events, both those perceived by a person and those which are left unnoticed, unimportant or inaudible because of flaws in human hearing. The project's goal is to create a descriptive reconstruction of the urban audiosphere, assuming presentation of phonic events in a shape of systematized structure and to demonstrate the phonic distinctions of Wrocław's audiosphere, while pointing out some of the typical sound phenomena that combine to establish the identity of the city.[1]

The perceiver's point of orientation emphasized in the soundscape category was identified as the most important problem for research on the audiosphere. Losiak proposed a model of soundscape studies (Losiak 2007: 242) in which the main points are:

1.   inclusion of the main rules of auditory perception in soundscape characteristics, as soundscape is assigned through the perspective of the human ear, which, in the act of perception, creates a framework for the experience of soundscape;

2.   research on descriptions and statements about phonic events in specified places linked to the locations of those places which sum up the auditory experience of the city by its citizens and other people staying in it;

3.   dealing with an experience of the audiosphere as with cultural transmission, which leads to the necessity of recognizing phonic phenomena as a platform for meanings and values;

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[1]   http://www.kulturoznawstwo.uni.wroc.pl/?page_id=425 (30.04.2011).
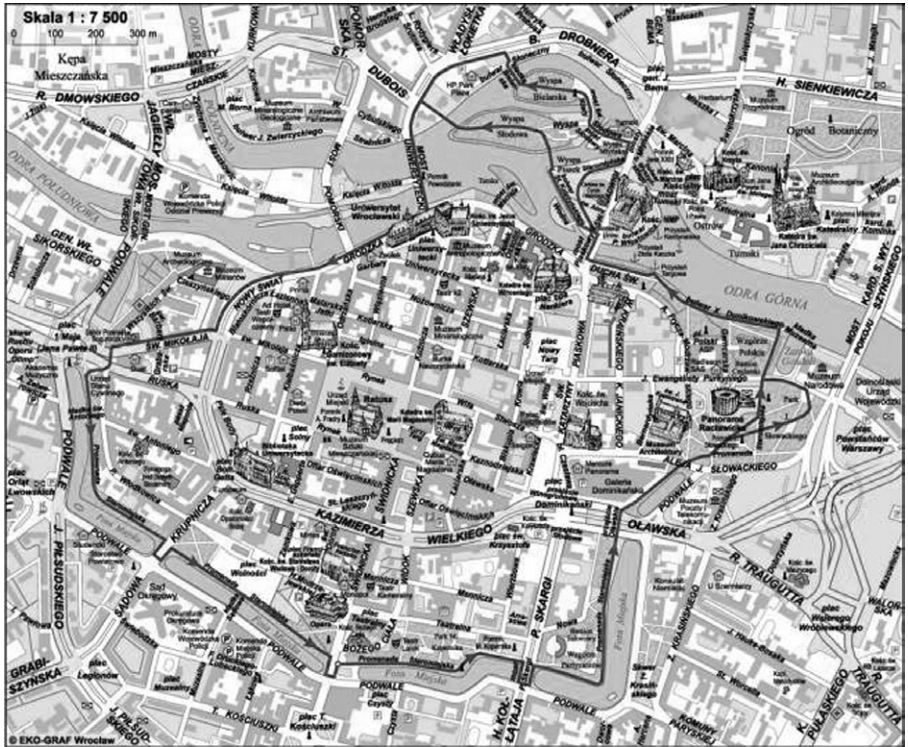
Fig. 1: Map of Wroclaw.

4. identifying the soundscape described by participants of the urban audio-sphere as an image, in which an attitude toward their very own presence in the city space is expressed, as well as a degree of submission and affirmation toward their life in the city.

The relationship between the place and music that fills it is described in both time-space and cultural dimensions. There is a fundamental issue in this context that needs to be researched, namely, whether music that constitutes the audiosphere of a city is fixed permanently to its space, linked with a specified object or place, like a street or building, or is present only accidentally and randomly. The space can be limited or open; however, in some cases it can be totally ruled by music. Losiak distinguishes between music specific to the city, culturally (historically, ethnically) connected to the city and defining its identity, which he calls "a music

of the city"; and music which lacks any direct association to cultural or phonic traditions of the city, which he calls "music **in** the city." "Music **of** the city" is created especially by clearly artistic activities (for example street musicians). It is an important expression of the creative efforts of independent artists and an essential component of the musical traditions of the city. Through conscious composition and arrangement "music **for** the city" can be created, but it does not necessarily have to be a part of "music **of** the city" (Losiak 2008: 255f).

An antonym for this category is random music, which is not a result of conscious or intended activities and can even be viewed as some kind of audiosphere pollution. Another distinction is live music and recorded music, the latter heard not only in business centers, malls, cafes, and clubs, but also inside cars, houses, etc. Referring to the relationship between music and places, the separation of public and private spheres should be stressed, and some ethical issues noted which are related to trespassing the borders of musical presence, its emerging into a public space from cell phones, loud Walkmans and iPods, or from parties singing in the night. In such situations musical presence can be experienced as "acoustic violence."

Regarding the time dimension of soundscape, Losiak points out the existence of various types of the rhythmic patterns of an audiosphere which are tied to some extent with musical events (Losiak 2007: 256f). These are:
1. daytime cycle, marked with such phonic events as an hourly bugle-call played at a fixed hour, church bells' sounds or the music of street entertainers;
2. feast days cycle, when music is present in the city in the form of outdoor concerts, street parades or is accompanying church or state celebrations;
3. year-cycle, ordered by seasonal changes, influencing the possibility of street music or outdoor concerts.

In discussing the concept of urban soundscapes, the problem of the meaning of music plays an important role, since urban space is acknowledged in its cultural dimensions. In statements of people with whom interviews were conducted, music was often indicated as a primary event in their consideration of phonic characteristics of specific places. This opinion was affirmed by observations of citizens' behavior in the city space, for example, the expressions of pedestrians, concert and picnic audiences, and customers in clubs and cafes.

Although music heard in the city space is an important carrier for nonverbal meanings, these capabilities cannot be compared to those of the music listened to in a concert hall. The former functions on a basis of chunks, as it is perceived in

such portions by passersby, even if the musical piece is performed from the beginning to the end. This is an example of splitting the art and its natural context. This fragmentation in reception, as well as the haste and the unconscious consumption of music in the city space, creates the possible danger of aesthetic anesthesia or "anesthetization," using Welsch's concept (Welsch 1997: 25).

The Interdisciplinary Department of Soundscape Research is the center of studies on soundscapes, especially of the soundscape of Wrocław, but there are also many educational projects. During seminars for cultural studies and musicology students, problems of the contemporary metropolitan audiosphere, phonic identity of the city, and sound designs for future urban solutions are discussed. The classes are also dedicated to issues such as reconstruction of the historical audiosphere, protection of endangered soundscapes, and workshops in sound therapy as well as taking care of the sense of hearing. The department is also a place for consultation for authors representing various academic disciplines developing their own research projects concerning Wrocław soundscapes.

The first project I want to outline was presented in a bachelor thesis entitled "The Audiosphere of Wrocław" by Kinga Zabawa from the Department of Ethnology at the University of Wrocław[2]. The aim of this project was to register phonic events in selected places of the city and to explain which phonic stimuli are important for common city space users and which are mere background, and explaining the causes for this distinction. The term audiosphere in this project's perspective was seen, similarly to the Losiak's concept, as a unique component defining the city's identity. The author linked certain sounds with the history of a given place, hence in her view it was important to obtain knowledge about past events in the location whose audiosphere was examined. The empirical research included interviews, many of them about past Wrocław soundscapes, observations, and soundwalking with closed eyes. In soundwalking, based on the relation between perceiver and his auditory field, it is less important to track specific sounds of a place (recordings are always more or less radical mediations between the researcher and raw, audible material) than to experience a given place in active listening.

Another project, "Phonosphere – the anthropology of senses," was carried out by a group of researchers from the Department of Soundscape Research, the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Wrocław, and The Wrocław Philharmonic in cooperation with The School and

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[2]   http://fonosferra.wordpress.com/category/audiosfera-wroclawia-kinga-zabawa/ (30.04.2011).

Education Center for Blind Children. Blind and partially blind people were employed in this project. The research based on the paradigms of sensory and collaborative ethnography, and go-along methods of research were implemented, involving asking the participants questions, achieving empathy with them and, at the same time, observing all of the elements making up the situation. In a broader view, this experience should help in understanding the values of a given place in everyday life, including those who can see as well. A kind of research journal for these studies was started in a blog called "Fonosferra."[3]

Blind citizens also participated in a 2005–2006 project called "The Invisible Map of Wrocław," developed by Maciej Bączyk, who graduated from the Cultural Studies Department at the University of Wrocław. The map mentioned in the title is a specific guide to Wrocław created by blind people. The concept that directly inspired Bączyk for his work was the idea of creating photographic images in cooperation with blind people, whose specific capabilities of perceiving the world provide them with knowledge inaccessible to people who can see. The result of the study was the presentation of thirty-one places in Wrocław with images and sounds according to the blind people's directions, along with their comments. The outcome of this project was published in a trilingual edition with a CD (Bączyk 2006); it was also presented at exhibitions at which descriptions were available in Braille.

It is not just coincidence that the audiosphere of Wrocław attracted the researchers' attention. The degree of differentiation of the city space is much higher than in other Polish cities of similar size. The plan of Wrocław is typical for old European cities, with its concentric urban structure. Situated in the center of Northern Europe, it was an important location during journeys along the continental routes linking north and south, east and west. Today Wroclaw is still a city with great ethnic and religious variety that operates as a meeting point for the intermixing of different cultures.

A specific soundmark of Wrocław is the stone paving on the streets and plazas in the old town. The sound of people walking and horses pulling carriages is a connection between the past and modern times. The murmur of water flowing and other water-associated sounds are also distinctive for Wrocław. The city is situated on twelve islands surrounded by the Odra river. The twittering of birds gathering at the river outshout even the buzz of traffic in the city center. The sounds of water sprinkling in the numerous fountains dampen the heavy city

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[3]   http://fonosferra.wordpress.com (30.04.2011).

Fig. 2: Rynek.

noise. These acoustic landmarks comprise familiar, homely sounds, inducing citizens to sense their bond with the city.

Many churches, mostly the old ones, have towers with still-working bells. Their sounds complement the city audiosphere, especially during feast days. During these days the sounds of sung prayer are audible from inside the church walls, with the accompaniment of organs in Catholic and Protestant churches. In sacred buildings there are often concerts which can be heard from outside, enriching the urban phonic space.

Permanent enclaves of musical presence in the open spaces of the city are the central square (Rynek) and Tum Island (Ostrów Tumski), the latter being the oldest historical part of Wrocław. The audiosphere of Ostrów Tumski, which is densely overbuilt with sacred edifices and has limited access for vehicles, has been subject to only minor changes in recent decades; however, the phonic space of the Rynek is quite different in this respect. During the past several years, since the closure of car and tram traffic, the Rynek, one of most noticeable tourist attractions in Wrocław, has become a kind of promenade, with numerous restaurants, clubs, and cafes.

This is the way the blind Jerzy Ogonowski describes the Rynek:

> During the day, the Town Square buzzes with noise. Someone plays music through the loud speakers. Sometimes an orchestra or some band plays their music in the middle of the Square. Everything changes in the evening. As you come in to the Town Square, there is this feeling coming over you as if you were coming home. I've been here a few times in the evening. As I come closer I hear this characteristic even murmur coming from all the pubs and cafes there. It's very pleasant to listen to. I haven't found a similar noise anywhere else. As I get closer, the noise gets louder and louder. Now I know I'm in the Town Square.

Our Town Square used to be a rather dull place in the evening. During the day, one would come here to do one's shopping. People would jump off the tram and run to stand in a queue to buy something. Now people seem to walk much more slowly around here as if there were a never-ending holiday here (Bączyk 2006).

Both the Rynek and Ostrów Tumski are now considered by citizens and visiting guests in Wrocław as places that are the most pleasant in terms of the phonic atmosphere. In the seasons favorable for street music, musicians occupy certain places, which then are commonly associated with specific cultures and musical genres. "Wandering" music is played by Gypsy bands, which are the only bands allowed by the city authorities to perform in the whole Rynek area. The western part of the Rynek is a set location for outdoor concerts, which take place during the whole year. In the summer the audience consists mainly of teenagers and young people, but at Christmas people of various ages gather to sing carols and on New Year's Eve massive crowds attend the concerts. On October 1, 2010, six university choirs and three school choirs initiated the beginning of the academic year singing "Gaudeamus igitur." Here, on April 30, 2011, five thousand, six hundred one guitarists played "Hey Jude" in an attempt to set a new Guinness Record. (2010 – 4597, 2009 – 6346). The Lower-Silesia Opera often gives outdoor performances. For example, "La Gioconda" was staged on a river barge in front of the Ostrów Tumski embankment promenade. Among almost forty cyclic musical events taking place in Wrocław, Wratislavia Cantans (the festival of classic music) and the Brave Festival (the festival of traditional music) organized by The Song of the Goat Theater transform the entire city center into one huge concert hall. Any musical events that accompany feasts of different cultures, like Jewish, Ukrainian, French, Dutch or Indian, concentrate here. It is worth mentioning that prewar traditions of outdoor concerts on workdays and holidays have been restored in some parks and gardens, such as the Botanical Gardens, the Southern Park, and the Pergola Promenade at the Centennial Hall.

Fig. 3: Cathedral.

Conclusion

The soundscape of Wrocław research carried out by faculty and students in musicology, cultural studies and ethnology aims to create the possibility of influencing the shape and quality of the city audiosphere. These efforts reveal growing concerns for the increasingly polluted phonic spaces of modern cities. In addition, such studies should be utilized as specific ways of capturing the history and recording the evidence of a city's cultural identity.

The category that is of particular concern is "music of the city," which not only constitutes the identity of particular places and groups of people, but also facilitates the maintenance of certain traditions that are conditioned historically, ethnically, religiously and artistically. The attention to it seems to be especially important in the context of the progressive unification of many cultural phenomena. Its presence eases communication, serves interpersonal contacts, and gives the feeling of affiliation to a specific place and to a particular community.

Sound illustration of Wroclaw soundscape: http://lidemesta.cz/assets/media/audio/Symphony_of_Wroclaw_spring_2008.mp3 or http://bit.ly/sow2008.

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UNEXPECTED MUSICAL WORLDS OF VIENNA: IMMIGRATION AND MUSIC IN URBAN CENTERS[1]

Ursula Hemetek

Abstract: *Vienna has been and still is the "City of Music" at a crossroads of international flow and immigration. This unique condition of Vienna arises from its history as the capital of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, its later position as the eastern-most outpost of Western Europe during the Cold War, as the nearest shelter for refugees during the Balkan Wars, and, finally, as the center of working immigration from south-eastern Europe. For centuries, Vienna truly has been and today remains a multicultural city. This history and these conditions all lead to an astounding musical diversity. Drawing from several of my own recent research projects on the topic I try in my paper to deal with the production of music (active music making) by immigrants as well as with the "embeddedness" of these activities. I raise topics like the idea of the construction of ethnicity by performance, of the creation of "place" by music, of culturalization as well as deconstructing ethnic images. Collectivism as well as individuality are also important approaches. The methodological frame comes from studies in urban ethnomusicology as well as from recent discourses on diaspora and music. The music examples I use are part of Vienna's immigrant scene, especially from the communities from the former Yugoslavia as well as from Turkey. As ethnomusicology deals with music in social and political context, the socio-political background is an important focus of the paper.*

Key words: *urban ethnomusicology; immigration; Vienna; scenarios of music making; theory; musical practice*

As an introduction and point of departure I want to use one photograph that I took in 2009.

Figure 1: Dance workshop at the "Konzerthaus" in Vienna, 10 October 2009.
Photo: Ursula Hemetek.

What we see is majority Austrians joining a Turkish immigrant dance instructor in dancing a halay, a traditional dance genre from Anatolia, accompanied by a saz and a darbukka, in the hall of the *Wiener Konzerthaus*. This happened during the Festival "Spot on Turkey now," which was an attempt to present music from Turkey in a well known and representative concert hall in Vienna, the *Wiener Konzerthaus*. Looking down on the scene is the statue of Ludwig van Beethoven, another immigrant to Vienna, who had been integrated to such an extent that he now serves as one of the representatives of Vienna as the city of music.

I use the photo not in order to stress the clichés again but in order to underline a very typical Viennese strategy to deal with immigration related to music. Among immigrants to Vienna there were and are many musicians and Vienna

still is drawing creative potential from all parts of the world. 47 % of the students of the University of Music and Performing Arts are foreigners and many of them probably will decide to stay. Mozart was an immigrant as well as Beethoven, the Johann Strauss family and others. Nearly all the great names in Western art music connected to Vienna are immigrants' names.

Cities like Vienna were and still are the ideal ground to develop new musical styles because of the diverse possible inputs, the inspiration of heterogeneity and the many opportunities of encounters. The music history of Vienna underlines that statement. Why I mention the past has a reason: Composers and musicians who are dead are much more appreciated than the living ones. And you can easily make them Viennese citizens – somehow with retrospective effect.

Present immigrant musicians are not so much appreciated; their creative potential is mostly underestimated and very often "culturalized" in the public opinion – their image is one of halay-teaching much more than presenting at the main stage of the *Konzerthaus*. To understand the situation it is necessary to know something about the historical and political background.

1. Historical and political background of immigration in Austria

Austria is the result or remainder of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which was a multinational country with many languages and cultures, including the Czech, Slovakian, Ukrainian, Croatian, Polish, Hungarian, Slovenian and Jewish cultures.

Austria did not have overseas colonies and was not confronted with overseas immigration, like the UK, France, Portugal or the Netherlands, as a result of colonialism. Austria was formed by migration but it was first of all an inland migration, within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In the last 50 years, however, there has been massive immigration from eastern and southern Europe. In the 1960s Austria needed migrant workers and so began the immigration of Yugoslavian and Turkish people.

Due to its location as a Western country at the border to several former socialist states there were also several waves of refugees from Hungary in 1956, from Czechoslovakia in 1968, from Poland in 1981 and from Bosnia in 1992[2].

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2   From Hungary 1956: refugees after the Soviet invasion. From Czechoslovakia 1968: Refugees after the Soviet invasion following the so-called Prague "Spring". Working immigrants from the former

From the inland migration during the monarchy and the reduction of the territory after World War I resulted the so-called "autochthonous" ethnic minorities, those who have been living on a certain territory for a hundred years or more. They are citizens of Austria and have been granted certain rights. They are also recognized as an "ethnic group" ("Volksgruppe"). The term "Volksgruppe" has only existed in Austria as a political category since 1976, due to the so-called "Volksgruppengesetz," and it includes only ethnic minorities with a distinct culture and language that have lived in Austria for at least three generations, thereby granting them certain rights. This law does not include immigrants in recent years who therefore remain without such rights.

Ethnic Minorities in Austria, an overview

"Ethnic groups"	In their territory since the:
Slovenes in Carinthia	9th century
Slovenes in Styria	6th century
Croats in the Burgenland	16th century
Hungarians in Burgenland and Vienna	10th and 20th century
Czechs in Vienna	19th century
Slovakians in Vienna	19th century
Roma in Austria	16th century

Foreigners: Immigrants and refugees (largest groups)	In Austria since:
From former Yugoslavia	1960 onwards
From Turkey	1960 onwards
From Czechoslovakia	1968
From Poland	1981
From Bosnia	1992

According to the last census in Austria in 2011, the numbers of foreigners in Austria are as follows (vgl. Statistik Austria 2011: 35):

Yugoslavia 1966 (including all former republics, but mostly Serbia) as well as Turkey from 1964 onwards due to recruitment agreements. From Poland 1981: Refugees after the proclamation of martial law in Poland. From Bosnia 1992: Refugees due to the disintegration and civil war including "ethnic cleansing" in former Yugoslavia.

Austrian population total   8,404,252

Foreigners:
Whole number   1,452,591, that is 17,3 %

According to countries of origin
(including Austrian citizens born in the respective country)
Germany   220,330[3]
Serbia / Montenegro / Kosovo 208,809
Turkey   184,815
Bosnia & Hercegovina   131,128
Croatia   69,654
Romania   68,142
Poland   59,753
Czech Republic   45,213
Hungary   41,348
Italy   29,447
Russia   27,149
Slovakia   26,079
Macedonia   23,127
Other groups number less than 20 000.

The division into "ethnic groups" and immigrants seems to be outmoded in times of globalization and EU integration. Among other reasons that have to do with history there is one to be found in Austria's political self-definition: Austria does not want to feature as a country of immigration, although de facto it is. Immigration is seen more as a threat than as a necessity. Xenophobia is stirred up by some political parties which look for scapegoats in times of economic recession. And these are found in the form of immigrants.

Immigrants in Austria are discriminated against on several levels. There is the labor market, housing and structural discrimination by the law, not to mention having to face everyday racism. It is very difficult for them to obtain Austrian citizenship.

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3   The group of Germans in Austria is not to be considered a minority in the sense of suffering from discrimination. Due to the common German language and the rather privileged professional positions in high percentage Germans in Austria do not have similar problems to all the other groups immigrant groups.

The integration process – which I define by referring to Bauböck (2001: 14) as a "process of reciprocal adjustment between an already existing group and a settling group" – is not at all satisfactory.

The reactions of immigrants themselves are to be found in different strategies which are between – but also include – two extremes: One is withdrawal into the ghetto and the other is assimilation. In the case of withdrawal, immigrants limit social contact to members of their own nationality and find their niches in which to survive. This is of course understandable but it does not lead to a successful integration process. But also in the case of assimilation, which I would define as the complete abandonment of "ethnic markers" like language and customs, there still is discrimination because of the visibility of "otherness" by skin color, by accent or by a person's name. The majority – the dominant group – reacts to the challenges of immigration not by adjustment but rather by rejection, thereby hindering the integration process.

I have tried to argue the reasons for this Austrian peculiarity of the division into "ethnic groups" and immigrant minorities in Austria. Nevertheless, it seems somehow paradoxical. In the meantime, the third generation of immigrants is living in Austria. They were born here, have hardly any contact to the homeland of their grandparents, but are still considered immigrants or are referred to with the now-common expression "people with immigrant backgrounds."

These conditions do have an impact on the music making of immigrants, which is the topic of this paper. I ask you to keep these pre-conditions in mind because as I have already said, music should always be seen in its social context and the context in the case of immigrants is strongly influenced by politics.

2. The construction of place, ethnicity and identity through music in diaspora

 "Amongst the countless ways in which we 'relocate' ourselves, music undoubtedly has a vital role to play. The musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette or CD into a machine, evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity. The 'places' constructed through music involve notions of difference and social boundary" (Stokes 1994: 3).

What Martin Stokes says here is of course not only true for immigrants, it works for the dominant group as well. But especially in the situation of migration, when a person experiences dis-location, insecurity, constant challenge,

unfamiliarity and discrimination, it might become more meaningful and more important to "relocate" oneself by means of music. Stoke's argument goes further when he says: "I would argue that music is socially meaningful, not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them" (Stokes 1994: 5).

My findings do confirm these theses, and I quote them because they say a great deal about the motivation for the music making of immigrants. I would argue further that it also says a lot about what kind of music these immigrant groups practice.

I am far from any essentialist interpretation because "own" music is what any social group considers it to be, and music styles per se do not represent any denoted ethnicity. But, on the other hand, one cannot deny that ethnicity is represented by music. Ethnicity is of course a problematic term and there have been many discussions about it, especially in a discipline that uses the prefix "ethno" in its designation like "ethnomusicology." Adelaida Reyes argues that it should not to be omitted, but defined it in a useful way that allows it to be worked with in an interdisciplinary manner. Reyes mentions this in connection with research in the urban area:

"Groups labeled ethnic are a social reality and….they have come to constitute a structural category in urban social organization. It appears, therefore, that we may have to live with the term a while longer" (Reyes-Schramm 1979: 17). Stokes also does not question the term, but its definition: "Ethnicities are to be understood in terms of the construction, maintenance and negotiation of boundaries, and not on the putative social 'essences' which fill the gaps within them" (Stokes 1994: 6).

I share the opinion of many anthropologists (see Asad 1973) that the construction of ethnicities can only be understood by including power relations in the analysis. It is very important to consider insiders' and outsiders' positions in constructing ethnicities. In the case of discriminated people, the definition of outsiders very often contributes to their self-definition. The group in power – the dominant group – defines who is "different."

If a group is constantly perceived by others as "different" because of their ethnic background they might begin to stress markers of ethnic difference in their self awareness. This might also happen in music making, and especially in public performance. Therefore performance in the diaspora seems to me another very important aspect of the whole topic; the more so because performed music is very often the object of documentation by ethnomusicologists, including my own research. Musical performance often functions as a representation of ethnicity, "otherness" and "difference." One recent publication on the topic, the book

"Musical Performance in the Diaspora" (Ramnarine 2007) is very useful in this connection because it provides profound insight into possible ways of interpreting the phenomenon of "administering ethnicity" by performance. And it is about "how identity is shaped and constructed through and as a result of performance" (Henry Johnson 2007). In the following I will try to apply some of these thoughts to my findings concerning immigrants' music making in Vienna.

3. Immigrants in Vienna and urban ethnomusicology

Vienna sometimes is supposed to be the "City of Music" at a crossroads of international flow and immigration. This unique condition of Vienna arises from its history as the capital of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, its later position as the easternmost outpost of Western Europe during the Cold War, as the nearest shelter for refugees during the Balkan Wars, and finally as the center of working immigration from south-eastern Europe.

Therefore Vienna, like other urban centers, is ethnically and culturally diverse. The following table shows that that actually nearly 30% of the Viennese population have "immigration backgrounds." The table is structured according to countries of origin (including Austrian citizens born in the respective country). Groups not mentioned are less than 10 000.

Vienna (total) **Immigrants** (total)	**1,714,142** **573,242**
Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo	111,983
Turkey	74,416
Germany	46,742
Poland	39,739
Bosnia and Herzegovina	32,156
Romania	21,669
Croatia	20,027
Czech Republic	18,462
Hungary	14,970
Macedonia	11,003
Slovakia	10,917
Russia	10,881

Figure 2: The population of immigrant groups in Vienna (vgl. Statistik Austria 2011: 293).

If we approach musical diversity in urban areas we have to redefine a lot of terms like ethnicity and identity, as already stated and we have to abandon certain traditional concepts of ethnomusicology, prevailing especially in Europe, that have to do with static culture concepts (see further Reyes-Schramm 1979, Hemetek 2006).

Furthermore, for most of its history, ethnomusicology has neglected urban areas as a field of research. Not until the early 1970s did this situation begin to change with the discovery of popular music as an urban phenomenon that demanded attention due to its socio-cultural context.

As Bruno Nettl observed in his article "New Directions in Ethnomusicology" on ethnomusicological research in urban areas (1992: 384), "In carrying out these studies, ethnomusicologists have been made particularly aware of the importance of music as a cultural emblem, as something that is used by a population group to express its uniqueness to other groups, bringing about cohesion but also serving as a medium of intercultural communication" (Nettl 1992: 384).

Adelaida Reyes, one of the pioneers of urban ethnomusicology, gives a very useful theoretical background in the distinction between music **in the city** and music **of the city** (Reyes 2007: 17). Whereas the approach "music in the city" means that the city itself is no more than a passive ingredient with no significant role in explanation, "music of the city" requires a theoretical and methodological framework that gives full value to its complexity. The city is included in the research either as the context or as the object of the study.

Adelaida Reyes also sees a clear connection between the concepts of research on minorities and those of urban ethnomusicology because "in a scholarly realm built on presumptions of cultural homogeneity, there was no room for minorities. These require a minimal pair—at least two groups of unequal power and most likely culturally distinct, both parts of a single social organism. Homogeneity does not admit of such disparate components......The conditions that spawn minorities—complexity, heterogeneity, and non-insularity—are 'native' not to simple societies but to cities and complex societies" (Reyes 2007: 22–23).

The first research projects in our institute on the topic of music and minorities[4] were more in the tradition of the "music in the city" approach. These were

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4   Since 1990 there has been a research focus on Music and Minorities at the Institute of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology in research, teaching and publications. The major research projects conducted during recent years were the following. The ones from 2005/2006 and from 2007–2009 are of most relevance for this article: 1990–1992: "Traditional Music of Minorities in Austria"; 1993–1995: "Traditional Music of the Roma in Austria, 1995–2000: "Music of Bosnians in Austria"; 2005/2006: "Music

punctual ethnographic studies focussed on specific communities. This approach has changed during the last few years and in two recent research projects we tried to grasp a little of the general complex reality of immigrants' music making in the city and of the surrounding conditions and economic aspects as well.

