Bernd Clausen,
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European Music Council (eds.)

Music in Motion

Diversity and Dialogue in Europe

[transcript] Culture and Social Practice

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Music in Motion

Diversity and Dialogue in Europe.
Study in the frame of the »ExTra! Exchange Traditions« project

Edited by Bernd Clausen, Ursula Hemetek and Eva Sæther
for the European Music Council

[transcript]

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Prologue

The Netherlands, as you probably know, is a very flat country. Its people live four metres below sea level. Other people in Europe live at altitudes higher than 2000 metres above sea level on hills and mountains. In the north of Europe, in Finland, there are innumerable lakes. In the South, there are even some sorts of deserts. Europe is very diverse, not only geographically but also culturally. And of course there is a direct link between geographical and cultural diversity in Europe.

Cultural diversity in Europe has led to a large number of different musical traditions. In Europe, many people sing in all kinds of choirs, play their instruments in countless orchestras, bands and music groups. The genres vary from ancient to modern music, in various classical, pop, jazz and world music styles. Over the ages all this music in Europe has been constantly fed by new influences from outside Europe.

Music traditions hardly ever die out. Sometimes they seem to fade but most of the time they morph into a new one or mingle with other music traditions. We are proud that in our periods as Chairmen of the EMC, the project ExTra! Exchange Traditions has come to life and grown into what it is now. Through the expertise of its participants, ExTra! provides insight into the liveliness and power of musical traditions in Europe. ExTra! shows that though diversity in Europe may sometimes be a weakness, in the case of music it is a strength. It is our hope and expectation that gaining an insight into the liveliness of European music traditions will become a tradition in itself!

Wouter Turkenburg
EMC Chairman 2006–2008

Timo Klemettinen
EMC Chairman since 2008

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Foreword

EXTRA! EXCHANGE TRADITIONS – ON THE PROJECT

The publication *Music in Motion. Diversity and Dialogue* is part of the *ExTra! Exchange Traditions* project which is coordinated by the *European Music Council* (EMC) and funded by the Culture 2000 Programme of the European Union. The main aim of the project is to enhance the exchange of musical traditions existing nowadays in Europe with a special focus on minority and migrant cultures, which form a vital part of the musical diversity in Europe.

The ExTra project runs from July 2006 until June 2009 and embraces important political developments in terms of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. Firstly, the UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* was endorsed in October 2005 and entered into force in March 2007. This convention is an intergovernmental paper confirming the equal dignity of all cultures and fostering the links between culture and sustainable development, stating that "development shall be based on the economic growth as well as on the flourishing of social groups and individuals and their cultural expression." Secondly, the EU Commission published a Communication on a European Agenda for Culture in May 2007 that was endorsed by the EU Council of Ministers in November 2007. Among the main objectives of this agenda are intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity. The agenda's overarching aim is to raise awareness for cultural aspects in all political fields ('culture mainstreaming') and on different political levels (local, national, European). Thirdly, the EU proclaimed 2008 the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, which encouraged many cultural operators to get together, cooperate and exchange ideas on cultural diversity in Europe. When the ExTra! project was planned, this EU thematic year had not even been announced. The *European Music Council* was far-sighted in choosing a most exigent issue: How to build bridges through music in a diversified Europe.

For the ExTra! project, the EMC has gathered six cooperation partners which have promoted the idea of the project through a variety of different activities. The *Association Nationale Cultures et Traditions* from France organised a variety of activities in the small town of Gannat (Massif Central, Auvergne) such as exchange sessions for musicians (local and from abroad),

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panel discussions on traditional music on the fringe of the *World Cultures Festival*, which takes place every year in July and an 'Artist in Residence Programme' for Sinti and Roma musicians.

The *Cité de la musique* in Paris organised a one-week Summer Academy that reached out to music students from conventional music conservatoires, offering a course to raise awareness of other musical traditions and become familiar with musical and performing practices of traditional music of migrant and minority cultures. The selected musical traditions were: classical Ottoman music (teacher: Kudsi Erguner, *ney* flute), classical Andalusian music from Morocco (teacher: Taoufik Himmiche, violin and *rebab* fiddle), Transylvanian music (teachers: Csányi Sándor and Adrian Mezei), *sabar* drums from Senegal (teachers: Doudou Ndiaye Rose and El Hadji Moustapha Ndiaye Rose).

The *Fondazione Adkins Chiti: Donne in Musica,* based in Italy, programmed a series of concerts with migrant and Italian musicians. The concerts took place in Rome and gave attention to the use of the drum, plucked instruments and the voice in different musical traditions.

The *International Yehudi Menuhin Foundation,* based in Belgium, organised two workshops, one focusing on 'Green Music' and taking place within the framework of the *Kaustinen Folk Music Festival* in Finland, and the other one in Slovakia, focusing on the musical encounter of Brazilian *capoeira* artists and Roma musicians.

The *Music Information Center Austria* (mica) has developed a download platform, which offers music for downloading according to the conditions of the *fair music* approach. To help musicians get acquainted with the possibilities of online distribution, mica has also held workshops alongside other ExTra! events, such as the Summer Academy in Paris and the Exchange Sessions in Gannat.

The final event of the ExTra! project will be organised by the Greek project partner *En Chordais*. This final event will give an overview of what has been achieved during the project period and will look into how the ExTra! project idea can be continued in future. The conference will discuss how music can serve as a tool for integration in education as well as in a political context.

A vital part of the ExTra! project is this publication, which complements the project activities by giving a scientific and theoretical dimension.

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For the organisation of the project a steering group was formed, with representatives from each project partner. Without this steering group, the whole project would not have been possible; therefore we would very much like to thank the following people for their engagement and personal commitment to the project: Emmanuelle Perrone (ANCT); Marie-Hélène Serra, Gilles Delebarre and Natalie Thiery (Cité de la musique in Paris); Patricia Adkins Chiti (Fondazione Adkins Chiti: Donne in Musica); Frédérique Chabaud, Thierry Van Roy (both IYMF); Ronald Hartwig, Rainer Praschak and Peter Rantasa (mica); Christos Carras and Kyriakos Kalaitzides (En Chordais).

The EMC appointed a Scientific Committee as an advisory body, which consists of Patricia Adkins Chiti (Italy/UK), Alenka Barber-Kersovan (Germany/UK/Slovenia), Bernd Clausen (Germany), Gilles Delebarre (France), Reguina Hatzipetrou-Andronikou (France/Greece), Ursula Hemetek (Austria) and Eva Sæther (Sweden). The role of the Scientific Committee was to give advice on the outline of the publication and to identify authors to invite so they could contribute to the publication. We heartily thank all the members of the Scientific Committee for their tremendous work. An Editorial Board was formed from the Scientific Committee which includes Bernd Clausen (chairperson), Ursula Hemetek and Eva Sæther. We would like to express our sincere gratitude to these three outstanding scholars as they have put an enormous amount of time, effort and personal commitment into the publication; without their expertise this book would not exist as it does now.

Furthermore, we would like to thank all our proofreaders and translators for patiently revising the articles of the publication again and again; they are namely: Katja Strube, Wiebke Pilz, Solange Eggermont, Burak Ozgen, Juliette Powel and Benjamin Perriello for the proofreaders and Selma Adlim, Patricia Adkins Chiti, Mike Delaney, Kathrin Matzen, Anne Thomas, Juliette Powel and Mojca Vodusek for the translators.

We are very happy that Markus Koehler has put the texts into a nice layout and that the publishing house *transcript* has been very supportive of and convinced by the idea of the project from the beginning.

We are grateful that the Boards of the *European Music Council* supported the idea of the project and made ExTra! possible.

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We would personally like to thank Isabelle Métrope, who has worked for the ExTra! project and was greatly involved in coordinating this publication.

Finally, we would like to thank the European Union for supporting this project, without whose financial support this publication would never have been possible.

We heartily hope that this publication will contribute to enhancing the understanding of each other's cultures as well as to fostering an intercultural dialogue in Europe and beyond.

Ruth Jakobi
Secretary General EMC

Simone Dudt
ExTra! Project Manager

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Preface

MUSIC IN MOTION – A EUROPEAN PROJECT

The contents and the form of this publication are the outcomes of long and intense discussions and negotiations. This is only worth mentioning because in this case these negotiations and the result somehow have to do with European cultural politics. This publication is part of an EU-funded project that is called 'ExTra! Exchange Traditions' and promotes musical diversity. The central task was to deal with traditional music existing in European countries and there was a focus on the music of minorities. Alongside numerous musical events over the past three years in various countries of the EU a committee was appointed to work on the scientific part of the project. The first idea, presented during a first meeting of the members of the Scientific Committee by the *European Music Council* (EMC) on what the outcome of this work should be, was a concept of representativity: a study of a minority culture in every country of the EU by a native scholar of that country in his or her native language. This kind of politics of representation can be found in the EU on many levels, overshadowed by the still powerful idea of the nation state. The Scientific Committee decided not to take this road but rather to concentrate on themes that seem to be important concerning the topic "minorities and immigrants in Europe" by finding authors who represent their expertise in these fields rather than their nations. The concept of the nation state cannot be omitted because it is a European reality, but it is implied more in the sense of being challenged by minority identities and creative musical potentials being active and very often being a stimulus to change. From this fundamental change of perspective, the very title of this publication evokes: *Music in Motion.*

The themes chosen are as diverse as the inputs: urban area, gender perspectives, music education, ethnic/religious minority communities, policy and media. Most of them are part of influential ethnomusicological contemporary discourses. Ethnomusicology seems to be the discipline that provides the best tools for dealing with musical diversity, intercultural discourse and the applied aspects of its interdisciplinary links with sociology, popular music studies, ethnology, pedagogy and musicology. It should also be added that intense talks about the language of the articles took place; knowing that the languages within the EU are as diverse as the musics, we eventually decided to publish this book in English.

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The minority communities and their musical implications as subjects of the articles in this volume are of a limited number. The Editorial Board was always aware of the fact that across all EU countries, the situations of minority communities are very diverse. Also, and more important, the Editorial Board was faced with the situation that the state of research on minority communities varies from one member state to another and sometimes hardly exists at all. During the first meeting, the Editorial Board selected minority communities according to their importance for Europe – also in the historical perspective – and their presence in political discourse: Jews, Roma and immigrants from Turkey and Africa, who are the subjects of the first four articles. These articles are the only ones that try to include an all-European perspective. All the other inputs are limited to regions, states, institutions or groups. They use the exemplary approach.

There are three main sections in this book. The introductory part intends to give a political, as well as a disciplinary, background. This is achieved through two articles, one of which is a philosophical view on European immigration policy, and the other tries to link all the articles of the publication to contemporary ethnomusicological discourse.

The second part consists of scholarly articles dealing more or less with the themes agreed upon during the first session with the Scientific Committee. The third section consists of model projects showing effective and successful ways of dealing with musical diversity in quite different surroundings and social circumstances.

In his introductory article, **Svanibor Pettan** links the variety of approaches in the book to current discourse in the field of ethnomusicology. He includes the perspective of major international organisations such as the *International Council for Traditional Music* and interprets the perspectives of this book mainly from music and minorities studies as well as applied ethnomusicology. He also draws on his personal experiences with nationalism during the collapse of former Yugoslavia.

In 1992, **Etienne Balibar** raised an essential and still crucial question: Is there such a thing as European racism? From three perspectives, the author unfolds possible reasons to support such a hypothesis, looking closely at the public spaces within Europe and the idea of nation states. **Philip Bohlman** argues, in his article *The Music of Jewish Europe,* that Jewish inputs to European music were crucial and Jewish musicians were central, not peripheral. "The musicians of Jewish music make audible a different Europe, and in so doing they contribute also to the larger goal of the present volume, understanding through diverse musics what the authors consider to be a Europe of difference" (Bohlman 2009: 85).

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Roma have been called the 'true' Europeans in several recent publications. Roma live in all the European countries and national borders have only been important in Roma history as obstacles of communication between different groups. Roma have been, and remain, a discriminated minority all over the world, especially in Europe. But in spite of that they have somehow resisted nationalism. The Romani anthem and the way it is used shows very well the non-nationalistic approach to such symbols that are inherent in Romani culture (**Ursula Hemetek**).

Immigrants from Turkey seem to function as a scapegoat in today's political discourses. Since 9/11, a growing Islamophobia can be noticed in Europe. And as immigrants from Turkey are the largest group of 'Muslims' in many European countries, attacks from politicians and right-wing activists focus on them. Therefore, we have focused on this group and analysed it in three articles (by Martin Greve, Dorit Klebe and Hande Sağlam). The article by **Martin Greve** on *Music in the European-Turkish Diaspora* deals with the historical background to migration as well as musical dialogues, with contemporary transnational connections and with many different musical genres that are all part of musical life in diasporas from Turkey.

Immigration from Africa to Europe seems to be another major topic in European politics, discussed in very controversial ways nowadays. In his article, **Wolfgang Bender** examines the broad spectrum of African musicians within Europe. Although a detailed survey is still lacking and the perspective on networks, music and identities will remain a fragment, it is clear that African communities intermingle with the demands, tastes and expectations of the majority society in a very complex and sometimes surprising way.

The following articles are more case studies with exemplary character that try to to cover the major themes.

The article on translocal communities (**Dan Lundberg**) paints the picture of how a community – in this case the Assyrian – can emerge on Internet. 'Your land on cyberspace', Nineveh Online, welcomed its first visitors in 1997. Assyrians in Sweden and the USA were the first to establish a transnational community for groupings and individuals in the diaspora. This has since been developed by many other groupings, giving a new meaning to the concept of nations.

Adelaida Reyes, an ethnomusicologist with considerable experience in urban studies, argues in her article why urban ethnomusicology was a challenge to the concepts of the discipline and how it developed in the early years. Contrary to the assumption of homogeneity, the dynamism and heterogeneity of the urban world – the pace at which it grows and the variety and complexity of the forms that it takes – are facts that modern

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ethnomusicology has to deal with. All these result from immigration into urban centres, which is also underlined by the following two articles.

Within a short space of time after the 1960s *bhangra* was established in urban contexts in the United Kingdom by Punjabis who left India in the post-World War II migration. In her article, **Laura Leante** gives not only an overview of bhangra, which is now performed by the second and third generation of British Punjabis, but also reaches surprising conclusions concerning the relation between tradition and diaspora.

Ayekantún, a Chilean dance group in Oslo, Norway, is a good example of how local immigrant communities use the practice of traditional music and dance for building local communities, maintain ties to the home country and build a relationship with the majority culture. This article by **Jan Sverre Knudsen** examines how experiences of place and social belonging are perceived, constructed and limited, as well as the role of dance practices in these processes.

Political implications of a musical transnational phenomenon are in the focus of **Alenka Barber-Kersovan's** article. Behind the 'Balkan Rock' marketing category lies a fascinating process of how the musical expression of a marginal diaspora loses its initial objectives. Local or regional interests became transnational, and geographically defined places are replaced by socially constructed spaces. Balkan as a metaphor has in this process been given a new positive connotation; a very sensitive 'emotional territory'.

An input from Italy is based on a recent study: to this day a complete survey on immigrant musicians in Italy has not yet been undertaken. However, **Patricia Adkins Chiti** gives a glimpse of an insight into this matter in a small field research study, focussing on the Lazio Region. It not only reveals interesting details about the self-conception of immigrant musicians in Italy, but also opens the doors for the demands of further and broader research into this subject in Italy.

The broad contexts of tarantism and neo-tarantism are at the heart of the article by **Annunziata Dellisanti**. It gives an insight into this widespread phenomenon, starting with the first accounts of the 'tarantella' by Athanasius Kircher up to recent forms such as the seminars of Alessandra Belloni, stressing the female components in production as well as reception.

Music education is the topic of the three following articles. **Huib Schippers** asks the question: Is European diversity wonderfully colourful or a 'culture of confrontation'? In the article on attitudes, approaches and actions it is argued that it can be useful to distinguish four major approaches to cultural diversity which relate to music. This article looks back at 40 years of European practice of 'migrant music', 'minority music' and 'world music', and gives hints for the future. **Dorit Klebe** gives a very detailed report about the formal and informal transmission of Turkish music in Germany.

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This includes her own projects as a music pedagogue and she is obviously one of the protagonists trying to implement Turkish music in formal education. She also describes the informal activities of music transmission within communities from Turkey. **Hande Sağlam** draws a very different picture of the Austrian situation. Her critical approach is based mainly on her ethnomusicological fieldwork and not on her pedagogic activities. She does not see many successful models in formal education aiming at cultural dialogue but does see more successful ones in music projects and in the internal practice of communities.

The model projects in the third section are mainly based on education activities from quite different points of view and on applying different strategies for different target groups.

Christina Foramitti reports on a successful project about Nigerian culture that she conducted in an Austrian kindergarten. The idea was to prove that "the music of another culture (in this case the music of the Yorùbá) could touch and move others" (children in Austria) in a particular way in order to build bridges. Her partner and the main protagonist in the project was Babátólá Alóba, a Yorùbá from Nigeria who has been living in Austria for 30 years.

The recent wars in former Yugoslavia produced masses of refugees. Some of these found shelter in Slovenia. **Albinca Pesek** has been involved in educational activities aiming at integration and she reports about more or less successful models in Slovenia.

Music teachers in a diverse Europe are confronted with challenges, but also with possibilities. Ethnomusicologist **Eva Fock** has developed and tested an educational programme in Denmark which aims at developing a culturally diverse learning space for music classes, and includes students from all cultural backgrounds. **Lance D´Souza** gives the story of a successful partnership between musicians from minority groups and established institutions. The Danish city Aarhus has a unique department under the wings of the city music school: The World Music Center has, ever since 1999, served as an arena for positive cultural meetings. It employs professional dancers and musicians from all over the world, and works in close cooperation with the Royal Academy of Music, the Music School and the state schools.

Henri Tournier gives an insight into his experiences in teaching classical Northern Indian music in the unique surrounding of the Codarts Conservatoire in Rotterdam, explaining not only the development of the department but also the adaption of traditional oral teaching and particular challenges. *Jamila and the Others …* is a junior textbook in Italian, English and Arabic published in Rome in 2008 to encourage all students (Italian and immigrant) to learn more about their history and about common roots they

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have with other peoples around the Mediterranean. **Alessandro Di Liegro** depicts the development and the content of this project.

In the article on the Cité de la musique in Paris by **Gilles Delebarre**, we learn how an educational approach contributes to musical diversity and intercultural exchanges. This educational programme is designed for a huge and diverse audience: some 30 000 people are involved each year, many of which will participate in the future musical life in France. The Cité focuses on musical diversity and tries to move constantly between the universal and the cultural, for example the syllables for learning how to play the *tabla* or the *ciblon* becomes one form of *solfège* among others.

The editors want to thank the *European Music Council* and project manager Simone Dudt for this outstanding initiative. We also owe much to the inputs of the Scientific Committee. Most of all we want to thank the authors for their wonderful inputs. These two years of work have been most inspiring for us. Hopefully this inspiration will be shared by the readers of this book. May this book contribute to the understanding of musical diversity in Europe, as well as minorities' diversity and to successful intercultural dialogue.

Bernd Clausen (Würzburg)
Ursula Hemetek (Vienna)
Eva Sæther (Malmö)

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Préface

MUSIQUE EN MOUVEMENT – DIVERSITÉ ET DIALOGUE EN EUROPE

Translated by Juliette Powel

Le contenu et la forme de cette publication sont les fruits de longues et intenses discussions et négociations. Cela doit être mentionné, car en l'occurrence ces négociations et leur issue sont toutes liées d'une manière ou d'une autre à la politique culturelle européenne. Le présent ouvrage fait partie d'un projet cofinancé par l'UE intitulé 'ExTra! Exchange Traditions' visant à promouvoir la diversité musicale. Sa mission première était de traiter de la musique traditionnelle dans les pays européens, et de s'intéresser plus particulièrement aux musiques des minorités. En parallèle avec de nombreuses manifestations musicales ces trois dernières années dans différents pays de l'UE, un comité a été constitué afin de travailler sur la partie scientifique de ce projet. La première idée, présentée lors d'une première réunion des membres du Comité Scientifique organisée par Conseil Européen de la Musique – EMC sur ce qui devrait ressortir de ce travail, était le concept de représentativité: une étude sur une culture minoritaire dans chaque pays de l'UE effectuée par un chercheur natif de ce pays dans sa langue maternelle. On retrouve cette politique de représentation dans l'UE à bien des niveaux, éclipsée par l'idée puissante d'état-nation. Le Comité Scientifique a décidé de ne pas suivre cette voie, mais plutôt de se concentrer sur le sujet des "minorités et des immigrants en Europe" en impliquant des auteurs qui parlent au titre de leurs compétences dans ces domaines plutôt qu'au nom de leur nation. Le concept d'état-nation ne peut être laissé de côté car il constitue une réalité européenne, mais il est impliqué plutôt dans le sens où il est mis en cause par les identités minoritaires et les potentiels créatifs musicaux actifs et souvent vecteurs de changement. De ce changement fondamental de perspective, vient le titre de cet ouvrage : *Musique en mouvement*.

Les thématiques retenues sont aussi diversifiées que les apports: région urbaine, différences entre hommes et femmes, éducation musicale, communautés minoritaires ethniques ou religieuses, politiques et médias. La plupart font partie de discours ethnomusicologiques actuels influents. L'ethnomusicologie semble être la discipline qui offre les meilleurs outils pour traiter de diversité musicale, de discours interculturel et de l'application

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de ses liens interdisciplinaires avec la sociologie, les études sur la musique populaire, l'ethnologie, la pédagogie et la musicologie. Il convient aussi d'ajouter que de vives discussions ont eu lieu sur la langue des articles: sachant que les langues au sein de l'UE sont aussi diverses que les musiques, nous avons finalement décidé de publier cet ouvrage en anglais.

Les communautés minoritaires et leur participation à la vie musicale comme sujets des articles de ce volume sont peu nombreuses. Le Comité éditorial a toujours eu conscience du fait que d'un pays de l'UE à l'autre, les situations des communautés minoritaires sont très diverses. Plus important encore, le Comité éditorial a été confronté au fait que l'état des recherches sur les communautés minoritaires dans certains pays membres est très inégal, parfois même quasiment inexistant. Lorsqu'il s'est réuni, le Comité éditorial a sélectionné des communautés minoritaires en fonction de leur importance en Europe – ainsi que de leur histoire – et de leur présence dans les discours politiques: Juifs, Roms et immigrés Turcs et Africains, qui sont l'objet des quatre premiers articles. Ces articles sont les seuls à tenter de donner une perspective paneuropéenne. Tous les autres articles se limitent à une région, un état, une institution ou un groupe, et constituent des exemples.

Cette publication se divise principalement en trois parties. La partie introductive vise à définir un contexte politique et disciplinaire. Cela se fait à travers deux articles: l'un est une réflexion philosophique sur les politiques d'immigration européennes, et l'autre tente de relier tous les articles de cet ouvrage à un discours ethnomusicologique actuel.

La deuxième partie réunit des articles scientifiques traitant plus ou moins des thèmes décidés lors de la première réunion du Comité scientifique. La troisième partie présente des projets modèles montrant des moyens efficaces et fructueux d'aborder la diversité musicale dans des environnements et des contextes sociaux très différents.

Dans son article introductif, **Svanibor Pettan** met en lien les différentes approches présentes dans cette publication aux discours ethnologiques actuels. Il intègre les points de vue d'organisations internationales majeures, comme le Conseil International de la Musique Traditionnelle, et interprète les opinions contenues dans cet ouvrage principalement au regard des études sur les musiques des minorités et de l'ethnomusicologie appliquée. Il s'inspire également de son expérience personnelle au contact des nationalismes qui ont émergé lors du démantèlement de l'ex-Yougoslavie.

En 1992, **Etienne Balibar** a soulevé une question essentielle et toujours autant d'actualité : existe-t-il un 'racisme européen'? Sous trois angles différents, l'auteur examine les raisons possibles de son hypothèse, observant également de plus près les espaces publics en Europe et l'idée d'état-nation. **Philip Bohlman** affirme, dans son article *The Music of Jewish Europe*, que

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l'apport juif à la musique européenne a été crucial et que les musiciens juifs ont joué un rôle primordial et non secondaire. "Les interprètes de musique juive sont la voix d'une Europe différente, et contribuent ainsi également à l'objectif général du présent ouvrage : l'entente mutuelle à travers des musiques diverses que l'auteur considère comme une Europe de la différence" (Bohlman 2009: 85).

Les Roms ont été qualifiés de 'véritables' européens dans plusieurs publications récentes. Ils vivent dans tous les pays d'Europe et les frontières nationales n'ont eu d'importance dans l'histoire romani que comme obstacles à la communication entre les différents groupes. Les Roms ont été, et sont toujours, une minorité souffrant de discrimination dans le monde entier, et particulièrement en Europe. Mais en dépit de cela, ils ont, d'une manière ou d'une autre, résisté au nationalisme. L'hymne romani et la façon dont il est utilisé montre très bien l'approche non-nationaliste de ces symboles, inhérente à la culture romani (**Ursula Hemetek**).

Les immigrés turcs semblent jouer le rôle de boucs émissaires dans les discours politiques actuels. Depuis le 11 septembre, on observe une montée de l'islamophobie en Europe. Et puisque les immigrés turcs représentent, dans beaucoup de pays d'Europe, le plus grand groupe musulman, les attaques des politiciens et d'activistes d'extrême droite convergent vers eux. Nous nous sommes donc intéressés à ce groupe et lui avons consacré trois articles (par Martin Greve, Dorit Klebe et Hande Sağlam). L'article de **Martin Greve** *Music in the European-Turkish Diaspora* traite du contexte historique de la migration et des dialogues musicaux, des liens transnationaux actuels ainsi que de nombreux genres musicaux différents faisant tous partie de la vie musicale des diasporas turques.

L'immigration de l'Afrique vers l'Europe semble être un autre thème majeur de la politique européenne, actuellement souvent sujette à controverse. Dans son article, **Wolfgang Bender** dessine le large spectre des musiciens africains en Europe. Bien qu'il n'existe pas encore d'étude détaillée à ce sujet, et que la perspective sur les réseaux, la musique et les identités demeure fragmentaire, il est clair que les communautés africaines répondent aux exigences, aux goûts et aux attentes de la société majoritaire de façon très complexe, et parfois surprenante.

Les articles qui suivent constituent plutôt des cas pratiques ayant caractère d'exemple, s'efforçant de couvrir les thématiques principales.

L'article sur les communautés translocales (**Dan Lundberg**) dépeint la façon dont une communauté – dans ce cas la communauté assyrienne – peut émerger sur Internet. 'Votre pays dans le cyberespace', Nineveh Online, a reçu ses premiers visiteurs en 1997. Les Assyriens de Suède et des Etats-Unis ont été les premiers à établir une communauté transnationale pour les groupes et les individus isolés de la diaspora. Ce mouvement a été rejoint depuis par

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de nombreux autres groupes, donnant ainsi un sens nouveau au concept de nation.

Adelaida Reyes, une ethnomusicologue possédant une considérable expérience des études urbaines, explique, dans son article, en quoi l'ethnomusicologie urbaine représentait un défi au regard des concepts de la discipline et comment elle s'est développée dans les toutes premières années. Contrairement à l'assomption d'homogénéité, le dynamisme et l'hétérogénéité du monde urbain – la vitesse à laquelle celui-ci grandit ainsi que la variété et la complexité des formes qu'il prend – sont des faits que l'ethnomusicologie moderne doit intégrer. Tout ceci résulte de l'immigration vers les centres urbains, qui est également mise en évidence dans les deux articles suivants.

En très peu de temps, depuis les années 1960, le *bhangra* a été établi dans les environnements urbains du Royaume-Uni par des Punjabi ayant quitté l'Inde lors des migrations qui ont suivi la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Dans son article, **Laura Leante** donne tout d'abord un aperçu du *bhangra*, à présent repris par les deuxième et troisième générations de Punjabi britanniques, puis aboutit à de surprenantes conclusions concernant la relation entre la tradition et la diaspora.

Ayekantún, un groupe de danse chilienne à Oslo, Norvège, illustre parfaitement la façon dont les communautés locales immigrées utilisent la pratique de la musique et de la danse traditionnelles pour construire des communautés locales, entretenir les liens avec leur pays d'origine et établir une relation avec la culture majoritaire. Cet article de **Jan Sverre Knudsen** étudie la manière dont les expériences de l'appartenance géographique et sociale sont perçues, construites et limitées, ainsi que le rôle de la pratique chorégraphique dans ces processus.

Les implications politiques d'un phénomène musical transnational sont au cœur de l'article d'**Alenka Barber-Kersovan**. Derrière la catégorie marketing "rock des Balkans" se trouve un fascinant processus au fil duquel l'expression musicale d'une diaspora marginale perd ses objectifs initiaux. Les intérêts locaux ou régionaux sont devenus transnationaux, et les lieux géographiquement définis ont été remplacés par des espaces sociaux. Dans ce processus, le mot "Balkan" en tant que métaphore a reçu une nouvelle connotation positive, celle d'un "territoire émotionnel" très sensible.

Une autre contribution, venue d'Italie, se base sur une étude récente: jusqu'à ce jour, aucune étude exhaustive n'a encore été entreprise sur les musiciens immigrés en Italie. **Patricia Adkins Chiti** nous donne cependant un aperçu de ce sujet à travers une brève étude de terrain effectuée dans le Latium. Cette étude révèle non seulement des détails intéressants sur les auto-concepts des musiciens immigrés en Italie, mais elle ouvre également la voie à des recherches plus approfondies et de plus grande envergure en Italie sur ce sujet.

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Les vastes sujets que représentent le tarentisme et le néo-tarentisme sont au cœur de l'article d'**Annunziata Dellisanti**. Cet article explique ce phénomène très répandu, en commençant par les premiers comptes-rendus de la tarentelle par Athanasius Kircher jusqu'à ses formes récentes, comme les séminaires d'Alessandra Belloni.

L'éducation musicale est le sujet des trois articles suivants. **Huib Schippers** pose la question : La diversité européenne est-elle merveilleusement colorée ou une 'culture de la confrontation' ? Dans son article sur les attitudes, les approches et les actions, l'auteur affirme qu'il peut-être utile de distinguer quatre différentes approches de la diversité culturelle liées à la musique. Cet article se penche sur quarante ans de pratique européenne de la tarentelle, la 'musique des minorités' et la 'musique du monde', puis donne quelques suggestions pour l'avenir. **Dorit Klebe** propose un rapport très détaillé des activités liées à la transmission formelle et informelle de la musique turque en Allemagne, comprenant les projets qu'elle mène en tant que pédagogue de la musique ; elle est manifestement de ceux qui s'efforcent d'intégrer la musique turque à l'éducation formelle. Elle décrit également les activités informelles liées à la transmission de la musique au sein des communautés turques. **Hande Sağlam** dépeint une image toute différente, celle du contexte autrichien. Son approche critique se base principalement sur une étude ethnomusicologique de terrain et non sur des activités pédagogiques. Elle n'a pas observé beaucoup de modèles réussis en matière de dialogue culturel dans l'éducation formelle, mais par ailleurs elle en a observé de plus réussis dans les projets musicaux et dans la pratique interne au sein des communautés.

Les projets modèles de la troisième partie reposent principalement sur des activités éducatives de points de vue divers et sur l'application de différentes stratégies à différents groupes cible.

Christina Foramitti expose un projet fructueux concernant la culture nigériane, qu'elle a mené dans un jardin d'enfants en Autriche. Le but de ce projet était de prouver que "la musique d'une autre culture (dans ce cas la musique des Yorùbá) pouvait toucher et émouvoir des personnes d'une autre culture (en l'occurrence des enfants autrichiens)" de façon à construire des ponts. Son partenaire et principal intervenant dans ce projet a été Babátólá Alóba, un Yorùbá du Nigeria qui vit en Autriche depuis 30 ans.

Les récentes guerres en ex-Yougoslavie ont engendré des masses de réfugiés. Certains d'entre eux ont trouvé refuge en Slovénie. **Albinca Pesek** s'est engagée dans des activités éducatives visant à les intégrer, et elle décrit ici des modèles ayant plus ou moins bien fonctionné en Slovénie.

Dans une Europe diversifiée, les professeurs de musique sont confrontés à des difficultés, mais aussi à des opportunités. L'ethnomusicologue **Eva Fock** a conçu et testé au Danemark un programme éducatif visant

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à développer un espace d'apprentissage culturellement diversifié pour les classes de musique, et accueillant les étudiants quel que soit leurs origines culturelles. **Lance D´Souza** relate l'histoire d'un partenariat fructueux entre des musiciens d'un groupe minoritaire et des institutions établies. La ville danoise d'Aarhus possède un département unique, placé sous l'aile de l'école municipale de musique : le World Music Center [Centre des Musiques du Monde] sert, depuis 1999, de lieu de rencontres culturelles positives. Il emploie des danseurs et des musiciens professionnels du monde entier, et travail en coopération étroite avec l'Académie Royale de Musique, l'Ecole de Musique et les écoles publiques.

Henri Tournier donne un aperçu de son expérience de l'enseignement de la musique classique du Nord de l'Inde dans l'environnement unique du Conservatoire Codarts de Rotterdam, expliquant non seulement l'évolution du département mais aussi l'adaptation de l'enseignement oral traditionnel ainsi que d'autres difficultés. *Jamila and the others …* [Jamila et les autres …] est un manuel scolaire en italien, en anglais et en arabe publié en 2008 à Rome afin d'encourager tous les élèves (d'origine italienne et immigrée) à s'intéresser davantage à leur histoire et aux racines qu'ils ont en commun avec d'autres peuples de la Méditerranée. **Alessandro Di Liegro** décrit le déroulement et le contenu de ce projet.

Dans son article sur la Cité de la musique à Paris, **Gilles Delebarre** nous explique comment une approche éducative contribue à la diversité musicale et aux échanges interculturels. Ce programme éducatif est conçu pour un public énorme et diversifié : quelque trente mille personnes sont concernées chaque année, qui deviendront les mélomanes de demain. La Cité de la musique se consacre à la diversité musicale et tente d'évoluer en permanence entre l'universel et le culturel ; par exemple, les syllabes servant à l'apprentissage du *tabla* ou du *ciblon* deviennent une forme de solfège parmi d'autres.

Les éditeurs souhaitent remercier le Conseil Européen de la Musique et Madame Simone Dudt, chargée de projet, pour cette remarquable initiative. Nous sommes également très reconnaissants au Comité scientifique pour son aide. Nous voulons par-dessus tout remercier les auteurs pour leur merveilleuse contribution ; ces deux années de travail ont été des plus stimulantes pour nous. Nous espérons que les lecteurs y trouveront également une source d'inspiration. Que cet ouvrage permette de mieux comprendre la diversité musicale en Europe, ainsi que la diversité des minorités, et qu'il contribue à un dialogue interculturel prospère.

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Wurtzbourg (Allemagne)

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Vienne (Autriche)

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Vorwort

MUSIC IN MOTION – EIN EUROPÄISCHES PROJEKT

Translated by Kathrin Matzen

Der Inhalt und die Form dieser Publikation sind das Ergebnis langer, intensiver Gespräche und Debatten über das Anliegen sowie die inhaltlichen Zielsetzungen. Dieser Umstand soll deshalb erwähnt werden, weil der in dieser Weise stattgefundene Entstehungsprozess gewissermaßen mit europäischer Kulturpolitik insgesamt zu tun hat. Diese Publikation ist Teil eines von der EU finanzierten Projekts mit dem Namen 'ExTra! Exchange Traditions' zur Förderung von Vielfalt in der Musik. Die zentrale Aufgabe dieser Unternehmung war die Beschäftigung mit der in den europäischen Mitgliedsländern existierenden traditionellen Musik, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf der Musik von Minderheiten lag. Neben zahlreichen Musikveranstaltungen in mehreren Ländern der EU in den letzten drei Jahren wurde ein Beirat berufen, der sich mit den wissenschaftlichen Aspekten des Projekts befassen sollte. Hinter der ursprünglichen Idee in Bezug auf das beabsichtigte Ergebnis dieser Arbeit, vorgetragen vom Europäischen Musikrat (EMC) während einer ersten Zusammenkunft der Mitglieder des wissenschaftlichen Beirats, stand ein Konzept der Repräsentativität: Eine Studie über eine Minderheitenkultur in jedem EU-Land, angefertigt von einem einheimischen Wissenschaftler des Landes in der jeweiligen Muttersprache. Diese Art der Politik der Repräsentation findet sich in der EU auf vielen Ebenen, überschattet von dem noch immer stark verbreiteten nationalstaatlichen Gedanken. Der wissenschaftliche Beirat entschied nach intensiven Diskussionen, diesen Weg nicht zu beschreiten, sondern sich vielmehr auf Themen zu konzentrieren, die im Hinblick auf „Minderheiten und Immigranten in Europa" wichtig scheinen und Autorinnen und Autoren zu suchen, die in erster Linie für ihre Expertise auf diesen Gebieten stehen und nicht für ihre Nationen. Tatsächlich kann in diesem Zusammenhang der Begriff des Nationalstaats nicht unberücksichtigt bleiben, denn er ist eine europäische Realität. Allerdings vollzieht sich seine Einbeziehung eher im Sinne einer Herausforderung durch Minderheitsidentitäten und deren kreative musikalische Potenziale. Dieser, gegenüber dem ursprünglich geplan-

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ten Zugang grundlegende Perspektivenwechsel, mündete im Titel der vorliegenden Publikation: *Music in Motion*.

Die ausgewählten Themenbereiche sind so vielfältig wie die Beiträge: städtischer Raum, Geschlechterperspektiven, Musikvermittlung, ethnische/religiöse Minderheitengemeinschaften, Politik und Medien. Die meisten von ihnen sind Bestandteil maßgebender musikethnologischer Diskurse der Gegenwart. Tatsächlich scheint Musikethnologie die Disziplin zu sein, welche die besten Werkzeuge für den Umgang mit musikalischer Vielfalt, interkulturellem Diskurs und Anwendungsaspekten ihrer interdisziplinären Bezüge zur Soziologie, den „Popular Music Studies", der Ethnologie, der Pädagogik und der Musikwissenschaft bietet. An dieser Stelle muss erwähnt werden, dass über die Sprache, in der die Aufsätze publiziert werden sollten, gründlich diskutiert wurde, immer in dem Wissen, dass die Sprachen innerhalb der EU ebenso verschieden sind wie die Musik. Letztendlich entschieden wir uns aber dafür, dieses Buch auf Englisch herauszubringen.