The first one, called "Music Making of Immigrants in Vienna" (2005/2006), served to a certain extent as a pilot for the second one: "Embedded industries – immigrant cultural entrepreneurs in Vienna" (2007–2009). The latter was an interdisciplinary study in which ethnomusicology was the partner discipline of sociology and ethnology.

The research design in both projects included colleagues with immigrant backgrounds in order to integrate their points of view that might and in fact sometimes did differ from the interpretations of researchers who were majority Austrians. In most cases the discussions were fruitful and led to conclusions which were satisfactory for all persons involved.

During the course of the first research project we – Sofija Bajrektarević, Hande Sağlam and I – were already faced with the necessity to find some structure for the very diverse musical events that we found and documented.

Following our project concept which was concerned with music making and not specifically with the musical styles of immigrants in Vienna, we ultimately structured our research according to the surroundings in which music-making took place, as well as according to the function(s) of the musical practice; the way the music is used and performed by immigrant communities. The attitudes of the participants in the events and the function(s) of the music making in the context of the majority society were also considered in the structure of scenarios.

Structure of music-making scenarios

a) Internal practice

Here we include music in religious ceremonies, at weddings and events that involve only the members of the community. Outsiders are hardly ever present at these events and they really take place in ghetto-like contexts mostly unnoticed by the majority.

b) Folkloristic practice: traditional music of the country of origin – cultural heritage

There are many cultural organizations of immigrants who cherish the cultural heritage of the countries from which they or their ancestors came. Music is a very important component of the activities that these organizations sponsor. These organizations also present music publicly to expose the dominant society to the cultural background of immigrants.

In the communities from Turkey, the educational activities of such organizations are very important—they express the wish to pass on knowledge of their culture not only to the future generations of those with a Turkish heritage but obviously to Austrians as well.

c) Public Ghetto

There are a large number of immigrant-owned cafes, discos and restaurants in Vienna that invite passers-by to come in; they seem to be open to everyone. Many of these establishments offer live music four evenings a week; some of them organize musical competitions, such as the "Queen of folk music," or karaoke competitions. The music styles to be heard are very diverse: mainly popular styles from the homeland, but also traditional styles. These places are full; obviously they are where many immigrants spend their evenings and where they communicate with each other via music, but there are hardly any Austrians among the clientele.

d) World Music[5]: creative exchange

Here we find individual musicians challenging or reaffirming their "musical roots."

The immigrants in this category perform on public stages in Vienna, sometimes in festivals with names like "Balkan Fever." Creative musicians of different origins are involved and the listeners are mainly Austrians. The musician's immigrant background might play a role, but this is not necessarily the case; very often, the musician's aim is to not be labelled an "immigrant musician."

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5   The way we define the term in our project is mainly focused on the special Viennese situation. There is a "World Music Award Competition" every year, which provides the following definition: "a broad musical field including all genres of music (classical, pop, jazz, rock, dance floor, folk music...) with the common feature of ethnic traditional roots in one way or other, no matter whether these roots are cherished, developed or overcome" (www.ikkz.at). Of course I am aware of the many other existing definitions and approaches.

e) Mainstream musical activities

This category includes musicians with an immigrant background who are active in jazz, classics or electronic music. Most of them do not identify their activities by reference to their ethnic background. They identify themselves as musical individuals with an individual musical language.

These categories were developed in long discussions during the first research project as a tool to organize diversity. Only in the second project was the fifth scenario added. Research needs structures and categories for comparison, even if they overlap, which of course happens. This way of structuring is a result of the research focus of both projects. It takes into consideration the music making of immigrants in Vienna itself as well as the conditions of their music making, taking into account the producers as well as the recipients.

In the following I present some examples matching some of the scenarios, which I owe mostly to documentation carried out by my colleagues, especially Hande Sağlam and Sofija Bajrektarević.

I have chosen[6] the following: Serbian Weddings (internal practice) Transmission of tradition by teaching Saz (Turkish), and the World music Scenario – creative exchange.

4. Examples from the unexpected musical worlds of Vienna

4.1. Weddings as an internal practice

Weddings seem to be a very rewarding topic for ethnomusicologists for several reasons, one of them being that there is always some kind of ritual connected to it and music is mostly involved. Wedding ceremonies also display much of the social structure of a community. And, in diaspora communities, weddings are usually one of the first community rituals that are practiced in the host country. They are very important for the "re-location," as Stokes (Stokes 1994:3) calls it. As there has been published a lot about it, especially concerning the immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, I will not go into this[7]; just let me briefly mention

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6   Due to space limitations in this publication I can only present some examples which can of course only offer limited insight into the whole research. More detailed and more substantial discussion is to be found in various other publications like Hemetek 2001, Sağlam 2008, Gebesmair 2009.

7   The disintegration of former Yugoslavia and the outbreak of subsequent wars were of course also influential on the immigrant communities from these regions in Vienna. I have been dealing with these issues quite intensively during the research project on Bosnian refugees from 1995-2000, resulting

**Figure 3:
Serbian wedding
in Vienna: notice
the money in the
accordion.**
Photo:
Bajrektarević,
11. June 2005,
IVE Vienna.

some aspects: usually there are two parts: the religious ceremony and the festivity. Whereas for example in the communities from the former Yugoslavia church ceremonies particularly underline the differences between the communities that share the same country of origin (Yugoslavia) and speak very similar languages (Serbian and Croatian used to be considered one language namely Serbo-Croatian), the places where the festivities are held do not differ. These are in both cases big hangars run by immigrant managers especially for these events. Such places suitable for up to 1000 guests, soundproof, equipped with car parking space and amplification facilities for the music used to be difficult to find and very expensive to rent in Vienna. Therefore immigrant entrepreneurs started with this line of business and they are very successful. The decoration of the room is chosen according the respective nationality of the guests. Whereas relatively few people attend the church ceremony everyone wants to take part in the festivity. It usually lasts from midday till the morning of the next day. People celebrate and enjoy themselves with eating and drinking and with music. A professional band is usually hired for the event. There are many professionals available in Vienna and musicians can make a good living from playing weddings. They are usually very well paid. The band's fee is agreed upon beforehand, and the cost is borne

in publications like "Bosnische Musik in Österreich. Klänge einer bedrohten Harmonie" (Hemetek/ Bajrektarević 2000) or "Sevdah in Vienna" (Bajrektarević/Hemetek 1996).

Figure 4: Serbian wedding in Vienna: dancing the *kolo*.
Photo: Bajrektarević, 11 June 2005, IVE Vienna.

by the wedding couple's families. The real earnings, however, come from special requests for specific songs – each request is pre-paid so that by the end of the festivity, the revenues from performing individual requests far exceed the band's agreed fee.

The nationality of the musicians does not really matter but it is important that they know the required repertory, which ranges from traditional music to popular music of the country of origin. Mainstream repertory from dance music like Viennese waltzes or tangos is also included from time to time. But the traditional *kolo*, a dance performed in a circle or half-circle that is specific to the region, prevails.

Many professional musicians in these events are Roma, immigrants from the former Yugoslavia[8]. There is a long tradition in this community of the utmost

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8   Roma as professional musicians serving non-Roma is a topic that is not in the focus of this paper but has been discussed in many articles, including my own (for example Hemetek 1997). One of the very convincing works on what is so special in the handling of music by Roma is the one by Svanibor Pettan, *Encounter with "The Others from Within": The Case of Gypsy Musicians in Former Yugoslavia* from 2001.

flexibility in repertory, due to the fact that Roma as musicians have always tried to please their audiences, which results in a great variety of styles and great creativity in including new musical elements. Thus it was a Romani ensemble at a Serbian wedding in Vienna that combined a Serbian Kolo with Richard Wagner's wedding march from the opera Lohengrin....

4.2. Teaching the Turkish saz (bağlama) as a means of transmitting cultural heritage

The immigrants from Turkey in Vienna are very heterogeneous concerning their ethnic background as well as religious affiliation. Turks, Kurds and a small number of Armenians constitute the three main ethnic groups; the three religions involved are Sunnite, Alevite and Orthodox Christianity.
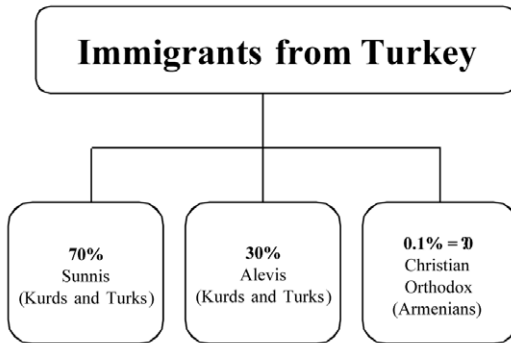
Figure 5: Different religious communities and ethnic groups from Turkey (from Sağlam 2007: 64).

Social class constitutes another significant difference among the Turkish immigrants in Vienna and this is reflected in musical identification as well (see further Sağlam 2007), which probably constitutes a difference to the communites from the former Yugoslavia. But there are many similarities concerning the practice of music making (see also Public Ghetto). We find music connected to rituals like weddings and circumcisions in their internal paractice. Of course the music as such differs, but it is also very much connected to homeland styles. In the scenario of folkloristic practice there is a significant focus on teaching activities, which is obviously different from other immigrant communities. Therefore I want to present some of these, based on the work of Hande Sağlam, Bernhard Fuchs and Mansur Bildik.

"Transmitting the musical language of the country of origin to the so-called second generation is one of the most common ways of cultural transmission for

immigrants. This takes place in informal and formal areas" (Sağlam 2009: 329). There is one central musical instrument which is the focus of these acitivities in Vienna: the saz (or bağlama). This is the Anatolian long-necked fretted lute that somehow serves as a marker of "Turkish" musical identity, especially in diasporic communities from Turkey. The courses offered by cultural associations of immigrants are numerous, and they might also include other instruments of Turkish folk music as well as folk dance. Hande Sağlam divides these transmission scenarios into "internal" and "external" transmission, thereby differentiating between the target groups. In "internal transmission," the target group is composed of insiders, and lessons take place inside the community. In "external transmission", members of other communities are included.

The saz courses would mostly be found in the category of "internal transmission." But there is one extraordinary example of a saz player and teacher who actually manages to include the Austrian community as well, Mansur Bildik.

In an article called "Imparting Turkish Music in Vienna from 1984 to 2007" by Mansur Bildik and Bernhard Fuchs[9], Mansur Bildik says about his immigration to Austria: "In the 1970s my concert tours led me to Europe. By chance I came to Austria. I should have gotten married to a Turkish girl who lived, however, in Vorarlberg. But I ended up in Vienna. Since 1980 I have been living in this city and since 1990 I have been an Austrian citizen. First of all, it was the music which brought me to Austria: on the occasion of concerts, I was often approached by lovers of Turkish music, as there was a lack of *saz* players in Vienna at that time (Bildik/Fuchs 2008: 23). At the beginning he played music at Turkish festivities and in pubs. Soon he started teaching, from 1984 to 1994 at the Franz Schubert Conservatoire. When he started teaching at an adult education center (Polycollege), he soon also attracted Austrian students. The foundation of the "Saz Association" was very important for him. The association organizes saz lessons, workshops and concerts.

"The lessons and periodical student concerts take place in the 'Amerling-Haus.' This building is the birth house of the *Biedermeier* painter Friedrich von Amerling (1803–1887). It belongs to the Spittelberg Cultural Initiative, houses a museum and numerous alternative cultural associations and supports minority

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9   This article results from a co-presentation by the researcher and consultant Bernhard Fuchs, an ethnologist who is also learning the saz, and Mansur Bildik, the saz player and teacher. This innovative writing style should be seen against the background of the "Writing Culture" debate that criticized typical representations of others in ethnography (Clifford 1986; Berg and Fuchs 1993).

cultures. The *Saz* Association harmonizes with this concept of a socially-engaged enthusiasm for cultural diversity. In contrast to private lessons with teaching units limited to 40 minutes, in the *Saz* Association people make music in groups and there is more time available. Especially before concerts, students practise till late in the night" (Bildik/Fuchs 2008: 25).

Figure 6: Logo of the Saz Association.

Mansur himself says about the cultural diversity in his courses and about his philosophy:

"The majority of my students come from Turkish families. And, as you know, the cultural diversity of Turkey is immense. In Vienna there are pure Alevi or pure Kurdish *saz* groups, but I like the diversity. In my lessons, children with different backgrounds, Sunni and Alevi, make music. There are many girls with headscarves too. One of my best students has now started to give lessons at the cultural association of a mosque; I am supporting him in doing so. But I give lessons to people from Afghanistan, Belgium, France, Palestine and Austria, too. I am very glad if music connects people. Among the advanced students who accompany me at concerts together with professional musicians from Turkey, there are not only Turks" (Bildik/Fuchs 2008: 25).

Mansur Bildik is an example of an extraordinary initiative to achieve integration via the transmission of musical traditions. Integration in the sense of providing a space where immigrants of different ethnic and religious backgrounds as well as Austrians can meet and learn from each other, united by the wish to learn a fascinating instrument that does not exclusively serve as a marker of collective "Turkish identity," but demands and permits individual creativity.

For these achievements and his longstanding engagement, Mansur Bildik received official recognition from the City of Vienna in 2008. He was awarded the "Goldenes Verdienstzeichen des Landes Wien" (Golden Distinguished Service Decoration of the City and Federal Province of Vienna). This is a great honour,

but unfortunately it does not secure financial grants for his activities, a situation that seems to be rather typical for Austrian politics. On the one hand, politicians celebrate cultural diversity and on the other hand there is no funding.

Figure 7: Mansur Bildik receiving his award, with Sandra Frauenberger, the political representative of the City of Vienna. Photo: Sağlam 2008.

4.3. World Music

Music making in this scenario is almost exclusively limited to public perform-ances, mostly on stage and for majority Austrian audiences contrary to all the scenarios that were described above. The phenomenon that I quoted above as "how identity is shaped and constructed through and as a result of performance" (Henry Johnson 2007) works here in a different way from in the above scenarios. Here, musical practices are often transformed into different contexts, "roots" are challenged, but clichés also play an important role. The reason for this lies in the expectations of the audiences addressed. This musical scene is a very lively one in Vienna, also due to the attraction of Vienna as the so-called "City of Music." Many professionals are available in town from very different cultural backgrounds and many try to make music together. They have to make compromises concerning

their different traditions, of course, but that is a challenge, too, and the outcome is often very interesting and successful. The annual competition "Viennese World Music Award" (www.ikkz.at) also stimulates many activities and festivals like "Balkan Fever" (www.balkan-fever.at) or "Salam Orient" (www.salam-orient.at). The website for the "World Music Award" says the following:

"We understand World Music as a wide musical field which can appear in all genres. The things which these types of music have in common are found in the roots of ethnical tradition, and it makes no difference whether those traditions are kept, developed or left behind. The World Music Prize is not an exotic revue; but it tries to reveal the natural artistic differences that can exist" (www.ikkz.at, May 19, 2008).

Artistic individuality seems to be important, not the ethnic background of the musician.

But obviously we do find many immigrant musicians in that scenario. The musical genres differ and are to be found within a wide range from "traditional" to "avant-garde."

There are "ethno jazz" ensembles like "Fatima Spar and the Freedom Fries" which consists of musicians with different ethnic backgrounds. The band-leader and singer is Fatima Spar, who has an immigrant background. Her musicians are from Serbia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Austria and Turkey. Most of their music can be defined as "Balkan," but Fatima Spar doesn't like this definition. In an interview in 2005 she said that the diversity in her music (from Bossa Nova to folksong arrangements from Anatolia) should be more emphasized in the media. She does not want to be labelled as an "immigrant musician" playing "Balkan music." She does not want to be "culturalized." The term indicates that Fatima Spar would be reduced to her ethnic background (her culture of descent) as an artist in public expectations and reception.

There are others who, on the contrary, emphasize this facet of their musical identity.

The *Wiener Tschuschenkapelle* is one of them. The bandleader and founder is Slavko Ninić, an immigrant from the former Yugoslavia who only became a musician because of the social circumstances in the immigration situation. The band consists of immigrants as well as Austrians and what they play is "Balkan music," trying to perform in a traditional way but adapted for a Viennese public. These arrangements are very often characterized by individual creativity and they might also "challenge the roots." There is a transformation process taking place in "traditional music" due to individual creativity and/or creative exchange but

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also due to an Austrian majority public that needs a manner of presentation that meets its demands concerning musical and performance style[10].

Slavko Ninić was also awarded with the Golden Distinguished Service Decoration of the City and Federal Province of Vienna, like Mansur Bildik, and you can see him on the photo with his wife and my husband (who is also Croatian and a good friend of Slavko). These decorations are something very typical in Vienna and Austria in general. Honouring makes people happy and does not cost any money.

Figure 8: Slavko Ninić in 2010, having received the Golden Distinguished Service Decoration of the City and Federal Province of Vienna. Photo: Ursula Hemetek.

It is one of the most successful ensembles in the multicultural and World Music scene in Vienna and has recently released its ninth album. They also represent Austria in performances abroad. A comment on their web-site from a performance in Canada: "On one level the *Wiener Tschuschenkapelle* are simply a group of musicians from Austria, Turkey, and Southern Europe who perform music from the Balkans. On another level they are a living statement against the racism, prejudice, and intolerance which is particularly aimed against the immigrants

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10 More on the musical characteristics of this style and on the personal and musical development of Slavko Ninić see Hemetek 2001.

from Southern Europe and Turkey who live in Vienna in large numbers." (http://www.tschuschenkapelle.at/pages/presse-en04.htm)

The political implication was important from the very beginning of the foundation of this ensemble, which recently celebrated its 20th anniversary.

5. Conclusion: Images and representation – the role of the city

My paper up to now has focused on immigrants in Vienna and their active input into the musical scene in the city of Vienna. The role of the Austrian majority was also considered to a certain extent as well as economic factors. It seems to be clear that there are facets that support the idea of the construction of ethnicity by performance, of the creation of "place" by music, of culturalization as well as deconstructing ethnic images. All that has been said is the result of empirical research. These are facts to be noticed, documented and interpreted. The role that is played by the perception of the city of Vienna and its musical representation in the world has not yet been mentioned. Although this has not been in the focus of the research projects, I would like to finish my article with two glimpses of thoughts on that topic: two unexpected experiences that drew our attention during the research.

The first one comes from the immigrant community from China. The immigrants from China in Vienna are as diverse as other immigrant groups. Immigration started later and followed different mechanisms. It was an immigration greatly motivated by the dream of economic success and many Chinese immigrants are entrepreneurs and own restaurants in Vienna (see further Kwok 2008, and Gebesmair 2009).

Concerning their musical activities we find that representative venues that symbolize the Viennese tradition of classical music have an extraordinary attraction for the Chinese. The "golden" concert hall of the *Musikverein* is the most attractive place for Chinese concerts. Every year the Chinese New Year is celebrated with a concert there. Sponsored by the homeland, an orchestra from China is invited to perform for the Chinese community in Austria. Or course there is a resemblance to the Viennese New Year's Concert, the highly popular TV event that is broadcast every year on 1 January to many parts of the world. This broadcast contributes to Vienna's image as a "city of music." The Chinese New Year concert takes place later in the year (in the European calendar) and the music is quite different. But the image of the city of Vienna represented by the concert hall is used for the construction of another identity.

Figure 9: Advertising material from www.chinamusic.cn.

Figure 10: The Chinese New Year's concert in Vienna's *Musikverein* 2008. Photo: Kim Kwok.

The other event is the one that I mentioned as an introduction: The Festival "Spot on Turkey now" in another well-known and representative concert hall in Vienna, the *Wiener Konzerthaus*. The location chosen as well as the program suggested that this was an event that intended to avoid clichés and stand up against culturalization (see www.konzerthaus.at). This was also strongly argued in the accompanying magazine (spoton magazin). There were diverse approaches to the topic in the program, from Western classical music, Ottoman court music to World Music, but also films and literature were included. The artists performing also included the above-mentioned Fatima Spar, for example. But what they also offered was a dance workshop on traditional dances from Turkey. I attended the workshop and was able to take the snapshot.

The *Wiener Konzerthaus* and the *Wiener Musikverein* as symbols of Vienna as the city of music and Western classical music are not just old, nice and useful buildings. They are the most attractive stages for musicians due to the perfect facilities, the middle and upper class audiences and due to the image. This image is much connected to the *Wiener Philharmoniker,* high quality performance and economic success. Of course there is much music history around and we do not only find Beethoven's spirit and statue in the buildings looking down on what is going on musically; other composers are personally connected to the two venues. Still I think there is quite an overestimation of tradition, as very often in Vienna. Vienna tries to cherish the image as the city of Beethoven, Mozart and Strauss – all of them immigrants. Maybe, after some hundred years, there will be other musicians' names used for the same purpose, and Vienna will make money with Mansur Bildik or Slavko Ninić?

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The Transformation of Environmental Values and Behaviour in Post-communist Europe

Michael L. Smith and Petr Jehlička: *Environmental Values in Central and Eastern Europe: Perspectives from East and West*

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OBITUARY

The Crisis of Leadership in an Era of 'Interregnum': Reflections on Politics in the Light of Václav Havel's Departure (Zygmunt Bauman)
Václav Havel (1936–2011). Remarks on Havel's 'Lay Sociology' (Miloslav Petrusek)

BOOK REVIEWS

INFORMATION

LISTENING TO THE MUSIC OF A CITY[1]

Zuzana Jurková

Abstract: *The article consists of two parts. The first is focused on different theoretical approaches used/usable when researching music of a city. The second part offers five topics (which merged on the basis of several criteria): 1) music and the stratified and specialized society; 2) music and rebellion; 3) commodification and music; 4) electronic dance music; 5) music and spirituality. In their frameworks, different musical events and their contexts ("soundscapes") are discussed.*

Two important features are recognized when studying Prague soundscapes. The first of them is the blurring of various musical borders (in the concept of music, in style/genre, in the concept of musical sound…). The other feature is the functioning of music in strengthening group identities by fostering internal values and separating them from their surroundings.

Keywords: *urban ethnomusicology; Prague; soundscape*

It seems easily understandable that today's cities, especially the large ones, attract the attention of anthropologists, including those specializing in music. This is undoubtedly because cities, as a consequence of urbanization, become an essential phenomenon of the contemporary world and thus also a subject of reflection (Augé 1999). For ethnomusicologists, however, there is one more challenge, which was already present at the very beginnings of the discipline: a possibility of meeting with a variety of sounds and their meanings, thus with different musical worlds. They take advantage of this occasion;[2] this often rather unsurprisingly results in teamwork.

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[2]   Besides the works mentioned in relevant places in the text, let us mention, e.g., Livingston – Russell – Ward – Nettl 1993.

The following text is a certain sort of report on such research in Prague. It was and is teamwork during which we – my students at the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in Prague and I – opened and used rather broad space for theoretical considerations. They arose from two starting points. The first was the ethnomusicological perspective,[3] unusual in the Czech context; a great deal has been written about music in Prague, but these are mostly historical musicological texts.[4] The second starting point was the emphasis on "urbanity," the understanding of Prague music as "of the city" (not just "in the city"), where *the city is both a complex environment and an active agent* (Reyes, in Hemetek – Reyes 2007: 17).

In this text, we present the contemporary state of our theoretical considerations and some research topics; in both realms it is just a "work in progress."

Our theme seems simply arranged along three axes: people (who listen) – music (which they listen to) – and place (where they listen). It seemed that we wanted to describe a three-dimensional reality – a task certainly not simple, but at least understandable and transparent. Besides, for it concepts exist that may help us, at least a bit.

The key concept, in the English-language literature (and also in a few Czech texts), is called **soundscape.** In it, the word *sound* is joined with the morpheme *-scape,* which refers most directly to the word *landscape.* In connotations, however, rather than some sort of solidity which we connect with mountains and meadows that form a landscape, there echoes a process of creation or formation. For that matter Kay Kaufman Shelemay, speaking about her – close to our – idea of *soundscape* (about which we will speak a little later), refers to seascape, *which provides a more flexible analogy to music's ability both to stay in place and to move in the world today, to absorb changes in its content and performance styles, and to continue to accrue new layers of meanings* (Shelemay 2006: XXXIV*).*

The word *soundscape* was first popularized in the '70s in a work of the Canadian composer and sound ecologist Raymond Murray Schafer and his colleagues. In their concept, it is a sound characteristic of a concrete environment, some sort of sound parallel to a landscape, including the sounds of cars, bells, footsteps and the song of birds... Schafer and his team considered this sound landscape, the sound environment, both a subject of research (what is interesting for them is mainly how people perceive it) and also a special sort of artistic work.

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[3] From many characteristics, we consider fitting the one in Reyes 2009 that a combination of musical and ethnographical data is essential for the discipline.

[4] From many publications let us mention, e.g., Dlabola – Kopecká 1988, and Musil 2005.

In 2000, the word *soundscape* was used by Harvard ethnomusicologist Kay Kaufman Shelemay in the title of her book. While the form of the term itself was inspired by cultural anthropologist Arjun Appadurai,[5] in the content Shelemay followed up on the well-known three-part analytical model of the ethnomusicological classic Alan Merriam (1964). In it, Merriam, a trained anthropologist (and passionate musician) suggested how to research music from the anthropological perspective: as a product of human activity. What we are accustomed to calling "music itself" (and Merriam calls "sound phenomenon") is a product of human behavior: the movement of fingers on strings, the vibration of vocal chords, and also of the interaction of the audience when it spontaneously joins the performing group and/or, e.g., claps in rhythm. Verbal behavior also belongs in this category, whether in the form of the written review of an operatic performance or oral disagreement with the playing of a local cimbalom band at a wedding. All of this influences the sound of music now or in the future.

The above-mentioned types of human behavior, however, are not accidental; on the contrary, they are deeply rooted in human ideas, values and concepts – be they about music or, more broadly, about the world in general. The ancient Indians, convinced about the spiritual effects of sound, tried with all their strength to avoid any mistake during the performance of ritual chanting. Therefore, they created the first known musical notations and established one social layer especially for the performance of these sacred texts. And thus it is still possible to listen to their ancient (sometimes very complicated) melodies today. Musicians in a punk band, convinced of the rottenness of the majority society, express their revulsion, their rebellion, their negation in various ways: against the cultivated and complicated classics by simple crudeness, against specialization (including musical) by amateurism available to everyone, against refined, fancy clothing by wearing rumpled and even torn pants, socks and jackets with unfriendly and prickly-looking decorations...

As far as people are concerned, Merriam's model counted – like the cultural and social anthropology of those days – on a relatively simple world of more or less isolated, homogeneous, and, moreover, static groups.[6] It is exactly because of this unrealistic view that Shelemay emphasizes that dynamic similarity to *seascape*, which makes it possible to grasp changes in the sound world and in the world of people. For such an idea of music in the most various contexts

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5   His concept of –scapes appears in the book *Modernity at Large*, 1996.

6   Regarding terminology, the English-language literature most often uses the term "community."

we use the Czech expression "musical world" (hudební svět) as a synonym for soundscape.[7]

Both concepts clearly differentiate in ties; while Schafer's concept binds sounds to a place, Shelemay connects them primarily to people – to those who produce music as well as those who listen to and appreciate it. To us as musical anthropologists, the latter concept was understandably closer. Besides, we also agreed with Merriam's and/or Shelemay's understanding of music: following the ethnomusicological tradition (and perhaps somewhat limited by a tradition of historical musicology) we understand music as an intentional human creation. Concretely: we would not unequivocally agree with the classical musicological assertion that music is (only) such a sound structure which bears some esthetic information. We know that phenomena that we would designate as music have in various cultures (and, as is apparent in musics of Prague, not only in rather exotic cultures) various meanings and in many cases it would not occur to their "users" to ask if it is "lovely." Nevertheless, we constantly oscillated between Blacking's thesis that music is "humanly organized sound" (which we under-stood as "humanly *intentionally* organized sound"), and a newer concept, highly popularized by Christopher Small, that music is human activity (1998: 2), which actually is not too far from Merriam's understanding.

Thus, decisive for us was intentionality, which connected sound to people. The idea of Schafer and his followers that the sound of passing trams, random footsteps and slamming doors could be perceived as art/music was alien to us not only because of our limited traditionality, but also because it is closer to the anthropological point of view of understanding music as a human creation than as a product of place.

But what to do if the concept of music, its most crucial intention, becomes unintentionality, thus the unintentionality of the resulting sound shape, and, on the contrary, the intentional connection to the random sounds of place? That was exactly the case of a special type of concert – a "sound-specific performance" (as the organizers called it) – in the Bubeneč sewage treatment plant, which we will discuss later, and other Prague musical events. One dimension of our three-dimensional research reality – the dimension of music – gradually became foggy.