Es wird in diesem Band nur eine begrenzte Anzahl von Minderheitengemeinschaften und ihre musikalischen Zusammenhänge thematisiert. Das Herausgebergremium war sich stets des Umstandes bewusst, dass die Situationen von Minderheitengemeinschaften in allen EU-Ländern sehr heterogen sind. Auch, und insbesondere, sahen sich die Herausgeber mit dem Umstand konfrontiert, dass der Stand der Forschung zu Minderheitengemeinschaften in einigen Mitgliedstaaten stark von demjenigen in anderen Ländern abweicht, ja teilweise kaum Minderheitenforschung existiert. Bei seiner ersten Sitzung traf das Herausgebergremium eine Auswahl von Minderheitengemeinschaften gemäß ihrer Bedeutung für Europa – auch in historischer Perspektive – sowie ihrer Präsenz in politischen Diskursen: Juden, Roma und Immigranten aus der Türkei und Afrika sind Themen der ersten vier Artikel. Diese unternehmen als einzige den Versuch, eine Europa-übergreifende Perspektive einzubinden. Alle anderen Beiträge beschränken sich auf Regionen, Staaten, Institutionen oder Gruppen. Sie verwenden eine exemplarische Herangehensweise.

Dieses Buch ist in drei Teile gegliedert. Der Einführungsteil liefert einen politischen und einen disziplinären Hintergrund. Der eine Beitrag wirft einen philosophischen Blick auf die europäische Einwanderungspolitik, der andere stellt einen Versuch dar, alle Artikel dieser Publikation mit gegenwärtigen musikethnologischen Diskursen in Verbindung zu bringen.

Der zweite Teil besteht aus Aufsätzen, die sich mehr oder weniger mit jenen Themen befassen, die während der ersten Sitzung mit dem wissenschaftlichen Beirat festgelegt wurden. Der dritte Teil beschreibt Modellprojekte, die wirkungsvolle und erfolgreiche Wege im Umgang mit musikalischer Vielfalt in recht unterschiedlichen Umgebungen und sozialen Verhältnissen demonstrieren.

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Svanibor Pettan verbindet in seinem einführenden Artikel die Mannigfaltigkeit der in diesem Buch enthaltenen Ansätze mit gegenwärtigen Diskursen in der Musikethnologie. Dabei berücksichtigt er die Perspektive großer internationaler Organisationen wie des *International Council for Traditional Music* (ICTM) und interpretiert die Beiträge in diesem Buch vorwiegend aus der Musik- und Minderheitenforschung sowie der Angewandten Musikethnologie heraus. Zudem bezieht Pettan seine persönlichen Erfahrungen mit dem Nationalismus während des Zusammenbruchs des ehemaligen Jugoslawiens ein.

Im Jahr 1992 warf **Etienne Balibar** eine grundlegende und noch immer fundamentale Frage auf: *Gibt es so etwas wie einen europäischen Rassismus*? Unter drei Gesichtspunkten legt der Autor mögliche Gründe zur Stützung einer solchen Hypothese dar und lenkt dabei das Augenmerk auf die öffentlichen Räume in Europa und hinterfragt kritisch den Nationalstaats-Begriff. **Philip Bohlman** argumentiert in seinem Artikel *Die Musik des jüdischen Europas*, dass jüdische Beiträge zu einer europäischen Musik entscheidend waren und stellt fest, dass jüdischen Musikern eine zentrale und keineswegs eine periphere Rolle zu: „Die Musiker jüdischer Musik machen einen hörbaren Unterschied in Europa, und damit tragen sie auch zu dem weiter gefassten Ziel des vorliegenden Bands bei: durch unterschiedliche Musiken zu verstehen, was die Autorinnen und Autoren als ein Europa der Unterschiede sehen" (Bohlman 2009: 85).

Die Roma wurden kürzlich in mehreren Veröffentlichungen als die 'wahren' Europäer bezeichnet. Roma leben in allen europäischen Ländern, und nationale Grenzen haben in der Geschichte der Roma nur als Hindernisse in der Kommunikation zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen Bedeutung. Roma waren und sind eine weltweit diskriminierte Minderheit, insbesondere in Europa. Nichtsdestotrotz haben sie dem Nationalismus aus irgendeinem Grund widerstanden. Die Nationalhymne der Roma und die Art und Weise ihrer Verwendung zeigen sehr gut die nicht-nationalistische Herangehensweise an derartige Symbole, die der Kultur der Roma zu Eigen ist (**Ursula Hemetek**).

Einwanderer aus der Türkei scheinen in den heutigen politischen Diskursen die Funktion des Sündenbocks einzunehmen. In der Folge des 11. September ist in Europa eine zunehmende Islamophobie spürbar. Und da Immigranten aus der Türkei in vielen europäischen Ländern die größte Gruppe der 'Muslime' darstellen, konzentrieren sich primär auf sie die Angriffe von Politikern und rechten Aktivisten. Aus diesem Grund haben wir einen Schwerpunkt auf diese Gruppe gelegt und setzen uns in drei Artikeln mit ihr auseinander (Martin Greve, Dorit Klebe und Hande Sağlam). Der Artikel von **Martin Greve** über *Musik in der Europäisch-Türkischen Diaspora* befasst sich mit dem geschichtlichen Hintergrund der Migra-

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tion sowie musikalischen Dialogen, mit transnationalen Verbindungen der heutigen Zeit und den zahlreichen unterschiedlichen Musik-Genres, die allesamt Teil des Musiklebens in den türkischstämmigen Diaspora sind.

Die Migration von Afrika nach Europa scheint ein weiteres Hauptthema in der europäischen Politik zu sein und wird gegenwärtig äußerst kontrovers diskutiert. **Wolfgang Bender** zeichnet in seinem Artikel das breite Spektrum an afrikanischen Musikern in Europa. Obwohl umfassende Untersuchungen noch ausstehen und der Blick auf Netzwerke, Musik und Identitäten somit vorerst ausschnitthaft bleibt, so wird bei einem kursorischem Überblick doch deutlich, dass afrikanische Gemeinschaften sich auf sehr vielschichtige, teilweise überraschende Weise mit den Bedürfnissen, Geschmäckern und Erwartungen der Mehrheitsgesellschaft vermischen.

Bei den nachfolgenden Artikeln handelt es sich um Fallstudien mit Beispielcharakter, wenn auch mit dem Versuch, die Hauptthemen abzudecken.

Der Artikel über translokale Gemeinschaften (**Dan Lundberg**) schildert, wie eine Gemeinschaft – in diesem Fall die assyrische –im Internet in Erscheinung tritt: 'Dein Land im Cyberspace'. Die Homepage Nineveh Online, begrüßte die ersten Besucher im Jahr 1997. Assyrer in Schweden und den USA befanden sich unter den ersten Gründern einer transnationalen Gemeinschaft für Gruppierungen und Einzelpersonen in der Diaspora. Dies wurde seither von vielen anderen Gruppierungen weiterentwickelt und hat so dem Begriff ‚Nation' eine neue Bedeutung verliehen.

Adelaida Reyes, eine ausgewiesene Expertin im Bereich der urbanen Musikethnologie, geht in ihrem Artikel der Frage nach, warum dieses Forschungsgebiet in seinen Anfangszeiten eine Provokation das Selbstverständnisses der Musikethnologie insgesamt darstellte. Entgegen der Auffassung, die Gegenstände musikethnologischer Forschung stellten sich bis zu einem gewissen Maße homogen dar, sind die Dynamik und Heterogenität der städtischen Welt, mithin die Geschwindigkeit, mit welcher sie wächst sowie die Verschiedenheit und Komplexität der Formen, die sie annimmt – Herausforderungen, denen sich eine moderne Musikethnologie stellen muss. All diese Aspekte resultieren aus der Einwanderung in urbane Zentren. was die beiden anschließenden Artikel unterstreichen.

Innerhalb kurzer Zeit, genauer gesagt seit den 1960er Jahren, hat sich der *Bhangra* im städtischen Kontext Großbritanniens etabliert, eingeführt von Punjabi, die Indien im Rahmen der Wanderbewegung nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg verlassen haben. In ihrem Artikel gibt **Laura Leante** nicht nur einen Überblick über den *Bhangra*, der heute in der zweiten und dritten Generation britischer Punjabi ausgeübt wird, sondern gelangt auch

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zu überraschenden Schlussfolgerungen hinsichtlich des Verhältnisses zwischen Tradition und Diaspora.

Ayekantún, eine chilenische Tanzgruppe im norwegischen Oslo, dient als gutes Beispiel dafür, wie lokale Immigrantengemeinschaften die Ausübung von traditioneller Musik und traditionellem Tanz dazu nutzen, Gemeinschaften vor Ort zu bilden, Verbindungen zum Heimatland aufrecht zu erhalten und gleichzeitig eine Beziehung zur Mehrheitskultur aufzubauen. Der Artikel von **Jan Sverre Knudsen** untersucht, wie Erfahrungen der Orts- und gesellschaftlichen Zugehörigkeit aufgenommen, hergestellt und begrenzt werden und betrachtet die Rolle der Tanzausübung in diesen Prozessen.

Politische Implikationen eines musikalischen transnationalen Phänomens stehen im Fokus des Artikels von **Alenka Barber-Kersovan**. Hinter der Marketing-Kategorie des 'Balkan-Rock' versteckt sich die faszinierende Geschichte des musikalischen Ausdrucks einer Diaspora, der seinen ursprünglichen Ausgangspunkt verliert. Lokale oder regionale Interessen wurden zu transnationalen, und geographisch definierte Orte wurden durch von der Gesellschaft konstruierte Räume ersetzt. Der Balkan als Metapher erhielt in diesem Prozess eine neue positive Konnotation, ein sehr empfindliches 'emotionales Territorium'.

Ein Beitrag aus Italien basiert auf einer vor kurzem durchgeführten Studie. Bislang ist in Italien noch keine vollständige Untersuchung zu Musikern mit Migrationshintergrund durchgeführt worden. **Patricia Adkins Chiti** bietet in ihrer Feldstudie, die sich auf die Region Lazio beschränkt, einen kleinen Einblick in dieses Thema. Sie deckt nicht nur interessante Details über Selbstbilder von Musikern mit Migrationshintergrund in Italien auf, sondern unterstreicht Forderungen nach weiteren und tiefer gehenden Folgeuntersuchungen für Italien.

Die breiteren Zusammenhänge des Tarantismus und Neo-Tarantismus stehen im Zentrum des Artikels von **Annunziata Dellisanti**. Er gewährt Einblicke in dieses weit verbreitete Phänomen, angefangen mit den ersten Erwähnungen der „Tarantella" durch A. Kircher bis zu aktuellen Formen wie beispielsweise die Seminare von Alessandra Belloni, und betont dabei die weiblichen Komponenten sowohl in der Produktion als auch in der Rezeption.

Musikvermittlung ist das Thema der folgenden drei Beiträge. **Huib Schippers** stellt in seinem Artikel die Frage: Ist die europäische Vielfalt wunderbar farbenfroh oder eine 'Kultur der Konfrontation'? In seinen Ausführungen über Haltungen, Herangehensweisen und Handlungen demonstriert er eindrücklich, dass im Umgang mit kultureller Vielfalt eine Unterscheidung von vier mit Musik in Verbindung stehenden Hauptansätzen sinnvoll sein kann. Gleichzeitig blickt dieser Artikel zurück auf vierzig Jahre europäischer Praxis der ‚Migrantenmusik', ‚Minderheitenmusik' und

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‚Weltmusik' und bietet Anregungen für die Zukunft. **Dorit Klebe** liefert einen sehr detaillierten Bericht über Aktivitäten der formellen und informellen Vermittlung türkischer Musik in Deutschland. Dies schließt ihre eigenen Projekte als Musikpädagogin ein. Andererseits beschreibt sie auch die informellen Aktivitäten der Musikvermittlung innerhalb der türkischen Gemeinschaften. **Hande Sağlam** zeichnet ein sehr differenziertes Bild der Situation in Österreich. Ihr kritischer Ansatz beruht hauptsächlich auf musikethnologischer Feldforschung und nicht auf erzieherischen Interventionen. Sie sieht nicht viele erfolgreiche Modelle in der formalen Bildung, die auf kulturellen Dialog abzielen, erfolgreichere dagegen in Musikprojekten und in den internen Gepflogenheiten der Migrantengruppen.

Die Modellprojekte im dritten Teil beruhen hauptsächlich auf Aktivitäten aus recht unterschiedlichen Blickwinkeln und thematisieren die Anwendung verschiedener Strategien für unterschiedliche Zielgruppen.

Christina Foramitti berichtet über ein erfolgreiches Projekt zu nigerianischer Kultur, das die Autorin in einem österreichischen Kindergarten durchführte. Anliegen war es, zu belegen, dass die „Musik einer fremden Kultur" (in diesem Fall die Musik der Yoruba) andere „auf besondere Art und Weise berühren und bewegen" kann (Kinder in Österreich), um Brücken zu bauen. Ihr Partner, der gleichzeitig die Hauptfigur in dem Projekt darstellte, war Babátólá Alóba, ein Yoruba aus Nigeria, der seit 30 Jahren in Österreich lebt.

Die vergangenen kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen im ehemaligen Jugoslawien haben eine große Zahl von Flüchtlingen hervorgebracht. Einige von ihnen fanden Zuflucht in Slowenien. **Albinca Pesek** war in pädagogischen Aktivitäten zur Integrationsförderung involviert, und sie erzählt von erfolgreichen und weniger erfolgreichen Modellen in Slowenien.

Musiklehrer in einem vielfältigen Europa stehen vor Herausforderungen, aber auch Möglichkeiten. Die Musikethnologin **Eva Fock** hat in Dänemark ein Bildungsprogramm entwickelt und getestet, das die Entwicklung eines kulturell breit gefächerten Lernraums für den Musikunterricht zum Ziel hat und Schüler unabhängig von ihrem kulturellen Hintergrund einbindet. **Lance D´Souza** erzählt die Geschichte einer erfolgreichen Partnerschaft zwischen Musikern aus Minderheitengruppen und etablierten Institutionen. Die dänische Stadt Århus verfügt über ein einzigartiges Referat unter der Schirmherrschaft der städtischen Musikschule: Das *World Music Center* dient seit 1999 als Bühne für positive kulturelle Zusammentreffen. Es beschäftigt professionelle Tänzer und Musiker aus der ganzen Welt und arbeitet eng mit der *Royal Academy of Music*, der Musikschule und den öffentlichen Schulen zusammen.

Henry Tournier bietet einen Einblick in seine Erfahrungen als Dozent der klassischen nordindischen Musik in dem einzigartigen Umfeld des Co-

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darts-Konservatoriums in Rotterdam. Er erläutert nicht nur die historische Entwicklung dieser Institution, sondern gibt einen Überblick über das Konzept der Adaption von herkömmlichen mündlichen Unterweisungsmethoden und die besonderen Herausforderungen, die sich dadurch stellen. *Jamila and the Others* [Jamila und die Anderen] ist ein Lehrbuch für Kinder, das 2008 auf Italienisch, Englisch und Arabisch in Rom publiziert wurde, um alle Schüler (die italienischen wie auch diejenigen aus Einwandererfamilien) zu motivieren, mehr über ihre Geschichte und ihre gemeinsamen Wurzeln mit anderen Völkern des Mittelmeerraums zu erfahren. **Alessandro Di Liegro** schildert die Entwicklung und den Inhalt dieses Projekts.

In dem Artikel über die *Cité de la musique* in Paris, verfasst von **Gilles Delebarre**, erfahren wir, wie ein erzieherischer Ansatz zu musikalischer Vielfalt und interkulturellem Austausch beiträgt. Dieses Bildungsprogramm wurde für ein großes und bunt gemischtes Publikum konzipiert: An die 30.000 Menschen sind jährlich daran beteiligt, von denen viele zum zukünftigen musikalischen Leben Frankreichs einen aktiven Beitrag leisten werden. Die Cité konzentriert sich auf die musikalische Vielfalt und versucht, sich sowohl den universellen Aspekten der Musik als auch den kulturellen Spezifika zu widmen. So werden beispielsweise die onomapoetischen Silben, die verwendet werden, um das Spielen der *tabla* oder des *ciblon* zu erlernen, zu einer von vielen Formen des *solfège*.

Die Herausgeber danken dem Europäischen Musikrat und der Projektleiterin Simone Dudt für diese außerordentliche Initiative ebenso wie den Mitgliedern des wissenschaftlichen Beirats. Ein besonders großer Dank geht jedoch an die Autorinnen und Autoren für ihre wunderbaren Beiträge. Für uns waren es zwei besonders inspirierende Jahre der Arbeit, und wir hoffen, dass die Leserinnen und Leser bei der Lektüre dieses Buches etwas von den Gedanken mitnehmen werden, die uns über diesen Zeitraum hin bewegt haben. Möge dieses Buch einen Beitrag leisten zum Verständnis der musikalischen Vielfalt in Europa, zur einer differenzierten Sicht auf die Vielfalt der musikalischen Ausdruckformen in der EU und zu einem erfolgreichen interkulturellen Dialog.

Bernd Clausen
(Würzburg, Deutschland)

Ursula Hemetek
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Predgovor

GLASBA V GIBANJU – EVROPSKI PROJEKT

Translated by Mojca Vodusek

Vsebina in oblika te publikacije sta rezultat dolgih in intenzivnih razprav in pogajanj. To omenjamo le zato, ker se v tem primeru pogajanja in rezultat nanašajo na evropsko kulturno politiko. Ta publikacija je del projekta, imenovanega 'ExTra! Exchange Traditions', ki ga financira EU z namenom pospeševanja glasbene raznolikosti. Osrednja naloga je obravnava tradicionalne glasbe evropskih držav s posebnim poudarkom na glasbi manjšin. Poleg številnih glasbenih dogodkov, ki so v preteklih treh letih potekali v različnih državah EU, je bil imenovan tudi odbor za ukvarjanje z znanstvenim delom projekta. Prva zamisel o tem, kakšen naj bi bil rezultat tega dela, ki je bila podana na prvem sestanku članov znanstvenega odbora Evropskega glasbenega sveta (EMC), je bil koncept zastopanosti: študija o manjšinski kulturi v vsaki državi EU, ki naj jo pripravi znanstvenik iz te države v svojem maternem jeziku. Takšno politiko zastopanosti lahko v EU zasledimo na številnih ravneh, spremlja pa jo še vedno močna zamisel narodne države. Znanstveni odbor je sklenil, da ne bo šel po tej poti, temveč se bo osredotočil na teme, ki se zdijo pomembne glede na osnovno temo o manjšinah in priseljencih v Evropi, in sicer tako, da bo poiskal avtorje, ki bodo bolj kot svojo državo zastopali svoje strokovno področje. Koncepta narodne države ni mogoče prezreti, saj je del evropske realnosti, vendar se uporablja bolj v smislu izziva, ki ga pomenita manjšinska identiteta in aktiven ustvarjalen glasbeni potencial, ki sta pogosto spodbuda k spremembam. Iz te temeljne spremembe stališča izvira tudi naslov te publikacije: *Glasba v gibanju.*

Izbrane teme so tako pestre kot prispevki: urbano področje, pogled s stališča spola, glasbeno izobraževanje, etnične/verske manjšinske skupnosti, politika in mediji. Večina teh je del vplivnih sodobnih etnomuzikoloških razprav. Kot kaže, je etnomuzikologija področje, ki nudi najboljše orodje za obravnavo glasbene raznolikosti, medkulturnega dialoga in uporabnih vidikov njenih interdisciplinarnih povezav s sociologijo, raziskovanjem sodobne glasbe, etnologijo, pedagogiko in muzikologijo. Omeniti je treba tudi, da so potekali intenzivni pogovori o jeziku prispevkov; glede na to, da so jeziki v EU tako raznoliki kot glasba, smo se na koncu odločili, da bomo knjigo objavili v angleščini.

Število manjšinskih skupnosti in njihovega glasbenega vpliva kot teme člankov v tej publikaciji je omejeno. Uredniški odbor se je zavedal, da je po-

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ložaj manjšinskih skupnosti v državah EU zelo različen. Prav tako ali še bolj pomembno je, da se je soočil z dejstvom, da stanje raziskovanja manjšinskih skupin v državah članicah ni enako in da ponekod komaj obstaja. Uredniški odbor je na sestankih izbral manjšinske skupnosti glede na njihovo pomembnost za Evropo – tudi z zgodovinskega vidika – in njihove prisotnosti v političnih razpravah: Judi, Romi in priseljenci iz Turčije in Afrike, ki so predmet prvih štirih prispevkov. Ti članki so tudi edini, ki skušajo zajeti vseevropski vidik. Vsi drugi so omejeni na pokrajine, države, inštitucije ali skupine in uporabljajo zgledni pristop.

Knjiga vsebuje tri poglavitne dele. Uvodni podaja politično in strokovno ozadje, in sicer v dveh člankih, od katerih je eden filozofski pogled na evropsko priseljensko politiko, drugi pa skuša vse prispevke v knjigi povezati v sodobno etnomuzikološko razpravo.

Drugi del je sestavljen iz znanstvenih prispevkov, ki se bolj ali manj nanašajo na teme, dogovorjene na prvem sestanku z znanstvenim odborom. Tretji del sestavljajo modelni projekti, ki kažejo učinkovite in uspešne načine ukvarjanja z glasbeno raznolikostjo v precej različnih okoljih in družbenih okoliščinah.

Svanibor Pettan v svojem uvodnem članku povezuje različne pristope v knjigi s tekočo razpravo na področju etnomuzikologije. Vključi tudi vidike poglavitnih mednarodnih organizacij, kot je Mednarodni svet za tradicionalno glasbo, in poglede te knjige razloži predvsem s stališča glasbenih in manjšinskih študij ter uporabne etnomuzikologije. Obenem zajema tudi iz lastnih izkušenj z nacionalizmom v času razpada bivše Jugoslavije.

Leta 1992 je **Etienne Balibar** postavil tehtno in še vedno ključno vprašanje: ali obstaja evropski rasizem? Avtor s treh vidikov razvija možne razloge v podporo takšni predpostavki in si tudi pobliže ogleda javne prostore v Evropi in njeno zamisel narodne države. **Philip Bohlman** v svojem članku *Glasba judovske Evrope* dokazuje, da je bil judovski prispevek evropski glasbi ključnega pomena in da so bili judovski glasbeniki poglavitni in ne postranski. »Izvajalci judovske glasbe delajo slišno drugačno Evropo in s tem prispevajo k večjemu cilju, saj skozi različno glasbo razumejo to, kar avtorji štejejo za Evropo razlik« (Bohlman 2009: 85).

Avtorji so v več novejših publikacijah Rome poimenovali za »prave« Evropejce. Romi živijo v vseh evropskih državah in državne meje so bile v romski zgodovini pomembne le kot ovire za komunikacijo med različnimi skupinami. Romi so po vsem svetu, zlasti pa v Evropi, bili in so še diskriminirana manjšina, vendar so se kljub temu nekako uspeli upreti nacionalizmu. Romska himna in način njene uporabe zelo dobro pričata o nenacionalističnem pristopu k takšnim simbolom, ki je značilen za romsko kulturo (**Ursula Hemetek**).

Priseljenci iz Turčije so v današnjih političnih razpravah prevzeli vlogo grešnega kozla. Od 11. septembra 2001 je v Evropi opazen čedalje večji

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strah pred islamom. In ker so turški priseljenci v številnih evropskih državah največja skupina 'muslimanov', so napadi politikov in desničarskih aktivistov usmerjeni na njih. Zaradi tega smo tej skupini posvetili pozornost in jo obravnavali v treh člankih (avtorji Martin Greve, Dorit Klebe in Hande Sağlam). Članek **Martina Greveja** *Glasba evropske turške diaspore* obravnava zgodovinsko ozadje preseljevanja in glasbenih dialogov, današnje transnacionalne povezave in številne različne glasbene zvrsti, ki so vse del glasbenega življenja turških diaspor.

Druga pomembna tema, o kateri v evropski politiki teče zelo kontroverzna razprava, so priseljenci iz Afrike. **Wolfgang Bender** v svojem članku opisuje širok spekter afriških glasbenikov v Evropi. Čeprav podrobna raziskava še ni narejena in pogled na mreže, glasbo in identiteto ostaja delen, je jasno, da se afriške skupnosti mešajo z zahtevami, okusi in pričakovanji večinske družbe na zelo zapleten in včasih presenetljiv način.

Pri člankih, ki sledijo, gre bolj za obdelavo primerov izjemnega značaja, ki pa se skušajo vseeno držati glavne teme.

Članek o translokalnih skupnostih (**Dan Lundberg**) predstavlja, kako lahko skupnost – v tem primeru asirska – pride na internet. 'Tvoja dežela na medmrežju', Nineveh Online, je prve obiskovalce sprejel leta 1997. Asirci na Švedskem in v ZDA so prvi ustanovili transnacionalno skupnost za skupine in posameznike v diaspori. Enako so medtem storile tudi številne druge skupine, kar je konceptu naroda dalo nov pomen.

Adelaida Reyes, etnomuzikologinja s precejšnjimi izkušnjami na področju urbanih študij, v svojem članku razpravlja o tem, zakaj je bila urbana etnomuzikologija izziv za zasnovo stroke in kako se je v zgodnjih letih razvijala. V nasprotju s predpostavko o homogenosti ima sodobna etnomuzikologija opraviti z dinamičnostjo in heterogenostjo urbanega sveta – s hitrostjo njegove rasti in pestrostjo ter zapletenostjo njegovih oblik. Vse to je posledica preseljevanja v mestna središča, kar poudarjata tudi naslednja dva članka.

Kmalu po šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja so Pandžabci, ki so v povojnih preseljevanjih zapustili Indijo, v Veliki Britaniji v urbani kontekst uvedli *bhangro*. **Laura Leante** v svojem članku ne opisuje le *bhangre*, ki jo zdaj izvajata drugi in tretji rod britanskih Pandžabcev, temveč pride tudi do presenetljivih zaključkov glede odnosov med tradicijo in diasporo.

Ayekantún, čilska plesna skupina iz norveškega Osla, je dober primer tega, kako lokalne priseljenske skupnosti s pomočjo tradicionalne glasbe in plesa gradijo lokalne skupnosti, ohranjajo vezi z domovino in gradijo odnos z večinsko kulturo. **Jan Sverre Knudsen** v svojem članku raziskuje zaznavanje, oblikovanje in omejevanje izkušenj krajevne in družbene pripadnosti ter vlogo plesnih dejavnosti pri teh procesih.

Jedro članka **Alenke Barber-Kersovan** so politične implikacije glasbenega transnacionalnega pojava. Izza tržne naravnanosti 'balkanskega roka' teče osu-

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pljiv proces, v katerem glasbeni izraz obrobne diaspore izgublja svoje prvotne cilje. Lokalni ali regionalni interesi postanejo transnacionalni, in zemljepisno opredeljene kraje zamenjajo družbeno oblikovani prostori. Balkan kot prispodoba je v tem procesu dobil novo pozitivno konotacijo: zelo občutljivo 'čustveno ozemlje'.

Italijanski prispevek je zasnovan na novejši študiji; celovit pregled priseljenske glasbe v Italiji do danes še ni bil narejen. **Patricia Adkins Chiti** pa ponuja vpogled v to snov s pomočjo majhne terenske raziskave v pokrajini Lazio. Ta ne le da razkriva zanimive podrobnosti o samokonceptu priseljenskih glasbenikov v Italiji, temveč tudi odpira vrata zahtevam po nadaljnji in bolj poglobljeni raziskavi o tej temi v Italiji.

V srži članka **Annunziate Dellisanti** je širok kontekst tarantizma in neotarantizma, saj ponuja vpogled v ta razširjeni pojav, in sicer od prvih pripovedi o 'tarantelli' Athanasiusa Kircherja do novejših oblik, kot so seminarji Alessandra Bellonija, ki poudarjajo žensko komponento pri glasbeni produkciji in recepciji.

Glasbeno izobraževanje je tema treh naslednjih člankov. **Huib Schippers** se sprašuje, ali je evropska raznolikost čudovito pisana ali pa je 'kultura konfrontacije'? V članku o stališčih, pristopih in dejanjih avtor zagovarja potrebo po razlikovanju med štirimi glavnimi pristopi h kulturni raznolikosti, ki se nanašajo na glasbo. Ta članek se ozira na štirideset let evropskega izvajanja 'priseljenske', 'manjšinjske' in 'svetovne' glasbe ter daje namige za prihodnost. **Dorit Klebe** podaja zelo podrobno poročilo o dejavnosti formalnega in neformalnega prenosa turške glasbe v Nemčiji. To zajema tudi njene lastne projekte kot glasbenega pedagoga, in avtorica je očitno ena od osrednjih oseb pri poskusu uvajanja turške glasbe v formalno izobraževanje. Po drugi strani pa opisuje tudi neformalne dejavnosti prenosa glasbe znotraj skupnosti iz Turčije. **Hande Sağlam** opisuje povsem drugačno sliko stanja v Avstriji. Njen kritični pristop je zasnovan predvsem na etnomuzikološkem terenskem delu in ne na pedagoških dejavnostih. Avtorica ne opaža veliko uspešnih modelov pri formalnem izobraževanju, usmerjenih v kulturni dialog, po drugi strani pa jih je več pri glasbenih projektih in delovanju znotraj skupnosti.

Modelni projekti v tretjem delu so večinoma zasnovani na izobraževalnih dejavnostih s precej različnih vidikov in na izvajanju različnih strategij za različne ciljne skupine.

Christina Foramitti poroča o uspešnem projektu na področju nigerijske kulture, ki ga je izvajala v enem od avstrijskih vrtcev. S tem je želela dokazati, da se lahko »glasba druge kulture (v tem primeru plemena Yorùbá) na poseben način dotakne drugih« (otrok v Avstriji) in tako gradi mostove. Njen partner in glavna oseba projekta je bil Babátólá Alóba, pripadnik nigerijskega plemena Yorùbá, ki v že 30 let živi v Avstriji. Nedavne vojne v bivši Jugoslaviji so povzročile množico beguncev.

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Nekateri od njih so našli zatočišče v Sloveniji. **Albinca Pesek**, ki je sodelovala pri izobraževalnih dejavnostih s ciljem integracije, poroča o bolj ali manj uspešnih modelih v Sloveniji.

Učitelji glasbe v raznoliki Evropi se soočajo z izzivi, pa tudi z možnostmi. Etnomuzikologinja **Eva Fock** je na Danskem oblikovala in preizkusila izobraževalni program, ki želi razviti kulturno raznolik učni prostor za glasbene razrede in vključuje učence ne glede na njihovo kulturno ozadje. **Lance D'Souza** podaja zgodbo o uspešnem partnerstvu med glasbeniki iz manjšinskih skupin in uveljavljenimi ustanovami. Dansko mesto Aarhus ima pod okriljem mestne glasbene šole edinstven oddelek: Svetovni glasbeni center že od leta 1999 služi kot prizorišče za pozitivna kulturna srečanja. Zaposluje poklicne plesalce in glasbenike iz vsega sveta ter tesno sodeluje s Kraljevo akademijo za glasbo, glasbeno šolo in državnimi šolami.

Henri Tournier podaja vpogled v svojo izkušnjo s poučevanjem klasične severnoindijske glasbe v edinstvenem okolju rotterdamskega konservatorija Codarts in pojasnjuje ne samo razvoj oddelka, temveč tudi prilagoditev klasičnega ustnega poučevanja in posebnih izzivov. *Jamila in drugi …* je učbenik za nižje razrede osnovne šole v italijanščini, angleščini in arabščini, objavljen v Rimu leta 2008, s katerim vse učence (Italijane in priseljence) spodbujajo, da se bolje seznanijo s svojo zgodovino in skupnimi koreninami, ki jih imajo z drugimi sredozemskimi narodi. **Alessandro Di Liegro** opisuje razvoj in vsebino tega projekta.

V članku o pariškem Cité de la musique (glasbenem mestu) nas avtor **Gilles Delebarre** seznanja s tem, kako lahko izobraževalni pristop prispeva h glasbeni raznolikosti in medkulturni izmenjavi. Ta izobraževalni program je oblikovan za veliko in pestro občinstvo: vsako leto zajame približno 30 000 ljudi in številni izmed njih bodo sodelovali v prihodnjem glasbenem življenju Francije. Cité se osredotoča na glasbeno raznolikost in se skuša nenehno gibati med univerzalnim in kulturnim; na primer, zlogi za učenje igranja *table* ali *ciblona* postanejo oblika *solfeggia*.

Uredniki se zahvaljujemo Evropskemu glasbenemu svetu in vodji projekta Simone Dudt za to izjemno pobudo. Zelo cenimo tudi prispevek Znanstvenega sveta. Predvsem pa se želimo zahvaliti avtorjem za njihove čudovite prispevke. Ti dve leti dela sta bili za nas polni navdiha. Upamo, da bodo navdih začutili tudi bralci te knjige. Prav tako upamo, da bo ta knjiga prispevala k razumevanju glasbene raznolikosti v Evropi in raznolikosti manjšin, pa tudi k uspešnemu medkulturnemu dialogu.

Bernd Clausen
(Würzburg, Nemčija)

Ursula Hemetek
(Dunaj, Avstrija)

Eva Sæther
(Malmö, Švedska)

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Önsöz

DEVINIM HALINDEKI MÜZIK – BIR AVRUPA PROJESI

Translated by Selma Adlilm

Bu yayının kapsam ve biçimi, yoğun ve uzun süren tartışma ve görüşmelerin sonucunda ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu duruma dikkat çekilmesi gerekmektedir, çünkü bu durumda, bahsedilen görüşmelerin ve ortaya çıkan sonuçların bir şekilde Avrupa Birliği kültürel politikaları ile ilişkisi bulunmaktadır. Bu yayın, müzikal çeşitliliği teşvik etmek amacıyla Avrupa Birliği tarafından finanse edilen 'ExTra! Exchange Traditions' adlı projenin bir ayağını oluşturmaktadır. Projenin ana amacı, Avrupa ülkelerinde var olan geleneksel müzikleri ele almak olup, azınlık müziklerine odaklanılmıştır. Son üç yılda AB'ye üye çeşitli ülkelerde gerçekleşen sayısız müzik etkinliğinin yanısıra, projenin bilimsel yanı üzerinde çalışmak amacıyla bir komite kurulmuştur. Bilimsel Komite üyeleri tarafından gerçekleştirilen ilk toplantı sırasında, bu çalışmanın ürününün ne olması gerektiği ile ilgili olarak Avrupa Müzik Konseyi (European Music Council – EMC) tarafından ortaya konulan ilk görüş, temsili olma kavramı üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır: AB'ye üye olan her ülkenin bir azınlık kültürü hakkında, o ülkeye ait bir bilim adamının ana dilinde yürüteceği bir çalışma. Bu tür temsili politikalar Avrupa Birliği'nde birçok seviyede bulunabilmekte, ancak halen gücünü koruyan ulus-devlet düşüncesinin gölgesinde kalmaktadır. Bilimsel Komite bu yolu seçmeyip, "Avrupa'da azınlıklar ve göçmenler" konusu doğrultusunda önemli görünen maddelere odaklanmaya ve bu bağlamda ait olduğu uluslardan ziyade bu alanlarda uzmanlığını ortaya koyan yazarlara ulaşmaya karar vermiştir. Ulus-devlet kavramı, bir Avrupa gerçeği olması nedeniyle göz ardı edilemez, ancak anlaşılan o ki, bu kavram daha çok, aktif olan ve değişime iten azınlık kimlikleri ve yaratıcı müzik potansiyelleri tarafından zorlanmaktadır. Bu yayının başlığı da işte bu temel bakış açısı değişikliğinden hareket ederek ortaya çıkmıştır: *Devinim halindeki müzik*.

Seçilen temalar elde bulunan bilgiler kadar çeşitlidir: kentsel alan, cinsiyete bakış açıları, müzik eğitimi, etnik/dinsel azınlık toplulukları, politika ve medya. Çoğu, güncel ve etkili etnomüzikolojik söylemlerin parçasını oluşturmaktadır. Etnomüzikoloji, müzikal çeşitlilik ve kültürlerarası söylemler ile sosyoloji, popular müzik araştırmaları, etnoloji, pedagoji

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ve müzikoloji ile olan disiplinlerarası bağlarının uygulamalı yönlerini ele almak için en iyi araçları sağlayan disiplin olarak görülmektedir. Ayrıca, makalelerin yazılacağı diller hakkında da yoğun ve kapsamlı konuşmalar yapıldığını dile getirmemiz gerekiyor; AB içindeki dillerin en az müzikler kadar çeşitli olduğunu göz önünde bulundurarak, en sonunda bu kitabı İngilizce olarak yayınlamaya karar verdik.

Azınlık toplulukları ve bu toplulukların müzikal etkileri konuları, bu ciltte bulunan makalelerde sınırlı ölçüde yer almaktadır. Yazı Kurulu her zaman azınlık topluluklarının durumlarının AB dahilindeki ülkelerde farklılık gösterdiğinin bilincindeydi. Üstelik daha da önemlisi, Yazı Kurulu, bazı üye ülkelerdeki azınlık toplulukları üzerine araştırma yapmanın diğerlerine göre farklı olduğu, bazen de bu araştırmaların çok nadiren var olduğu gerçeğiyle karşı karşıya kaldı.

Yapılan toplantılar sonucunda, Yazı Kurulu azınlık topluluklarını Avrupa – ve tarihsel perspektif – için teşkil ettikleri öneme ve politik söylemlerdeki varlıklarına göre seçti: Yahudiler, Romanlar, Türkiye ve Afrikadan gelen göçmenler. İlk dört makalemizin konuları bu topluluklardır. Yalnızca bu makalelerde, tüm Avrupa'yı içine alan bir bakış açısı ile konuya yaklaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Diğer bütün yazılar, bölgelerle, durumlarla, kurumlarla veya gruplarla sınırlandırılmıştır ve örneklendirme yaklaşımı kullanılmıştır.

Bu kitapta üç ana bölüm bulunmaktadır. Giriş bölümü, politik ve metodolojik arkaplanı vermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunu gerçekleştirmek için iki makale kullanılmıştır. Biri Avrupa'nın göç politikaları üzerine felsefi bir bakış açısı ortaya koyarken, diğeri yayında bulunan bütün makaleleri çağdaş etnomüzikolojik söylemlerle ilişkilendirmeye çalışmaktadır.

İkinci bölüm, Bilimsel Komite ile gerçekleştirilen ilk oturum sırasında karar birliğine varılan konularla oldukça ilgili olan bilimsel yazılardan meydana gelmektedir. Üçüncü bölüm ise, farklı ortamlarda ve sosyal durumlarda müzikal çeşitliliği ele almanın verimli ve başarılı yollarını ortaya koyan örnek projelerden oluşmaktadır.

Svanibor Pettan giriş makalesinde, kitaptaki yaklaşım türleri ile etnomüzikoloji alanındaki mevcut söylemler arasında bağlantı kuruyor. Uluslararası Geleneksel Müzik Konseyi gibi belli başlı uluslararası örgütlerin bakış açısını da makalesine dahil eden yazar, bu kitabın bakış açılarını, Uygulamalı Etnomüzikoloji ve yanısıra Müzik ve Azınlık İncelemeleri açısından yorumluyor. Ayrıca, eski Yugoslavya'nın çöküşü sırasında, milliyetçilik bağlamında yaşadığı kişisel deneyimlerini de katıyor.