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[7]   It is beyond the possibilities of this text to deal with different meanings and variants of the term "musical world" in the texts of other authors; we have just tried to find a meaningful equivalent to "sound-scape." Let us just mention Becker's (1982) *Art Worlds,* or "musical worlds" (or "musical pathways" used in the same sense) by Ruth Finnegan (1989).

Inside the unclearly limited phenomenon called music, there are, moreover, as we knew from our own research and that of other ethnomusicologists, very permeable borders of categories called genre or style. And, thus, what is called a *mantra* in one place sounds completely different elsewhere. Or the music sounds similar, but it means something different to those who play and listen to it. Jazz could be an example: so full of meaning for the Czech youth at the very beginning of World War II (as Škvorecký writes about it), meaning so far from the Afro-American fathers of jazz a half century earlier. This is exactly the accruing of new layers mentioned by Shelemay.

The fogginess, related at first to the concept of music and its categories, also reached the second axis of our interest: people. Like Merriam, thinking about the rather simple reality of isolated homogeneous societies, the world was viewed in the same way by sociologists and later on by cultural anthropologists of the second half of the 20th century. When they became interested in groups of people who (usually in an urban environment) differed from others, groups which they started to call *subcultures*, they realized that their common element was often musical style. Sometimes musical style directly generates such groups,[8] sometimes strikingly indicates them,[9] and sometimes the musical style is involved in the process in one direction or the other.[10] Punk subculture is usually mentioned as an especially famous example.[11] Our experience – be it from the musical style itself, thus, from the sound of music, or from the people we met – shows the world less "homogenized" and less clearly segmented. The majority of today's teenagers would most likely say that they belong MORE OR LESS (and this is meant literally: sometimes more and sometimes less, sometimes only fleetingly) to one or another subculture.[12]

Some of today's philosophers and sociologists agree. While in traditional societies people had, according to Anthony Giddens, a relatively fixed majority

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8   Turino (2008: 187) mentions the example of the American contra-dance movement, when a community is created around the musical activity itself. In her extensive article about community (2011), Shelemay convinces us that music plays a basic role in forming communities of different types. (pp. 367–370).

9   For example, various features of hip-hop specifically belonged at the time of its origin to certain age groups of Afro-American urban ghettos.

10   Wherever music is instrumental to the rise of a group, it can gradually move from a central position; in other cases, music can become the central symbol of a group. This symbol should be treated with great care. Such care brings the community closer together.

11   Viz, e.g., Hebdige 1979.

12   And some would, on the contrary, emphasize that they are not connected to one or another style and subculture which is actually the sign of another distinctive group.

of social roles and ways of their fulfillment (and thus possibilities for their own self-formation were limited), for our "late modernity" an overwhelming offer of possibilities is significant, and everybody can always chose an answer to the question, "Who am I and how shall I behave?" (Giddens 1991: 70) The picture of homogeneous subcultures crumbles. Consistently regarded, the remark of Mark Slobin (1993: IX) that everyone is a unique musical culture is exact. Most ethnomusicologists would rather, however, identify themselves with Kay Shelemay, who says that *We do not study a disembodied concept called "culture" or a place called "field," but rather a stream of individuals* (Shelemay 1997: 201). We thus perceive a human world metaphorically as a mass of individuals carried by the same stream. Some of them are closer to the center of the stream; some are more on the side; some get out and climb on the bank. Sometimes the stream splits or, on the contrary, merges with another one. We can apply the thesis of Zygmund Bauman about fluid modernity, including that of musical worlds. Or we can use the idea of the universe with galaxies, orbits, and individual planets. The closer we look, the more detailed the worlds are opened to our eyes until we reach the world of each human individual.

For the understanding of such **individual worlds**, Timothy Rice offers a model, similarly three-dimensional, like the one we thought about at the beginning. Its axes are, however, different: time, place and metaphor (Rice 2003). On the axis of time, the chronological and historical one (how a musical composition flows, in which "objective" time its performance is set) is interwoven with the phenomenological, experiential one (how I perceive it – most likely in a different way from the first time, etc.). On the axis of place, Rice leaves an idea of a concrete, "natural," physical place (*we and our subjects increasingly dwell not in a single place but in many places along a locational dimension of some sort... /Rice 2003: 160/*) and accepts the idea that place is a social construct in which a social event is set into the most varied coordinates (where, in my personal history, did that happen?). By the way, here Rice comes close to the socio-geographic method of mental maps by which some researchers aim to understand how people perceive their environment.[13] How would Prague look on the mental map of a techno fan and how on that of a singer of Gregorian chant?

The third dimension is *metaphor.* By this term Rice understands *...the fundamental nature of music expressed in metaphors in the form "A is B" that is, "music is x."*(Rice 2003: 163) Here is meant not a rhetoric figure, but a way

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13   For example, Shobe, H and Banis, D, 2010.

of thinking: metaphors as special forms of images emphasize some details while they suppress others and, by this, express the structure of our thinking. When we say that good news is "music to my ears" we reveal substantial values which we attribute to music. (The clever reader certainly realized that this axis of Rice's is almost identical with the deepest layer of Merriam's model.)

Although Rice discusses music as a personal experience and the musical world of an individual, as an ethnomusicologist he does not ignore the indisputably collective nature of music. He suggests closer understanding of individual musical worlds because of our better understanding of the character of musical collectivity – and also human collectivity: how close are the listeners of the same operatic performance in their experiencing of music and how close are those of a rock concert or participants in a Hara Krishna procession? Equally? Unequally? Why?

We still haven't come thoroughly to the third axis: **place**. It is possible to think about local anchoring of music in several principal directions. The most striking and loudest one comes from the idea of massive territorialization[14], the phenomenon torn off from one concrete physical place, as an accompanying feature of modernity. All of us are daily witnesses: not only the omnipresence of Coca Cola and Shell gas stations, but also souvenirs from Greece made in Indonesia… Arjun Appadurai adds further consequences of modernity to it, especially the influence of imagination in our lives (and possibilities of realizing this imagination to a large degree)[15], and tension between the global and the local. The cocktail mixed from these ingredients makes every place specific.

For investigation of this specifity, Appadurai offers five dimensions of "global cultural flows." They are not meant as different types of influences which form today's reality. Appadurai speaks about *deeply perspectival constructs* (1996: 33). They are building stones of what he calls "imagined worlds," thus worlds which are established by historically constituted ideas of people and groups around the whole world.

The five dimensions are (a) *ethnoscapes, (…persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers…);* (b) *technoscapes (…the global configuration… of technology and the fact that technology… now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously*

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14 Concept elaborated by Appadurai 1996, also discussed by Rice 2003.
15 In that, he follows Anderson (1983) and his concept of "imagined communities," thus communities created on the basis of imagination, not physical closeness.

impervious boundaries...); (c) *financescapes (... the disposition of global capital* that *is now a more mysterious, rapid, and difficult landscape to follow than ever before...)* (Appadurai 1996: 33) These three dimensions are connected in an unforeseeable way or – regarding many other influences – even separated.

Both of the other – *scapes* are closely connected to the world of the imagination: (d) *mediascapes (... the distribution of electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, and film-production studios... and the images of the world created by these media...* while... *they provide... large and complex repertoires of images, narratives, and ethnoscapes to viewers throughout the world, in which the world of commodities and the world of news and politics are profoundly mixed);* (e) *Ideoscapes* are related to *the ideologies of states and the counterideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it... These ideoscopes are composed of elements of the Enlightenment worldview, which consists of a chain of ideas, terms, and images, including freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation, and the master term **democracy**...* (Appadurai 1996: 35–36)

Appadurai's conception suited us for two reasons. The first was a certain convergence of points of view: partially intuitively we saw Prague musical life formed similarly (which means we agreed partly with Appadurai in those perspectival constructs). This convergence is apparent in the formulation of themes discussed below: for example, "perspectival construct," understanding music primarily as goods is more substantial anchoring than the fact of where the music is performed.

Besides, the conception of Appadurai also suits freer application because it corresponds to the "metaphoric" nature of music, as it is called by Rice (2003). In other words, it is possible to look at music and also at phenomena that influence it from different perspectives. We used it by the introduction of different theoretical views, different schools.

We do not, however, want to give up the idea of local anchoring of music. (Here Appadurai's idea of tension between the local and the global, which characterizes different places, suits us well. For us it means the possibility of looking for the specific character of Prague musical worlds.) Our starting decision to understand music not only as sound, but also as a social phenomenon, thus sounds and people who produce and accept them, is substantial. In this case, we are primarily interested in how the people from our Prague soundscapes are connected to concrete places. At the same time, we are convinced of the non-randomness of the location of a musical event: the shape of the space where music sounds is

not random – musicians and listeners have chosen it and, moreover, physical boundaries co-form the event; the environment of the event is not random and, finally, the broad stage of Prague is surely not random. This non-randomness, however, is formed by influences of different dimensions (historical, social, economic...) – and also our perspectives. We certainly do not present the Prague musical world in its constantly changing plasticity: we actually did not intend to do so. Hopefully we have grasped some of its moments and some perspectives.

Writing about the music of Prague

As is apparent from the above text, Prague and its soundscapes do not yet appear in clear contours, as a clearly profiled model. And so our writing is also more a looking around the topic. That is why our writing is more an examination of the topic; it is similar to the groping of blind men trying to know and describe an elephant (Nettl 2010: XIV). The topics by which we are trying to introduce Prague – an elephant – definitely do not represent systematic categories (because we are unable to provide such profound systematization). Some of them belong in the sphere "music as an object": music is an object (and thus a result/indicator) of what is happening in the society. In the others, music is, on the contrary, a subject: it stimulates a "human" response. In both cases, however, it is true that they are "a two-way street," and so we can constantly observe the interaction between the music itself and the nurturing community.

On the other hand, it is not a random ("aleatoric") choice of topics (although even such a choice would show something substantial). We set a few criteria. As mentioned above, our intention is to show music in Prague through the eyes and ears of a musical anthropologist/ethnomusicologist. That is why we tried to describe the events which are sufficiently at home and, at the same time, such events in which, at least from our perspective, musical language and musical events are very explicable by cultural values of the community. The third criterion was a certain diversity regarding presented styles as well as discussed topics (in order to show Prague as multidimensional as possible). However, it is clear from the following pages that none of the topics is isolated, just as no music – whether we think about its language or a musical event – is untouched in today's Prague by what is happening around.

This is exactly that interlocking that ascertained that we, groping blind men, are touching the same elephant. And that, with enough patience, contours will appear more and more clearly.

Besides certain representativeness, appropriateness (homogeneity of musical style and its cultural context) and diversity, we targeted one more goal. Together with events in Prague themselves, we also intend to introduce ethnomusicology/musical anthropology – a discipline which aims to understand people through music and music through people. Individual topics provided the occasion to introduce various theoretical concepts which are, in the history of (musical) anthropology, of different degrees of importance, in our opinion, but relevant for a given soundscape.

Topic 1: Music and the stratified and specialized society

If Prague tries to (re)present[16] itself by means of music (and mainly at the beginning of our research we were surprised at how little takes place in comparison to other metropolises)[17], then it is through art music. The simplest explanation seems to be the emphasis of the presentation of Prague as primarily a historic city. The ideal intersection of this representativeness of art music and the emphasis on nationhood, which is always so present in the Prague space, can be, for example, a performance of the opera *Rusalka* by Antonín Dvořák (that Dvořák who – at least in the Czech imagination – conquered the New World, and a recording of his symphony even reached the moon, as the Czech media enjoys repeating) in the National Theater on National Avenue in the very center of the city at the most prestigious address (Fig. 1).

Here one can view the musical style of the opera genre through Lomax's[18] *cantometrics* method: it almost perfectly corresponds to its characteristics of a stratified and specialized society. The starting point of Lomax's research, which he encapsulated in his book *Folk Song Style and Culture* (1968), was the hypothesis that folk song style[19] is a pattern of learned behavior, which is

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[16] By this formulation I mean partly to point out the titles of events in Prague (Prague Spring, Prague Autumn, Music of the Prague Castle...) and also official events such as anniversary celebrations, etc., where art music is not exclusive, but it does dominate. Thirdly, there are events designated for not particularly interested tourists, that is, some sort of musical souvenirs of Prague. We will, however, discuss these under the topic of commodification.

[17] In the past years we have practically not come across the use of musical symbols as positive metaphors for non-musical reality, which is very common, for example, in Vienna. Only recently there appeared, e.g., this ad for Czech Airlines: "The Czech Republic, a Symphony of the Senses."

[18] Alan Lomax (1915–2002), known as a collector of mainly Anglo-American folk ballads in the Appalachian Mountains in southeast of the USA. The most important of his ethnomusicological publications is *Folk Song Style and Culture*.

[19] *Folk song style:* this term comprises both the way of interpretation and also the interpreted form, including textual components.

Fig. 1: The National Theater with the New Scene. Source: Photograph by author.

common to people in a given culture[20]. Singing, like speech, is a special way of communication, but more formally organized and redundant. Whether singing is choral or solo, its main function is, according to Lomax, the expression of common feelings. Therefore, singing style is communal rather than individual, normative rather than special. And therefore, also, it reflects some features of social organization, mainly stratification and complexity.

Although today *cantometrics* is considered mainly as some kind of historical curiosity, it would be a pity to disregard it, especially in connection to a topic that refers so much to history. An operatic performance in the National Theater with many ethnographic details – from the gradated, that is "stratified," entrance fee to the arrangement of space, the behavior of the singers on stage (e.g., during the curtain calls) and the musicians in the orchestra (the ostentatious arrival of the conductor accompanied by a beam of light, the hierarchic seating of the players)

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[20]   Lomax used around 3,500 musical examples and ethnographic data from 233 communities, so that was (exceptionally in the history of ethnomusicology) a sort of quantitative research in which the concordance of musical and social features can be expressed in percents.

to the appearance of the participants (on stage, in the orchestra pit, the ushers, and also the audience) – confirms Lomax's conclusions.

An accompanying feature of social stratification is usually **specialization**. While, until the beginning of the 20th century, in art music[21] this specialization was manifested mainly in the sphere of interpretation, starting at the beginning quarter of the 20th century the specialization also turns, if not primarily, to the area of reception of art. "Modern" or "contemporary" art music becomes – because of its still unaccepted concepts – a preserve of specialists. While in the '20s Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) shocked his listeners with the emancipation of all twelve tones in an octave, and, by this, with the destruction of the usual relations of tones and chords, a generation later "emancipation" moves even further, that is, to the incorporation of any sounds to musical flow, whether they be "concrete" or newly – electronically – generated. The use of new technologies is, besides, so basic for music that we discuss it independently in connection with electronic dance music.

Even more substantial than new sounds, however, is the change of the concept of music itself: thinking about what exactly music is. Until the middle of the 20th century, that is, including the compositions of Schoenberg, *music*, in the Euro-American tradition, was understood to be sound structure bearing esthetic information. A turn from that concept of music as a "thing" is signalized by compositions by Schoenberg's pupil John Cage (1912–2002) in the '50s, mainly his *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra* (1957–8). In them there appears for the first time the concept which he speaks about in the interview at the end of his life:

I have the feeling that sound is acting, and I love the activity of sound.... I'm completely satisfied with that. I don't need sound to talk to me.... People who understand that finally say, "You mean it's just sounds?" (They) think that for something to just be a sound is to be useless, whereas I love sounds, just as they are. I don't want them to be psychological. I don't want a sound to pretend that it's a bucket... or that it's a president... or that it's in love with another sound.... I just want it to be a sound. And I'm not so stupid either. There was a German philosopher who's very well known, Immanuel Kant, and he said there are two things that don't have to mean anything. One is music and the other is laughter... Don't have to mean anything, that is, in order to give us deep pleasure.[22]

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[21]   We are referring to the main concert and operatic repertoire corpus, composed mainly of Classical and Romantic works and less, then, of Baroque compositions.

[22]   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pcHnL7aS64Y (8.8.2010)

Fig. 2: Former sewage treatment plant in Bubeneč. Source: Photograph Jiří Müller.

This understanding of Cage's crystallized under the influence of non-European musicians and thinkers in general:

I determined (at the end of the '30s, note by ZJ) *to give up composition unless I could find a better reason for doing it than communication. I found this answer from Gira Sarabhai, an Indian singer and tabla player: The purpose of music is to sober and quiet the mind, thus making it susceptible to divine influences. I also found in the writings of Ananda K. Coomaraswammy that the responsibility of the artist is to imitate nature in her manner of operation.* (viz. Cage's "Autobiographical Statement")

The basic task of the artist/composer is thus to find the operational modes of nature and recast them into musical language. The basic consequence of the change of the concept of music – from a "thing" to a "process"[23] is the need

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[23] Often the term "conceptual music" is used; its basic characteristic is that the idea/concept of music is already music itself or that the idea is already the performance itself. I use the word "process" for better understandability.

to change listeners' habits: they no longer follow a more or less known thing, some places of which used to give me pleasure or excite me and so I again look forward to them. Now I am with a composer on a road, the form of which is not guaranteed. We know only the azimuth.

An example of the connection of that "new" approach to music[24], new sounds (to which, besides, they belong for the most part) and the emphasis on the specificity of place can be the "site-specific performance" of the *Lucid Dreams of Mr. William Heerlein Lindley* in the Ecotechnical Museum[25] (former sewage treatment plant) in Bubeneč. The old industrial building on the outskirts of Prague has, thanks to its large, arched, brick space, extraordinary acoustic qualities (Fig. 2); a mixture of pre-recorded sounds, acquired in the area of Prague in the framework of the project "The Favorite Sounds of Prague"[26] (and thus close to Schafer's concept of soundscapes) with actual sounds that the participants intentionally and unintentionally produce, make the event unpredictable. A few dozen attendees confirm its specialized character.

Topic 2: Music and rebellion

The second topic is closely connected to the first one through Turner's theory (2004) of *communitas* as a mode of social existence, complementary to the common stratified society; *communitas* as a separate society of the pure, distinguished by aspiration for the sacred, homogeneity, egalitarianism and social humility (Turner 2004: 97). The theory of *communitas* can very easily be applied to the most famous phenomenon in the history of Czech musical rebellion, the group *The Plastic People of the Universe*.[27]

In the texts of the speaker of the group, Ivan "Magor" Jirous, can be found the concept of the **underground** as its *own special world existing apart from*

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[24]   Non-domestication in general musical life is also confirmed by the fact that Cage's half century and more old compositions are still usually on the programs of various types of societies for "new music"; viz., e.g., the inclusion of his opera Europera 5 in the NODO festival of new opera in Ostrava in June 2012.

[25]   I refer concretely to an event that took place on 10/10/2009.

[26]   Viz http://panto-graph.net/favouritesounds

[27]   Their previous activity and its context are well documented musically, textually and photographically. This topic is more broadly studied by, e.g., Vaněk 2010, Pospíšil – Blažek 2010, Stárek – Kostúr 2010, Machovec 2006, more concretely Riedel 2003, Chytilová 2000, Jirous 2008, Kalenská 2010. In addition, the speaker for and manager of the group, Ivan "Magor" Jirous accompanied the activity of the group with numerous commentaries so that it is not necessary to deduce their objectives only from the multivocal and difficult-to-decipher musical and, more often, social events.

established society with a different internal charge, a different esthetic and consequently also a different ethic (2008: 7) and the position of the artist in it. In this conception, Jirous follows up on the French painter Marcel Duchamps (with whom, by the way, John Cage collaborated closely in the '60s)[28] and his assertion that *the great artist of tomorrow will come into the underground*. As Jirous explains*: By this formulation, he thought of the underground as the new spiritual approach of an honest artist reacting to dehumanization and the fucking up of values in the world of a consumerist society… The underground is the spiritual position of intellectuals and artists who consciously define themselves critically toward the world in which they live. It is a declaration of a battle with the establishment, the entrenched system…* (2008: 11)

The basic idea of the underground as a separate and special world of pure people was strengthened by spirituality, at first inspired by the Jewish cabala and Celtic mythology and later markedly by Christianity – spirituality very different from flat, profane Marxist materialism which, at that time, penetrated every sphere of life in official society.[29] To this separateness – "ecstasy" – corresponds a different esthetic, as mentioned above by Jirous: a musical language in which the group combined impulses of contemporary rock with their own elements. The language is dominated by the Dionysianism present in rebel manifestations as an expression of hedonism experienced despite the planning hierarchical "structure." Another substantial musical characteristic is psychedelia, a sound realization of that separateness.[30]

Social humility, so natural in the time of totalitarianism, was manifested, in the case of *The Plastics*, in certain local exclusion[31] of their performances: at first, in the outskirts of Prague (Počernice), later in localities outside of Prague where there was a better chance to escape the omnipresent police surveillance.

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28 After Duchamps' death, Cage created, in 1969, the well-known conceptual work *Not Wanting to Say Anything about Marcel*: glass tablets with letters that can be lined up in any order (like in Cage's musical compositions) so that the result is always different.

29 Spirituality is expressed both in the texts of songs (V. Jirousová – e.g., *The Song of the Fafejta Bird about Two Unearthly Worlds*, M. Jernek – *The Sun,* V. Brabenec – *Pašijové hry velikonoční [Easter Passion Plays]*) and in the ideas around them.

30 Jirous (2008:9) characterizes psychedelia in the music of the *Plastics*: *they attempt to induce in their listeners a special state of mind which, at least for a while, liberates one from everything and strips one of the basis of one's being. Apart from music for this, a series of other means serve for it…* By "other means" he thinks, on one hand, about the use of elements, especially fire and water, borrowed from conceptual art and, on the other hand, understandably, alcohol and drugs, an organic part of most Dionysian celebrations.

31 Especially after the first period when they were still allowed to play, e.g., in Prague Ořechovka. Later on, they were moved farther and farther from the center.

This combines *The Plastics* with today's rebelling Punkers performing in the Vysočany Modrá Vopice Club or on the Parukářka hill...

The Plastics are, on one hand, a unique, exclusively Czech phenomenon, well understandable against the background of a totalitarian state. On the other hand, they belong in the broad "rebellious" stream of history in which musical style not only indicates belonging to a rebellious group, but the music itself – its performing and the listening to it – is often even a fundament of group identity.[32] This is also obviously reflected in the musical language of a rebellious style. First of all: its original shape rejects this specialization, against which it protests. (Almost) everyone can play and sing or, at least, is allowed to try. Criteria are also understandably changing: a punk group is "successful" when the greatest number of people dance wildly to their playing. Technical sophistication or cultivated sound is not expected by anyone; besides, it would be inadequate for the expression of resistance and anger, which are the most frequent rebel topics.

With this non-specialization is connected the Do it yourself (D.I.Y.) philosophy, the philosophy ruling taking care of one's own recordings, not only from the musical, but also from the technical, advertising and distribution points of view; it brings the group even closer together.

One everlasting question is related to musical rebellion: Is music still rebellious if it keeps features of rebellious musical style, but fills stadiums with listeners – members of that very system against which the music protests (and here and there even with its representatives)? If (thanks to the functioning system) it fills the bank accounts of its performers?

Quietly and from a very official and non-rebellious place – the New Scene of the National Theater – Tom Stoppard answers this question with his straight play *Rock'n'Roll*. The play is, among other things, about *The Plastic People of the Universe*, a play in which, not only in Prague performances, but also in premieres abroad, *The Plastics* play "live" (Fig. 3). At the end, when the famous *Rolling Stones* concert in 1990 in Prague's Strahov stadium is recalled, a concert which was considered by the characters in the play real proof of freedom, seemingly without context a quotation from Plutarch is heard: "*...Announce that the great god Pan is dead ...and a loud lament was heard, not from one person's lips, but*

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[32]   That is why rebellious musicians are often the center of attention of anthropologists investigating "subversive" or "deviant" groups. The Chicago School and its followers use the term "subculture"; in other cases, these groups are called "counterculture." In ethnomusicology, these terms are not very often used in the rebellious sense.

Fig. 3: *The Plastic People* at the New Scene in Stoppard´s play *Rock'n'Roll*: The great god Pan is dead. Source: Photograph by author.

*from many.***"**[33] Pan refers to Syd Barrett,[34] a mythical character of what was still at that time rebellious British psychedelic rock. At the concert for dozens of thousands of listeners (including those from the highest state administration), rebel Pan was dead.

Topic 3: Commodification and music

The third topic corresponds directly to the previous two: it was exactly the stratified, specialized and technically developed Western civilization of the beginning of the 20th century which gave rise to commodification,[35] including the musical one. Protests against this process were directed, from the '30s (Adorno, especially 1941), toward the idea that music, whose primary goal is to be goods for which the

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[33]   The text is quoted from the *Rock'n'Roll* program, Prague: National Theater, 2007, p. 169.

[34]   1946–2006, co-founder of *Pink Floyd*.

[35]   Commodification is what I call the process by which subjects become goods whose value is determined not only by the use value but above all by the exchange value.

most people spend the most money, loses substantial qualities[36] of music which we have known for many centuries. Moreover, people are formed by such music into a shapeless, manipulative mass. This is strengthened by the massive influence of advertisements, which, from their very nature, weaken the decision-making ability of an individual.

When today's theoreticians of the music business formulate a model of its functioning, they segment its participants into three groups: creators, consumers and commerce (Hull – Hutchison – Strasser 2011: 52). Adorno, in the late '30s, focused mostly on the devastating influence of the process of commodification on "music itself," thus, music as a "thing" and the consequent effects of this spoiled music on listeners. When a half century later Cauty and Drummond (1988) described how *without money, talent and experience to have a number one hit the easy way,*[37] they already consider advertisement the main factor of commodificational success and the fact that their music is *total shit*,[38] they mention as an amusing and rather obvious fact.

Commodification was exemplarily manifested in the events around the music on Radiožurnál, the most popular state station of Czech Radio. Because of long-lasting criticism of the music direction, one member of the Czech Radio Council[39] organized, on December 1, 2011, a public seminar.[40] Taking part in the seminar were representatives of both the "specialized public" (unequivocally dissatisfied with the music programming) and Radio employees, who defended the programming. All were surprised at the interest of the "uninvited public" who demanded the right to express their (usually very critical) opinions both by telephone and e-mail and with their personal presence at the public event. Criticism basically headed in two directions. The first was the limited[41] and antiquated repertoire; the other was the inappropriate use of songs that lacked any relation to previous or following spoken words, etc.

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[36]   Adorno, as a musicologist, primarily discussed esthetic qualities: in the discourse of commodification, esthetic criteria have no meaning. Secondly, functional qualities are also important: music will be just for fun.

[37]   From the introduction to the Czech translation, 2010: 5.

[38]   *What you have produced until now sounds like total shit. No, it is not only your opinion that says it is shit. It simply is shit* (Cauty – Drummond 2010: 105).

[39]   An organ whose task is the surveillance of the compliance of the public status of this institution.

[40]   A video of the seminar: www.rozhlas.cz/rada/seminare/-zprava/videozaznam-seminare-rady-cro-k-hudbe-na-stanicich-radiozurnal-a-dvojka-984175 (12. 12. 2011).

[41]   At the time the seminar was to take place, after long insistence, one of the program directors shared 890 songs, which is many times fewer than similar stations have.

The several-hours-long debate seemingly ended in a stalemate: the people from the Radio defended the programming in that, according to polls of listeners' preferences, they play what the listeners want, and mainly that music – although its time share for broadcasting is 50%-60% – is not primary. Most important is the spoken word and the meaning of music here is to keep the listener at the radio. "Specialists" (supported by the public), on the other hand, advocated the autonomy of music, including the competence of its use. In this context they mentioned the fact that the main music program director is an extern whose profession has nothing to do with music.[42]

A few days later, however, something unexpected happened: the important international musical company Universal took sides with the music program director.[43] The discussion allegedly degenerated into a public lynching and Universal recommended that too much attention should not be paid to the opinion of specialists because they cast a negative light on the station and can begin to influence the satisfied listener. The ferment in the virtual world increased. Listeners demanded that the so-called playlists, that is a compendium of the songs played, be made public. Radio refused, saying that protected know-how was involved. Various unofficial listings came into being which show that Universal's share in the Radiožurnál program is undoubtedly larger than its representation on the Czech market.[44] By June 1, 2012, the main music program director had been fired and competition had been opened for his position.

The commodification scheme seems clear: it is in Universal's interest (as it would be in any other company that wants to make a profit) as many compositions as possible from their catalogue would be played. For them, Universal is paid, on one hand, primarily on the basis of copyright ownership. Secondly, the famous rule applies that the more often a song is played, the better known it is and therefore there is more demand for it: apart from radio, also in other media, in concerts, etc. –and so, on the basis of the same copyrights, it is paid again. Appadurai's characteristic of financescape as the *ability of global capital* (Universal is an international company) *which is now more mysterious, more quickly and*

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42 It will later be shown that he is a subway (metro) driver.

43 http://www.mediar.cz/gramofirma-universal-vycita-sefovi-ceskeho-rozhlasu-absolutni-absenci-zadani-hudby-na-radiozurnalu/ (12. 12. 2011).

44 Data about the number of times a song is played can be found at www.ifpicr.cz, about songs played on the Radiožurnál station and about their attribution to the representing companies were collected both by listeners who made them public on the Internet and by my students Veronika Svobodová and Jaromír Mára.

more difficult to follow than ever before (1996: 33) fits here perfectly. A byproduct is the listener – in the terminology of the music business, the "consumer" – who, according to Adorno, is not interested in anything new and is deprived of the spontaneity of surprising experiences.

A copyright, the cornerstone concept of commodification, is unique in the world, both as a concept[45] and in its complexity[46]. Such complexity becomes itself the source of the problems. These, however, multiply in the environment of digital technology. And so, despite the fact that one of the original intentions of copyrights was to support artistic creations for the benefit of the public (Hull – Hutchison – Strasser 2011: 52), it developed into something quite the opposite. By its essence – by which the law can protect only what is fixed – the copyright necessarily petrifies music and thus it obstructs a creative approach to existing material. At a time when digital technology enables the simple emergence of an unlimited number of copies without a loss of quality, one of the fundamental methods of creation becomes the treatment of already existing material, which is, furthermore, simplified and accelerated by unlimited distribution via the Internet. It is therefore not surprising that right here – in the realm of the media and of the virtual medium of the Internet – is the main battlefield of commodification.[47]

However, we can also follow its docile form in the Prague streets. The most flagrant example is the so-called **Royal Road:** a historical route along which the coronation procession of the Czech kings wound its way from Old Town to the Prague Castle. Today it is the first walk recommended by tourist guides to visitors of Prague. Along this hardly three-kilometer (two-mile) route there are 17 (! – a concentration unseen elsewhere) places in which concerts take place regularly, usually daily. These are publicized exclusively in English and their programs are composed of the most popular, usually short, mainly classical-romantic (less often, Baroque) compositions: besides a choice of Vivaldi's *Four Seasons,* there are Dvořák's *Largo* from the New World Symphony and or his *Humoresque*, Mozart's *Little Night Music*, etc.

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45 In other cultures, it is an unusual idea that an individual is the exclusive creator and thus owner of music.

46 Today's Czech copyrights apply both to (fixed) musical and textual works and to the performance of musicians on recordings and, in addition, on concrete recordings.

47 Of the many contemporary reflections, let us mention only one of the very opposite positions: discussion between the IFPI (International Federation of Phonographic Industry) and the Czech Pirate Party: http://www.piratskenoviny.cz/?c_id=33612.

Fig. 4: At the Royal Road.
Source: Photograph by author.

It is obviously the same scheme: well-known, easily digestible musical "pieces" (the choice does not matter) are sold to tourists, to whom, on the whole, the concrete music does not matter as long as it is some sort of general "cultural experience of Prague." The main role is played by publicity in the form of large English posters and "distributers" of colored flyers, of which the center of Prague is full (Fig. 4).

Topic 4: Electronic dance music

In the previous section we mentioned the change brought to music by digital technology. In reality, there are many types of changes,[48] and these changes, moreover, apply to various musical genres. In this section only one of these is dealt with – electronic dance music,[49] and from it, even more specifically, freetekno

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[48]   Reyes (2005: 92–102) mentions these basic categories: a change in understanding of what musical sound is and who the musician is, and further changes in the realm of production and distribution of music and in the ream of its ownership.

[49]   In particular the musical aspect of EDM is discussed in detail by Butler 2006.

style. In it (and in other related styles) perhaps the most fundamental change that appeared in music is manifested.

Over some thousands of years, the performance of music has existed in two basic situations: either musicians and listeners face each other or both groups intermingle.[50] In electronic dance music the listener/dancer faces the loudspeakers.[51] This is completely new. If the most common Western understanding of the meaning of music is communication, now the listener has nobody with whom to communicate. He is reliant on himself; he sinks into his own separate world. The medium of this sinking is primarily music: electronically generated sounds uninterruptedly repeat in rhythmic loops, without melody, in high tempo and at such a high level of volume that one perceives it in one's whole body. If this is music, then it is practically in all respects different from that which we were used to in Western culture.[52]

The concept of "otherness" is also clear in ethnographic data which confirms the value of "the other" – non-commercial, non-anonymous "free" world: the orthodox events of the "techno world," freetekno parties, are free[53], are not publicized by advertising agencies, but by social "friendly" nets or even by personal contacts (cell phones, etc.). These events take place in rather abandoned, neglected places seemingly owned by no one where – at least for the time of the events – the rules of the majority society do not apply, in areas sufficiently large, which enable "freer" use of the space, and even their beginnings and ends are not firmly delimited.

And one more feature is apparent here: the symbiotic relation of the human being to technology (Fig. 5). This is also shown outside of the realm of music, e.g., in the graphics of flyers (Balog 2009: 46). This basic dependence of the techno world on digital technology recalls Appadurai's *technoscape,* (1996: 33) – both in its influence on crossing the distance (and thus, on one hand, the dissemination of style, including "material" and, on the other hand, the dissemination of information) and, more basically, in the shaping of the "new" world.

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[50]   Or possibly there is a mixture of both concepts, viz. Turino 2008.

[51]   Behind them, indeed, is generally hidden the person who "creates" the resultant sound, the DJ – disk jockey; the concept of his task and also his behavior usually differ from that of active musicians. At freetekno parties, he is practically invisible behind the walls of the loudspeakers – sound systems.

[52]   For the concept of otherness in connection with EDM, I am grateful to my student Peter Balog (2009).

[53]   This, to a certain degree a symbolic feature, is usually maintained in the case of techno parties in the Prague multi-genre Cross Club (viz. Stehlík 2010).

Fig. 5: The sculpture at the entrance to the Cross Club : symbiosis of the human being and technology. Source: Photograph by author.

Topic 5: Music and spirituality

The connection with spirituality is one of the few universals in music: *In all societies, music is found in religious ritual – it is almost everywhere a mainstay of sacred ceremonies...* (Nettl 2001: 9) Spiritual music, however, has the most various features, not only in the material from the whole world, but also in today's Prague. Let us note this variability on several axes. Under the influence of thoughts of the Enlightenment about the separation of the sacred from the profane – a footprint of Appadurai's ideoscape – in Prague spiritual music mostly retreats from public space. An exception is the *harinam,* a regular Wednesday procession in the center of the city of devotees of the Hare Krishna movement[54] (Fig. 6). The group is led by the movement's members wearing more or less Indian-style clothing. Accompanied mainly by rhythmic instruments, they sing (with a microphone) a simple melody whose text glorifies Krishna. The public performance is not a chance event: it is obvious because the singers are convinced of the objective beneficial effects

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[54]   For details of the *harinam*, viz. Jurková – Seidlová 2011.

Fig. 6: *Harinam* in Prague. Source: Photograph by author.

of the sacred sounds – here, mantras in the form of God's name – which they produce. This concept, in the Prague context, is not at all usual: beginning with the Biblical Psalms, music, in the Jewish and Christian tradition, is understood as heading from the earth to heaven rather than as a picture of heavenly affairs (Sullivan 1997). Apart from this, in the *harinam* the notion of trance as ecstasy, when one is removed from reality, is close to the Dionysian psychedelia of some musical rebels (besides, in the case of *The Plastic People of the Universe*, we were also witnesses to a certain implicit spirituality) and the (non-spiritual) trance as the basis of the experience of electronic dance music. By the way, devotees of Krishna are connected to this style in their advertising video *Harinam in Prague*,[55] partly using a remix of electronic music from the film *Matrix*.

The autumn St. Wenceslas Festival,[56] the most important event of the Society for Spiritual Music, offers axes of various kinds. One of them is the axis between

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[55] http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-8096811527582997164#.
[56] http://www.svatovaclavske.cz/.

Fig. 7: St. Ludmila Vespers, basilica of St. George. Source: Photograph by author.

specialization (which, in a Christian milieu, was embodied both by monks and priests and also their acolytes) and non-specialization represented by laymen. A crystalline example of musical expression of specialization is Gregorian chant, performed during the St. Wenceslas Festival in the form of the St. Ludmila and St. Wenceslas vespers in the basilica of the Prague Castle, that is, in the most prestigious and also most authentic milieu: it was right here that the chant was sung. The musical language of this genre, i.e., monophonic, rhythmically irregular Latin singing, requires, for perfect sound, long, concentrated practice and therefore this specialization was indispensable. Today, however, this is a different type of specialization. In the context of the concert today, the members of the orders perform the chant only minimally. During the St. Wenceslas Festival it was sung by members of the choirs focusing on spiritual music both as parish choirs and as choirs whose focal point is in concerts (Fig. 7).

At the other – laic – end of the axis is, e.g., the Pilgrimage from Litovice to the monastery in Hájek: worshippers walk along the path of the Stations of the Cross from a small village on the outskirts of Prague to the famous pilgrimage

Fig. 8: Pilgrimage to Hájek with singing. Source: Photograph by author.

monastery in Hájek. During the approximately four-kilometer (about two-and-a-half-mile) road they sing long pilgrimage songs from the 17th and 18th centuries. In the singing, after two stanzas, the cantor, walking in the back of the procession, alternates with the pilgrims. It is obvious that singing is not the main reason why these some tens of people came: they chat and then again join in the singing. The accompaniment of four wind instruments helps them in musical orientation and supports the weaker singers (Fig. 8). The high point is the solemn mass, which will be celebrated by a Roman-Catholic primate in the Hájek monastery. The axis of specialization – non-specialization today, in the context of Christian spirituality, to a certain degree parallels the axis of "music as art" – "music as a part of spiritual practice."

Summary

Although we did not produce a sufficiently systematic theoretical model for the description of Prague musical worlds, through the exposition of five topics chosen on the basis of various criteria, a few basic features emerged. The first of them

is the blurring of various borders (in the concept of music, in style/genre, in the concept of musical sound...). This is a consequence of the merging of individual worlds or influences that cross the worlds, which is an unavoidable situation in the city – dense and dynamic – environment

A second significant ascertainment is that new "worlds" rise in the attempt to separate – whether already as a supporter of "new" music, which until now has used the unusual language of concrete sounds and directions for the use rather than musical notation; as an aggressively shouting punk rebel protesting against the system; as a dancer at a techno party, escaping from the world of commerce, anonymity and limits to his own autonomous world created in symbiosis with technology; or as a participant in a Krishna procession trying, with the singing of mantras, to extricate himself from this ephemeral world... This corresponds well to the findings of a number of ethnomusicologists that music strengthens group identity by fostering internal values as well as separating them from the surroundings.

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From the current issue 56/2011:

URBANITY AND ETHNOMUSICOLOGY;
A PERSPECTIVE FROM SINGAPORE[1]

Eugene Dairianathan

Abstract: *Although Bruno Nettl's reassurances that concerns within ethnomusicology have not necessitated the addition of the prefix "new" to the discipline, we are reminded that the discipline, exemplified in fieldwork and musical practices explored and examined, could benefit from* continued questioning of underlying assumptions *(Stock 2008). Ethnomusicological studies, for example, tend to situate the affects and effects of* urban/ity *in particular ways that pose considerable challenges for an inevitably heterogeneous urban setting.*

On the other hand, an urban environment studied qualitatively is a potential revelation of intersections of socio-cultural, political, economic and musical trajectories. Urban environments can therefore be studied as interactions between sites of dwelling and acts of dwelling. If musical practices and communities-of-practice are embodied relationships, then the body as sensorium *is a potentially rich site and act of heterogeneous* dwellings*, making soundscapes ways of understanding embodiment of practice/s in urban/ity. If ethnomusicology claims involvement* and *observation* in *and* of *musical behaviors, musical practices can be discerned through spatial dynamics between acts of dwelling and sites of dwelling. Studies in ethnomusicology could then be extended to cultures whose points of origin are sites and acts of urban/ity.*

Using two musical practices, Xinyao and Vedic Metal, from the city-state Singapore, I offer a perspective on the prospects and challenges in negotiating urbanity in ethnomusicology in theory and practice.

Keywords: *Xinyao; Vedic Metal; Singapore; urbanity; ethnomusicology*

A recent Mandarin print media article (Chen 2010) attempted to stimulate interest in a local musical practice *Xinyao* among a wider and younger audience drawn around prominent practitioners like Liang Wern Fook, Loi Fei Huay and Xing Cheng Hua. This article highlighted results of a questionnaire about what *Xinyao* was or could be defined as and took on board a brief account of its prominence. A larger question loomed in the article pertaining to continuation, what it meant to have continuation, what about *Xinyao* might be continued, who might be identified in the continuation and the ways such continuation might take place. While Liang Wern Fook suggested "continuation" might be too onerous a term, he deferred towards finding ways to maintain the vitality and energy *Xinyao* brought through its prominence and practice as well as its advocacy and accessibility to a younger and larger audience who might not know of its coruscating past or its impact on Mandarin language popular music in Singapore. Later in 2010, Liang was awarded Singapore's highest artistic award of Cultural Medallion in 2010 for his contribution to Xinyao.

On 16 and 17 November 2010, a local Extreme Metal group performed their original compositions – a genre they call Vedic metal – at the Esplanade Outdoor Theatre, Singapore's prestigious performing space (http://www.kalaautsavam. com/2010/microsite/17nov.htm – accessed 22 October 2010). Some of their original compositions this time were adapted to suit collaboration with a group of dancers from the Maya Dance Theatre Group which was used as the finale to their performing segment (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KFuiXel1WxI accessed February 23 2011). This Esplanade gig was linked to Rudra's self-financed music-video production, which was premiered at the Substation Theatre involving an earlier collaboration with the 'Maya Dance Theatre Group'. As K.Kathirasan explained:

"During the music video shoot, I bounced off this idea [of a metal opera with Maya Dance Theatre representatives]... We decided to approach Esplanade [concerts project personnel] if they would be willing to stage this during *Kalaa Utsavam*[2] [which they were]......the performance on the actual day drew a standing ovation from even the metalheads...others came to us with commendations and appreciation for the performance" (K. Kathirasan, personal communication, 27 December 2010).

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[2]   Kalaa Utsavam is an annual festival featuring prominent protagonists in Indian classical, folk and popular/ised Art forms. This event is usually held at the Esplanade Theatres at the Bay.

Despite their locality, the soundscapes of Xinyao and Vedic Metal are revelations of multiple ascriptions and identities: Chinese, East Asian, American, Mandarin conversant, politically expedient (including American anti-Vietnam war culture and anti-Japanese influenced culture), South Indian, Hindu, Youth, Singaporean, South Asian, anti-establishment-praxis and Extreme Metal musicians to name a few. Secondly, as global and local identities *through* music, these soundscapes are revelations of extra/musical secretions forming *in* and *through* themselves, points of homage and departure in their praxis. Thirdly, such soundscapes *in formation* are not only functions of time and space, but also of their *use* of time and space. Finally, in their *use* of *live/d* time and space, Xinyao and Vedic Metal cannot avoid their provenance at urban/ity which has net impact on the haecceity of their soundscapes.

Ethnomusicological musings

If Xinyao and Vedic metal are revelations *of* and *about* soundscapes *in formation* and are expressions of the dynamics between sites and acts of dwelling, a more fruitful discussion of them is initiated through ethnomusicological inquiry considering how "music" is considered "*both the observable product of human intentional action and a basic human mode of thought by which any human action may be constituted*" (Blacking 1995: 224–225). Moreover, Jonathan Stock observes Bruno Nettl's remarks in an interview that, *while our discipline has been subject to the same intellectual trends as areas like...music history, they have not sparked a....new ethnomusicology....We have always been concerned with a critical view of the observer's relationship to the observed and identity (ethnic, national, gender)...aware of social inequalities in the arts...and we looked beyond the "great" arts of all arts* (Nettl 2002: 202, 222 in Stock 2008: 188).

Nevertheless, Stock identifies seven areas that could provide the basis for *continued questioning of underlying assumptions* (Stock 2008: 188):

1. Music analysis – "*constructedness of personal experience...empowerment of the people whose music is studied'* and accessing *'consistencies in the past practices'* " (Stock 2008: 190–191)
2. Music Criticism – expressed in "*multiple genres alongside numerous...forms of expressive and symbolic action*" (Stock 2008: 195)
3. Writing – "*discussing the ethical, methodological and technical considerations*" (Stock, 2008: 196)

4. History – by approaching *historical depth that always surrounds music, using the individual's ongoing life story as a lynchpin or narrative vector for a wider-ranging assessment of musical life* (Stock 2008: 196).
5. Urban and professional traditions – specifically the concerns of carrying out ethnographic research *"without giving much attention to the particular challenges of these locations"* (Stock 2008: 202).
6. Ethnomusicology at home – distinguishing a view of ethnomusicology not as "anglophone ethnomusicology" translated into a native language but a *situated* ethnomusicology with its own emphases and norms (Stock 2008: 203).
7. Comparison – to enable one to look further at existing trends in analytical, critical and historical work and to develop further modes of writing (Stock 2008: 204).

Considering that the discipline of ethnomusicology promotes inclusivity and diversity through *a critical view of the observer's relationship to the observed and identity*, Stock's allusions are curious. Why would there be a need for a continued questioning of underlying assumptions? How and why are these seven areas pertinent to continued questioning?

Firstly, Stock's seven areas for renewal may be seen in two larger yet overlapping categories; those involving exegetical commentary (analysis, criticism, writing and history) and those articulating practice (urban and professional traditions, ethnomusicology at home and comparison). Underlying both forms of documentation is a fear – in difference and diversity in musical practice/s – of fragmentation in ethnomusicology as a discipline. Continued questioning of assumptions is useful if "*we are to fully exploit wider-ranging research agendas and explanatory genres while still holding together as a **coherent** discipline, we will also have to become more practiced at reading and taking in this research*" (Stock 2008: 204, emphasis mine).

Diversity and difference affecting coherence in discourse/s reveal observations of a central tenet in the ethnomusicological tradition: "*a sense of endogamy – of musical expressions emanating from within relatively unique social landscapes, rather than interacting with outside flows, consuming and reproducing the product of others, or mimicking international sounds*" (Connell and Gibson 2003: 20). This sense of endogamy engenders a need towards conservation or preservation of music of these "traditional" societies who have "*despite the odds, been transported, even rescued from distant and vulnerable places*" (Connell and Gibson 2003: 20–21). Differing views *of* and *about* ethnomusicology as

a discipline are instructive for identifying tradition's adversarial others, notably urbanity. Stock observed deprecating views of urban versions of "traditional" practices such that "*we should take urban conditions....less seriously than rural ones.*" (Stock 2008: 199)

But urbanity is as much a function of contemporaneity as history and is connected with discussions of rural/ity. Edward Soja informs us of the irrelevance of historical or chronological arguments to separate urbanity and rurality; that "*the early historical development of human societies pushes back the beginnings of urbanization and urbanism as a way of life...to at least ten millennia ago*'" (Soja 2000: 4). Secondly, *live/d* practices point towards a rich description of space and place; of urbanity less as form and more as content. A more critical understanding of urbanity and urban environments Malcolm Miles suggests, should begin with provenance of the term urban: "*city* and *urban* both derive from Latin: city from *civis* (citizen), and urban from *urbs* (city). One implies an act of dwelling, the other a site" (Miles 2007: 9).

Acts of dwelling in lived and living practices are functions of in/transience of activities, en/actors and factors attached to meaning-making in sites of dwelling. These are expressed as *difference* (measured as individual, collective and systemic support) and *distance* between or among practices which may be directly or inversely proportional to the f/actual physical distance separating these practices. Human intentional practices are discernible through these spatial dynamics between acts of dwelling and sites of dwelling. Understanding *urban/ity* is contingent therefore, on apprehending the *difference* and *distance* between acts of dwelling and sites of dwelling.

If urbanity is a realization of the dynamics of acts and sites of dwelling, they are not much different from settings that have witnessed the beginnings and developments of "traditional" communities of practice. If urbanity and rurality are about the dynamism between acts and sites of dwelling, can there not be communities-of-practice (Wenger 1998) beginning at urban settings hitherto inconspicuous to scholarship in much the same as ethnomusicological explorations of practices in remote sites of dwelling out of urbanity?

What is needed is to engage in and with the sounds of these musical practices to enable a study of the implications these sounds have for communities-of-practice as local and global entities. Canadian composer and music educator, Murray Schafer suggests that "*we focus on individual sounds in order to consider their associative meanings as signals, symbols, keynotes or soundmarks...to call them sound events...in line with the dictionary definition of event...a context is*

implied'" (Schafer 1977; 1994: 131). The soundscape emergent in Schafer's view is seen as "*a field of interactions, even when particularized into its component sound events. To determine the way sounds affect and change one and another (and us) in field situations is immeasurably more difficult…than to chop up individual sounds…but this is the important and novel theme now lying before the soundscape researcher*" (Schafer 1977; 1994: 131).

Ethnomusicological discourse can be enriched by an exploration of the soundscapes of communities-of-practice (Wenger 1998) whose points of origin begin at urban settings by examining soundscapes and exegetical commentaries evident in urban practices and how urban musical practices connect key concepts such as indigeneity, authentication and conditions of tradition, modernity and urbanity. While Stock's seven areas for renewal make relevant connections with the *live/d praxis* of both Xinyao and Vedic Metal, informing theory *through* practice informs this paper.

Singapore – a brief chronology

Most academics and writers have regarded the history of modern Singapore as beginning with its founding as a trading settlement by Thomas Stamford Raffles for the East India Company in 1819 (Phan 2004: 18–20). By 1824, the East India Company had control over the entire island, and Britain's sovereignty in Singapore was acknowledged. From probably only around a thousand inhabitants known as "orang laut" (sea gypsies), Malays and Chinese arrived around 1819 and increased the population of the island to 226,842 by 1901. By the end of the 19th century, Singapore became regarded as the most cosmopolitan city in Asia, comprising nearly three-quarters Chinese and sizeable minorities of Malays, Sumatrans, Javanese, Bugis, Boyanese, Indians, Ceylonese, Arabs, Jews, Eurasians and Europeans. Singapore surrendered to the Japanese army in February 1942 but became a separate Crown Colony in 1946, obtained self-government in 1955 and internal autonomy in 1959. In 1963, it gained independence as part of the new Federation of Malaysia but was expelled in 1965, following unrest between political parties and individuals in Singapore and Malaysia, to become a fully independent nation from then on to the present (Phan 2004: 18–20).

Currently there are 5,183.7 million people resident in city-state Singapore (land size 714.3 km^2 and population density 7257 persons/km^2), of whom 3,789.3 million (about 73.1%) are Singapore citizens or permanent residents (http://www.singstat.gov.sg/stats/latestdata.html, accessed 28 January 2012). Slightly more

than one in every four persons (26.9%) living in Singapore is neither a citizen nor a permanent resident. Demographics among the citizens and permanent residents indicate the amalgamation of all Chinese-dialect-speaking groups to comprise 74.2% of the population while the Malay and Indian communities comprise 13.4%, and 9.2% respectively. An odd description for a community of citizens, *Others* (anyone not of Chinese, Malay or Indian ascription), comprise 3.2% of the remaining citizen/permanent residence population (Statistics Singapore 2011).

Given the heavily urbanized nature of city-state Singapore, how does one come to understand practices aligned with those of more homogenously formed "traditional" societies? Given the population density and the likelihood of plurality and diversity of communities, how does one acknowledge individuality of communities as well as interaction and exchange among these communities?

Since Xinyao and Vedic Metal's situatedness in Singapore constitute an urban phenomenon, this article focuses, first, on the spatial opportunity and dynamics in coming to terms with their practice and prominence. Secondly, this article focuses on musical practice/s as they pertain to soundscapes and the dynamics between acts-of-dwelling (musical practices as expressions of urban/ ity) and sites-of-dwelling (sites where musical practices are un/seen spaces) in terms of *e/mediated* space. Musical practices – as expressions of musical and human behaviors in these practices – are therefore discernible through these spatial dynamics between acts-of-dwelling and sites-of-dwelling. Third, while I suggest that Xinyao and Vedic Metal's enablement towards prominence cannot deny the contribution of forms of mediation available in urban environments, their practices remain essentially a variation of intentionally material communication through different and innovative instruments and techniques, as well as musical practices around them. Stock's seven areas for renewal will form the backdrop while I reflect on the levels of interaction and interchange via the soundscapes of Xinyao and Vedic Metal.

Xinyao

The **Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians** entry on music in Singapore identifies **Xinyao** (新谣) as a Mandarin vocal genre accompanied by guitars, which began in the early 1980s among teenage students (Lee 2001). Xinyao is derived from "*Xin jia po nian qing ren chuang zuo de ge yao*" (songs composed by Singapore youth, Xin from *Xin jia po* [Singapore] and yao from *ge yao* [songs]). Practitioners in this niche community of youth *use/d* Mandarin as a *live/d*

language and for whom Mandarin *informs/informed* their lives. This musical practice was reported in the local English-language newspapers as a name coined by young singers, lyricists and song-writers for themselves although the name reportedly emerged during a forum organized by a local Mandarin newspaper. Moreover, personal interviews and anecdotal accounts reveal that many students, particularly from secondary schools and junior colleges (age-group 13–18), formed groups and performed their own "ballads" in their schools well before this musical practice appeared in newspaper articles (Dairianathan and Chia 2010). Many recordings, radio broadcasts of songs or live recordings remain as potential subjects of further and future research in an attempt to understand the soundscapes of a musical practice some time before it acquired a name.

Oral accounts refer to the practice of amateur music-making by students but without a specific name or label to this practice. According to Mindy Lin's (2004), oral and aural modes of communication and transmission distinguished this practice which was rooted in the everyday experience. Lyrics were available via cipher notation and cassette tape recordings, while tunes were sung by students who were able to recall what they had listened to and disseminated it. Transmission of repertoire took place through school exchange programs like a concert, with the lead singer using guitars or other portable instruments as accompaniment. Concerts of this nature in schools were likely to have been organized by the Chinese [Mandarin] Literary and Dramatic Society. Although the term **Xinyao** had not yet appeared, its practice had been advertised through concerts featuring students' own compositions. Secondly, their songs indicate a predilection for secondary processes of music as primary motivation for appropriating musical structures to suit their usage. Given their informality of learning through oral and aural transmission, choice of simple constructions, simple chords and memorable melodic lines, **Xinyao** practitioners were enabled to be effective in creating and performing their own songs. There were other sources of influence. For principal protagonist Liang Wern Fook, training for him was about listening to previous models:

"I learnt about other forms of music through avid listening to different genres of songs...songs from my parents...Chinese art songs...."O Sole Mio" and "Come Back to Sorrento" sung with Chinese [Mandarin] *lyrics...pop songs in secondary school* [aged 13–16 years] "我家在哪里？" (Where is My Home?)....songs by 刘家昌 *(Liu Jia Chang) or songs from Hong Kong drama serials...songs from Taiwan written by undergraduate students on campus* 民歌 **(Mingge)** *somewhere in the late seventies...songs like* "兰花草" *(Orchid),* "恰似你的温柔" *(Just Like Your Gentleness),* "外婆的彭湖湾" *(Grandmother's Penghuwan)...very catchy*

and simple...I started to write my own songs" (Oral Interview with Liang Wern Fook, January 2004). Liang's recollections mirror the creative pathways of many like him who studied Mandarin as a first language and who engaged with and consumed music of similar influences. Both amateur and professional practitioners drew influences from both art song and entertainment songs but distinguished their songs by a more sophisticated understanding and use of Mandarin as prosaic and poetic language, motivated by the power of their collective experience and facilitated by directness of musical material.

Xinyao practitioners recalled that the local Mandarin radio station broadcast a selection of college campus songs from Taiwan known as **Mingge** (民歌). Benjamin Ng's study of Japanese popular music in Singapore makes a similar observation, that Taiwanese songs of popular culture and mass entertainment *were Mandarin covers of Japanese enka (urban nostalgic and emotive songs) or kayokyoku (early Japanese pop)* (Ng 2002: 1–2). This goes some way to explain **Mingge** practitioners' aversion to a popular/ized culture not entirely of their ownership despite the provenance. The predilection for college campus songs therefore represented a repertoire which Taiwanese could identify with and call their own in terms of music-creating, performing and listening. Yet other influences for **Xinyao** at a more local level of influence included the musical practice of **Shiyue** (诗乐) by students from the former Nanyang University (Nanyang Technological University today). For Liang, **Shiyue** was very refreshing and different and had a strong influence and impact on him because songs in **Shiyue** placed emphasis on literary themes espoused in Mandarin poetry.