1992 yılında **Etienne Balibar** hala son derece önemli olan temel bir soruyu dile getirdi: Avrupa Irkçılığı diye bir şey var mıdır? Yazar, konuyu üç farklı bakış açısıyla ele alarak, böylesi bir varsayımı desteklemeyi mümkün kılabilecek nedenleri gözler önüne seriyor ve Avrupa dahilindeki kamusal

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alanlara ve ulus-devlet kavramına yakından bakıyor. **Philip Bohlman**, *Yahudi Avrupası'nın Müziği* yazısında, Yahudilerin Avrupa müziğine olan katkısının son derece önemli olduğunu ve Yahudi müzisyenlerin bu bağlamda periferik (dışsal) değil, merkezi olduklarını öne sürüyor. "Yahudi müziği yapan müzisyenler, Avrupa'nın farklı bir yüzünün sesi oluyorlar ve bunu yaparken, yazarların farklılıklar Avrupası olarak saydıkları müzik çeşitliliğinin anlaşılmasına ve günümüzdeki müziğin genişlemesi hedefine katkıda bulunuyorlar." (Bohlman 2009: 85) .

Romanlar son zamanlarda çıkan çok sayıdaki yayında 'gerçek' Avrupalılar olarak adlandırılmıştır. Romanlar bütün Avrupa ülkelerinde yaşamakta olup, ulusal sınırlar Roman tarihinde ancak farklı gruplar arasındaki iletişimi engelleyen bir olgu olarak önem taşımaktadır. Romanlar, başta Avrupa olmak üzere tüm dünyada ayrımcılığa maruz kalmışlardır ve halen de kalmaktadırlar. Ancak buna rağmen, her zaman bir şekilde milliyetçiliğe direnmişlerdir. Romanların milli marşları ve bunların kullanılış şekilleri, Roman kültürünün özünde olan bu tarz simgelere yönelik milliyetçilik karşıtı yaklaşımlarını çok iyi bir şekilde yansıtmaktadır (**Ursula Hemetek**).

Türkiye'den gelen göçmenlerin günümüzdeki politik söylemlerde günah keçisi olarak işlev gördüğü görülmektedir. 11 Eylül'den bu yana, Avrupa'da İslamofobi'nin yaygınlaştığı fark edilmektedir. Bununla birlikte, Türkiye'den gelen göçmenlerin, pek çok Avrupa ülkesinde bulunan 'Müslümanlar'ın en büyük kesimini oluşturması sebebiyle, politikacıların ve sağ kanatta yer alan aktivistlerin saldırıları bu grubun üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu grup üzerine yoğunlaştık ve konuyla ilgili olarak üç yazıya yer verdik (Martin Greve, Dorit Klebe ve Hande Sağlam'ın makaleleri). **Martin Greve** *Avrupalı-Türk Diasporasında Müzik* adlı yazısında, göçün tarihi geçmişi ve müzikal diyaloglarının yanısıra, günümüzdeki uluslararası bağlantıları ve Türkiye çıkışlı diasporalarda yer alan müzik yaşantısının parçası olan pek çok farklı müzik çeşidini ele alıyor.

Afrika'dan Avrupa'ya göç de yine Avrupa politikalarında yer alan diğer önemli bir konu olarak göze çarpıyor ve bugünlerde tartışmalara yol açıyor. **Wolfgang Bender** makalesinde Avrupa'da bulunan Afrikalı müzisyenlerin geniş portresini çiziyor. Bu konuda halen ayrıntılı bir araştırmanın olmamasına ve müzik, sosyal ağlar ve kimliklere olan bakış açısının bu topluluğun bir parçası olarak kalacak olmasına karşın, Afrikalı topluluklarınki ile, çoğunluk toplumunun talep, zevk ve beklentilerinin karmaşık ve bazen de şaşırtıcı bir biçimde birbirine karışabildiği çok açık bir biçimde görülüyor.

Aşağıdaki makaleler, daha çok örnek olay incelemesi niteliği taşımakla birlikte, yukarıda belirtilen ana temaları da kapsamaya çalışmaktadır.

Yerelötesi topluluklara değinen makalesinde **Dan Lundberg**, İnternet'te bir topluluğun – bu örnekte Süryaniler – nasıl ortaya çıkabileceğinin por-

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tesini çiziyor. 'Siber-uzaydaki alanınız', Nineveh Online, ilk ziyaretçilerini 1997 yılında karşıladı. İsveç ve ABD'de bulunan Süryaniler, diasporadaki bireyler ve gruplar için uluslarüstü bir topluluk kuran ilk komüniteydi. Bu, o tarihten bu yana çok sayıda topluluk tarafından geliştirildi ve ulus kavramına yeni bir anlam kazandırıldı.

Kentsel çalışmalar üzerine son derece deneyimli bir etnomüzikolojist olan **Adelaida Reyes** makalesinde, kentsel etnomüzikolojinin neden disiplin kavramları için bir sorun olarak görüldüğünü ve ilk yıllarında nasıl geliştirildiğini anlatıyor. Homojenlik varsayımının aksine, kent dünyasının dinamizmi ve heterojenliği – büyüme hızı ve aldığı biçimlerin çeşitliliği ve karmaşıklığı – modern etnomüzikolojinin ele alması gereken gerçekler. Tüm bunlar, kentsel alanların göç almasından kaynaklanıyor ve aşağıdaki iki makalede de bu durumun altı çiziliyor.

1960'lı yıllardan sonra kısa bir süre içinde *bhangra*, 2. Dünya Savaşı sonrası göçte Hindistan'ı terk eden Pencaplılar tarafından İngiltere'de kentsel alanlarda yerini buldu. **Laura Leante,** makalesinde şu anda ikinci ve üçüncü kuşak İngiliz Pencaplılar tarafından gerçekleştirilen *bhangra*'yı açıklamakla kalmıyor, aynı zamanda diaspora ve gelenekler arasındaki ilişkiler hakkında şaşırtıcı sonuçlara varıyor.

Norveç'in Oslo şehrinde Şilili bir dans grubu olan *Ayekantún*, şehirdeki göçmen topluluklarının, yerel topluluklar oluşturmak, anavatanla bağlantılar meydana getirmek ve çoğunluk kültürü ile ilişkiler kurmak için geleneksel müzik ve danstan faydalanmasına dair güzel bir örnek. **Jan Sverre Knudsen** tarafından yazılan bu makalede, bulunulan yer ve sosyal ortama ait olma hissinin nasıl algılandığı, oluşturulduğu ve kısıtlandığı incelenirrken, bu süreçlerde dansın rolüne de değiniliyor.

Uluslarüstü müzikal bir olgunun politik sonuçları **Alenka Barber-Kersovan** ın makalesinin merkezinde yer alıyor. 'Balkan Rock' pazarlama kategorisinin arkasında, marjinal bir diasporanın müzikal dışavurumunun ilk hedeflerinden uzaklaşmasının etkileyici süreci anlatılıyor. Yerel veya bölgesel ilgi alanları uluslararası bir hale gelirken, coğrafi olarak tanımlanmış alanların yerini sosyal olarak yapılandırılmış mekanlar alıyor. Bu süreçte kullanılan Balkan metaforuna yeni ve olumlu bir anlam verilerek, oldukça hassas bir 'manevi topraklar' çağrışımı yapılıyor.

İtalya'dan yapılan bir katkı, yakın zamanda gerçekleştirilen bir çalışmaya dayalı: bugüne kadar, İtalya'daki göçmen müzisyenler hakkında bütün ve eksiksiz bir çalışma gerçekleştirilmemiştir. Fakat, **Patricia Adkins Chiti** Lazio Bölgesi'ne odaklanarak, küçük alan araştırması ile bu konuya bir bakış açısı kazandırıyor. Bu çalışmayla hem İtalya'daki göçmen müzisyenlerin öz-kavramları üzerine ilginç ayrıntıları ortaya koyarken, hem de İtalya'da bu konuyla ilgili daha geniş ve fazla araştırma yapılması talepleri için bir kapı açıyor.

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Annunziata Dellisanti tarafından yazılan makale, tarantizm ve neo-tarantizm kavramlarına odaklanıyor. Bu yazıda, bu yaygın olguya bir anlayış kazandırılıyor ve Athanasius Kircher tarafından yapılan ilk 'tarantella' açıklamalarından, günümüzdeki söylemlere, örneğin Alessandra Belloni'nin ortaya çıkmasında olduğu kadar yayılmasında da dişi öğelerin önemini belirten seminerlerine değiniliyor.

Müzik eğitimi, aşağıda belirtilen üç yazının konusu. **Huib Schippers** şu soruyu soruyor: Avrupa'daki çeşitlilik, harika bir renklilik midir, yoksa 'kültürlerin cepheleşmesi' mi? Müzikle ilintili kültürel çeşitliliği ele alırken, tavır, yaklaşım ve eylemlere değinen bu makale, dört ana yaklaşımın kullanılmasının yararlı olabileceğini belirtiliyor. Bu makalede, Avrupa'da gerçekleştirilen 'göçmen müziği', 'azınlık müziği' ve 'dünya müziği' uygulamalarının 40 yıl öncesine kadar gidiliyor ve gelecekte nasıl olabileceği konusunda ipuçları veriliyor. **Dorit Klebe**, Almanya'da Türk müziğinin resmi ve resmi olmayan yollardan aktarımı hakkında ayrıntılı bir rapor sunuyor. Bu yazı, bir müzik pedagogu olan yazarın kendi projelerini içeriyor. Yazar, açık ki Türk müziğinin resmi eğitimde kullanılmasını hayata geçirmek isteyen öncülerden biri. Diğer yandan, Türkiye'deki topluluklar dahilinde resmi olmayan müzik aktarımı faaliyetlerini de açıklıyor. **Hande Sağlam** ise, Avusturya durumunu ele alarak çok daha farklı bir portre çiziyor. Yazarın eleştirel yaklaşımının temelde etnomüzikolojik alanı hedeflediği ve pedagojik faaliyetlerle ilgili olmadığı görülüyor. Yazar, resmi eğitimde kültürel diyaloğu hedefleyen başarılı modellerin çok sayıda olmadığını belirtirken, diğer yandan da müzik projeleri ve toplulukların dahili uygulamalarında başarılı modellerin daha fazla görüldüğünü ifade ediyor.

Üçünü bölümde ortaya konulan proje modelleri, temelde oldukça farklı bakış açılarıyla yaklaşılan eğitimsel faaliyetlere ve farklı hedef grupları için değişik yöntemleri uygulamaya dayanıyor.

Christina Foramitti, Nijerya kültürü ile ilgili olarak bir Avusturya anaokulunda yürüttüğü projenin başarılı olduğunu bildiriyor. Proje, başka bir kültürün müziğinin (bu örnekte Yorùbá) diğerlerini etkileyip değiştirebileceği (Avusturyalı çocuklar) ve aralarında köprüler kurabileceği fikrinden yola çıkılarak gerçekleştirilmiş. Yazarın projedeki partneri ve projenin diğer baş karakteri ise, otuz yıldır Avusturya'da yaşayan Nijeryalı bir Yorùbá olan Babátólá Alóba.

Eski Yugoslavya'da yakın zamanlarda yaşanan savaşlar, çok sayıda mültecinin ortaya çıkmasına neden oldu ve bu mültecilerin bir kısmı Slovenya'ya sığındı. Entegrasyonu hedefleyen eğitimsel faaliyetlere dahil olan **Albinca Pesek**, Slovenya'da uyguladıkları başarılı sayilabilecek modellerden bahsediyor.

Farklılıklarla dolu bir Avrupa'da müzik öğretmenlerinin karşılaştığı pek çok zorluk olmasının yanısıra, imkanlar da bulunuyor. Etnomüzikolojist

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Eva Fock, Danimarka'da müzik dersleri için kültürel çeşitliliği içeren bir öğrenme ortamını geliştirmeyi hedefleyen ve kültürel geçmişlerine bakılmaksızın öğrencileri programa dahil eden bir eğitim programı geliştirdi ve test etti. **Lance D´Souza**, azınlık gruplarındaki müzisyenler ile yerleşmiş kurumlar arasında başarıya ulaşan bir ortaklığın hikayesini anlatıyor. Danimarka'da bir şehir olan Aarhus, kent müzik okulunun kanatları altında eşsiz bir bölüme sahip: Dünya Müzik Merkezi, 1999 yılından beri, olumlu kültürel toplantılara sahne oluyor. Bütün dünyadan profesyonel dansçı ve müzisyenleri bünyesinde bulunduruyor ve Kraliyet Müzik Akademisi, Müzik Okulu ve devlet okulları ile yakın işbirliği içinde çalışıyor.

Henri Tournier, hem bölümün gelişimini, hem de geleneksel sözlü eğitim ve belirli zorluklara alışma sürecini anlatarak Rotterdam'da bulunan Codarts Konservatuvarı'nın eşsiz ortamında klasik Kuzey Hindistan müziğini öğretme deneyimlerini aktarıyor. *Jamila ve Diğerleri …* bütün öğrencilerin (İtalyan ve göçmen) geçmişlerini ve Akdeniz'de bulunan diğer halklarla olan ortak köklerini öğrenmelerini teşvik etmek amacıyla 2008 yılında Roma'da İtalyanca, İngilizce ve Arapça dillerinde basılan bir kitap. **Alessandro Di Liegro** bu projenin gelişimini ve kapsamını ayrıntılarıyla anlatıyor.

Gilles Delebarre tarafından yazılan Paris'te Cité de la musique(müzik şehri)'i konu alan yazıda, eğitimsel yaklaşımın müzikal çeşitliliğe ve kültürlerarası alışverişe nasıl katkıda bulunduğunu öğreniyoruz. Bu eğitim programı, çok büyük ve kendi içinde çeşitlilik gösteren bir seyirci için tasarlanmış: her yıl yaklaşık 30 000 kişi katılım gösterirken, çoğu gelecekte Fransa'nın müzik yaşantısına katkıda bulunacak olan kişilerden oluşuyor. Cité müzikal çeşitliliğe odaklanırken, evrensel ve kültürel arasında devamlı olarak hareket etmeye çalışıyor, örneğin *tabla* ya da *ciblon* çalmak için kullanılan heceler, diğerleri için *solfèj* haline geliyor.

Editörler olarak, bu önemli girişim için Avrupa Müzik Konseyi'ne ve proje direktörü Simone Dudt'a teşekkürlerimizi sunuyoruz. Ayrıca, Bilimsel Komite'nin yaptığı katkılara çok şey borçluyuz. Herşeyden önemlisi, harika yazıları için tüm yazarlara ayrıca teşekkürlerimizi sunarız. Bu iki yıllık çalışma, bizim için çok ilham verici oldu. Umuyoruz ki, kitabın okuyucuları da aynı şeyleri hissederler. Bu kitabın, Avrupa'daki müzikal çeşitliliğinin ve azınlıkların farklılığının anlaşılmasına ve başarılı bir kültürlerarası diyalog kurulmasına katkıda bulunmasını ümit ediyoruz.

Bernd Clausen *(Würzburg, Almanya)*
Ursula Hemetek *(Viyana, Avusturya)*
Eva Sæther *(Malmö, İsveç)*

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Prefazione

MUSICA IN MOVIMENTO – UN PROGETTO EUROPEO

Translated by Patricia Adkins Chiti

I contenuti e la forma di questa pubblicazione sono il risultato di lunghe, e spesso intense, discussioni e disanime. Vale la pena parlare di tutto ciò perché, in questo caso, il negoziato ed il risultato ottenuto rassomigliano al processo politico culturale europeo. Questo volume rientra all'interno di un progetto di promozione della diversità musicale, portato a termine con fondi da parte della Comunità Europea, dal titolo 'ExTra! Exchange Traditions' (letteralmente 'ExTra – Scambio di Tradizioni'). Il compito principale è quello di rapportarsi alla musica tradizionale già presente nei Paesi Europei riservando un'attenzione speciale alle musiche delle minoranze. Accanto ai numerosi eventi musicali programmati negli ultimi tre anni in diversi Paesi della Comunità Europea, è stato nominato un Comitato per seguire il Lavoro Scientifico del progetto. La prima idea, presentata dal Consiglio Musicale Europeo (EMC) nel corso della riunione iniziale del Comitato Scientifico, in merito a quello che avrebbe potuto essere il risultato di tutto questo lavoro, era la preparazione di un volume sulla rappresentatività: si pensava ad uno studio sulla cultura delle minoranze in ogni Paese preparato da uno studioso di madre lingua, cittadino di quel paese. Queste politiche della rappresentatività si trovano nella Comunità Europea a molti livelli, e convivono con l'idea, ancora forte, di uno Stato-Nazione. Il Comitato Scientifico ha deciso, infine, di non seguire questa strategia ma di concentrare la sua attenzione su alcuni temi importanti relativi alle "*minoranze ed immigrati in Europa*" e di cercare autori che potessero rappresentare l'autorevolezza in alcuni campi specifici. Il concetto di uno Stato-Nazione non può essere omesso poiché è una realtà europea, ma rimane sottinteso poiché confutato dalle minoranze e dalle attive potenzialità musicali che sono spesso uno stimolo per il cambiamento. Da questo fondamentale mutamento di prospettiva nasce il titolo evocativo di questa pubblicazione: *Musica in Movimento*.

I temi scelti sono diversi quanto i contenuti: la geografia urbana, le idee e prospettive di genere, l'educazione musicale, le minoranze etniche e/o religiose, le politiche culturali ed i media. La maggior parte di questi temi sono

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al centro di importanti discussioni nell'etnomusicologia contemporanea, giacché l'etnomusicologia sembrerebbe essere la disciplina che meglio fornisce gli strumenti per trattare le diversità musicali, gli argomenti interculturali e gli aspetti applicati dei legami interdisciplinari collegati alla sociologia, lo studio della musica popolare, l'etnologia, la pedagogia e la musicologia. Va aggiunto che, in sede di redazione, ci furono intense discussioni su quale lingua utilizzare per la scrittura dei contributi alla pubblicazione: ben consci che le lingue della Comunità Europea sono diverse quanto i generi musicali, è stato deciso di pubblicare il volume in inglese.

Le comunità minoritarie e le tradizioni musicali ad esse legate sono al centro solo di un numero limitato dei contributi all'interno del volume. Il Comitato Editoriale ben sapeva che, in tutto il territorio della Comunità Europea le situazioni delle stesse minoranze sono molto diverse. Inoltre si rese conto che le ricerche sul campo riguardanti queste comunità in alcuni stati membri erano difformi ed, in alcuni paesi, quasi inesistenti. Durante gli incontri del Comitato è stato deciso di scegliere le comunità minoritarie a secondo della loro importanza in Europa – anche da una prospettiva storica – e della loro presenza nei discorsi politici attuali; gli Ebrei, i Rom, e gli immigrati dalla Turchia ed Africa sono anche i soggetti dei primi quattro articoli. Questi contributi sono gli unici che cercano di dare una visione d'insieme dell'Europa, mentre gli altri articoli sono limitati a regioni, stati, istituzioni o gruppi ed adoperano un approccio esemplare.

Ci sono tre sezioni principali nel libro: la parte introduttiva intende descrivere uno scenario politico oltre che disciplinare. Questo compito è svolto con due articoli, uno dei quali rappresenta una visione filosofica delle politiche europee per l'immigrazione, mentre l'altro cerca di collegare tutti i contributi di questa pubblicazione agli attuali discorsi dell'etnomusicologia odierna.