For Koh Nam Seng, a member of the most outstanding **Xinyao** group **The Straw**, musical influences were more than just regional in re/sources:

"During my time in Singapore Polytechnic...friends liked to sing American pop songs like 'Blowing in the Wind' and we liked to sing in harmony, three parts, like Peter Paul and Mary, Bob Dylan....because they gave me a sense of what is alive in a song....'Where have all the flowers gone'...we just liked the music... guitar..and voices that harmonize....it captured me...that is how I came to music" (Oral interview with Koh Nam Seng, December 2003).

Given their early beginnings in classrooms or campus spaces, much of this *extra/ musical* learning began with the use of language. Many who came to participate in Xinyao were Mandarin conversant either as a native language or a subject in a school where Mandarin was a niche academic subject (Mandarin began as a first language option for students but by 1979 had become a language equal

to English in the school system). Ironically, Xinyao's rise to prominence in the 1980s in Singapore coincided with a national **Speak Mandarin Campaign** initiated in 1978 which resulted in the use of Mandarin in official communication, extending to commercial endeavor and eventually affecting use of Chinese dialects among family and friends. For a niche community steeped in Mandarin and live/d practice, this would have made no difference *to* or *for* them.

Themes in Xinyao songs included reminiscing the departure of childhood, school life, the excitement of special moments, the camaraderie shared at campfires, friendships, and the laughter and tears of innocence; protests against the pressures of academic excellence and material comfort; plight and inner struggle of teenage victims of an education streaming system and broken families during the 1980s; infatuation, falling in love, naïve optimism, true tests of friendship, being lost in the process of growing up, the life of a shopping mall punk called *Ah Ben*; and even exhorting the Singapore brand (Dairianathan 2004: 254–257).

Many of the initial songs in the musical practice of Xinyao resonate with Liang's accounts of his days of self-discovery and "apprenticeship" in music and text understood the processes of writing *through* music:

"These kinds of songs [Xinyao]...were more personal, more approachable.... simple chords, simple structures and simple compositions and later on, because I began writing...poetry and prose, I tried to put in words for [my] own music" (Dairianathan 2004: 259–260).

This grew to a stage where "*this special way of writing songs...constitutes an important part of my Xinyao compositions; to me at least, it was a most natural form of expression with no commercial motive. Xinyao opened the doors for diverse people from different training and backgrounds to participate in it, even when some of us didn't have proper training. Some of us sang because they liked to sing their own compositions...in the 1980s, none of us ever thought that we could cut an album or sign a professional recording contract. If it had not been for this Xinyao movement, I would never have done it...the music industry...established itself because of Xinyao...*[t]*he younger generation...in the 1990s would have had a better start benefitting from...many Xinyao songs*" (Dairianathan 2004: 261).

Liang's musings are instructive; recalling Blacking's (1973) observation between accomplished and beginning participants (children) in the Venda tradition of **tshikona** where children's songs were less sophisticated versions of the community's experience and expression of it but observed to be identical in substance (Blacking 1973: 101–102). Similarly in Xinyao, there is little to suggest systematic or comprehensive or drill-style training for music-creating,

performing and responding by neophytes to the practice of Xinyao other than watching and attending to performances older and more experienced local and international peers. Yet beginning Xinyao practitioners were enabled in ways that were immediate, engaging and enthusiastic sharing of songs they composed, reflecting a personal and unique expression no less substantial than older and more accomplished members. It was in sharing musical performances in a variety of ways that amateur Xinyao practitioners were capable of understanding, applying and attending to substantial thinking processes not very different from their older and more accomplished peers that gave these amateur music-makers the confidence to articulate their heightened awareness, vindicate their self-esteem, not to mention the pleasure of singing their own compositions. Secondly, Liang informs us that this flurry of amateur activity in Xinyao gave rise to excellence in quality of performances which enabled many amateur music-makers towards professionalizing their practice, which led to the signing of recording contracts by some of their principal protagonists, Liang being one of many notable names as well as groups like **Di Xia Tie**（地下铁）and **The Straw.**

In terms of proliferation and public performances, the first reported **Xinyao** concert, "Sounds of Teens" was held at the Singapore Conference Hall in 1983 while another took place at Hong Lim Green in 1984 as part of Singapore's 25 years of nation-building and yet another at the Botanic Gardens in 1985. There was sufficient interest created for the then Singapore Broadcasting Corporation (Mediacorp today) to run a radio program called "Our Singers and Songwriters," a half-hour program which was aired on the then Radio 3 (95.8 FM today) on Sunday evenings at 7:30 pm. The introduction of an amateur vocal group category in the Chinese singing competition resulted in increased participation by a number of **Xinyao** groups. The release in May 1984, of a first **Xinyao** compilation album, "21 Tomorrow," yielded sales of 20,000 copies creating a heated surge of interest in print and broadcast media. **Xinyao** songs gained their first entry into the Singapore Chinese Billboard charts followed by solo recordings from 1985 onwards. Locally organized Chinese singing competitions in 1985 also introduced a "local compositions" category. An inaugural two-night **Xinyao** Festival was held at the World Trade Centre Auditorium in 1985 with help from the Boon Lay Community Centre Readers Club. This was further boosted by the formation in May 1986 of the Young Songwriters Society, which had for its aims the promotion of **Xinyao** artistes and activities. Interest in **Xinyao** also engendered strong support at community centers around Singapore, not to mention **Xinyao** camps which encouraged the creative and recreative endeavor. By 1987

however, a forum yielded the view that **Xinyao** as amateur re/creative endeavor need not hinder songwriters' creativity *beyond* such endeavor. The 1987 annual **Xinyao** Festival featured "newcomers" such as strobe lights, back-up dancers, four-piece bands, performers' outstanding outfits and slick presentation (Low 1987). Towards the end of the 1980s, prominent **Xinyao** songwriters took to singing their own songs; Liang Wern Fook and Loy Fei Huei being the most notable. The early 1990s however, seemed to have been marked by ebbing of interest in the movement. The 1990 annual **Xinyao** Festival was "reduced to a school concert playing to a half-empty hall" while the Sing Music Awards in 1990 was scrapped because "too few **Xinyao** albums were submitted for nomination" (Chin 1994).

Interest in the practice of **Xinyao** continued into the 1990s albeit from consumption through the public and media. In 1993, a venue for **Xinyao** enthusiasts and aspirants to sing and present their songs became possible with the opening of 'The Ark Lounge' (based on a well-known lounge chain in Taiwan bearing the same name but not amounting to a franchise). Other lounges followed suit, like one called "The Fifties." In 1994, a radio program called "Station of Music" was launched through the joint efforts of a local radio station, "Radio 100.3FM" and a **Xinyao** organization called "Feeling Associates" (reportedly initiated in 1989 with a membership of 10,000 including those from Malaysia). The aim of being selective with aired songs was to introduce "*the better songs to overseas record companies. Hongkong, for example, is greatly in need of songs for its many stars*" (Chin 1994).

Not much more was accounted for in the **Xinyao** movement until a "Xing-Pop" concert materialized as one of the opening celebrations at the newly commissioned Arts space, the Esplanade in 2002 (Lee 2002). Subsequently, a two-night sold-out concert at the University Cultural Centre of the National University of Singapore featured **Xinyao** and Taiwanese **Mingge**（民歌）practitioners, another **Xinyao** reunion concert on 22 March 2003 featuring Eric Moo and Friends, the launch of a book and CD-compilation of **Xinyao** songs by Liang Wern Fook in 2004.

Discussions of **Xinyao** in the present context have to take cognizance of a musical practice that began in a venue – *school* – providing *avenues* for many young aspiring songsmiths and lyricists for whom Mandarin was re/source as a first academically-based language (meaning all subjects were taught and learned in Mandarin). **Xinyao** marked a coruscating beginning, consolidation and consummation in the public domain signaling homage to and consolidation of a community-of-practice and, in 1987, extending it towards a professional commercial-based practice.

1987 arguably marked the beginning of Xinyao submitting to apparatuses associated with professional and commercial-based endeavor in popular music practices; moving away from the school/campus as site and symbol of creative endeavor. Some of its principal protagonists continued their new found endeavor given the impetus of commercialization while others reverted to Xinyao almost as a *rustic school yard* (rural) practice. In events leading into the 1990s, Xinyao supporters it seems had made decisions large enough such that fewer albums were released and a potential industry of awards for album releases ground to a halt because of a lack of album releases rather than lack of creative endeavor. Nevertheless, as quickly as Xinyao came to prominence in the early 1980s, it reportedly came to an end within a decade (Dairianathan and Chia 2010).

There is an alternative reading to the apparent demise of Xinyao. Given the disproportionate number that reverted to *nostalgia as live/d praxis*, much of Xinyao repertoire took on a different trajectory and became the subject of tea lounges where anyone who was interested in creative activity was given as much space as recreations of older favorites. Perhaps those that supported its endeavor sanctioned greater proliferation from the point of amateur activity stopping short of commercializing such endeavor.

Its principal protagonists returned in the millennium in both senses, as the outstanding performers of Xinyao they were and their repertoire which soon found consensus and consolidation. Many reunion concerts – as they were dubbed – were quickly sold out and despite the professional atmosphere of the music accompaniment, these concerts became events also featuring a niche crowd of Mandarin-proficient supporters who were about the same age group as their principal protagonists, knew the lyrics of the songs and fully appreciated the subtlety of the verbal exchanges in the concert.

Use of language in Xinyao – meaning textual content – is a crucial characteristic of its "authentic" and "indigenous" state where music acted as a vehicle for the subtlety and nuanced articulation of Mandarin prose and poetic text. The simple chord constructions were there to ensure vehicular access and efficacy. The portable keyboard or more popular "strum-and-sing" guitar were instrumental as vehicles to accompany the voice/s. Lyrical content seemed the more important in the agglomeration of music and text. As argued in the earlier setting, Lefebvre reminds us of "*a contradiction between technology (know-how) and technicity (modus operandi)…although all music or poetry has a technical—even a technological—aspect, this tends to be incorporated, by means of appropriation into the qualitative realm*" (Lefebvre 1991: 391–2).

Simplicity of melodic and harmonic construction therefore is not to be confused with commensurate simplicity of textual material in Mandarin as Liang explains:

"There is a certain rhythm that is inherent in a poem itself. If you can match these rhythms and place the emphases in the right places, repeating certain syllables, putting the emphasis on certain repeated words, it can help to convey the message more effectively. Another method is through the use of homophones. In the song that I wrote called Worrying Heart [担心], I had this verse 'worrying – dan xin for your lonely heart – dan xin [单心]'. The first dan refers to 'worry' and the second dan xin refers to 'a lonely heart'…collectively…'I worry for your lonely heart.' Because of this homophony, you can unearth two 'layers' of meaning. Thus, I think that language [use] is very important…If one wishes to adopt such a technique, it has to culminate in a certain characteristic of the work and achieve a certain effect. It shouldn't be the case that one just sloppily adds in the words for the sake of finishing the work in haste" (Oral Interview with Liang Wern Fook, January 2004 – emphasis in original).

Here the "voiced sound' in Liang's exemplar acts in double counterpoint: first of musical homophony against homophony in language (same sounding but different meaning); secondly, the technique of Mandarin as language against technology of musical creation and performance. Given the complexity of language use, a sensible strategy on their part would naturally involve a technology (what people do) of memorable melodic lines supported by simple chord construction and simple and clear textures for **Xinyao** practitioners to be most effective with the sophistication of proficiency (technique as learned and conditioned behavior) they clearly possessed in Mandarin. It is also quite clear that this sophisticated use of Mandarin language would also set them apart from white Anglophone-influenced commercially available Mandarin popular music. This description of Xinyao's soundscapes has similar parallels with Stock's urban and professional traditions albeit the professionals as the amateur "authentic" practitioners while the urban musicians were in the field of commercial activity.

But while Xinyao began as a musical practice as a vehicle for the subtle nuances of text in Mandarin, changes in the educational landscape in Singapore would result in Mandarin as language of instruction for all taught academic subjects being supplanted by English as a language of instruction for all academic subjects in all Singapore schools from the 1980s onwards to the present. Mandarin would continue to exist as a compulsory second language option equal to the English language but would never assume the role it had nor engender learners as would have been prior to the 1980s.

Xinyao seems to exist in the present as bifurcated identity:

"No longer...the raw, folksy and school-like songs that guitar strumming students sang in the past. It has now come to encompass a varied and sometimes more sophisticated range of songs that even Taiwanese and Hongkong stars are crooning to" (Chin 1994).

This view of Xinyao as "folksy" vs "sophisticated range of songs" parallels Stock's observations of deprecating views of urban practices vs "traditional" practices (Stock, 2008: 199). But are they both not manifestations of something which was common to both practices across space and time? Liang and his cohort of first language speakers of Mandarin represent the last of their kind in Singapore in the present. Much of Xinyao continues to exist in music recordings, reunion concerts, scholarship (Dairianathan and Chia 2007; 2010) and as a lesson topic in a music textbook for secondary schools (Stead and Dairianathan, 2008). Xinyao's proliferation and sustenance will depend on further and future attempts to better comprehend this coruscating phenomenon.

Vedic Metal – Rudra

An entry on music in Singapore in the *Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians* informs us that:

"The majority of Indians in Singapore speak Tamil ... temple music from the Carnatic tradition ... is performed to announce daily prayer times and during festivals such as Thaipusam and Thimithi. Other genres include Bhajanas (Sanskrit bhajans), film music and Hindustani and Carnatic classical music" (Lee 2001: 421).

Considering Rudra's existence and presence since 1992, absence of mention is instructive either as exclusion (considering that the others are musics of traditional and religious practices) and second as neglect, given that the more ubiquitous film music (popular and mass-consumed culture) seems not to have been missed.

According to their own promotional materials, *Rudra* is a name for the God of Storm in the Vedic period (and in later Hinduism, *Shiva*, God of Destruction). According to the group, the name *Rudra* symbolizes the aggressive character of its music and unique identity epitomized in a genre of Extreme metal (Death metal) they call 'Vedic metal' (Dairianathan 2009: 585). Vedic Metal's unique identity through Rudra is induced and inspired by texts and lyrics that "*deal with the philosophy found in the Vedas called [Advaita] Vedantas*" and, as one band member has observed, "*we are very much inspired by that school of thought*

and hence, we call our music 'Vedic metal" (Dairianathan 2011: 168). Rudra's members are of south Indian ascription (except for Alvin Chua who was with the band from 1996–2000).

Despite their dominant use of and being conversant in English, Rudra's band members consider themselves third generation Indians in Singapore who studied Tamil as a second language in the Singapore school system (Metal-Rules 2004). They also claim affiliation with Hinduism as their "innate cultural (not just religious) identity" (interview with K. Kathirasan of **Rudra**, 2002).

While Tamil as live/d language and Hinduism as innate cultural identity create impressions of south Indian identity in Singapore, they were for Rudra members sources and resources for their own meaning-making, as recalled by K. Kathirasan:

"*I grew up listening to South Indian film music but developed a kind of aversion* [to it]...*such commercial music (including English pop music) lacked the integrity of self-expression. So in the late 1980s we dumped both South Indian and English music for Extreme metal which took serious themes that we could relate with. Moreover, I didn't like the fact that South Indian songs were based on movies with pathetic storylines which were surreal. That complicated the issues we had with commercial music. However as I grew up, I appreciated A. R. Rahman's music because it was really relevant to the times and I liked the good sound engineering that went behind his productions*" (Email communication with K. Kathirasan of *Rudra*, 2007).

In fact, their introduction to the world of Extreme metal and early formation came via another cultural re/source:

"*The Malay community I associated myself with was a committed bunch and rockers. Their lifestyle gave a lot of importance to rock music ... I loved hanging out with them. Listening to Metal seemed to me like...every Malay boy's rite of passage. We shared many kinds of rock music from glam rock to thrash/Death metal...my proper initiation into the world of metal. Plaza Singapura* [shopping mall] *on Saturday night was popularly known...as metalhead/bandboy hangout night...right outside the McDonald's then. Mostly musicians, listeners and group-ies hung out at these places. In terms of community size it was in descending order: Malay, Chinese, Eurasian and Indian. There was another place at The Forum* [former Forum Galleria shopping mall]...*the metalheads were supposedly more elite...supposedly only listening to more obscure underground metal...this attitude of being non-mainstream among a few cliques. Talking about bands others didn't know would always make them 'more' underground although*

I found such attitudes childish" (Email communication with K. Kathirasan of Rudra, 2007).

Their musical formation through socio-cultural interaction was also instructive of the ways in which their immersion was equally function of *use of* that immersion:

"Rudra members shared an affinity for the soundscapes of rock music with the Malay community, yet nothing more than the music itself seems to have been ingratiated" (Dairianathan 2011: 176).

Like Xinyao, musical formations in Vedic Metal had other sources for provenance; notably the *white Anglophone* world of popular music including Extreme Metal. This is some distance removed from socio-cultural influences from their communities of provenance in the Singapore context where *the South Indian classical tradition (Carnatic) emerged as a primary re/source for the musical practice of South Indian film in India and Singapore* (Dairianathan 2005, Dairianathan 2009: 593). Music of South Indian film was to become by the 1990s into the present, re/sources for the imbibing of *African-American and African-Caribbean musical influences, such as rap, R&B, soul and reggae* (Dairianathan 2009: 599).

Rudra's subscription to white-Anglophone re/sources had special significance in the Singapore context where such practices of popular music were caught in fraught relationships with state apparatuses and *subjected to high levels of surveillance and policing because of its association with drug abuse, devil worship, permissive lifestyles and anti-establishment behavior* (Dairianathan 2009: 586). Rudra members recalled evidence of such anxiety in their formative years:

"Every other day when we left our jamming place, the police would stop us and check our IDs [identification cards]. And the public would watch us as though we were criminals because we wore black all the time." (Email communication with K. Kathirasan of *Rudra*, 2009).

However, this eventually capitulated to *Rudra*'s prominence in public performances by these very same state apparatuses who sought to curtail and limit its practice in the preceding decades because of alleged associations with substance abuse, hippyism and inappropriate social and moral values. In 2007, Rudra were offered partial sponsorship for their tour of three American cities by the locally established performing rights group (COMPASS) affirming local (Rudra) creative and intellectual output (Dairianathan 2009: 604).

By 2001, with the release of their second album Aryan Crusade, Rudra's soundscapes had a label, "Vedic Metal," which members felt more strongly about than being just another Death Metal band:

"In the initial years we [were] *trying to sound like the bands we loved. Over the years we have found a sense of purpose* [to] *what we have been doing...and redefine our existence in terms of Vedic metal or Vedanta* [philosophy]...*our style of Vedic metal will reflect the opposites of nature, trying to find that which pervades both the profane (growls and loud guitars) and the sublime (Vedic chants/philosophy). The oscillations which are very much evident in all our albums reflect the nature of reality we perceive, both unpleasant and pleasant...closer to what Death metal is right now musically although lyrically we do not conform much to...We prefer to call ourselves a Vedic metal band or maybe an Extreme metal band. Death metal... limits what we are"* (Email communication with K. Kathirasan of *Rudra*, 2008).

As with communities-of-practice (Wenger 1998) traditional or otherwise, Vedic metal cannot escape the authentication of their own soundscapes, their textual and musical re/sources and reception of their music and genre. Moreover, it would be difficult to deny the indigenous characteristics of a musical practice that is Vedic Metal. On the other hand, that indigeneity acknowledges Sanskrit text and the Advaita Vedantas, South Indian cinematic soundscapes which acknowledge both Indian classical and more contemporary black Anglophone secretions, the musical practices of Mat Rock among the Malay community in Singapore which also acknowledges the more worldwide phenomenon of Extreme Metal. Moreover, these intersections of soundscapes among communities also acknowledge urban, cinematic, traditional, religious and historical soundscapes which represent compressions of time and space. But evident in their performances on 16 and 17 November 2010, Rudra have gone further to collaborate with a contemporary dance theatre group to engender choreographed responses to their original compositions; with different/differing meaning for Rudra as a Vedic Metal group. There is even the ironic possibility of mapping their praxis onto musical theatre not very dissimilar to cinematic soundscapes; the very soundscapes they had come to express disdain for.

Conclusion

Throughout this paper, I have indicated how Xinyao and Vedic metal have had their points of origin in urbanscapes. Their *live/d* soundscapes are far more problematic than a simple urban label. But it is through these urban soundscapes, Xinyao and Vedic Metal are seen to select "traditions" from a past for their present and future discourses; selecting practices from "traditions" from *an/ other* place which may or may not have links with point/s of origin; and, reveal

how im/migrant communities who, when navigating their way into a different environment, adopt and adapt practices belonging to other cultures in their "new" environment. Observations of both practices indicate how cultures viewed without question as relatively stable *indigenous* communities, in the same space and time, have also learned to adopt and adapt to change over time.

Musical practices then, are more likely to appear more *cohesive* than coherent even as *systemic* modes of practice carry their own sense of logic. Encouraging comprehensibility among difference/s will necessitate a dialogic relationship between praxis and exegetical commentary as well as between *systemic* and *systematic* consolidations of live/d practices. Blacking made the observation of such tensions in attempts to systematize and formalize systemic practices:

"While musical systems are related to social institutions, the relationship is dialectical, dynamic and highly problematic" (Blacking, cited in Byron 1995: 23–24).

As soundscapes however, Xinyao and Vedic Metal secrete keywords familiar in ethnomusicological discourse that need questioning.

Tradition seems a sacrosanct keyword in ethnomusicology and is germane to a discussion of systemic and systematic understandings of musical practices. In his chapter on unities of discourse Michel Foucault (2002: [1972]: 1969) identified properties associated with the concept of tradition:

"It is intended to give a special temporal status to a group of phenomena that are both successive and identical (or at least similar); it makes it possible to rethink the dispersion of history in the form of the same; it allows a reduction of the difference proper to every beginning, in order to pursue without discontinuity the endless search for the origin; tradition enables us to isolate the new against a background of permanence, and to transfer its merit to originality, to genius, to the decisions proper to individuals. Then there is…influence, which provides a support…for the facts of transmission and communication; which refers to an apparently causal process…the phenomena of resemblance or repetition; which links, at a distance and through time – as if through the mediation of a medium of propagation such defined unities as individuals, œuvres, notions, or theories" (Ibid: 23–24).

To invert Connell and Gibson's suggestion that traditions (read "ancient" practices) remain in the contemporary world and may be entirely contemporary in authorship (Connell and Gibson 2003: 21), I argue that Xinyao and Vedic Metal as present day urban practices are manifestations of "tradition" from a selection of traditions that precede them chronologically and geographically.

Such perceptions of the connotations of tradition on *lived* and *living* musical practices connect with another keyword, temporality. Temporality can be thought of in at least two ways; functions of time, and that which is predicated – even prescribed – as a result of consolidated practice. Practices contingent on time rely on participant observation in the present tense which renders readership of previous accounts. Predications through time arrive as consolidated practice which then presumes derivation, provenance and, as Foucault articulates, difference proper to every beginning, to impute continuity. Continuity can be perpetuated by practices evident in the present which rely on ethnography in the present taking precedence. Continuity can also be predicated on arborescence: ascriptions of lineage, pedigree, pre/dominant theme, person/ality or social collective which precipitates solidification of conventions. But continuity may also emerge through rhizomatic processes where a plethora of ascriptions which have little to do with lineage or pedigree but are seen to achieve coherence as a *cohesive totality* greater than the sum of its parts.

When *re/gained* from solidified conventions – or mindsets – of teleological derivation, predilections of ethnicity, clan or class being more dominant, continuity may ascribe endogamous value and/or right of access to musical repertoire via specific instruments, persons or persons representing ethnicity or community. Endogamy then functions as metaphor for every possible approach to tradition which either views "*social inequalities in the arts*" as mindset or an agenda for affirmative action or exacts heritage as criteria of lineage or pedigree for inclusion, with ramifications for the concept of coherence and by default, exclusion.

Coherence in musical practices is problematized by im/migration and urbanization to name only two. Cohesiveness renders *in/coherent* a musical practice which raises questions of authenticity, especially for establishing or consolidating what constitutes a tradition. Tradition may potentially act as a divisive tool depicting in musical practices around the world notions of insider/outsider roles. Tradition can also engender – through intervening institutions seeking coherence – outsider-dominated discourse dictating what defines these musical systems and practices within. If musical practices are more realistically *cohesive* rather than *coherent*, achieving coherence through ethnomusicology as a discipline can become potentially dissonant with lived and living outcomes in musical practices of communities. This is because of the way perpetuation of systemic behavior in musical practices in contemporary settings engenders different meaning and use/r value for diversity. If coherence of *systemic praxis* in the community-of-practice is rendered into *systematic practice*, coherence representing the discipline of

ethnomusicology potentially *re-presents* as institutionalized practice, musical practices by individuals, and individuals representing communities-of-practice. Are practiced readings and readership in the discipline of ethnomusicology cognizant of the consequences of *mis/construing* cohesiveness for coherence, unwittingly privileging discourses as well as discursive strategies to engender what Hobsbawm called *the invention of tradition*? (Hobsbawm 1983).

But Connell and Gibson's observations of *a sense of endogamy* as central tenet in the ethnomusicological tradition has more than one trajectory, especially in relation to *musical expressions emanating from within relatively unique social landscapes* (Connell and Gibson 2003: 20). Blacking argues "w*hat is ultimately of most importance in music…is there in the body, waiting to be brought out and developed*" (Blacking 1973: 100). If music is enacted, performed and evident through individuals *and* communities, it not only reveals something about music being brought out of *self/s*, but also ways such embodied expressions cannot be ignored as *indigeneity* at the most basic anthropological level.

Returning to Blacking's suggestion of 'music' as emergent, *"we ought to be able to learn something about the structure of human interaction…structures involved in music, and so learn more about the inner nature of man's mind… observation of musical structures may reveal some of the structural principles on which human life is based"* (Blacking 1973: 115).

Expressions of an individual – as individual *and* community-of-practice – authenticate this indigeneity in at least two ways. First, rurality, urbanity and modernity are therefore seen as *authentications of indigeniety over space and time*. This has positive value for the discipline of ethnomusicology if it engages and authenticates communities-of-practice indigenous to urbanity. Soundscapes emergent from individuals and communities-of-practice in urbanity indicate more crucially, the qualitative nature of this indigeneity even as "*multiple, overlapping musical communities are intermingled, and musical networks criss-cross one another temporally, socially, physically and electronically*" (Stock 2008: 201). As soundscapes of musical and human intentional behavior, urban musical practices have less to do with imagined teleology and predilections for provenance and more to do with how musical practices are *en/acted*, lived *in* and *through* their communities as functions of time and space; summarily, how their soundscapes are *authentications of their indigeneity*.

Listening *to* and *for* soundscapes not only informs us of the indigeneity of person but also indigeneity of *persona/e* of communities-of-practice/s. Listening also provides opportunities for negotiating the very meanings that make for these

soundscapes not only in specific locations but also what connects them to other practices around the world. If soundscapes represent points of differentiation, difference/s in multiple practices need not necessarily connote fragmentation or differences between exegetical commentary and multiple practices of communities. Exegetical commentary in textual form, including recordings and online resources, are likely to be varied but it is this very diversity of perspectives that encourage different levels and layers of comprehensibility of *differing* musical practices across the world. Reflexive writing and ethnography are helpful in getting to a sense of their presence and practice in a specified location. They also make for prospective examination, differences of insider/outsider dispositions notwithstanding. But it will take criticism – of musical, historical and geographical perspectives – to come to terms with different practices to understand diverse ways of musical practices irrespective of time and space.

If soundscapes form the very basis of discovering and studying communities-of-practice as a central tenet, then ethnomusicology can re-assert its dispensation with the prefix *new* yet all the while being sensitive – if not sensitized – to *a critical view of the observer's relationship to the observed and identity…aware of social in equalities in the arts…beyond the "great" arts of all arts* (Nettl 2002: 202, 222 in Stock 2008: 188).