La seconda parte del volume comprende contributi specialistici che, a grandi linee, trattano i temi concordati durante la prima sessione del Comitato Scientifico. La terza sezione del libro presenta alcuni"progetti modelli" o "pilota" che descrivono le metodologie effettive e consolidate per affrontare l'argomento della diversità musicale in situazioni e circostanze sociali differenti.

Nel suo articolo introduttivo, **Svanibor Pettan,** collega la varietà dei punti di vista in questo libro al dialogo corrente in campo etnomusicologico. L'autore presenta la prospettiva di alcune importanti organizzazioni tradizionali, come il Consiglio Internazionale per la Musica Tradizionale, e, allo stesso tempo, legge ed interpreta la visione di questo libro dal punto di vista del mondo degli studi sulla Musica e Minoranze e da quello del campo dell'etnomusicologia applicata. Inoltre, Pettan, fa riferimento alle sue esperienze

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personali con il nazionalismo durante lo smembramento dell'ex Repubblica Jugoslava.

Nel 1992 **Etienne Balibar** pose un'essenziale ed ancora vitale domanda: esiste qualche cosa conosciuta come *Razzismo Europeo*? Da tre diversi punti da vista l'autore svela possibili motivi per sostenere una tale ipotesi, mentre guarda da vicino gli spazi pubblici in Europa e l'idea europea di Stato-Nazione. **Philip Bohlman** propone, nel suo scritto "*La Musica dell'Europa Ebrea",* che il contributo ebraico alla musica europea è stato cruciale ed i musicisti ebraici centrali e non periferici. "*Gli esecutori della musica ebraica danno suono ad un'Europa diversa, ed allo stesso tempo contribuiscono alla grande finalità del presente volume, facendo comprendere, attraverso una musica diversa, quello che gli autori possono considerare un'Europa di diversità*" (Bohlman, 2009: 85).

In alcune pubblicazioni recenti i nomadi sono stati chiamati i "*veri*" Europei. I Rom vivono ovunque in Europa e le frontiere nazionali, nella loro storia, sono da sempre considerate ostacoli di comunicazione tra gruppi diversi. I Rom sono una minoranza discriminata in ogni parte del mondo e soprattutto in Europa, nondimeno, anche in questa situazione, il popolo ha resistito all'idea del nazionalismo. L'Inno dei Rom e il modo in cui è adoperato dimostra chiaramente il pensiero non-nazionalistico inerente alla cultura Rom (**Ursula Hemetek**).

Gli immigrati arrivati dalla Turchia sembrano aver assunto il ruolo di capri espiatori negli odierni discorsi politici. Dall'11 settembre 2001 assistiamo ad una crescente fobia anti-islamica in Europa e, poiché in alcuni paesi europei gli immigrati turchi rappresentano il più grande gruppo "islamico", gli attacchi da parte dei politici e dagli attivisti di destra vengono rivolti soprattutto verso di loro. Per questo motivo si è deciso di porre attenzione su questo gruppo etnico con tre contributi da parte di **Martin Greve, Dorit Klebe** e **Hande Sağlam**. L'articolo di **Martin Greve** sulla "*Musica nella diaspora europea - turca*" descrive lo scenario storico della migrazione, insieme ai dialoghi musicali collegati alle correnti trans-nazionali, ed agli svariati generi musicali che fanno parte della vita nella diaspora dalla Turchia.

L'immigrazione dall'Africa in Europa è un altro punto focale delle politiche europee e spesso se ne discute in modo molto controverso. Nel suo contributo, **Wolfgang Bender** descrive in grandi linee la presenza di musicisti africani in Europa oggi. Benché non esistano ancora ricerche dettagliate, e la prospettiva per quanto riguarda le reti, le musiche e le identità è frammentaria, è chiaro che le comunità africane si amalgamano con le richieste, i gusti e le attese della società maggioritaria in un modo complesso e molto sorprendente.

I seguenti articoli sono da considerare studi particolari ed esemplari che cercano di contemplare le tematiche principali del nostro lavoro.

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L'articolo sulle comunità trans-locali a cura di **Dan Lundberg** descrive come una comunità – in questo caso quella degli 'Assyrians'[1] – può emergere in internet. '*Il suo paese in cyberspace',* Nineveh Online, ha accolto visitatori per la prima volta nel 1997. Gli Assiri in Svezia e negli Stati Uniti d'America furono i primi a creare una comunità transnazionale per i gruppi e per gli individui della diaspora. Quest'attività è stata copiata e sviluppata da altre comunità dando un nuovo significato al concetto di Nazione.

Adelaida Reyes, un'etnomusicologa con una lunga esperienza nel campo degli studi urbani, spiega nel suo contributo perché il concetto di etnomusicologia urbana è stata una sfida ai concetti inerenti alla disciplina stessa e come questa sfida si sia sviluppata nei primi anni. Contrariamente al concetto di omogeneità, il dinamismo e l'eterogeneità del mondo urbano - la velocità con la quale cresce e la varietà e complessità delle forme ivi trovate – diventano fattori che l'etnomusicologia moderna deve trattare. Tutte le conseguenze derivanti dall'immigrazione nei centri urbani, sono sottolineate con i due contributi seguenti.

In poco tempo, dopo gli anni '60, la musica *bhangra*[2], portata dai Punjabi arrivati dall'India nel corso dell'immigrazione dopo la seconda Guerra mondiale, si stabilì nei contesti urbani nel Regno Unito. Nel suo contributo, **Laura Leante,** dipinge un quadro generale del *bhangra* come è presentato dalle seconde e terze generazioni di Punjabi nati in Gran Bretagna, arrivando ad alcune conclusioni sorprendenti in merito alla relazione tra tradizione e diaspora.

Ayekantún, un gruppo di danza cilena basato ad Oslo, Norvegia, è un buon esempio di come alcuni immigrati possano utilizzare la musica e la danza tradizionale come collante per la costruzione di una comunità locale, mantenendo legami con il paese di provenienza e costruendo una relazione con la cultura maggioritaria. L'articolo di **Jan Sverre Knudsen** esamina come si possano percepire luoghi ed appartenenze sociali, come sono costruiti e delimitati, ed il ruolo della pratica della danza in questi mutamenti.

Le implicazioni politiche di un fenomeno transnazionale sono al centro dell'articolo di **Alenka Barber-Kersovan**. Dietro la promozione e la commercializzazione del "*Balkan Rock*"[3] esiste un processo affascinante nel qua-

1 Gli Assiri odierni vivono in gran parte negli Stati Uniti e sono un popolo cristiano indigeno che discende da una delle prime civiltà nel Medio Oriente con una storia di oltre 6750 anni.

2 Bhangra – una forma di musica popolare asiatica che combina elementi di musica tradizionale Punjabi con quella commerciale occidentale.

3 Rock dai Balcani – termine che indica anche una mescolanza di influenze e forme provenienti dal territorio dei Balcani.

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le l'espressione musicale di una diaspora marginalizzata può perdere i suoi obiettivi originali. Interessi locali o regionali diventano transnazionali ed i luoghi, originalmente definiti geograficamente, sono rimpiazzati da spazi costruiti socialmente. La parola "*Balcani",* come metafora in questo processo, ha acquisito una nuova e positiva connotazione; un territorio sensibile ed emotivo.

Uno dei contributi dall'Italia è basato sui risultati di un recente studio: fino ad oggi non è stata intrapresa una ricerca completa in merito ai musicisti immigrati in Italia. Nel suo studio **Patricia Adkins Chiti** guarda al cuore della questione presentando i risultati di un lavoro di ricerca sul campo incentrato nella Regione Lazio. La sua analisi non soltanto rivela interessanti dettagli sugli auto-concetti dei musicisti immigrati in Italia, ma apre le porte verso nuove domande per successive e più approfondite ricerche in questa zona d'Italia.

Gli ampi contesti che riguardano tarantismo e neo-tarantismo sono al cuore dell'articolo di **Annunziata Dellisanti,** visti dall'interno di un fenomeno di grande sviluppo. Inizia con le prime descrizioni della "*tarantella"* a cura di Athanasius Kircher ed arriva alle forme più recenti esposte nei seminari tenuti da Alessandro Belloni, ponendo l'accento sulle componenti femminili sia nella produzione che nella fruizione.

L'educazione musicale è al centro dei seguenti tre articoli. **Huib Schippers** si domanda se la diversità Europea si sia meravigliosamente colorata o se si tratti di una "*cultura di scontro".* Nel suo articolo riguardante le attitudini, lo scontro e le azioni in merito a tutto ciò, propone una possibile definizione dei quattro modi principali per l'avvicinamento alla diversità culturale che riguarda la musica. L'articolo guarda indietro a quarant'anni di pratica europea in merito alla "*musica migrante",* la "*musica minoritaria"* e la "*world music*" e presenta alcune proposte per il futuro. **Dorit Klebe** ha preparato un contributo dettagliato in merito alle attività formali ed informali della musica turca in Germania. Questo rapporto parla dei suoi progetti come pedagoga musicale ed inoltre come protagonista che cerca di includere la musica turca tra i generi studiati nell'educazione formale. Dall'altro canto tratta delle attività informali all'interno delle comunità turche. **Hande Sağlam** descrive un quadro molto diverso della situazione in Austria. Il suo approccio critico è basato sul lavoro nel campo etnomusicologico e non riguarda le attività pedagogiche. Non ha riscontrato all'interno dell'educazione formale molti modelli riusciti per quanto concerne il dialogo culturale, ma ha trovato modelli utili e funzionali all'interno di progetti musicali e nella pratica delle comunità stesse.

I 'progetti pilota' nella terza sezione riguardano, soprattutto, differenti attività educative in merito alle strategie indirizzate a diversi gruppi culturali.

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Christina Foramitti ha descritto i risultati positivi di un progetto, da lei portato avanti in una scuola per l'infanzia in Austria, incentrato sulla musica nigeriana. Voleva provare che *"la musica di un'altra cultura (in questo caso musica del popolo Yorùbá) poteva comunicare ed essere efficace per altre*" (ragazzi austriaci) e costruire un ponte culturale. Suo collega, protagonista del progetto, è stato Babátólá Alóba, Yorùbá di Nigeria, residente da trent'anni in Austria.

Le recenti guerre nel territorio, prima conosciuto come la Jugoslavia, hanno prodotto un enorme numero di rifugiati. Alcuni hanno trovato nuove case in Slovenia. **Albinca Pesek** ha partecipato a diverse attività educative miranti ad aiutare le integrazioni tra i popoli e parla dei progetti più o meno riusciti in Slovenia.

I docenti e gli insegnanti di musica in un'Europa diversa si confrontano spesso con sfide, ma anche con proposte e possibilità di nuove strategie. In Danimarca l'etnomusicologa **Eva Fock** ha sviluppato e collaudato un programma educativo mirante a sviluppare spazi diversi per l'apprendimento della musica e che include tutti gli studenti a dispetto della loro provenienza culturale. **Lance D´Souza** descrive una fattiva collaborazione tra musicisti di gruppi minoritari e le istituzioni musicali tradizionali. La città danese di Aarhus ha costruito un dipartimento unico sotto l'egida della scuola musicale cittadina: dal 1999, il World Music Center è stato l'arena per molte riunioni e collaborazioni culturali positive. Dà lavoro a danzatori e musicisti di professione da ogni parte del mondo e collabora strettamente con l'Accademia Reale di Musica, con la Scuola di musica e con le scuole pubbliche.

Henri Tournier ci descrive le sue esperienze come insegnante di musica classica dell'India Settentrionale nel contesto unico del Codarts, Conservatorio di Rotterdam, e descrive non soltanto lo sviluppo del suo dipartimento ma anche di come ha potuto adottare una metodologia per l'insegnamento della musica tradizionale, oltre che le sfide particolari incontrate. *"Jamila and the others …"* è un libro per la scuola media italiana in lingua italiana, inglese ed arabo pubblicato a Roma nel 2008. Il volume è stato preparato per incoraggiare tutti gli alunni, italiani ed immigrati, ad imparare di più sulla propria storia e sulle radici musicali comuni a tutti i popoli delle terre che si affacciano sul Mediterraneo. **Alessandro Di Liegro** descrive lo sviluppo e il contenuto del progetto e del libro.

Nell'articolo sulla Cité de la musique a Parigi di **Gilles Delebarre**, impariamo come un particolare approccio educativo può contribuire alla diversità musicale ed agli scambi interculturali. Il programma della Cité è pensato ad un immenso e diversificato pubblico: circa tremila persone sono coinvolte ogni anno e molte di queste parteciperanno alla vita musicale futura della Francia. La Cité si concentra sulla diversità musicale e si muo-

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ve costantemente tra l'universale ed il particolare, per esempio i *sillabi* per imparare come suonare la *tabla* o il *ciblon* diventano una forma di *solfeggio* fra tutti gli altri.

Gli editori desideranno ringraziare il Consiglio Europeo per la Musica ed il direttore del progetto, Simone Dudt, per quest'iniziativa straordinaria. Dobbiamo molto alle idee proposte da parte del Comitato Scientifico e ringraziamo soprattutto gli autori per i loro meravigliosi contributi. Questi due anni di lavoro sono stati un'ispirazione per tutti noi, speriamo che quest'ispirazione sarà condivisa dai lettori di questo libro. Ci auguriamo che questo volume possa contribuire ad una maggiore comprensione della diversità musicale in Europa, a quella delle minoranze e, allo stesso tempo, riuscire a promuovere il dialogo interculturale.

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INTRODUCTION

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Svanibor Pettan

EUROPE AND THE POTENTIALS OF MUSIC IN MOTION

The title of this edited volume suggests the increasing dynamics that the contributors to the volume and scholars focussing on musics in Europe in general have witnessed, researched, and written about in particular during the last two decades. A shared global agenda and the gradual enlargement of the European Union are increasingly causing major demographic, economic and cultural changes, with firm reflections on music and music scholarship. The phenomena that have been addressed by researchers in parts of the world such as North America, Australia, and to a certain extent North-Western Europe are becoming increasingly 'internalised' in Europe's South-Eastern countries that have relatively recently joined the EU (such as Bulgaria and Romania) and in countries that are at various stages of the ongoing integration process (for instance Croatia and Albania). New awareness about the existence of, to varied extent and for various reasons, overlooked ethnic, religious and other minorities within what were largely seen as more or less compact nation-state frameworks is additionally challenged by recent immigrations. Countries with a long history of emigration, such as Ireland and Italy, now feature among the top destinations for immigrants from both Europe and other parts of the world. Criteria such as shared (Catholic) religious affiliation certainly contribute to the Polish emigrants' choice of Ireland, while linguistic proximity (Romance languages) contributes to emigrants with Romanian citizenship in selecting Italy as their preferred destination. Occasional aggressive public expressions of anti (Romani) minority sentiments (for instance in Romania) and anti (Romani) immigrant sentiments (for instance in Italy) serve as a useful reminder of the multifaceted aspects of reality. Musical consequences of the migrations are already the subject of increased interest from researchers and it is reasonable to expect that the emphasis on musical migrations linked to Turkey and African countries, as can be seen in this edited volume, will continue to broaden in several directions.

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Both the personal and professional backgrounds of the individual contributors to this volume reflect the central idea of motion. There is a welcome balance in terms of the authors' gender and age, ranging from those who – while still completing their institutional studies – already have fresh ideas worth sharing, all the way to those whose acquired experience and wisdom nicely complements the contributions of the former. Lance D'Souza's life history can serve as a metaphor for motion: his path to Denmark (where he now lives) took him from Iran (where he was born), Tanzania (where he grew up) and England (where he studied). Several other authors were born in one country and now reside in another and/or professionally connect musical realms associated with different national frameworks. Their international experiences are amplified by their attitudes and intentions to creatively relate theoretical and practical domains, to reflect on their work and to provide new interpretations and understandings of the reality. While their approaches to music in motion are rooted in a myriad of disciplinary backgrounds, including philosophy, ethnomusicology, musicology, ethnology, gender studies, and music education, as can be seen in their biographical notes, some prefer to emphasise musicianship in the first place.

It is probably true, as suggested in the *Preface* to this volume, that ethnomusicology is the discipline which "provides the best tools to deal with musical diversity, intercultural discourse and the applied aspects of its interdisciplinary links with sociology, popular music studies, ethnology, pedagogy and musicology". Several authors address the issues that occupy the attention of contemporary ethnomusicologists, including identity, representation, nationalism, gender, diaspora, globalisation, human and cultural rights, and education, to mention just a few. Their notions of culture go beyond one place in which a phenomenon to be studied is situated; they are nurtured by cultural critique, engagement and activism "for the sake of minority, peripheral or disadvantaged groups, in ways which have become increasingly attentive to problems of interest, agency, voice and the unwitting perpetuation of metropolitan stereotypes" (Stokes 2001: 387).

Just like the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*'s volume on Europe (Rice, Porter, and Goertzen 2000), this volume also features two 'transnational', all-European groups, Jews (Bohlman) and Roms (Hemetek), and in addition brings in two internally diverse immigrant groups, namely Turks and Africans.[1] Musical reflections linked to immigration from Turkey are the focus of not fewer than three articles (Greve, Klebe, Sağlam), and those from Africa of two articles (Bender, Foramitti). Other authors bring in

1 'Transnational ethnic groups', with which the *Garland Encyclopedia* starts the presentation of Europe's music cultures include, in addition to Jews and Roms, also Travellers, Saamis, Basques and Celts.

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minorities (Schippers), immigrant musicians (Adkins Chiti), a community (Lundberg), a folklore ensemble (Knudsen), genre (Barber-Kersovan, Leante, Dellisanti), publication (Di Liegro), and a research field (Reyes). In addition to an inspiring philosophical introduction (Balibar), several articles deal with musical experiments against a backdrop of changing circumstances in various parts of Europe, in some cases modelled as a one-time project and in the others around ongoing educational models. These models are aimed at kindergarten kids (Foramitti), schoolchildren (Di Liegro), children at music schools (D'Souza), refugee children and their mothers (Pesek), high school youngsters (Fock), conservatoire students (Tournier), and a variety of people ranging from children to professional musicians (Delebarre).

It is my intention to support the creative efforts of the contributors by adding a few useful references. Radano and Bohlman's edited volume (2000) on music and racial imagination has the potential to complement the question of racism in postcolonial and postmodern Europe. Gender-sensitive approaches to musicianship in the Mediterranean area can be nicely linked to Tullia Magrini's excellent introductory chapter to the volume *Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean* (Magrini 2003). The tendency to think of the Mediterranean as a cultural area brings to mind the comparative potential of relating *tarantella* to Egyptian *zar* (Eisler 1985) and to other therapeutic treatments for female subjects. The association of women with the frame drum in Southern and South-Eastern Europe sharply contrasts with their more common associations with melody-producing plucked chordophones, such as harps and zithers, elsewhere. Veronica Doubleday has successfully mapped and contextualised the use of frame drum by women (Doubleday 1999). The project with a focus on Nigeria brings to mind the work of Nigerian ethnomusicologist Meki Nzewi, who made a noticeable contribution in particular in German-speaking countries (e.g. Nzewi 1997). Contributions dealing with Turkish immigrants can at some future point be complemented by studies of Turkish indigenous minorities in Kosovo, Macedonia and elsewhere in South-Eastern Europe. Ambitious discographic projects such as the series *Osmanlı Mozaiği / Mosaic of Ottoman* (2001), featuring sultan, women and non-Muslim (Armenian, Greek, Jewish) composers remind us of the positive aspects of Ottoman œcumene, while another discographic project (*Köprüler,* 2006), featuring the bridging between Turkish and Western art music, sends out a modern political message about the awareness of the distinctiveness of each person and the possibility and wish to live together.[2] Further discussion about pedagogical prospects

2 In his writings about the Balkans' Ottoman legacy, ethnologist Božidar Jezernik (1998, 230) states that "while the Balkans are taking great pains to resemble Europe, as it once was, Europe now defines itself on the basis of its difference in relation towards the East, the Balkans included, and claims to be what

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affirmed in this volume may profit from the dialogues between music educators and ethnomusicologists as presented in Lundquist and Szego (1998), Shehan Campbell (2004) and Wade (2004).