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MANAGING URBAN CULTURAL COMPLEXITY
Perspectives on the Place of the Arts in Conflict Management

Kjell Skyllstad

Abstract: *Around the middle of the 1970s some musicians and music educators living in the Norwegian capital of Oslo met to discuss ways to create better harmony between the nature and extent of music activities in the capital and the increasing cultural complexity of its population caused by a sharp increase in immigration. This gave rise to the founding of the* Intermusic center*, a pioneer organization working towards bringing the population at large into living contact with the rich cultural heritage of the variegated immigrant population. The competence earned through this pioneering work was later to form the professional basis for launching the first official research undertaking evaluating the potential of a large scale school music program based on these resources. It was launched for the purpose of promoting better social relations among students in city public schools with differing populations of immigrant students. The paper attempts to discuss the methodical issues connected with an evaluative research program of this nature as well as those connected with practical teaching. An historical overview of institutionalized multicultural music teaching in Norway precedes a description of the* Resonant Community *project itself and is followed by an evaluative description of results and aftereffects. A concluding section discusses the future of multicultural education in Europe on the backdrop of the economic downturn and extremist actions.*

Keywords: *multicultural education; citizenship education; immigration; conflict transformation; urban culture*

This paper is the result of the engagement of the author during four decades with musicians from countries of immigration residing in Norway working to promote intercultural understanding and inclusion. The main body of the text will center on a research project *The Resonant Community* initiated to explore the effect of

a comprehensive music project in eighteen Oslo primary schools on inter-ethnic relations among students. The project aimed at preventing disruptive conflicts and assist in the ongoing processes of social integration following the large influx of immigrant groups, mainly from Pakistan, during the preceding years.

The opening chapters center on the quest for methodological concepts that would serve as guides in the planning process as well as in the everyday instructional practice and educational follow-up. Among the main sources of inspiration were experiences collected during graduate studies in education in the USA and practice as a music teacher on various levels, including university teaching in classical music and ethnomusicological subjects. Extensive travel and study of music and music making and music instruction in Asian and African educational settings, both formal and informal, contributed to the methodical choices agreed upon.

These experiences then form an important background for the methodological discussions and structure of this paper. Many persons should be credited with giving me advice and counsel. Special credit for seeking models for conflict transformation through music is due to Professor Helga de la Motte for calling to my attention the dynamic processes of person reconstruction and conflict transformation to be found in Mozart's operatic oeuvre, most notably *The Magic Flute*, which will form the first part of our discussion. This will be followed by references to supplementary methodological impulses, a description of the *Resonant Community* project and other research initiatives and finally a look toward the future.

The paper is about perspectives and beginnings, attempting as a background to draw together experiences from travel and conversations with tradition bearers and colleagues and practical work in the field more than attempting a coherent analysis of literature and research within the confines of specified disciplines. And it is about passion – a passion also to build some bridges between disciplines with its opportunities and risks.

Mozart and conflict transformation

Many would consider Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* a guidebook to conflict prevention and empathy building (Lessing 2004). For my part I will turn to music, believing with Schiller in the power of the musical stage to produce a vision of a united humanity and offering incentives to work towards this goal. And here is where Mozart enters the arena. The study of opera is a wide field that provides openings for widely different interpretations. Taking into account the political

background and the social impulses contained in works like *The Magic Flute* and *The Marriage of Figaro* I would not refrain from pointing to the possibilities and methodologies for solving conflicts through creativity, empathy and non-violence emanating from these works.

Across the tender duet between Pamina and Papageno in *The Magic Flute*, Mozart expresses the utopian hope for the unification of mankind through the power of music. This lyrical outpouring takes place after a concrete demonstration of the power of music to channel and divert aggressive emotions and threats of destructive action into releasing dance. I am referring to the memorable scene where the Muslim outcast Monostatos and his helpers, after having kidnapped Pamina (the heroine) and Papageno (the bird man), abandon their cruel intensions and throw themselves into a joyful dance.

Mozart must have been a believer in the positive role of the arts in social mediation, as exemplified in *The Marriage of Figaro*. We are told that during the last years of his short life Mozart was kept busy composing music for the occasions when all classes of Viennese society were allowed to intermingle and associate. At the same time Mozart did not shrink from exposing elements of social injustice and inequality still ingrained in Austrian society. The struggle of Figaro and Suzanna becomes part of his own fight for a more humane order of the future.

In *The Magic Flute* Mozart does not fail to address the underlying sources of racial discrimination and aggressive behavior: exclusion, humiliation and demonization. "*Am I not of flesh and blood?*" the Muslim outcast Monostatos cries out in an aria full of despair.

Through music to self – The transformative power of seeing and listening

"*Music is not in the first place dependent on those stimuli that reach the outer ear, not even the reactions of the inner ear, but of the organizing and transforming reactions of the mind.*" (Murcell 1937)

"*Transformative learning involves a deep, structural shift in basic premises of thought, feelings and actions. It is a shift of consciousness that dramatically and permanently alters our ways of being in the world. Such a shift involves an understanding of ourselves and our self-locations; our relationships with other humans and with the natural world, our understanding of relations of power in*

interlocking structures of class, race and gender; our body awareness; our visions of alternative approaches to living; and our sense of possibilities for social justice and peace and personal joy." (Transformative Learning Centre, University of Toronto, http://tlc.oise.utoronto.ca/About.html [29–03–12])

Don Campbell, the author of the much discussed and criticized *The Mozart Effect* begins his book with a quote from *The Magic Flute*: "*How powerful is your magic sound*" (Campbell 2001: 1). He does not however attempt to analyze how Mozart in fact through his works present evidence for an inherent theory of art and music reception.

The hero Tamino with this exclamation refers to the conflict-solving powers of the flute. At the opening of the opera we find our hero fleeing from a snake (the mythical *Naga* in the tradition of his homeland) – a traumatized refugee seeking help and shelter in a foreign land. Mozart brings in three helping characters who kill the snake and hand him the magic flute for protection together with a picture as a symbol of hope.

In his first so-called *Bildnisaria* Mozart then outlines a therapeutic process which will help the refugee overcome his trauma, thereby opening up for an understanding of a central project of the Enlightenment – a development program for person reconstruction and transformative learning:

1. Music and Perception – the Peak Experience

Tamino looks at the picture and, overwhelmed by his impression, exclaims: *This picture is magically beautiful, like no eye has ever seen*. The German word for magically – *bezaubernd* – stands for that sudden and overwhelming sensual experience that Maslow refers to as a Peak Experience. Monostatos is later transformed through a similar peak experience, listening to the sounds of Papageno's Glockenspiel: *It sounds so wonderful, it sounds so beautiful, like nothing I've ever seen or heard.*

Mozart seems to make a close connection between visual and musical imagery as inspirational fields, giving direction to the process of composition. Ernst Bloch cites Mozart's vivid description of the inception of his process of composing:

"It heats my soul, and now it grows ever bigger, and I unfold it wider and brighter. It becomes truly finished in my mind and even if being so wide I can catch it afterwards in one glance, seeing it in my spirit like a beautiful picture or human being, not as a sequence as it will later appear, but everything together as I hear it in my imagination." (Translated by the author from Bloch 1973: 368)

Abraham Maslow in his book *Toward a Psychology of Being* (Maslow 1968: 161) points to the transformative function of such intense experiences, facilitating a sensation of flow, of expanded time and place, of becoming part of an enveloping whole. Maslow also describes how such experiences lead to a positive change in self-appraisal, at the same time facilitating a new relationship to others and a positive change in world outlook. Maslow's work would by many be deemed outdated but has still found resonance in later works of music educators and therapists at the time of the research project described here.

The central figure in music therapy, Kenneth Bruscia, comments: "*Therapy should facilitate peak experiences, those sublime moments wherein one is able to transcend and integrate splits within the person, within the world. Since the arts facilitate the occurrences of peak experiences, aesthetic endeavors are seen to be a central aspect of life, and therefore of therapy.*" (Bruscia 1987: 33)

Neurophysiologists explain how such sensory experiences remove emotional blockages through simultaneous neural breakthroughs, leading to permanent encodings in the synaptic structure of the brain. Maslow asserts that peak experiences create a demand for reliving the experience. Thus, a single peak listening experience in early age can be seen to trigger a long, often lifelong ongoing process of activating and mobilizing cognitive fields and value systems. Noted psychologists maintain that strong emotional experiences in pre-adolescence may decisively influence the value orientation of a whole generation.

In young people the listening experience in a social setting is often accompanied by a bodily feeling of strong involvement. The key to individual and social integration then lies in the dynamics of the human body. We are moved towards sympathy, understanding and togetherness. Within the context of the *Resonant Community* project it was early decided that dance activities should become a central arena for developing empathic competence.

Professor Even Ruud of the Department of Musicology, the University of Oslo, in his book *Musikk og Identitet* (Music and Identity) refers to an interview project based on exploring the listening experience. By many the experience was described as becoming one with the music, living in expanded time and place, as well as experiencing a strong feeling of community (Ruud 1997: 179 f.)

2. Music and Emotions – The Magic Feeling

Tamino conveys to us how the unique sensory experience triggers equally strong feelings *(I feel it, I feel it)*, described as a burning sensation (*wie Feuer brennen*). His heart becomes filled with excitement (*neuer Regung*).

Even Ruud describes how many respondents in his research on the impacts of music listening also referred to strong bodily reactions (Ruud 1997:179 f.). The emotional impact of sensory experiences becomes the central point in most accounts about personal encounters with art, some of them resulting in life-long attachment. Identity building is connected to key moments in life, when music is woven into and forever connected in memory to specific encounter situations.

Group listening has been found to be effective in simultaneously promoting personal growth and intergroup cohesion. Vegar Jordanger of the Department of Psychology of the University of Trondheim and Director of the *Building Peaces* network has demonstrated the power of listening in settings of ethnic conflict. Jordanger builds on the listening methodology of the music therapist Helen Bonny, called the GIM, i.e., *Guided Imagery and Music*. Bonny relates to the notion of "altered states of consciousness" with a potential for healing and integration. The method proved effective in Jordanger's project of dealing with emotionally demanding situations in Crimea. Negative emotional states like shame, distress, fear, anger and disgust are transformed at the group level. The group reaches a state of what Jordanger describes as "collective vulnerability: while listening to a high-end performance, paying special attention to the images that comes to mind while listening. The negative blocking emotions were transformed, and the group (Russians, Chechens and Ossetians) worked, according to the report, in a state of flow, facilitating a process of mutual understanding" (Jordanger 1995).

3. Music and Cognition – Finding Answers

Tamino is overwhelmed by his experiences and begins questioning the true nature of his feelings: *It is something I cannot name*. He begins a dialogue with himself: *Could the feeling be love?*

In *The Magic Flute* the vision of hope with a strong emotional impact is followed by an inner and outer conversation or dialogue. For the traumatized Tamino Mozart develops a strategy of healing based on sensory stimulation and dialogue therapy (in psychology referred to as *Guided imagery* described above). Still living with his inner projections of fear, but spurred on by the pictures of hope presented to him, Tamino embarks on a process of healing, guided by his therapist, the Priest. In a search for spiritual release he is led to decipher the symbolic meaning of these images and reconcile his (often contradictory) inner feelings.

4. Music and Motivation – The Road to Fulfillment

Oh if I only could find her. What would I do? I would joyfully take her into my warm bosom and she would be mine forever.

With these lines Mozart stresses the importance of visualizing a goal for the fulfillment of dreams and emotional expectations. The projection of fulfillment needs the support of a renewed inner dialogue, through which the aim of the action is fully identified. The music that underlines this last part of the aria fully demonstrates the motivational character of Mozart's score.

An examination of the musical techniques and expressive means that create such a close correspondence between text and music in this aria reveals to us some important secrets about Mozart's style and why the so-called Mozart effect has been made an object of scientific research.

First of all there are the strong musical images appealing to all our senses. Then there is the emotional appeal of a style in the transition between the affective conventions of the Neapolitan traditions and the poetic universe of early Romanticism, the so-called *Emfindsamer Stil*. There is the appeal to our curiosity, stimulating our quest for answers, for finding solutions, often by presenting musical contrasts that invite individual solutions. And finally there is the overwhelming motivational force, prompting my Munich Professor Georgiades to coin the term *Action aria* (*Aktionsarie*) as a definitive break with the Neapolitan da capo form.

Through music to others – The Transformative Power of Music Making

Two general areas inspired by the transformative methodology found in the works of Mozart were selected in planning for the Norwegian school project *The Resonant Community*, taking into consideration the chosen goals:

1. The musical experience as a way to integration of the creative self, emotional growth, cognitive development and motivation for innovative action.
2. Music making as a tool for group coordination, development of empathic competence, collective problem solving and dialogue towards dynamic synchronization.

The Marriage of Figaro is an example of a methodology aiming at achieving these aims through creative means. Through the variegated forms of musical dialogue, mainly realized by means of duets and masterful ensemble scenes, Mozart shows

how Figaro and Suzanna manage to develop the empathic competence needed to form the kind of alliances that finally lead to the victory of love and justice over the old system of injustice and oppression, and to the plea for forgiveness by the Duke. The opera moreover demonstrates how an ingenious selection of musical genres and styles is conducive to attaining the aims of changing hearts and minds. One remembers the critical use of the old-fashioned minuet in the musical duel of "*Si vuol ballare Signor Contino*" or the likewise ingenious manipulation of the conventional Farmers choruses in Figaro.

The development of empathic competence through music is dependent on a determined effort to encourage ensemble playing in school settings. In line with the principles of *Cooperative Learning* this development is rooted in the basic skills needed in successful collective performances. Music making becomes a training ground for fostering these skills that determine the quality of human communication in the workplace and social life: positive interdependence, individual accountability, equal participation and simultaneous interaction.

The rapid spread of the Drum Circle movement testifies to an increasing understanding of the benefits of collective music making by the corporate world. Factories worldwide have discovered the benefits of introducing drum circle sessions at the beginning of the working day to foster social cohesion and increase productivity.

A special case for team-building through music has been suggested through observing the ways that members of jazz ensembles cooperate in collectively working out a musical concept. An illuminating article on this subject was published by *Organizational Science* serving the corporate sector. The author takes as his point of departure that "the fundamental shift we are experiencing involves empowering people at all levels to initiate innovative solutions" (Barrett 1998: 605). Barrett considers the jazz ensemble to function as a collaborative learning laboratory "creating conditions that encourage them to bring a mindfulness to their task that allows them to imagine alternative possibilities before unthinkable" (Barrett 1998: 605). He stresses key characteristics of jazz improvisation that have direct bearing on conflict transformation. In an educational context a key outcome of participating in improvisational music making is the ability to embrace errors as a source of learning. The author rightly observes that jazz playing contravenes the tendency to construe errors as unacceptable, which often has the consequence of immobilizing people after a breakdown. In the context of conflict transformation this refusal to give up is of extreme importance in those critical moments where negotiations seemingly have come to a dead end. Looking

at errors and breakdowns as opportunities rather than failures means allowing them to become tools for enhancing innovative action. Jazz thus becomes an instrument for promoting continuous negotiations toward dynamic synchronization. "What characterizes successful jazz improvisation ...is the ongoing give-and-take between members [who] are in continual dialogue and exchange with one another. [...] Jazz members are able to negotiate, recover, proceed, adjust to one another because there is a shared task knowledge" (Barrett 1998: 613–614). This is the essence of cooperative learning.

Ethnomusicological evidence for developing a musical methodology toward conflict transformation

Human life develops through creative interplay, linking artistic and social activities. This view of human development shared by ethnologists and historians alike constitutes a firm basis for music education. Throughout the long history of mankind artistic activities like music, dance, painting and theater with their common ritual roots have constituted the explorative space where social relations are formed and transformed. Ethnomusicologists like Anthony Seeger, through his studies of music traditions among Amazonian tribes, has shown how important music making is for the construction of civil society: "Music is part of the very construction and interpretation of social and conceptual relationships and processes" (Seeger 1987: XIV). And in this process musical forms and performance practices have been shaped and reshaped to make them effective tools in social construction and reconstruction.

Christopher Small on the background of his research on African tribal music sums up the connections between individual and social functions of music making:
1. The performing individual explores, confirms and symbolizes his or her identity.
2. He or she participates in an ideal society created by the performers.
3. Through the musical structure the performer models his or her relationship to the society (Small 1980: 74).

The experience supports the two-fold aim of the *Resonant Community* project, that of creating a musical concept for strengthening the identity of the performers while at the same time promoting the process of socialization.

In Southeast Asia social harmony is promoted through music making in a social context that involves all age groups and likewise seeks to promote

individual creativeness within the overall project of socialization. Every village in Bali has a music club meeting every week, where village people are encouraged to interact musically, each freely introducing proposals on how the music should be played. It is this process of musical interaction, not the end product, that lies at the core of this tradition, every rehearsal being in itself a concert.

Formalized music education in Southeast Asia is likewise geared toward maximizing social benefits through the use of special one-note producing instruments, the *Angklung*. Children are only responsible for this one note. The development of social skills then lies in the integration with the other players.

It soon became evident that these ensemble techniques were well adapted to serve the cause of inclusion in educational settings. (A generous gift of instrumental ensembles from the governments of Indonesia and Thailand made the implementation of new methods in Norwegian multicultural music education possible).

Rikskonsertene: A key player in the musical life of Norway

Rikskonsertene, a national institution devoted to the democratization of musical life, has been at the forefront among cultural organizations aiming at strengthening the cause of diversity, inclusion and peace. The urgent task that presented itself after the ravaging of World War II was the political material and social reconstruction. However, it soon became apparent that a cultural reconstruction had to follow. Three national organizations were established to lead out in this work: *Riksteatret,* serving the theater sector, *Riksutstillinger*, serving the fine arts, and *Rikskonsertene*, serving the music sector.

Three main tasks have been identified as guidelines for the activities of the latter organization: producing quality concert programs and arranging concert tours throughout the country in close co-operation with local concert organizers; administering Norway's National School Concert Scheme, ensuring that it meets high artistic and educational standards and reflects musical diversity; and acting as adviser, coordinator and operating agent in the implementation of Norway's international cultural policy. In carrying out these tasks emphasis is laid on: musical diversity, artistic quality, cooperation and dialogue, and innovation.

Rikskonsertene is financed through the Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs with added funding for international projects through the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation.

Rikskonsertene: School music for diversity and inclusion

Rikskonsertene was launched in 1968 in the northernmost city on the European continent, Hammerfest, through a ceremonial concert marking the implementation of a cultural reconstruction program aimed at giving equal access to cultural manifestations, all along our widespread countryside, deep valleys and long coastline. Ever since *Rikskonsertene* was established, children and youth have been an important target group. Two schemes are in operation: a nationwide school concert scheme and a region-based concert scheme for pre-school children.

The school concert scheme covers all children in primary and lower secondary schools in 95% of the 434 municipalities. Every child will experience two concerts a year, artistic productions specially designed for a particular age group. Normally it takes place on the school premises during school hours. Preparatory material is distributed to the music teacher with detailed information about the programs, often with educational ideas to assist the teachers in their music lessons. Programs usually include audience participation, artists and children creating and performing music together. From time to time music festivals for children will be arranged. Annually 350 different music programs have been produced and yearly presented in 9,000 country-wide concert settings involving 350 professional performers and 500,000 children. Since 1992 these yearly concert/workshops have included music from Africa, Asia, and Latin America involving performers from minority communities.

Concerts for pre-school children are based on a deeper involvement by performers in the daily activities of the kindergarten. Artists visiting the kindergarten in the morning will often participate in afternoon family concerts. The programs are jointly produced by specialists in music and drama education in cooperation with the performers.

Intermusic Center: The beginning of multicultural music work

The groundwork for multicultural music work in Norway was laid through the establishment of a Norwegian *Intermusic Center*. The Director had during the '70s and '80s called upon the assistance of high-ranking international performers like Hariprasad Chaurassia, Salah Cherki, Fateh Ali Khan and Dr. L. Subramaniam to perform and teach in Norway. During their visits to Norway these highly respected artists were able to interact with the local immigrant communities, stimulating already established artistic activities and initiating new educational

projects for the young generation, In communities of Muslim and Hindu religious profession, these musicians were also seen to give much sought after and highly welcomed religious guidance, thereby contributing to a more positive attitude to music and the arts among the more traditionalist groups. It was in dialogue with Dr. L. Subramaniam, the leading Tamil violinist, that the first plans for multicultural teaching in Norway were launched.

Through the contacts established by the *Intermusic Center* the author was soon able to introduce teacher training workshops in intercultural music education as well as offering courses and seminars in ethnomusicological subjects as part of regular degree programs at the Oslo University Department of Music and Theater. Many of the graduates who took part in these courses became competent teachers, musicians and administrators who helped consolidate the place carved out for multicultural activities in school and community. Courses in ethnomusicology and multicultural teaching methods are now regularly given by the Oslo Municipal School of Music and Culture as well as the National Academy of Music.

The Resonant Community – Pilot project and planning

A pilot project (1988–1989) opened up new vistas for multicultural music teaching. The participating school, situated in a district with a very high percentage of immigrant (mostly Pakistani) families, had reserved a number of classrooms for a one-day project of information and sharing. Now for once the traditional teacher-student role was reversed. In each room a Pakistani student welcomed his or her fellow students to a lesson on a particular section of Pakistani culture: traditions of food and clothing, language, dance, music, religion, etc. Having completed the round at the close of the day all participating students assembled in the school gym to share their new learning through singing, music and dance.

The convincing success of this program brought about the inauguration of a three-year project (1989–1992) involving 18 schools in the Oslo area with varying populations of immigrant children. The mean for the Oslo area at the time of the project was 25%, while inner-city areas would have much higher percentages, in some instances approaching 100%. Six of these schools (A-schools) were to participate in an intensive arts education program (music, dance, the performing arts) concentrating on immigrant cultures. Six others (B-schools) were to participate in a regular school concert program, likewise based on minority cultural traditions, while the six remaining (C-schools) would function as control institutions.

The following goals were formulated:
1. To spread knowledge of and create understanding for the values that reside in the culture of immigrants by presenting live music and dance for children.
2. To counteract racism by contributing to changes of attitude towards various immigrant groups through cultural influence.
3. To bring out the musical resources that lie in the various immigrant groups in Norway, as well as to provide external professional support through performers from the immigrants' home countries.
4. To ease the process of integration for immigrants through cultural interaction.

The target groups were school pupils between the ages of 10–12 in Norwegian primary schools situated in areas with varying concentrations of immigrant pupils and the families of the children involved. The same pupils were to follow the project for three years (from grades four to six).

Researchers from several countries in a number of independent studies have discovered negative attitudes towards children of other races or minority cultures already developing in pre-school age. Prejudicial attitudes in the form of stereotypes, often leading to confrontations and harassment, become more pronounced with age. But it appears that this personality development gives way to more nuanced views among the 10–14 year olds. This is based on a greater interest for individual features and a curiosity about other ways of living supporting a greater ability for identification across racial boundaries. This positive disposition, however, does not seem to last once these children become teenagers, when peer-group pressure and the need to conform make themselves felt. Many factors indicate that the ages 10–14 are critical years for attitude formation.

The idea was not only to present music traditions of the immigrant communities, but equally important to stimulate participation in interethnic musical activities, a twofold approach of listening and participation essential to educational programs aimed at fostering empathy and contributing to conflict transformation. Students of different ethnic origins would be encouraged to try their hands at playing various percussion instruments, forming small classroom bands or ensembles, accompanying dance performances and musical plays. In the larger gatherings the whole school population would be invited to join in. Parents would also be invited for evening performances, joining their children in the pleasures of music making and playing musical games from many countries.

Cultures from three geographical zones were to be presented. Asia (first year) where the methodical emphasis would be put on facilitating new and existing listening experiences, Africa (second year) with a strong emphasis on music making in groups. The third year (Latin America) would then focus on the integrative function of music in a multicultural society, where performing and listening bear the stamp of cultural interaction.

Careful and comprehensive planning was deemed essential for a successful outcome. The selection of schools for participation presented a challenge in itself.

Some school principals would contend that their school had not encountered any problems in the field of including minority students. Others would point to the dangers of openly referring to any existing problems for fear of triggering negative attitudes. This called for great care to be taken in formulating questionnaires. In planning the various activities the already-established contacts with minority organizations proved especially valuable so as to avoid cultural collisions and communicative misunderstandings.

Tests were given at the beginning and end of the project and evaluated. The main findings were:

1. Considerably greater increase in the A – schools (as compared to the other school models) from 1989 to 1992 in the number of pupils who report that they have no personal problem with mobbing or harassment This holds especially true for minority pupils. The tendency towards better social relations and diminished ethnic conflicts is confirmed by reports from the teachers.
2. Attitude toward immigration seem to have remained unchanged in the A – schools while there was an increased degree of negative attitudes found among the pupils in the B – and C – schools.
3. A greater number of pupils in the A – schools at the end of the project consider immigrants to be honest, law–abiding, industrious and kind, while there were fewer in the other school models.
4. Minority pupils in the A – schools have strengthened their self–image during the project. The teachers report that there has been a highly positive development in identity formation and activity level of minority pupils.

One should note that the project was carried out in a period when the public debate on immigration tended to operate with a distinction between "we, the Norwegians" and "them" referred to as so-called "*fremmedkulturelle*" (foreign-cultured), meaning mostly Muslim people of Pakistani origin. Spanning this divide was seen as a prime objective. Today we have a clearer concept of the

complexity of ethnic relations in our society and the nature of conflicts between and within groups, the exploration of which would constitute a necessary basis for future research and activities.

In my final report as research coordinator the following summing up and recommendations could encourage follow-up and necessary correctional action:

"*On the whole, the project has created a basis for growth, for triggering the intercultural processes which are necessary in creating a cooperative society and to avoid disruptive cultural collisions. It is important that such initiatives be implemented at the ages seen as critical for the development of individual attitudes, and therefore can stimulate the participation of the new generation in a dynamic and democratic interactive society. [...] The Resonant Community is a small, but significant attempt to finally prepare the way for the school to fulfill its obligation and responsibility to our new citizens. It is hoped that this can prompt institutions of music education and music life in general to follow. I am thinking of the entire spectrum of institutions, from municipal music schools to colleges and universities.*" (Skyllstad 1993:18)

Follow up educational projects and activities

Since the completion of *The Resonant Community* project, an ever-increasing focus on multicultural music education in the Nordic countries has led to a number of new programs in schools and the establishment of organizations coordinating educational initiatives. In 1992 *Rikskonsertene* established a new department – the Norwegian *Multiculticultural Music Center* – with the aim of securing a permanent place for multicultural music in the daily programming of the various sectors. This led to a new direction in the musical programming. Several troupes of minority musicians were immediately engaged in a program of giving around 1,000 school concerts a year throughout the country, reaching at least a quarter of the total school population. These performers were also involved in music advocacy projects in communities that had seen a rise in episodes of ethnic violence. In a community with racial conflicts in an eastern valley, all schools and cultural organizations of the village joined forces with the visiting group in a coordinated intercultural effort, arranging music and dance workshops for several age groups from pre-school children to adults, giving school concerts and arranging creative workshops with local folk musicians. One of the outcomes of this cooperation was the production of a CD that turned out to be the number one Norwegian bestseller.

The Center likewise initiated a World Music festival financed through an agreement with the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation which allowed for the implementation of an extensive international outreach program, focusing on artistic cooperation on an equal basis with developing countries in three continents. One of the first manifestations was a music exchange scheme with Tanzania which resulted in concert appearances, workshops and community outreach programs in both countries. In Norway the success of involving local choirs and brass bands together with folk music groups in improvisational music making led to a movement introducing improvisational models of choir training and performance practice.

As already mentioned, the *Resonant Community* project was followed up by the inclusion of multicultural music activities in the regular programming of *Rikskonsertene*. In addition, music cafes and clubs in the bigger cities have offered opportunities for multiethnic bands to present their music under more informal settings. International centers in many parts of the country are also actively engaged in promoting multicultural activities. A coordinating organization *Du Store Verden* (What in the World) was established to coordinate the activities of around 70 organizations and clubs. The big question was: how can these organizations with very limited means be able to fill the gaps left through the closing of youth recreation centers in minority areas by municipal authorities reportedly in order to "balance" the budget.

The changing urban landscape – New research perspectives

During the last decade the demographic landscapes of urban Norway have seen dramatic changes. Oslo now has an immigrant population exceeding 25% with a school population rapidly approaching 40%. This provides for new challenges not least in view of the changing cultural and social situation in an increasingly consumer-oriented population at large.

In 2003 the European Ministers for Cultural Affairs met in Croatia to formulate a Declaration on Intercultural Dialogue and Conflict Prevention. The Declaration bases its recommendations on the awareness that cultural "impoverishment" and marginalization, on the one hand, as well as prejudice and ignorance on the other, are among the prime causes of the increase in violence and of the stereotyping of others. The Declaration however fails to pinpoint the underlying inequality propelled by unjust economic and social policies.

It became clear that, on the background of a social urban environment where what had hitherto been labeled "majority" and "minority" had become ever more blurred and complex, far more inclusive research approaches based on interdisciplinary cooperation would be required for preventive measures to be implemented. The University of Oslo accepted this challenge by instituting the program *Cultural Diversity in the New Norway* later to be renamed *Cultural Complexity*. It was selected as the new strategic priority area of research for the period 2004–2009 (which was later extended for a new period). The program involved five faculties: Humanities, Social Sciences. Education, Law and Theology and intended to actively confront, draw upon and challenge findings and perspectives on minority-majority relationships from such areas as gender research, research on human rights, social philosophy, criminology, the sociology of deviance, and finally music and the arts.

It seems that for the academic community to avoid exploring what might be perceived as divisive and by some even provocative issues means leaving them as potentially unexploded bombs to be armed by misleading press reports and public prejudice. This approach will require a will to theoretical innovation and cross-fertilization with related areas of research. All the controversies paraded by the press about the concept of multiculturalism that have become part and parcel of urban culture today are brought to bear on this field of tension. A way forward here would be the planning of international cooperative interdisciplinary research projects.

The Oslo program expressly aimed at applicability, stating that, as a basic research endeavor, this project will generate results that are likely to be much more applicable than most applied research. And yet the program did not shy away from including research of a more fundamental nature. The empirical focus on minority-majority relationships was based on a relational view of identity according to which groups and individuals define themselves, and are defined from outside, situationally through ongoing communication and social interaction, which in turn is seen related to contextual factors such as immigration policies, shifting labor markets and educational policies. (See http://www.uio.no/english/research/interfaculty-research-areas/kultrans/areas/mobility/ [30–03–2012])

Conclusion

The Oslo university program was seen by the author as a fulfillment of his hopes for a much wider project to be implemented, as expressed in the final words of his *Resonant Community* research report:

"Multicultural music education bases itself on the ability of music to cross boundaries and to communicate between cultures. This crossing of boundaries means that we finally begin to accept the expressions of other cultures to be of equal value with our own cultural heritage. The aesthetic subjects can in this way lead to a necessary re-evaluation and re-structuring of the content and methods in an intercultural direction. This will require a revision of teaching materials and curriculum plans in all subjects with the goal of removing mono-cultural bias and hidden value manipulation. But, in a wider context, this should also lead to a necessary re-evaluation of the total social milieu which gives nourishment to prejudice." (Skyllstad 1993: 18)

The Oslo University project follows up in this way: "Shifting contexts thus determine the social position and self-definition of particular groups and persons. This does not, of course, mean that cultural traits, traditions and collective patterns of action can be neglected, but that their significance for social integration/fragmentation depends on the wider context." (http://www.uio.no/forskning/tverrfak/culcom/forskning/programbeskrivelse/ [30–03–2012])

This wider context of course was the background for the *Resonant Community* project as well through the instructional material that was prepared to assist the teachers in making this horizon present for the students in suggested follow-up work in other subjects like history, geography and social science. It is difficult to assess to what extent this contributed to the positive results recorded. It is a common observation that Norway thus far has avoided concrete manifestations of outright racism in the school system. Teachers' attitudes and the positive value orientation evident in recent textbooks and course materials seem to have outweighed possible negative consequences of the day-to-day communication of racial stereotypical elements found in daily conversation and the social media in large parts of Europe today.

Postscript: Arts education and urban crises management

The financial and social crises we see unfolding in Europe today are accompanied by signs of a new build-up of a process of social polarization in step with increasing unemployment, especially among youth, amplifying social tension.

Large numbers of our immigrant populations in major European cities find themselves locked up in a state of social seclusion. Recent experiences show how immigrant ghettos can act as dangerous isolates. This seclusion also acts to separate immigrant groups from each other and creates obstacles toward common action.

Shortly before the recent London riots, the Guardian (29 July 2011) predicted a common crisis:

"With budget cuts leading to the loss of facilities that kept many inner-city youths of all races occupied, experts predict a rise in crime." The paper speaks of child poverty and run-down schools and a lost generation hardest hit by the economic downturn. The city recently slashed 41 million pounds off support for youth activities. A borough in North London hit by the riots had its youth service budget slashed by 75%. Under the heading "Farewell youth clubs, hello street life and gang warfare" the Guardian comments: "How do you create a ghetto? By taking away the very services that people depend upon to live, to better themselves." (Topping 2011: s. p.).

On that same day when the Guardian warning appeared I was sitting with my sister in her mobile home in Stockton, California, when breaking news flashed across the TV screen. It was followed by the terrible unfolding of the Oslo terror attack that shook the world. We were all in a state of unbelief and shock. How would our small country respond to such a despicable act? Soon our Prime Minister appeared on the screen with his response: more openness, more democracy, more dialogue, more inclusion. And a whole nation seemed to agree: the perpetrator should not succeed in destroying what we had been working for during the last decades, showing a way forward for our nation and for Europe; dignity replacing humiliation, inclusion replacing exclusion. 78 young activists paid with their lives for promoting these ideals. Their sacrifice should not have been in vain.

And the unexpected happened. Thousands of citizens representing all social, religious and ethnic groups gathered before the cathedral day after day bringing flowers and adopting a song *Our Little Country* as a collective expression of a will to defend the open society.

And again on the opening of the court hearing a crowd of 40,000 spontaneously assemble at the main square of the labor movement to join in singing the song *Rainbow people* condemned by the murderer Breivik as multicultural indoctrination of children. We watch them on the TV screen marching singing toward the court house and wonder if it would be fair to ask the question: Could the fact that it was indeed the music sector that opened up multicultural work in Norway be connected to these recent experiences?

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Call for papers
for issue No. 2/2013 of Urban People

GENDER
IN MIGRATION

"Gender is deeply embedded in determining who moves,
how those moves take place,
and the resultant futures of migrant women and families."
(Boyd and Grieco 2003)

You are invited to submit papers
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The following themes are of particular interest to the journal:

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Submission Details:

Authors are welcome to submit their articles in English.
The deadline for submission of your draft article is January 31, 2013;
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ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES IN MUSICAL SELF-PRESENTATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Zita Skořepová Honzlová

Abstract: *This paper is based on my research dealing with musicians – members of different immigrant minority communities who explicitly identify themselves with their ethnicity and the region of their origin. The musicians mention that they come, e.g., from Cuba, Ukraine or generally from "Central Asia" and the music offered to the audience is presented as "Cuban," "Ukrainian folk" or "traditional music of Central Asia…" The subject of study is their concerts, regarded as musical occasions – performances – with defined modes of participants' interaction. In the Goffmanian sense, the meaning of each self-presentation is determined by the behavior of the musicians during the performances, and the repertoire, place and occasion of the event and type of audience are considered as "bearers of signs." In their self-presentations, the musicians expose in various ways who they are, where they come from and in various ways present the musical (not only) culture of their origin. Inspiring myself by typology of acculturation strategies formulated by John W. Berry (Berry et al. 1997), I try to identify acculturation strategies based on factors determining the character of the respective musical self-presentations of the immigrants. When can we observe behavior according to the principles of integration on the one hand and separation on the other? When using each strategy, how do the musicians assert themselves on the Czech musical scene?*

Keywords: *ethnomusicology; self-presentation; immigrants; acculturation strategies*

The number of immigrants in the Czech Republic rapidly increased after the fall of the communist regime in 1989. Today, there are many immigrant communities which differentiate in the quantity of their members. While more than 106,000

Ukrainians and 56,000 Vietnamese officially live in the Czech Republic in 2012, there are only 139 Congolese, 270 Iranians, 350 Cubans, 546 Kyrgyz, 1,316 Uzbeks and 5,019 Chinese (Život cizinců 2011). In Prague, but also in other Czech cities, one can attend performances of musicians, each one identifying himself/ herself with some of above-mentioned immigrant communities and presenting his/her skills on specific occasions, in specific places and for different kinds of audience. I focused on musicians who perform their own creations declared as a music originating from or having a relationship to the country (e.g., Cuba) or region (e.g., Central Asia) of their origin. Presenters, but also the musicians themselves, call their performances explicitly "Ukrainian folk," "Vietnamese," "traditional" or "Cuban" music for entertainment.

At the beginning of my research I tried to find out characteristics of the music itself, where musicians perform, for whom and on which occasions. I was especially interested in the musicians' expression and reference to their ethnic identity (e.g., "Vietnamese" or "Kyrgyz") in musical performances. The central task of my research became an analysis and interpretation of musicians' self-presentations during their performances. Beside the participant observation I also had semi-structured interviews with musicians as well as with some co-organizers of events or with the manager of a musical group. Non-formal interviews were very useful, especially during almost "private" events for an internal audience, e.g., a *Nowruz* ("Persian New Year") celebration organized by members of the Uzbek community in Prague.

It is evident that immigrant musicians are conscious of performing in the Czech musical environment and they are able to adapt to different conditions, so which *acculturation strategies* do they invent and choose? This became the central question of my investigation.

Theory

First, this research is based on/reflects the paradigm of ethnomusicology or anthropology of music: What is considered to be "music," thus not only the sound itself, but also the human behavior related to learning, creating, performing and listening to sounds considered to be "musical" is the result of culturally designed/ formed conceptualization (Merriam 1964). Being iconic and indexical (Turino 1999), music has not only the ability of expression or representation of something (Bohlmann 2005). It is also able to create and maintain human relationships and form communities (Kaufman Shelemay, 2001). According to Thomas Turino

(2008), music reflects social life. I am convinced that the study of musical phenomena enables the researcher to recognize the specific intentions of people and their perception of the environment where they live and create music.

Second, I decided to deal with musical activities of immigrant musicians in the sense of Goffman's interactionism (Goffman 1956). Musicians always perform for someone; they *present* themselves to an audience: I consider them to be active agents consciously developing the overall design of musical activities as their own *self-presentations* whose constitutive elements are planned in advance and performed in real time in front of listeners. The key element is the *interaction* of musicians with a supposed kind of audience and context of an event – time, place and especially occasion. All these aspects determine the personal appearance or the "personal front" of the musicians (Goffman 1956: 14) and the "setting" of their performances (Goffman 1956: 13). I concentrated mainly on live performances in real time, the "front region" (Goffman 1956: 66). However, through interviews with the musicians and my attendance at rehearsals I also wanted to explore the "back region" (Goffman 1956: 69), that means preparations and planning of performances, choice of repertoire and its arrangement, appearance of musicians (the visual expression of the musicians' intentions such as clothes, posture and gestures) and ways of behaving in front of an audience, place and form of publicity. According to this assumption, every self-presentation has specific traits – bearers of signs or "sign vehicles" (Goffman 1956: 1) – which permit it to be identified and interpreted in such a way.

Third, I found inspiration in the theory of *stratégies identitaires* (Camilleri et al.: 1990) and the typology of *acculturation strategies* developed by psychologist John W. Berry (Berry, Sam in Berry et al. 1997: 291–326) who dealt with consequences of intercultural contacts not only among immigrants. Berry regards the concept of acculturation as a process of individual psychological adaptation of people to a different cultural environment. Each strategy is worked out by groups and individuals with respect to two major issues: "1) cultural maintenance (to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered important by individuals), and 2) contact and participation (to what extent should individuals become involved in other cultural groups or remain primarily among themselves)" (Berry, Sam in Berry et al. 1997: 296). Berry thus defines five acculturation strategies: A first possibility is *assimilation*, when "individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures" (Berry, Sam in Berry et al. 1997: 297). On the contrary, when "the non-dominant group places a value on holding onto their original culture" (Berry, Sam in Berry et al. 1997:

297), then the *separation* strategy is chosen. When this mode of acculturation is pursued by the dominant group with respect to the non-dominant group, Berry calls it *segregation*. When there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture and interacting with other groups at the same time, integration is the option. (Berry, Sam in Berry et al. 1997: 297). According to Berry, this strategy seems to be the most advantageous and the most successful option. Finally, when there is "little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance and little interest in having relations with others, then *marginalization* is defined" (Berry, Sam in Berry et al. 1997: 297).

In the spectrum of ways of presentation of musicians' unique skills I finally identified a few variants where I let myself be inspired by the framework and basic assumptions of the above briefly-presented Berry's typology. Musicians employ different strategies which are based primarily on a relationship to an external (Czech) or internal (members of immigrant communities) audience on the other hand. There is no one choosing the *assimilation* strategy: All the musicians intentionally refer to their own ethno-cultural identity, which is not considered to be perceived as "Czech": via their musical activities during commercial or benefit concerts immigrants present, e.g., a "Ukrainian" or "Central Asian" identity to the Czech audience. On the other hand they also refer to those identities during private meetings where music becomes an "autotherapy of homesick hearts" (Janyl Chytyrbaeva, 23.1, 2010). I didn't identify any performance which could be associated with the *segregation* strategy.

I was able to recognize four different types of musical self-presentations which reflect traits of Berry's *integration*, *separation* and *marginalization*. The first two are completely opposite. On the one hand, there is the *impressive musical fusion*, which I regard as an elaborate promotion of an "exotic" music for Czechs. This basically integrative strategy is chosen by a Chinese singer, Feng yün Song, and an Iranian guitarist, Shahab Tolouie. On the other hand, the *music of invisible enclaves* is definitely separative and it is preferred by often anonymous musicians during performances of a private setting with a strictly internal audience. The *"ethnic" music for entertainment* strategy chosen, e.g., by Cuban groups performing in bars and restaurants has features of marginalization. Finally, I consider the last option, "*indigenous" music as an example of multiculturalism,* to be "seemingly integrative." This strategy is employed by musicians performing at "multicultural" festivals for a Czech audience such as the Central Asian group Jagalmay.

Impressive musical fusion: integration

The first strategy is chosen by two musicians declaring themselves as professionals having their main income from their musical activities – the Iranian guitarist Shahab Tolouie and the Chinese singer Feng yün Song. Although being of Persian and Chinese origin and referring to totally different cultural backgrounds, their musical activities share many similar features. They both create their own original compositions based on a fusion of music considered as traditionally typical for their homelands China and Iran with musical elements of various origins.

Feng yün Song sings "Chinese," "Korean" or "Mongolian" folk songs performed by solo voice or with an accompaniment of different idiophones, percussions or other, mostly "ethnic," instruments whose part is incorporated in minimalist, experimentally-sounding arrangements. The singer performs at two types of concerts organized by herself. Feng yün Song often presents her creations at intimate, almost meditative "musical sessions" with approximately 17 people in the audience, who also participate during some parts of an improvised performance. Their active and spontaneous participation completes the impression of musical pieces which are often designed to be created directly on the stage of a small music club or tearoom. Moreover, Feng yün Song organizes an annual festival related to Chinese New Year celebrations. This event has already reached some level of publicity in the Czech Republic – the festival is mentioned in some, although specialized, radio or TV programs or it is possible to notice some posters and smaller billboards informing about the festival even situated in the Prague city center. There the singer performs the same songs as at the sessions at tearooms. However, she also invites different musicians to participate in this event. A non-musical program of the festival offers a promotion of her own musicotherapeutic activities, tea culture and esotericism.

Shahab Tolouie, playing the flamenco and classical guitar or Persian chordophones such as the three stringed lute *tar*, interprets his own compositions based on "traditional Persian" and flamenco elements. The musician invented his own musical fusion which he characterized as "ethnoflamenco."[1] This Iranian guitarist and singer performs his compositions with an accompaniment of several guitarists who participate in his ensemble and he occasionally works with other instrumentalists, usually percussionists. Some compositions are only instrumental, but the musician

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1   "I use flamenco techniques in that, but it is not pure flamenco, so that is why...because since I add ethnic elements.., I felt the best word to describe this style would be 'ethnoflamenco' " (Shahab Tolouie, 16. 1. 2012).

sometimes sings his adaptations of Persian poems by famous "classical" authors such as Rumi or Hafez. His musical performances resemble "Western" art music concerts – they are organized in various concert halls, theaters or clubs not only in the Czech Republic. Shahab Tolouie participated with his ensemble in various festivals in Moldova, Ukraine and Turkey. However, concerts named "The Persian New Year Celebration" can be considered as highlights of his activities. In addition to Shahab Tolouie and his ensemble, other musicians and dancers participated at this event linked with the Zoroastrian holiday *Nowruz* – the "Persian New Year" – and constituted different performances with elaborated and impressive scenography.

It is worthy of mention that performances of these musicians are not attended by an internal public, i.e., by members of their immigrant communities. Only a very few Chinese or Iranians are exceptionally present at their concerts. On the contrary, Feng yün Song and Shahab Tolouie are musicians who desire to build their professional careers on the basis of their special and, in the Czech Republic, quite unique abilities, which they want to present to a basically external public. Both of these musicians are charismatic individuals whose musical talent together with their skills represents a useful tool which is utilizable in the creation of their musical self-presentation. Their concerts have a carefully elaborated conception of performance setting with the usage of professionally-made promotional materials and apparent care for personal image and way of presentation to their audience – the Czech public. In addition to live performances, both musicians have realized their own professional audio recordings.

They also recognize the importance of establishing contact with the Czech musical environment. Shahab Tolouie and Feng yün Song work with Czech musicians and with famous individuals such as David Koller or Emil Viklický, among others. However, this cooperation is designed rather as a support for their personal dominance, which remains unquestionable. A familiarity with the Chinese opera singing style, perfect knowledge of the Czech language in the former and acquaintance with theoretical principles of Persian music combined with guitar virtuosity in the latter case can be considered as the constitutive element of the "know-how" of their professional musicianship. At the same time, the musicians recognized that "pure" Chinese opera singing or "Persian traditional music" would not be as attractive to the external Czech public as the *impressive musical fusion* is [2]. Therefore, the musicians use their specific skills related to their origins,

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[2] "Basically this kind of fusers were those who presented their music to the world, their culture to the world… If Ravi Shankar played only traditional music, he would not be too well known. Of course they

but, on the other hand, they feel the necessity of invention and flexibility in the sense of preference of experimentation and fusion with distinct musical elements, apparently becoming very fruitful and popular at the present time. A combination of the two factors enables them to create sophisticated and attractive "exotic" music which is acceptable to a Czech or an international audience. In such a way, the musicians are able to reflect current multi-faceted reality with their activities. Each self-presentation of the musicians is very impressive: while Shahab Tolouie pays attention to his "personal front," gestures, behavior on the scene, texts of promotional materials and their visual design, the presentation of Feng yün Song is not so evident at first glance. The power and persuasiveness of her musical personality emanate from her behavior and acting with participants of musical events which are not explicitly presented as "unique" or "amazing." Nevertheless, Feng yün Song is able to impress the audience not only with her singing but also with her therapeutically guided communication.

This strategy could be thus considered as a type of "successful" integration. The musicians who employ this strategy do not intend to stay in the closed and invisible sphere of their communities with the internal public. At the same time they do not want to stay on the margins of the Czech musical scene such as those musicians choosing *"ethnic" music for entertainment* marginalizing strategy or the *"exotic" music as an example of multiculturalism* strategy which is "seemingly" integrative.

Music of Invisible Enclaves: Separation

Musical performances are often part of private meetings organized by immigrant minority communities in the Czech Republic which are held on the occasion of some important religious or secular holiday celebrated in the native homeland

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have great traditional… you know Indian masters, but one of them goes and starts fusing by collaborating with George Harrison, with this and that… And this way he presents the music to the world and make it a little bit understandable for the Western audience. So this is, this was something that I realized, that was missing in our music. We have traditional music, we have pop musicians who are understandable only for Persians or for Iranians in general, but there was one category missing over there. It was fusionists. And that's what I got in Spain. When I was studying with my teacher I realized, OK, I play something which is a copy. And they will never play better then me, you know in my Persian music, they can never play better Persian music then me and I can never play and <u>feel</u> flamenco better than them. Because… always this kind of traditional music has a root in culture and in history. And to play the traditional music, you have to be born over there, to understand it, exactly… Of course, I can play Moravian music, but I can never play it <u>like</u> Moravians. Because it's a culture, you know. So I realized, it's better to get the technique and to mix it, to fuse it in my way and to express it my own way." (Shahab Tolouie, 16. 1. 2012).

(e.g., the Vietnamese *Tet*, the Central Asian *Nowruz*, the Ukrainian *St. Melanie*, Kazakhstan Day). From time to time, such events have organizational support from official diplomatic representatives or minority associations; sometimes they are the results of the personal initiative of a few community members.

I decided to regard these events as "invisible" due to their discrete character; except for some rare invitations situated sporadically, e.g., on specialized websites, the events are not promoted and invitations for interested visitors are communicated only personally. News about those events sometimes appears in minority periodicals or on Internet websites. For this reason the audience is always constituted only of members of immigrant minorities, except for a few Czechs who are friends of theirs. Although such events have a prearranged structure, it is possible to perceive many informal elements as well. There is usually someone who moderates the whole evening and introduces each part of the program – this also concerns the musicians and their performance.

On the one hand, organizers invite existing musical formations, otherwise regularly playing for a different audience, to participate in a community event: this is the case of the folk-music group Ignis performing at the Ukrainian "Malanka" ball or Central Asian musicians performing at the Nowruz celebration organized in 2010 by the Uzbek community in Prague. Those musicians are not professionals; music making is only their hobby and their activities have a non-profit character. On the other hand, especially at the Vietnamese Tet, or New Lunar Year, celebrations it is possible to notice many "unknown" and almost anonymous musicians who perform their chosen piece only at special community events as volunteers. The Czech language is usually not used during the whole event except, e.g., for greetings like "good evening" (dobrý večer). Musicians perform their own arrangements of folk and "traditional," but also modern, songs which are popular in their homeland. The performed pieces are thus related to the culture of the community's origin or they refer to something "foreign" that is nevertheless perceived as attractive, entertaining and preferred by the audience: we can thus hear Persian, Arabic and Russian songs at an Uzbek meeting as well as imitators of Czech pop singers at a Vietnamese Tet celebration. All the performed pieces are received with an apparent and often nostalgic [3] acquaintance by the audi-

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[3]   As noted by Viktor Rajčinec, the leader of the Ukrainian folk music group Ignis: "We played in Plzeň. You have also been there, I remember it...so it was interesting that people were coming out of the hall, I was putting the musical instruments in the car and then some old people came to me and they told me: "We haven't heard those songs for twenty years...and we started to remember...twenty years..." So you see, it's great that we played it and they remembered....And in Eastern Slovakia, it was the same

ence. Members of the audience sometimes participate together with musicians by dancing or music making themselves or they ask musicians to perform some concrete compositions. These events are totally different from events where the identical immigrant musicians perform for Czechs. The informal and pleasant atmosphere is nourished by the familiarity of the audience with the repertoire and their participation. Musical performances coincide with Thomas Turino's participatory music making model (Turino 2008: 28–51). An important role is also played by an accompanying program together with an offer of "national" food catering such as an Uzbek *plov* or a Vietnamese New Year's menu.

According to the presented theoretical typology of acculturation strategies, this case could be interpreted as *separation*. By their participation at musical performances and other parts of the program, members of immigrant minorities revive a piece of their own former world of their homelands during such events. That is the reason why I call this strategy the *music of invisible enclaves*. It seems that immigrant minorities often live unnoticed next to the Czech majority and they are invisible to the Czechs although their cultural events are attended by 60 Central Asians or a few hundred Vietnamese or Ukrainians. During these events, distinct ethno-cultural enclaves are brought back: one can feel oneself to be in Vietnam, Central Asia or Ukraine for a while. All the performed pieces are "insider" oriented. Therefore, any adaptation for "outsiders" is needless as well as an invented or reinforced "authenticity." Whereas members of the Central Asian group Jagalmay play for Czechs on the *rubab* lute and a dancer presents "Uygur" dances, later the same musicians play an electronic keyboard or a guitar and music playback accompanies belly dancing of the same dancer in front of a Kyrgyz audience. Vietnamese volunteers often present various popular music pieces which are not directly related to the New Lunar Year celebration. However, the main task of those performers is entertainment of their "own" internal audience[4]. They do not want to impress the listeners with original virtuoso creations, nor earn money for their special musical "craft," nor represent an idealized form of "their" musical culture to Czechs.

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situation. They were so impressed. They said: "It's balm for the soul"...or: "Oh, this song, I sang it as a child!" (Viktor Rajčinec, 5.2.2010).

4   According to a Vietnamese co-organizer of the Vietnamese community Tet celebration in Teplice, "During the whole year, all the people are interested in business; they are stressed and have a lot of worries...so then the people want to relax and they want to be entertained. Basically, the program should be designed to entertain everybody, all generations." (Thuy Duong Trinh, 22.2.2010).

"Ethnic" music for Entertainment: Marginalization

Music characterized by presenters, organizers and often by immigrant musicians themselves as "ethnic" has various forms and functions. During my research I found out that some musicians of immigrant origin perform regularly at Prague bars and restaurants and they entertain guests with their musical skills. This is the case of groups playing various genres and styles presented as "Latino" music, such as the Cuban ensemble Santy y su Marabú. The group consists of several musicians of Cuban, other Latin American and also Czech origin. In addition to the founding members, other musicians are often only temporary members of the group. With their repertoire of their own arrangements of Cuban "traditionals" performed on "typical" Cuban instruments such as the Cuban guitar – *trés cubano*, the bass guitar, the *conga*, *bonga* or other regionally "typical" types of percussions, the flute and sometimes some brass instruments and the keyboard they appear in Prague music clubs such as the Popocafépetl or Jazzdock and they participate in festivals and events related to Latin American dance and entertainment. However, in a small "Cuban trio" they often accompany private meetings with their music and perform in up-scale restaurants and bars situated in the city center such as the bar *La Casa de la Havana Vieja* in Prague 1. Every Thursday, the frontman of the group playing the *trés cubano* arrives there at 8 PM with two or three other musicians. Situated in a corner of the bar, they usually perform the same songs as at various concerts, just in more modest arrangements without sonorous instruments such as the flute or the trumpet. The musicians play practically indifferently and without considerable attention of the bar's guests, who only occasionally pay attention to their playing. According to the bar's official website, the musical accompaniment of those Cuban musicians helps to invoke a "real Cuban atmosphere." The presence of "live" musicians from Cuba with their music is thus a marketing strategy to increase the attractiveness of the bar.

According to my observations and accounts from interviews, I decided to regard this strategy as *marginalization*. Although their music is presented as "authentic" and "traditional" Cuban *son*, it is not perceived as completely strange and unusual for a Czech audience. It is generally known that Cuban or Latin American musical elements such as basic rhythmic patterns have been naturalized in European popular music since the first half of the 20th century. The members of Santy y su Marabú, professionals with a musical education obtained in Cuba, can use their musical skills the way they learned them without the necessity of a change or adaptation, unlike the above-mentioned Feng yün

Song or Shahab Tolouie. The original purpose of the music of Santy y su Marabú and other similar ensembles is for "dance and entertainment."[5] However, even during the group's performances at summer festivals with large audiences, it is often not easy to persuade people to dance. The music seems to be too complex for listeners, except for occasionally present salsa connoisseurs[6]. This is the first aspect of marginalization.

Second, the concerts of the complete group mostly during summer festivals and sometimes in clubs are less numerous and less important than regular playing of the Santy Trio in bars and restaurants, which is the major income of the musicians. According to the manager of the group, the musicians live by their music. Especially in those places and contexts, the music performed by the Santy Trio seems to be mere, although "unique and original," sonic accompaniment of bar or restaurant guests' conversations. The ability of the Cubans to offer an "authentic" form of their "own" music represents a unique possibility of application of their skills and special musical "craft," not as a means of nostalgic longing for their homeland, but for making a living here in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, the musicians are rarely noticed by the audience, who perceive their playing as a part of the atmosphere of the entertainment in the bar. On the other hand, the musicians seem to be satisfied with their position and roles which they perform[7]. They are not inclined to experimentation or inventions of something very new and original; they do not intend to become "famous" as those who choose the *impressive musical fusion* strategy. Instead of this they are faithful to the Cuban *son* and they just practice and use what they have learned. Although they sometimes perceive their activities as routine and non-reflected by the audience, they represent for them the advantage of living in the Czech Republic, e.g., without the necessity

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5 As Kalanda Kititi, a Congolese guitarist said: "In my concerts, I want people to come, dance and have a good time, you see?...When there are Africans, they dance; that's the greatest atmosphere. It's necessary to feel relaxed, so often they dance....But Czechs...they are shy, they wait until others are already dancing and then they join, so it's good atmosphere when the Czechs start to dance with the Africans." (Kalanda Kititi, 16.4.2010).