Reading the articles led me to establish several parallels with my own experiences. Being a researcher of music in motion in Croatia (where I was born) and Slovenia (where I reside) within the past couple of decades has been a true privilege, though sometimes – due to the given circumstances – a sad one. I was in a position to observe intense musical changes related to the break-up of the Yugoslav political and cultural framework, analyse the roles given to music in various contexts of struggles for independence, document the sounds chosen to represent new national realities, and follow musical flows leading to a united Europe.[3] Nation-building processes within the territories of Yugoslavia in the course of the 1980s emphasised the need to disassociate 'us' from 'them' and therefore, by using selected historical elements created new cultural policies with differentiation between acceptable and unacceptable musics. The ambiguous 'Balkans', "the 'other' of Europe" (Todorova 1996: 7) were given a special place in this process (Barber-Kersovan in this volume). When the war started, music was used to encourage 'our side' (soldiers and civilians hiding in shelters alike), to provoke the 'enemy side', and to convince third parties (the European Union, NATO, and various countries) to get involved. The earlier mentioned sad aspect was linked to the lives and values lost through the war during which many neighbours stopped singing their shared repertoires together and replaced musical instruments with weapons in order to prove the prevalence of their ethnic identities over other identity markers characteristic of life under peaceful circumstances. One of the consequences was the harsh reality of refugee life. Therapeutic work with refugees has affirmed the important role of music in regaining psychophysical strength and ideals of reconciliation and coexistence (Pesek in this volume). It was revealing for me to realise how source materials from elsewhere (for instance Maurice Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are*) can successfully be adapted to harsh, war-related contexts and serve as a basis for projects conducted by my students in Croatia and Slovenia and make a difference for Bosnian refugee children.

Several authors in this volume realise the need for the existing educational realms to better accommodate the current demographic reality and cultural

the Balkans used to be for almost five centuries" For musical aspects of the Ottoman œcumene see Buchanan (2007).

3 See the edited volume related to this issue, *United Europe – United Music? Diversity and Social Dimensions in Central and South-Eastern Europe,* which resulted from a conference held in Ljubljana in 2001 (Reuer et al. 2004).

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needs in Europe. I recall the experiences from Yugoslavia in the 1980s, where my BA dissertation proposal for research in Zanzibar met with 'friendly suggestions' from several professors to select some unresearched area of Croatia instead (University of Zagreb) and my MA proposal for research in Egypt was initially turned down on the grounds of 'national irrelevance' (University of Ljubljana). In a sharp contradistinction, my PhD proposal in the USA (University of Maryland) was judged exclusively on the basis of its scholarly merits. It was/is indeed a satisfaction to be in a position to teach at the very same universities – in Zagreb / Ljubljana – and to evaluate my own students' proposals exclusively in scholarly terms, regardless of their geographical or topical focus. In the early 1990s, most of the students heard about the Australian *didgeridoo*, the African *djembe*, the Asian *gamelan*, or the South-American *capoeira* for the first time in my classes. Nowadays, didgeridoos are (also) made in Slovenia, African drumming ensembles are gaining popularity, gamelan is no longer considered an unnecessary addition to the education system that praises exclusively European art music, and interested students attend capoeira workshops in inner Ljubljana. The situation has even changed to such an extent that I have recently returned, with Slovenian students, from northern Thailand, where they were exposed to a workshop in Thai folk and art music and experienced a rich cultural exchange.

Sceptics keep warning that exposure to the music of 'others' will undermine the importance of 'our' music, but my first-hand experience does not confirm their fears. The broadening of the knowledge base and involvement in a variety of music and dance opportunities past and present from all over the world clearly help the development of affective, cognitive, psychomotoric, and social abilities of the practitioners. At the same time, they continue to appreciate, respect, and nevertheless enjoy singing Slovenian folk songs, and dancing what is regarded as Slovenian folk dances. *Plesna hiša* (also known as *Táncház*, *Tanzhaus*, *Danshus* etc. in various parts of Europe), characterised by live music provided by a folk music revival band and instructions of functional steps provided by experienced dancers, remains one of the favourite activities of my students. Furthermore, my request to Slovenian students to broaden the repertoire they prepared for their Thai counterparts with some non-Slovene tunes from Europe received a negative response. Their argument was that they had worked on a cultural exchange between Thailand and Slovenia, and not between Asia and Europe and consequently wanted to give to their performance a firm national character.

Discussion about the repertoire in Thailand raised the issue of identity, which continues to give strong imprint to ethnomusicological writings particularly over the last two decades and which is well reflected in this volume. Although aware of the dynamics, fluidity, and multiplicity of the identity concept, the students took a clear stand that they had not so far developed a

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sense of 'European identity'. Would this be comparable to the identity issue related to other multinational states that existed in the same territories in the past: the Habsburg Empire, the Ottoman Empire, or Yugoslavia? All of these states had strategic interests in connecting the claimed territories and all of them developed strategies to achieve it. In the first decades after World War II, the Yugoslavian authorities practiced what can be called 'forced motion' – they sent teachers, organisers of musical life and soldiers from the part of the country in which they resided to another. Folklore ensembles were encouraged to perform programmes with songs and dances from all the republics and provinces, and music in the media was directed in a way that would promote 'Brotherhood and Unity' among the peoples within Yugoslavia. At the same time, the performance of songs that one national group would consider patriotic (a positive view) and another group nationalistic (a negative view) was banned and punishable, while religious songs were strictly restricted to objects for religious services and removed from the media. A guided preference for what was regarded as proletarian music pushed aside what was interpreted as unwanted bourgeois music related to the upper class cultural milieu. This kind of 'forced motion' was nicely composed in an adage used by the American anthropologist of Serbian descent Andrei Simic: "Woe unto a brotherhood and unity imposed by force of law" (Simic 1994).

Contributors to this volume sense and reveal Europe beyond its shared pride in art music legacy and beyond the national agendas linked to the folk music domain. The changing face of Europe increasingly attracts researchers gathered in major international associations. The newest study group established and approved in 2008 within the major association of ethnomusicologists worldwide, the *International Council for Traditional Music*, is focused on music and dance in South-Eastern Europe. A couple of years ago a special interest group for European music emerged within the United States-based Society for *Ethnomusicology*. The *European Seminar in Ethnomusicology* has succeeded, since its establishment in 1981, in bringing together scholars interested in European topics and European ethnomusicologists with diverse research interests. The *European Music Council's* involvement in issues such as education, cultural policy and advocacy provides valuable links to two emerging ethnomusicological fields of interest in particular: Music and minorities, and applied ethnomusicology.

MUSIC AND MINORITIES

The issue of minorities has a special importance in this volume. It is central to the articles of Schippers, Bohlman and Hemetek, but in various senses and to varied extent it is present in all contributions. The study of music

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in relation to minorities accounts for the increasing directions of present-day ethnomusicology. The dynamics of this research field can be outlined as follows:

1985 The first ethnomusicological conference worldwide with the keywords 'music' and 'minorities' *Glazbeno stvaralaštvo narodnosti (narodnih manjina) i etničkih grupa / Traditional Music of Ethnic Groups – Minorities* took place in Zagreb (Croatia, Yugoslavia). It was attended by 16 scholars from Austria, Germany, Hungary, Italy and Yugoslavia. Conference proceedings (Bezić 1986).

1994 The conference *Echo der Vielfalt: Traditionelle Musik von Minderheiten / ethnischen Gruppen – Echoes of Diversity: Traditional Music of Ethnic Groups / Minorities* took place in Vienna (Austria). It was attended by 40 scholars from ten countries. Conference proceedings with CD (Hemetek 1996).

1997 Panel on Music and Minorities at the 34th ICTM World Conference in Nitra (Slovakia) presented statements by ethnomusicologists from seven countries. The proposal aimed at the establishment of a study group was approved by the Executive Board.

1998 Constitutive meeting in Vienna (Austria). Adopted definition of minorities and mission statement of study group (here in a later improved form): Minorities = groups of people distinguishable from the dominant group for cultural, ethnic, social, religious, or economic reasons. The study group focuses on music and minorities by means of research, documentation and interdisciplinary study. It serves as a forum for cooperation among scholars through meetings, publications and correspondence.

2000 1st Study Group Meeting in Ljubljana (Slovenia), attended by 31 scholars from 15 countries.

Themes:

1. Music and Dance of Minorities: Research Traditions and Cultural Policies;
2. Music, Dance and Identity of Minority Cultures;
3. Minorities in Slovenia and Neighbouring Countries. Conference proceedings with CD (Pettan, Reyes and Komavec 2001).

2002 2nd Study Group Meeting in Lublin (Poland), attended by 26 scholars from 15 countries.

Themes:

1. Theory and Method in the Study of Music and Minorities;
2. Interethnic Problems of Borderlands;
3. The Role of Music for Migrant Societies;
4. Representing Minorities in Music;

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5. Minority Music and Religious Identity. Conference proceedings with CD (Hemetek, Lechleitner, Naroditskaya and Czekanowska 2004).

2004 3rd Study Group Meeting in Roč (Croatia) attended by 47 scholars from 20 countries.
Themes:
1. Emics and Etics in Relation to Music of Minorities;
2. Multiple Identities and Identity Management in Music of Minorities;
3. Marginality – Empowerment – Applied Ethnomusicology. Conference proceedings with CD (Ceribašić and Haskell 2006).

2006 4th Study Group Meeting in Varna (Bulgaria) attended by 54 scholars from 23 countries.
Themes:
1. Hybridity as a Musical Concept in Studies of Music and Minorities;
2. Minority - Minority Relations in Music and Dance;
3. Music Education of Minority Children;
4. Race, Class, Gender: Factors in the Creation of Minorities. Conference proceedings with CD (Statelova, Rodel, Peycheva, Vlaeva and Dimov 2008).

2008 5th Study Group Meeting in Prague (Czech Republic) attended by 66 scholars from 27 countries.
Themes:
1. Roma Music and Dance;
2. Representation of Minority Musics and Dance in the Mass Media and the Marketplace;
3. Cultural Policy and Safeguarding Minority Musics and Dance. Conference proceedings (Jurkova, forthcoming).

This updated chronological overview documents (a) that multifarious and intricate relations between music and minorities are studied in a systematic and continuous manner, (b) that the research interest in this field is growing, both in terms of the number of researchers and their geographical distribution, and (c) that it has its roots in Europe. The sixth meeting in 2010 will reflect the growing interest in music and minorities by scholars outside of Europe and is expected to take place in Hanoi (Vietnam).

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APPLIED ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

Considering the fact that several contributors to this volume demonstrate a tendency to use their research experience to improve the circumstances detected during their research, it makes sense to relate their intentions to the developments within another emerging scholarly direction – that of applied ethnomusicology. Although this term is not new, there are just a few sources available to provide syntheses of the ongoing debates, to present a selection of both successful and failed case studies, and to clarify the essence, connotations and limits of applied ethnomusicology.[4] The communities and individuals to which ethnomusicologists wish to bring help by using their knowledge, understanding, and skills often belong to underprivileged minorities, immigrants, ethnic groups, diasporas, and refugees.

An increasing influx of immigrants to Western Europe in the second half of the 20th century gradually raised the interest of ethnomusicologists in their musical cultures. Besides important studies on immigrant musics (Ronström 1991) and cultural policy (Baumann 1991), several Swedish ethnomusicologists, including a contributor to this volume, Dan Lundberg, became involved in applied projects such as the *Ethno* camp for young musicians in Falun and music making within ensembles such as the *Orientexpressen*. The *European Music Council* conference *Aspects on Music and Multiculturalism* that took place in Falun in 1995 thanks to Krister Malm, was an important step in the same direction. A creative three-year project, *The Resonant Community,* brought to life by Kjell Skyllstad, one of the 'fathers' of applied ethnomusicology in Europe, was implemented in several elementary schools in the Oslo area in 1989, bringing together ethnomusicology and music education and paving the way to better appreciation between Norwegians and immigrants from Africa, Asia and Latin America through their respective musics. This complex and inspiring project affected the lives of all the parties involved: schoolchildren, parents, teachers, and musicians (Skyllstad 1993); in this volume there is a reference to it in Eva Fock's article.

After an indicative absence of applied ethnomusicology in various summaries of the discipline (e.g. Myers 1992, Schuursma 1992),[5] it seems that the thematic volume 36/3 (1992) of the Society for Ethnomusicology's journal *Ethnomusicology* announced important changes. The editor of the volume, Jeff Todd Titon, together with the other contributors (Daniel Sheehy, Bess Lomax Hawes, Anthony Seeger, and Martha Ellen Davis) succeeded in

4 Two periodicals have served this purpose so far: *Ethnomusicology* 36/3 (1992) and *Muzikološki zbornik / Musicological Annual* 44/1 (2008).

5 The same applies for major encyclopedic resources.

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bringing "what ethnomusicologists do in public interest" to the attention of ethnomusicological academia and in creating a space for possible re-evaluation and repositioning of the applied work within ethnomusicology as a whole. It took six more years, until 1998, for the *Applied Ethnomusicology Section* to be established within the *Society for Ethnomusicology*. Its webpage suggests that "the applied ethnomusicology section is devoted to work in ethnomusicology that falls outside of typical academic contexts and purposes" and points to the activities such as "festival and concert organisation, museum exhibitions, apprenticeship programs, etc." while its members "work to organise panel sessions and displays at SEM conferences that showcase this kind of work and discuss the issues that surround it, as well as foster connections between individuals and institutions". The next important step on the western side of the Atlantic was the conference *Invested in Community: Ethnomusicology and Musical Advocacy* that took place at Brown University in Providence in 2003; indeed, as suggested by the programme leaflet, "the first conference in the United States to focus on the vital role of the academic in advocating community music", featuring "applied ethnomusicologists [who] work as musical and cultural advocates, using skills and knowledge gained within academia to serve the public at large"[6].

Several events can be identified on the European side, too. In 2003, Italian ethnomusicologists organised the ninth International seminar in Ethnomusicology in Venice entitled *Applied Ethnomusicology: Perspectives and Problems*. The 15th colloquium of the ICTM in Limerick, Ireland, in 2004 entitled *Discord: Identifying Conflict within Music, Resolving Conflict through Music* addressed ethnomusicological approaches to conflict resolution. The 38th world conference of the ICTM in Sheffield, England in 2005 focused on applied ethnomusicology as one of the themes, pointing to "situations in which scholars put their knowledge and understanding to creative use to stimulate concern and awareness about the people they study"(in Stock 2005: 1). One of the two plenary sessions was dedicated to applied ethnomusicology and among the keynote speakers were two contributors to this volume – Adelaida Reyes and Ursula Hemetek. An important unit at the University of Sheffield is certainly its Centre for Applied and Interdisciplinary Research in Music (CAIRM). The ICTM's 39th world conference in Vienna in 2007 featured double session *The Politics of Applied Ethnomusicology: New Perspectives* with participants from all continents. The articles based on presentations by Samuel Araujo (Brazil), Jennifer Newsome (Australia), Maureen Loughran (United States of America), Tan Sooi Beng (Malaysia) and the undersigned were published in the already mentioned volume of *Muzikološki zbornik / Musicological Annual*. At the same

6 Filmed presentations from this conference are available at http://dl.lib.brown.edu/invested_in_community/bios.html

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conference there was a meeting at which 44 members agreed to establish a study group focused on applied ethnomusicology.

Slovenia's capital Ljubljana served as a host city to two scholarly gatherings focused on applied ethnomusicology: *Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology in Education: Issues in Applied Scholarship* in 2006 and *Historical and Emerging Approaches to Applied Ethnomusicology* in 2008. The latter was the first meeting of the newly established ICTM's study group, during which the improved definition was accepted. According to it, "Applied ethnomusicology is the approach guided by principles of social responsibility, which extends the usual academic goal of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding toward solving concrete problems and toward working both inside and beyond typical academic contexts." (Pettan 2008: 91) The conference (as well as the forthcoming proceedings) addressed the following themes:

1. Historical and contemporary understandings of applied ethnomusicology, in international perspective;
2. Teaching pedagogies and research practices of applied ethnomusicology;
3. Building sustainable music cultures;
4. Applied ethnomusicology approaches to music therapy and healing;
5. Theorising music's roles in conflict and peacemaking.

CONCLUSION

This volume testifies to the fact that music in motion as addressed by the contributors provides both a reflection of diversity imbedded in multiple identities of people residing in Europe today and a powerful non-verbal tool to encourage much needed and mutually beneficial dialogue. In some segments it reminds us about the past from which lessons about the traps of nationalism, particularly in regard to minorities and immigrants, should be learnt (see also Bohlman 2004, Hemetek 2006), and in the others it inspires an engaged approach in addressing vulnerable communities, including refugees (see also Reyes 1999). One would hope to see this volume used as source of encouragement by educators at all levels of the pedagogical process, assisting them in building a critical stance towards perpetuation of stereotypes and in adopting fresh alternatives, *Jamila and the Others ...* being just one of many useful examples.

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Etienne Balibar

IS THERE SUCH A THING AS EUROPEAN RACISM?

Translated by Chris Turner

Note from the editors: The following article was first delivered at the congress Fremd ist der Fremde nur in der Fremde *in Frankfurt am Main (11th–13th December 1992), organised by Friedrich Balke, Rebekka Habermas, Patrizia Nanz, Peter Sillem and Fischer Verlag.*[1] *It sheds light on a topic that is – despite its references to political and social developments of the 90s – neither bound to this historical angle, nor obsolete in the topic it addresses. Furthermore, the question the author raises is still vital if not essential in this first decade of the 21st century.*

The ideas I offer for discussion here arise in a particular place (the great financial and intellectual metropolis of the German Federal Republic) and at a particular time: in the aftermath of the atrocious attacks on the community of Turkish immigrant workers, but also following the first great demonstrations of a rejection of fascist, xenophobic violence in German cities. While keeping these conditions in mind, I shall pitch my thoughts at a more general level: not only because I do not want to treat superficially a situation which other, better-informed speakers will have presented from the inside, but because I am convinced that the present German situation, despite its historical specificity, in reality represents one component element of the European conjuncture. It seems to me that it is at this level that it can be understood and, in the last instance, dealt with.

1 Published in German in 1993 under the title "Gibt es einen europäischen Rassismus"? In *Schwierige Fremdheit. Über Integration und Ausgrenzung in Einwanderungsländern*, ed. Friedrich Balke, Rebekka Habermas, Patrizia Nanz and Peter Sillem, Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 119–134; in French 1997 in Etienne Balibar. *La Crainte des masses. Politique et Philosophie avant et après Marx.* Paris: Galilée; and in English in 2002 in Etienne Balibar. *Politics and the Other Scene*. London: Verso.