6 "There are some few people who come to dance the salsa; they know the steps...But the majority of the Czech audience...it's very difficult to get the Czech audience to dance. People are shy and withdrawn." (Bibiana Jiménez Smith, 12.1.2012).

7 The manager of Santy y su Marabú told me the following: "There are places, restaurants...expensive restaurants in good prestigious locations in the city center of Prague as on Pařížská street, for example... And there the group is limited...just play...minimum volume...so as not to disturb the guests so they can chat...And the group is disgusted by it...Because to play and sing with minimum volume, that's silly... But they take it as their job: "Yea, it's our job, we are paid for it...so we play what and how they like and we get paid."" (Bibiana Jiménez Smith, 12.1.2012).

of knowledge of the Czech language. While groups such as Santy y su Marabú practice and even live by their musical activities, their music is perceived by the local audience as something exotic and complex. Within the category of popular music for entertainment their music therefore stays at the margins of the Czech musical scene. These are the other aspects of marginalization in this strategy.

"Exotic" music as an example of multiculturality: "Seeming Integration"

The last strategy is chosen by musicians obviously presenting their performances as "traditional music" within the context of festivals organized in the public and open spaces of city squares or as musical accompaniment during thematic events organized by NGOs and related to migrants and their life in the Czech Republic. In the former case, musical performances take place on big outdoor podiums, in the latter in small theaters or coffee houses, but always with free admission. On the one hand, there are events which are focused on one ethnicity ("Ukrainian soirée," Plzeň) or they are "multiethnic" on the other (Refufest, Prague). In some cases, such events attract the attention of almost a few hundred people: youths, families with children, inquisitive passers-by, pensioners, tourists and homeless people, among others. The musical program usually consists of many different performances. Each group or performer presents some few short musical pieces. Costumes, dances and different instruments are welcome by the public. Careful observation enabled me to find out that the repertoire of performed pieces is not large and one can see a performer presenting the same pieces in Prague as one month ago in another Czech city. Nevertheless, most of the visitors watch the performers for the first and usually for the last time. The audience briefly pays attention to some few performances of anonymous and unknown musicians, looks at "exotic" dances and colorful costumes, tastes different "ethnic" foods and goes away. Only a small number of participants watch the whole musical program.

Musicians and other performers participating in those events are not professionals who would live by their musical activities. Performers such as an Iranian poet or a Mongolian girl singing and playing their "traditional" instruments perform as volunteer individuals or join groups or ensembles whose member base is unstable, often formed for a concrete event. Among others, this is the case of the group Jagalmay, founded by Kyrgyz journalist Janyl Chytyrbaeva from a musical family living and working in Prague. The ensemble consists of several members who come from various countries of the Central Asian region.

Except for the three-member female "core" of the group, the majority of the other members join the group only temporarily. All the members of the ensemble are thus amateur musicians variously positioned and integrated in the Czech society whose participation in the ensemble is motivated by a desire "to console their homesick hearts." The group presents its own arrangements of folk or semi-folk musical compositions from diverse Central Asian countries with the accompaniment of instruments traditionally utilized in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan such as the *komuz* lute, the *temir komuz* Jew's harp, the *doira* frame drum, or other chordophones and percussion of Arabic, Persian or Turkish origin. The musicians meet irregularly and they often enjoy spontaneous music making in privacy. The repertoire of Jagalmay thus originates from improvisation-based contributions of each member. Some pieces are only vocal and instrumental, while others are accompanied by dances performed by several members or by the youngest member – the daughter of one of the Kyrgyz singers who performs solo dance parts. All the members wear several traditional-like costumes and different headgears associated with a concrete Central Asian region. Clothes and head-covers are consequently changed even during a performance according to the origin of the song currently played.

Performances of Jagalmay and similar ensembles or groups could be characterized as a declaration of an exoticism and tangible difference reified on an aural and visual level. Several Central Asian identities expressed in musicians' self-presentations then seem to be flexible categories which can be employed according to situational circumstances: when performing Uzbek songs, Kyrgyz musicians wear Uzbek costumes and vice versa. When arranging their repertoire, the musicians mix together different Central Asian elements and resultant arrangements are created within a process of bricolage. However, they refuse musical borrowings which are not considered as traditionally used in Central Asian musics so they do not "modernize" or adapt their music to make it commercially more acceptable by adding, e.g., Western musical elements. This strategy is based on an accentuation of their own "original" and unique traits and their instrumentalization in the sense of their intended usage for "demonstrative" purposes. Because of their intentionally reinforced difference or alterity, the musicians can thus perform only at certain of the above-mentioned events and it is not possible to utilize their music making as an attractive and cashable art or entertainment. It is worthy of mention that ensembles similar to Jagalmay do not appear at solo concerts organized without a relation to some extra-musical occasion.

Although the musicians have the possibility to perform in front of an often numerous, mostly Czech, audience a few times per year, their integration into the Czech musical sphere is only "seeming" because they can enter it only during special occasions: Individuals and ensembles similar to the Central Asian group Jagalmay are invited to participate in festivals or events linked with a sphere of "multiculturalism" and "migration," such as the Refufest, Respect festival, Ethnica Poetica, or Praha srdce národů. According to the organizers, a supposed purpose of such events is an increase of the informational level of the Czech general public about different cultures, life experience and difficulties of migrants and refugees. The most characteristic feature of this strategy is its *spectacularity*: The program of those festivals and events does not consist only of musical performances; there are usually "multicultural" catering, exhibitions of photographs or souvenir-like objects "typically" representing each region and its culture. The main purpose of everything that is presented there is an "example of multiculturalism." Musical pieces are recontextualized and they adopt this new role: The more "exotic" and "entertaining" a musical performance, dance or costumes seem to be, the more the audience clap their hands. Performers intentionally choose "typical" musical and other cultural traits in an idealized form and they present their, e.g., Central Asian, Vietnamese or Ukrainian "culture" as a collection of artifacts or curiosities: Central Asia is associated with high white headgear of men, Jew's harps, the Kyrgyz *komuz* lute or the Uzbek drum *doira* and singing in different Turkic languages; Vietnamese musicians perform an extract from *ca trù* and "lion dances" in red and gold costumes. All the exposed traits should be easy identified with a concrete "culture" or "ethnicity" as its symbolic markers. However, the ethos of "exoticism" and "alterity" is common to *all* of the performers. Due to this alterity [in other words, meaning something like this: "We (immigrants) live with you (Czechs), but we are totally different from you"] they can be part of the Czech musical scene, but only during those special occasions and contexts. For this reason the musical activities corresponding to this strategy stay only *seemingly integrative*.

Conclusion

It is evident that the way of self-presentation of musicians influences their position and possibilities on the Czech musical scene. The chosen acculturation strategy determines the place, audience, occasion and context of the event and each musician has different benefits from it. There are several types of musicianship

practiced by immigrant musicians from one-off amateurs to professionals or highly motivated amateurs. First, it seems that all the musicians mentioned and their activities have relatively little publicity. Even those who have chosen the most auspicious strategy, inventive and flexible integration in the form of *impressive musical fusion*, have not become famous or even known to the general public. Regular Czech listeners of immigrant musicians could be characterized as "specialists" whose interest in this music has some particular reasons – from a belief in the relaxation potentials of Chinese music to the conviction that Cuban music dulcifies a meeting of friends in the bar or the curiosity of a boy who joins his Vietnamese girlfriend at the New Lunar Year celebration. However, the four strategies differentiate by levels of their "visibility": While a billboard inviting to the SongFest (Chinese New Year Celebration festival founded and organized every year by Feng yün Song) can attract the curiosity of a random passer-by, Jagalmay's performance at Refufest requires some interest in refugees or "foreign cultures" in general. Finally, performances of foreign musicians at community meetings are known only to those who obtain a personal invitation.

From the typology of acculturation strategies point of view, the four kinds of self-presentations presented are related to different integration and identity formation strategies. Application of this theoretical viewpoint lets us understand why there are musicians who prefer to interact with a Czech audience and those who prefer to stay "invisible" and known only in their own community. Nevertheless, the aforementioned four strategies should not be considered as completely stable and definitely bound categories applied exclusively by such or such musician. On the contrary, the musicians often utilize different strategies according to the situational context: this is the case of musicians performing for a Czech audience as well as for listeners from their minority in various circumstances. Although the first "integrative" *impressive musical fusion* strategy seems to be the most successful, I do not consider each strategy as more or less "successful": Musicians are active agents who choose and elaborate their self-presentations and they consciously realize their intentions there.

In conclusion, the way immigrants *treat* their music, how they adapt and arrange it, how they conceptualize the "authenticity" or "representativeness" of their music (representing "their" culture to Czechs), and the way of their overall self-presentation reflect the character and level of their integration in the Czech environment. The framework of their activities is based on the identification and fulfillment of expectations of an audience with whom they aspire to interact. Different features of each musical self-presentation then imply their acceptability

and appropriateness in each context: the greater the attractiveness for a Czech audience, the higher the probability of commercial success, for example. In any case, by performing "their" music in the Czech Republic, the immigrants utilize their unique skills. This can serve many purposes from a hobby or autotherapeutic activity curing homesickness to musicking as livelihood.

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Věra Thořová, Jiří Traxler, Zdeněk Vejvoda: LIDOVÉ PÍSNĚ Z PRAHY ve sbírce Františka Homolky. I. díl [Folk Songs from Prague in the Collection of František Homolka, 1st Volume.]
Prague: Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2011, 508 pp. Studies, critical edition, photographs, appendices.

Intellectual interest in urban, concretely Prague, songs of the last quarter of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th centuries appears and reappears at the latest in 1925 with the extensive article by Karel Čapek, "Songs of the Prague People." In the '30s Emil František Burian collects them and writes a bit about them; in the '60s a thin book of the Club of Friends of Poetry, *Songs of the Prague People* (Václav Pletka – Vladimír Karbusický, 1966) follows this interest with the reprinted (rather abbreviated) Čapek text, a selection of 34 songs and a brief commentary. Two years later Karbusický elaborates this in a monograph *Between Folk Songs and Hits* (1968); Josef Kotek (1994) also includes this topic in his two-volume *History of Czech Popular Music and Singing of the 19th and 20th Centuries*. However, interest focuses on a relatively small part of the urban song repertoire, which Kotek aptly characterizes as satiric to lascivious "*Songs of the Prague People,"* which *constantly resist esthetic regulation and, in the humorous singing of joyful society, represent some sort of panoptically interesting museum of bygone days* (p. 130). Let's emphasize that

exactly such an esthetically (and ethically) distinctive image is and was strengthened by the use of "old Prague songs" in today's and recent public space, e.g., at the turn of the millennium by the popular group Šlapeto, who cheerfully also sang (along with some mentioned by Čapek) "Little hands, don't worry. You are not going to work," or "People, I love beeeer."

In the introduction of his text, Čapek complains about the absence of academic publication of a hundred pages of Prague songs and that the book will be from the pen of "an associate professor of folklore at Charles University." This reviewed publication is (after nearly 90 years), to a certain extent, the fulfillment of Čapek's wish. All three authors are experienced folklore scholars from an academic institution – and their experience (and thoroughness) is apparent here.

What they submit is, on one hand, an edition of 490 songs, collected in Prague in the first third of the 20th century by the teacher František Homolka (1885–1933) in the framework of the initiative "Folksongs in Austria." Besides, there are six thematically connected studies and gradually thorough indices (incipit, indices of performers, localities, melodies), photo documentations and notes.

The introductory study, "Singing of Urbanized Society" (pp. 10–19), attempts to bring some systemization to extremely complex stratified material. The author (I consider the anonymousnous of the studies a certain defect; from my own experience I judge that even if co-authors consult a text, basically only one formulates it) attempts to systematize it, on one hand, by means of the limitation of existing and implementation of new terms, some of

which seem to me conceptually incompatible. An example would be the pair "song – singing," (píseň – zpěvnost) where the former is understood as a subset of the latter (p. 16). In the absolute majority of the literature the term song until now, however, is understood as structural, thus as a certain musical form (which understandably has its own social context), while the term singing aims toward an activity, that is, a process – whose result can but need not be a song. In my opinion it is about the consequence of a mixture of discourses: of older folkloristics – with its need for fixation and categorization (whose classic example is the index of tune incipits), with newer ethnomusicological discourse aiming to describe phenomena – including the musical ones – in their synchronic and diachronic changeability. Some formulations also correspond to this, e.g., when the authors write in the introduction that Homolka recorded *a traditional repertoire in a state of contamination* (!) *by semifolk and urban folkloric elements* (p. 6). Anthropology, including anthropology of music, starting from cultural relativism, does not have room for contamination as a concept, while folklore studies, mainly if they consider the folk song as canonically cut and dried, understands every noncanonical influence as contamination.

As a second means of systematization of material some categories – functional, according to the social context, genre – are used here. From this systematization, then, come the next three chapters: "Song Repertoire of a "University Realm" (pp. 20–29), "Songs as Goods" (pp. 30–45), and "Czech Social Song of the 19th Century" (pp. 46–55). The next two chapters – "The Initiative of Folk Song in Austria"

(pp. 56–73) and "The Collector František Homolka" (pp. 74–84) – closely relate to the edition of songs itself.

As far as the edition is concerned, it is actually only about a part of Homolka's collection: the whole thing contains about 3,000 transcriptions. The greatest part is transcriptions from Libeň (incorporated into Prague in 1901), collected from roughly 260 singers in all age categories and thus representing the broadest repertoire spectrum. Further transcriptions are from Kobylisy and other peripheral parts of Prague. This volume contains four categories: love songs, comic and dance songs, military songs, and sung trumpet tunes. In the planning is the publication of a second volume that is to contain ballads, legends and shop songs; folk-like songs; ritual songs and children's folklore (p. 6)

It is understood that, for a similarly extensive publication, it would be possible to write a review of almost any imaginable length. We limit ourselves here only to the question of how much published material corresponds to the cheerful, or even lascivious image of "old Prague songs," in whose creation a whole list of people from Čapek to Šlapeto and beyond participated. According to the part of the Homolka collection published until today it is possible to judge that there is only a little. A great part of the songs are similar to those that can be found in a rural environment or their variants, including textual motifs referring to places outside of Prague ("Why does this Jizera river hum so sadly" – p. 170, etc.). To what extent is that fact influenced by auto-censorship and/or the interior criteria of the collector and to what extent by field reality is now difficult to judge. In any case, the world of

Homolka's singers is much more common, full of unfulfilled (and rarely fulfilled) loves, streams, potatoes and sheep... and is far from our imaginary world where "Little hands, don't worry. You are not going to work" holds good.

Zuzana Jurková

Marta Kolářová (ed.): REVOLTA STYLEM. Hudební subkultury mládeže v České republice. [Revolt in Style. Music Youth Subcultures in the Czech Republic.]
Praha: Slon 2012, 264 pp.
+ photographs.

Revolt in Style is a much awaited contribution bridging the gap in the literature on subcultures from an insider's perspective, an occasion to celebrate and comment on its achievements. Marta Kolářová, a researcher at the Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, known for her studies on the alter-globalization movement and radical women's activism, set up a team of four significant scholars/active participants in musical and social movements.

The book opens with the editor's goal being to question the specificity of subcultures in post-socialist society in the era of globalization and the usefulness of traditional approaches. After defining subcultures via Jenks, Gelder, Thornton, Bennett, Williams, etc., Kolářová discusses the Chicago School studies of Bohemians and delinquents, Talcott Parsons, and the Birmingham school of cultural studies' romantic approach to subcultures as resistance to hegemony, with the milestone Hebdige's essay on the symbolic destruction of the social order. Because of Kolářová's interest in gender issues it does not come as a surprise to have the volume enriched by a feminist critique of subcultures as subversive towards society, but not so to the gender regime. The legacy of the Birmingham School and its armchair class approach is dealt with by the leaders of post-subculture studies such as Muggleton. The rave subculture of the 1990s required a new theoretical paradigm of resistance and thus researchers switched their terminology to youth lifestyles, scenes, neo-tribes and Maffesoli's discourse on nomadism. Kolářová follows the developments in the field up to the re-emerged politicization of Reclaim the Streets! EarthFirst! or political anarcho-punk. The former Soviet block subcultures are seen as a life-style choice, not a class issue. Czech writings on subcultures include Vaněk's study of pre-1989 punk of 2002 and Smolík's Youth Subcultures of 2010, which, however, fails to connect Czech subcultures with theory. Kolářová's team focuses on classic subcultures in the contemporary Czech Republic with the aim to interpret their values, politics, structure, lifestyle and relationship to the mainstream and commodification, using "views from the inside," thick description and memory work. In-depth interviews, participant observation in clubs and concerts, lyrics and internet debates, symbols, values, drugs, politics, religions, ideologies, and hierarchies were processed through Atlas coding with the aim to describe and interpret data on the background of existing theories.

A question remains whether the works of the Frankfurt school, especially Adorno (commodification, culture industry, etc.) should not be a part of the subcultural theory scheme.

Michaela Pixová, a doctoral student at Charles University's Faculty of Science (researching alternative spaces in Prague) and a member of Guma Guar political art collective, presents in her chapter *Czech Punk outside and behind the Curtain* two eras of punk's three decades' history: the authentic punk of pre-1898 and two decades of globalized, "contaminated" punk. While British punk of the 1980s was a reaction to economics, the Czechs responded to politics: here Pixová makes a good point – this proves the failure of the universality of the Birmingham School class theories: punk in the Czechoslovakia of the 1980s, allegedly a classless society, was a position against establishment, not a class statement. The lack of goods on the socialist market led to DIY flourishing and precluded commodification from happening in the West. Pre-1989 bands have gained a cult folkloric status attracting otherwise conformist fans. The globalized era punks connect with other subcultures in their fight for social change, squatters, travelers, freetekno, and skinheads. Today's punks combine their lifestyle with study, career, or family, shun the skinny, dirty unhealthy look of the first era and fragment into subgroups such as music punk and opinion punk (critical, less lyrical and commercial).

Ondřej Slačálek of Charles University's Faculty of Arts penned a chapter *Czech Freetekno – Moving Space of Autonomy*, which is truly groundbreaking, x-raying the secrets of sound systems and collective hedonism. Slačálek disagrees with Keller in the diagnosis of the subculture as consumer culture pointing out its autonomous, alternative and oppositional form and is also critical of Smolík as a "good policeman" with his armchair benevolence. After Britain banned raves, a radical part of the scene left for Europe and in 1994 Spiral Tribe and Mutoid Waste Company systems played in the Czech Republic at the Freetekno festival near Hostomice. After that, local sound systems, e.g., Ladronka, Cirkus Alien, etc., formed and parties thrived in squats, pubs, clubs and former military grounds, attracting up to 12,000 visitors by 2001. Slačálek uses the concept of Hakim Bey's autonomous zone and nomadic heterotopies freedom. Technology connected with nature create liminal egalitarian (with the exception of the scorned youngsters, "ješters," those under 23 years of age) experience, spiritual in the energy and ethos of a tribal community. Freetekno means no money (legal renting of meadows for a fee is a problem) as well as an elite freedom lifestyle. Slačálek's informers from sound systems, fire show, organizers, etc., describe their rituals, connecting people of all walks of life (they would put their hand into fire for me, p. 95) as adventures of summer camps and romanticism of White Gypsies (some organize workshops for Romani children), the radicality of hedonism – loudness of music, disrespect for private property, drugs. Tekno met punk in squats like Ladronka and Milada. Girls sell drinks and take care of visuals; boys carry heavy amps. As for politics, the paradox is the anarchism of the scene while voting ODS – all because of Paroubek's crushing 2005 Czechtech. It would be interesting

to include descriptions of how the trance effects in tekno work, e.g., graphs of brain waves alteration in connection to music frequencies and the effects of mind-altering chemical substances.

Anna Oravcová, a doctoral student of Charles University's Faculty of Humanities, bases her chapter *Underground of Czech Hip Hop* on the data from the Internet portal xchat.cz/hip hop, Hip Hop Foundation events and concerts around the Czech Republic, especially in the Prague club Pantheon. She presents hip hop as a global phenomenon and industry. The effects of the genre's commodification include cultural translation, adoption and adaptation of racially homogenous countries, where identification with the oppressed recharge hip hop's spiritual integrity. Czech hip hop dates from 1984 and Lesík Hajdovský's Jižák and continues with WWW, PSH, Indy and Wich, Bbarak magazine in 2001 and its Hip Hop Kemp festival with 20,000 in attendance. Rough masculinity and honest community are the main allures, not as leisure, but as a stable identity. Performers connect the right voice color, intonation and linguistic mastery with patriotism. Marihuana use is a defining element, marking many of the lyrical odes to the substance. The subculture gained its political dimension with entering public spaces as in the Hip Hop Subway Series in NYC and Prague. Oravcová's conclusion of "only time will show if the Czech Republic has its own, distinctive hip hop culture" seems a bit evasive.

Petra Stejskalová, a graduate of Charles University's Faculty of Social Sciences, describes skinheads in her chapter *Skinhead Subculture – where the Heavy Boots Got to*. Her study of this 50-year-old subculture is most illuminating because it unravels the myth of the skinheads' exclusive right wing extremism. Stejskalová distinguishes three branches of skinheads: the small and diminishing national socialist (racist), the antifascist (antiracist), and the apolitical, which is the most frequent type. Her conclusion suggests a slow dissolution of the subculture under the pressure of the wide array of leisure time options.

Marta Kolářová's concluding chapter *Values, Structure and Lifestyle of Postsocialist Music Youth Subcultures* makes numerous original points, e.g., the absence of generational revolt, the conservative skinheads being the most authentic subculture with the weakest position of women (acquisition of subcultural identity through boyfriends), a scarcity of active women in all subcultures, descriptions of otherworldly sacred experience of music, aversion of skinheads to marihuana because of its non-European roots and postmodern individualism interpreted as intensified continuation of original Bohemian values.

The book is a complete success: fully equipped with bibliographies, authors' CVs, names and subject indexes. I found only one typo (p. 98: proto se); women's surnames without -ová endings are progressive (one exception – a misprint? on page 42: Corbinová); the relatively large typography makes the book pleasantly easy on the eye.

In the next edition I would love more music analysis – the focus on sociology and politics possibly explains the absence of major writers on the topic such as Simon Reynolds among the sources.

Pavla Jonssonová

Tomie Hahn: SENSATIONAL KNOWLEDGE. Embodying culture through Japanese dance.

Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2007, 197 pp., figures, photographs, DVD examples.[1]

Tomie Hahn characterizes herself as a performer and ethnologist whose activities span a wide range of topics from Japanese traditional performing arts to Monster Truck rallies. She received her PhD in ethnomusicology from Wesleyan University and is currently an associate professor in the Department of the Arts at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, NY. Her ethnography *Sensational Knowledge* was the 2008 recipient of the Society for Ethnomusicology's Allan P. Merriam Prize, which recognizes the most distinguished English-language monograph published in the field of ethnomusicology.

Hahn has studied Japanese dance since the age of four in New york and Tokyo for more than thirty years. She explains that this book is her attempt to comprehend how her body has come to *know* this movement. Therefore, a sentence told her by her teacher in Tokyo: "Know with your body" becomes a crucial opening statement of the book: "*Know with you body," headmaster Tachibana Hiroyo said during my dance lesson, as she gently drew her hand to her chest. In this fleeting moment she succinctly imparted a cultural sensibility, a Japanese way of knowing, that moved beyond these few words and gesture. Curious about my own understanding of such moments,*

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[1] I thank my colleague Vít Zdrálek, who introduced this book to me.

and the embodiment of such sensibilities conveyed during lessons, I was drawn to research how culture is passed down, or embodied through dance." (p. 1).

Hahn's book is an ethnography of dance transmission focusing on how cultural knowledge is embodied, using lessons of Japanese dance *nihon buyo* in the Tachibana School in Tokyo as a case study. Based not only on her long-term experiences as a student but also on thorough systematic fieldwork, her participant observation of how dance is taught reveals a great deal about Japanese culture. She explains her focus on behind-the-scenes activities of dance training as a unique way to observe a process when "culture flows" (p. 1), on the contrary to "finished" performances on the stage presented to the general public by most performing arts traditions around the world. Therefore, although she sheds light on the genre of *nihon buyo,* which remains relatively unknown outside Japan in comparison to *kabuki*, *noh* and *bunraku*, her aim is not to mediate a comprehensive history of the genre or records of the specific dances, but to concentrate on the elusive and fascinating process of how culture becomes inscribed in the body.

Hahn reflects that her own experiences have both enriched and problematized her ethnographic research. There was no "concrete" object to grasp other than her growing proficiency. Drawing on the anthropological approaches to body as both *subject* and *object* of culture (e.g., Csordas 1990), she writes: "*Ironically, the very 'data' I sought were deeply entrenched in my very body* [...] *a puzzle for me to excavate. [...] My body became one of my primary field sites* [...], *beyond Hatchobori*

[the dance studio] *the dancers moving around me were in fact my field sites, and my own body a terrain to survey.*"(p. xiv). This approach of using a scholar's body as a research tool also reminds one of the "carnal sociology"concept of Loïc Wacquant, who puts in practice and examines a theory of his teacher Pierre Bourdieu about reflexive sociology, habitus and its embodiment. Wacquant develops a method of knowing through body and of reflection of this process based on data from his fieldwork of becoming a boxer in an Afro-American ghetto in Chicago.[2] Although Hahn does not refer to this concept, she has drawn from a number of disciplines for theoretical and methodological inspiration, mostly from ethnomusicology (where a similar concept of the bimusicality of a researcher has been practised for a long time), dance studies, anthropology, performance studies (e.g., Richard Schechner's emphasis on the scholar as a practising artist), and Asian philosophy of the body. Her mentors have been two world-famous ethnomusicologists, Marc Slobin and Kay Kaufman Shelemay, Professor of Music at Harvard University, who "infected" Hahn with her fascination with transmission systems.[3] Finally, Hahn has been inspired by the work of Cynthia Bull (Novack) in her conceptualization of the socially, sensually situated body in dance.

Since dance is a multisensory process, Tomie Hahn finds that the academic discipline of ethnography often privileges one sense (mostly the eyesight) over the other senses, limiting the ethnographer's experience of the lush sensory environment (p. 4). To overcome this limitation, she finds inspiration in the relatively newly established anthropology of the senses, mainly in the work of David Howes (1991, 2005), Constance Classen (1993) and Anthony Synott (1993). The fundamental premise underlying the approach of anthropology of the senses is that "*sensory perception is a cultural as well as a physical act: sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell are not only means of apprehending physical phenomena but are also avenues for the transmission of cultural values. [...] smell, for example, creates social boundaries, not because some smells are naturally bad, but because they are culturally constituted as such. [...] smell is as culturally relative as aesthetic judgement.*" (Herzfeld 2001: 240–241)[4].

Considering the senses as the vehicles of dance transmission and the connection to embodied cultural expression, Tomie Hahn asks (among other questions): How does culture shape our attendance to various sensoria, and how does our interpretation of sensory information shape our individual realities? In her book, she reveals "*how a culture's transmission processes prioritize practiotioner's attendance to certain sensoria (even particular qualities of sensory experience), and how the transmission of sensory knowledge can*

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2 Wacquant, Loïc. 2004. *Body and Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

3 Kay Shelemay visited the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in Prague last year, and her paper presented at the Roundtable for Theory and Method in the Urban Ethnomusicology is part of this issue of the journal˝.

4 Herzfeld, Michael. 2001. Anthropology. Theoretical Practice in Culture and Society. Malden – Oxford – Carlton: Blackwell Publishing.

shape dancer's experiential orientation. Through practice, systems of transmission structure experience so that, within the social group, the world appears similarly constructed and members know how to interact within it" (p. 5). Hahn illustrates how entire setting and ritual of dance lessons conveys something that she calls a Japanese sensibility – from bowing, to where one stands during a lesson, to attire, interactions, voice, gaze, spatial negotiations, and even touching.

In chapter 4, the core of the book, the author presents a careful and detailed analysis of the transmission process of this Japanese sensibility. Referring to many video examples, subchapters divided according to the modes of transmission as visual, tactile, oral/aural and media (notation and video) give an exhaustive but captivating ethnographic insight into the extremely personal process of learning Japanese dance. I would personally mainly highlight the subchapters on learning through touch and through practising music as the most methodologically inspiring.

Tomie Hahn's skillfull interweaving of theory and empiric data from long-term ethnographic fieldwork makes this book an important reading not only for all who are interested in the anthropology of dance and music, but also for those interested in qualitative research in general. Moreover, it is accessible to readership with limited knowledge of Japanese arts and her gentle, modest but absorbing style of writing makes it a pleasure to read.

Veronika Seidlová

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