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I shall argue as follows:

- First, that the racism we are seeing intensify and spread throughout the European continent – East as well as West – is deeply rooted in our history, even if we should never present this history in terms of a linear determinism. The connections being established between the popular forms of this neo-racism and the activities of organised ultra-nationalist minorities[2] give us just concern to fear the emergence of neo-fascism in Europe. The virtual hegemony of these movements within a sector of youth desocialised by unemployment is particularly serious;
- Second, the question arises whether this dynamic is an autonomous phenomenon or whether it represents a reaction to a situation of suspended social development and political impotence. This second hypothesis seems to me to be the right one: racism and fascism in Europe today are the conjunctural effects of the insoluble contradictions into which, despite their apparent triumph, the neoliberal economy and, in particular, the so-called representative political system (which in reality 'represents' fewer and fewer electors) have sunk. Admittedly, the more these contradictions intensity, the more a self-destructive spiral arises, with unpredictable effects;
- Third, I do not believe that this development, albeit very far advanced, is beyond the control of democratic forces, provided that they face up fully to the initiatives which have urgently to be developed at local and transnational levels. It seems to me realistic to argue that internal obstacles, which are for the moment insurmountable, currently prevent the pure and simple reproduction across Europe of a process akin to that which led to the political triumph of fascism and Nazism in the early years of the 20th century. There is a 'window' for collective action, and we can and should strive to take advantage of it.

Let us examine the first point. The circumstances in which we find ourselves three years after what some have called the 'revolution of 1989' (Dahrendorf 1990) call for an unvarnished political diagnosis. In this we must be brutally honest, both about the society in which we live and about ourselves, as those who – or so we fondly believe at ties – represent our society's critical awareness. I say a political diagnosis, but a moral diagnosis is involved as

2 Note from the editors: This connotation of the term 'minority' here is different to the one used in the context of this publication. We use minority in this book not primarily in terms of numbers but following the definition of the ICTM Study Group Music and Minorities: "groups of people distinguishable from the dominant group for cultural, ethnic, social, religious, or economic reasons" (see Svanibor Pettan in this publication).

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well; not in the sense of passing moral judgements on reality, but in the sense that we need also to assess moral capacities, and that a moral crisis is part of the present historical situation. At the centre of that crisis stand feelings of complacency, but also of horror and impotence – if not, indeed, fascination – in the face of European racism. Now, the more urgent the circumstances become, the more it is necessary coolly to assess their reality and conceptualise them.

It is important, in particular, to ask ourselves what exactly is new, and what in reality is the continuation or reproduction of a situation which goes back a very long way. What is indisputably new is the intensification of violent and collective manifestations of racism; the 'acting out' which is, collectively and publicly, transgressing the taboo on murder, and thereby affording itself, even in forms which seem vulgar and primitive to us, the terrible good conscience of a historical right. The crossing of that threshold – or rather, of a series of successive thresholds in that direction – has occurred in one European country after another, the target always being generically the populations of 'immigrant workers' and 'refugees', in particular those from southern Europe and Africa, but also – and I shall come back to this – a part of the foreign European population – if not, indeed, of the national population – sharing the same social characteristics (essentially the status of displaced, de-territorialised persons). Over the past ten years or so, it has seemed as though the baton has passed from one country to another in a sort of process of negative emulation; the result is that no European country can claim immunity from this process: from east to west, from Britain and France to Italy, Germany, Hungary and Poland (I hardly dare mention the Yugoslav 'case' here). And on each occasion this intensification has been accompanied, with more or less close and confirmed links, by an advance on the part of organised ultra-nationalist groups and a resurgence of anti-Semitism – an essentially symbolic anti-Semitism, as Dan Diner stressed (Diner 1993). This is not, however, to downplay the seriousness of this anti-Semitism, since this proves that it is indeed the model to which xenophobic thinking refers, haunted as it is by the dream of a "Final solution to the question of immigration".[3] On each occasion, opinion polls have revealed, to all who harboured the contrary illusion, that the arguments legitimating racism as a kind of defensive reaction to 'threats' to national identity and the security of society are accepted by broad strata in all social classes, even if their extreme forms do not (or not yet?) meet with general approval. Particularly strong is the idea that the presence of a large number

3 In the recent attitudes of certain groups which have carried out pogroms, this regression becomes explicit, but it is also explicit in the German government's attitude towards gypsies.

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of foreigners or immigrants threatens standards of living, employment or public order, and the idea that some cultural differences – often, in reality, very small ones – constitute insurmountable obstacles to living alongside each other, and might even be in danger of 'denaturing' our traditional identities.

It is this entire picture that gives cause for concern, or even fear (above all, let us remember, the fear of those personally targeted) and prompts comparisons with the situation in which fascist movements emerged in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. Here, there is doubtless a challenge of comparable seriousness, but not necessarily the challenge of the same historical processes. In order to establish precisely what we are dealing with, we should seek, in my view, not to relativise this picture, but to qualify it more precisely – and we should do this in two ways.

On the one hand, we should stress that racism, in so far as first and foremost targets populations of workers from the 'underdeveloped' – generally ex-colonial or semi-colonial – world (even potential workers, the category to which refugees belong), is a phenomenon that goes back a very long way in Europe, and this includes its violent forms. Immigrants in Europe have long been the 'lowest of the low'.[4] The phenomenon has merely become more visible since it emerged from the main arena to which it was previously confined – the workplace, that is to say, the site of exploitation – and its more or less ghettoised immediate environment. But we must say right away that the visibility or spread of the phenomenon is in itself an aggravating factor, in particular when it contributes to sustaining a sense of mass insecurity, and to making criminal acts seem banal and commonplace – something it does with at least the passive assistance of the major media.

Furthermore (the second qualification), we have to stress that this highly ideologised racism remains, for all that, historically complex, if not indeed contradictory. It is directed both against groups of 'external' origins (extra-European groups, groups from outside the European Community, some of which, however, have long belonged to the European social space, and in this sense are, with their cultural differences, completely 'integrated' into it) and against groups of 'internal' origins (sometimes groups within the nation, such as the *terroni* of the Italian South, who are victims of racism in the north), who are typically lumped in with the confused or wilfully confusing category of immigrants or migrants. And it projects itself simultaneously into mutually incompatible mythical narratives – including chiefly those of anti-Semitism (which might better be described once again

4 *Lowest of the Low* is the title of the English translation by Martin Chalmers (London: Methuen, 1988) of Günther Wallraff's *Ganz Unten*.

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as 'anti-Jewishness') and anti-Islamism or anti-Africanism, or anti-Third-Worldism. This shows that, though European identity is undoubtedly one of the imaginary factors in this mass intolerance, it is in no sense the major underlying premise. Clearly, within the ideological horizon of current 'European racism', there is as much a rejection of Europe in a whole series of its historical components (it therefore represents a way for Europeans to reject each other mutually) as an appeal to, or defence of, 'European identity'. Or – to take this hypothesis to its logical conclusion – we have here not just a 'rejection of the Other', stigmatised racially and culturally, but equally an exacerbation of the perception of intra European differences and, in a sense, a 'self-racisation' of Europe in a new sense – directed against itself.

This point seems important, particularly insofar as our analyses have to steer a careful course between, on the one hand, the rejection of certain massive Eurocentric legacies, certain persistent traces of European domination, beginning with the trace of slavery, conquest, colonisation and imperialism; and, on the other hand, the adoption of simplistic Third-Worldist schemas. The object (the target) of current European racism is not by any means just the 'black', the 'Arab' or the 'Muslim', though they doubtless bear the main brunt. This point is also important because it forces us once again to go beyond abstract interpretations in terms of conflicts of identity, or rejection of the other and of 'otherness' as such as though otherness were something constituted a priori: explanations which, in reality, merely reproduce part of the racist discourse itself.

Having outlined these qualifications or complexifications, we must however return to the elements of the overall picture that justify the fear of a development of neo-fascism, and lead us to think that we are going to have to face up to a long-term crisis that is as much moral as it is social. Without going at length here into the structural elements which relate to the economy and state intervention, and without denying the importance of what Uli Bielefeld termed in a recent article a "popular extremism of the centre" (Bielefeld 1992), I should like to mention two such elements which call for detailed analysis. And they may perhaps be indirectly linked.

The first lies in the spread which might be described as potentially hegemonic (in the sense that it is capable of giving rise to a social movement) – of the spectre of the collective attitudes and ideological formations grouped around the theme (and sometimes the slogan) of rejection of the foreigner. More deeply yet – and more precisely – what we have here are the themes of the rejection of foreignness, of the passionate, hysterical denial of its cultural and historical function (in this case, in the sense of both *Bildung* and *Zivilisation*). This expresses itself mainly, in both popular and academic discourse, in the downright projective obsession with a tide of

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foreigners and foreignness that is supposed to be assailing 'us' in the name of 'multiculturalism' and 'interbreeding'. It would seem essential to understand concretely, from genuine field studies, how this pure phantasm can become a mass phenomenon, and provide a discourse – and hence an awareness – for all manner of displaced social conflicts.

The other element to which I wish to refer here relates to the growing involvement of youth in manifestations of racism (mainly of 'marginal' youth, but this is a mass marginality which is tending towards becoming constitutive of the 'condition of youth' for entire social groups). We are going to have to wonder once again what youth is – we who are no longer young – and the first thing we have to do, no doubt, is confess that we have no idea, despite the countless batteries of statistics at our disposal.[5] It would be dangerous to believe that what we have here is merely an isolated group (once again, it would be to take at face value the sense of marginality and exclusion expressed in the youth movements, including in the crucial, but complex, phenomenon of local gangs, which are not all inspired by the aping of Nazism, even though they all rummage through the lumber room of European history for symbols of social exclusion and infamy). But it would be equally dangerous to deny that, whether we like it or not, racist actions, or actions relating only indirectly to identity claims, are perhaps the only actions today that bring about political 'gatherings' of youth as such. In Europe, liberal youth movements have never been organised; there are no more communist nor socialist nor pacifist youth movements; apart from a few exceptional cases, there are very few ecological or Christian youth movements. On the other hand, there are virtually neo-fascist youth organisations, and this is politically very worrying. History is not made by middle-aged people.

This observation brings us to my second point, which I shall deal with much less length: what are the historical trends indicated in these social phenomena, in which, of course, we fully include the ideological phenomena of collective contagion? In simple terms, since I have felt compelled to speak of potential hegemony, is this a movement or a convergence of movements with 'grass roots' of its own, or is it 'merely' (though this does not necessarily make things any easier) a reactive movement, a riposte to certain apparently insoluble contradictions? As I have said, I opt for this latter hypothesis – or, rather, wish to submit it for discussion here; not because I want to adhere at all costs to a classic Marxist schema, but for two precise reasons.

5 The presence of François Dubet here is – for me, at least – a guarantee that some people are asking the question: see Dubet 1987.

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First, the phenomenon of 'exclusion' (and the awareness of being 'excluded' or the fear of becoming so, or merely the refusal to live together with those who are excluded) clearly occupies a central place in the current racist syndrome. And whether we like it or not, this stands in direct relation to a massive economic base (which includes the state, consisting not so much of lasting 'structures' as of a determinate economic policy). Who is excluded, and what are the 'excluded' excluded from? To answer these questions is both to unpack the concrete conditions for all the confusion and ambivalence we have identified in the targets of neo-racism (including the part that may be played by a process of self-racisation) and to point, in the last analysis, to the principal contradiction in the current conjuncture, which I shall term 'the regressive expansion of the market' in our society. Let us understand by this that the slogan and project of the universalisation of market relations and of the corresponding social norms (in certain cases, we can go so far as to speak, paradoxically, of a plan systematically to eliminate all obstacles to the market) leads not to a real growth of the capitalist economy, but to growing deindustrialisation and structural unemployment. This, we should note, is in no sense a phenomenon which solely characterises the *Abwicklung* of the countries of the former Soviet Union.

Is the development of productivity really the essential cause of this, as we are so often told? Should we not, rather, seek its origins in the economic contradiction which consists in attempting to build a monetary and financial fortress in an isolated European space, the intention being to transform that space into a protected market and a reserve for highly remunerative capital (a kind of large-scale Switzerland)? And also – perhaps most importantly – in the fact that the expansion of capitalist production and commodity consumption cannot be achieved today by reaching back beyond the forms of social representation and collective participation which were won over a period of a century and more by the workers' movement? Growth (whatever its qualitative and qualitatively new modalities) could be said, rather, to require a widening of those forms of representation and participation, which in practice means a more balanced social compromise, an increase in the collective power and individual initiative of the workers in the broad sense of the term. But this is precisely what the current 'power elites' refuse even to contemplate – for reasons which are more political than technical. And it is what the old labour-movement organisations were incapable of conceiving, demanding, and organising.[6] To put it plainly, exclusion has a meaning only in relation to the suspended development and regression of the

6 See Moynot 1982 sur le CGT, syndicalisme et démocratie de masse. At the time Moynot was member of the national Board of the French CGT union.

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national social state (I use this term as a realist equivalent of the mythical notion of the welfare state).

But this brings me to a second reason which is, in reality, merely the corollary of the first. If the national social state is torn between the world financial market and the regressive management of domestic social conflict, its own political crisis is developing in a relatively autonomous way. The paradox of this crisis is that it presents itself both as a crisis of existing states (crisis of effectiveness, crisis of legitimacy) and as a crisis of that nonexistent state which is the ideal end-goal of the construction of Europe (Balibar 1991). It is towards that nonexistent state (or rather, towards the bureaucracy which stands in for it, a bureaucracy subject to the fluctuations of local political interests yet free from any real public control) that an increasing number of institutional and economic decisions have shifted. But that state, which is in reality a non-state, is clearly incapable of defining for itself (and, quite simply, of contemplating) a social base, founded upon a representation and a mediation of collective conflicts, comparable to the representation and mediation which had gradually come to bestow legitimacy upon democratic nation states.

Failure to analyse this paradox, which generates the grotesque ongoing spectacle of an antisocial social state, of anti-national national states (in spite of periodic symbolic manifestations of sovereignty which, like French participation in the Gulf War, rebound on themselves) and, finally, the spectacle of a 'supra-national' state dead set against any form of popular or collective internationalism, would, as I see it, prevent us from understanding the way the themes of exclusion, corruption, and also political impotence combine today in the perception of the crisis of the state.

I have attempted elsewhere to point out the paradoxical psychological effects of the phenomenon of the political and social impotence of a state which is proliferating administratively, and over equipped with security apparatuses which play a role at all levels in the way questions of collective insecurity, the integration of migrants or the reception of refugees fuel popular racism (Balibar 1992). But I also stress this point to highlight the limits of the analogy with the rise of fascism. European fascism, particularly Nazism, arose in part as a reaction against the collapse of the state under the impact of defeat and civil war, not against a generalised sense of its impotence. On the contrary, it was, in its way, a component part of a phase of apotheosis of the state, to which all regimes and political ideologies contributed at the time, and to which it brutally subjected its own 'totalitarian mass movement'. The existing state may perhaps collapse in some parts of (Eastern) Europe, but what we see more generally is the manifestation of its impotence (first and foremost, the state's impotence to transform, reform and regenerate itself). The difference from historical

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fascism, even if there are fascist tendencies and movements today, is that no force can build up a political discourse of hegemonic pretensions around a programme of strengthening the state, or increased centralisation of the state. Similarly, I think I am able to argue that no force can pull together identity-based demands in Europe around a univocal nationalism.

The fact remains that nationalism(s), racism(s) and fascism(s) represent a spectrum of ideological formations which, in a sense, presuppose each other. But this leads only to the phantom of an integral, integrative nationalism. Just as the social crisis is crystallising around a nonexistent state – I would suggest: around the absence of a state or of the idea of a state – so European racism is forming for itself multiple identity-based reactions which occupy the place of an impossible nationalism (and, as a consequence, obsessionally mimic its symbols at different levels).

I shall now close with an interpretative hypothesis and a proposal for intervention – not, of course, a programme, but a suggested approach. If I am at least partially right in the description I have presented so far, this means that the current European conjuncture, worrying as it is, is not an expression of an unambiguous trend or, even less, of a catastrophic determinism. It is simply the expression – though this in itself is a very serious matter – of the demand for a radical refoundation and a renewal of the (necessarily collective) democratic practices that are capable of breaking the vicious circle of European construction from below, and hence procuring for the political institution as such the possibility of a new stage – necessarily in the direction of its democratisation or, to put it another way, in the direction of a limitation of the privileges and extension of the rights which constitute citizenship.

The European conjuncture will, for a certain time, remain in suspense, even if the situation is becoming increasingly tense. I am prompted to propose this relatively optimistic, but conditional hypothesis by the fact that it seems to me that one can identify a considerable gap between the exacerbation of the phenomena of exclusion and political demoralisation which fuel the European expansion of racism, and the capacities of any political movement generally to group social and identity-based demands around the rejection of foreigners. Such a movement of rejection is, therefore, condemned to remain internally divided, and in this sense to neutralise itself, as it were, both within each country and at the European level, which is increasingly the horizon of our political practice. Unfortunately, this in no way diminishes its destructive capacities. And we know, or ought to know – unless we cover our eyes, we can see it at our gates – that 'barbarism' is always a possible alternative. But in this gap, this political 'window', the possibility for an intellectual and moral alternative based on anti-racism – that is to say, on 'the rejection of the rejection of the other' – is undoubtedly still possible.

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After the very interesting contributions we have heard, in spite of their divergences (or thanks to those very divergences), I should like to make the following point, and connect it to the themes of the multicultural society and citizenship. I have said that what seemed to me most worrying in the present situation – as a European situation tending to spread to all countries (each country having reached this point by different routes) – was the potential hegemony of a neo-fascist ideology among young people who are objectively victims of exclusion, whether it be exclusion from work and consumption (pauperisation), the exclusion from status and recognition which always goes with it, or, quite simply, exclusion from any future prospects. For young people in that position, 'citizenship' is an empty word and, as a consequence, 'democracy' is in danger of becoming so too, not to mention 'human rights'. Forgive me for employing rather old-fashioned language here, though I mean this in militant rather than military terms: I am convinced that this is the main terrain on which we must do battle. Young people with no prospects are, beyond any doubt, looking for solidarity, for community: they are, therefore, in search of an identity – or, rather, they are in search of ways and forms in which to identify themselves.

This means they are in no way seeking to preserve, reconstruct or recover a culture in the quasi-ethnographic sense of the term – in the sense of a way of life, a set of rites and customs which make up a *Lebenswelt*. In actual fact, they hate their Lebenswelt and their culture in this sense. Or, alternatively, we should understand *Kultur* [culture] in the sense in which Freud spoke of *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*,[7] in the sense of civilisation. The excluded youth of today, objects of potential manipulation by neo-fascism or, rather, potential objects of self-manipulation – including the exacerbated forms of English, Scottish, German (or, rather, 'West German' and 'East German'), northern Italian or southern Italian nationalism, and so on – are not, fundamentally, in search of cultures; they are looking for ideals – and they naturally seek these in symbols, which may at times take the form of fetish-objects. Old Marxist, old materialist that I am, I am convinced on this point: the main way of being a materialist, a realist, in politics today is to be 'idealistic' or, more precisely, to raise the question of ideals and the choices to be made between ideals. These ideals will necessarily be new expressions of very old ideas to which democracy appeals, but of which democracy, in its current manifestations, provides a very sad spectacle – ideas which are translatable both at the economic level and at that of symbolic recognition. I am thinking above all here, initially, of the idea of the equality of citizens; secondly, of the idea of the truth of political discourse; and, thirdly, of the

7 Freud's work of this title was, of course, translated into English as *Civilisation and its Discontents*.

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idea of security, understood as the reduction of violence and the 'role of violence' in politics – by which I obviously do not mean repression or, in other words, counter-violence (see Balibar 1995). These are probably the three things most seriously lacking in our current constitutional states.

With this, however, we can attempt to shift a bit the debate on multiculturalism. This seems to me to be currently locked into an absurd alternative. Let me say, more modestly, that I fear it may be locked into an absurd alternative. And this is so, once again, on account of the intrinsic ambivalence of the very idea of culture. I can well understand how useful it may be to speak of a multicultural or multiethnic society (as Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Claus Leggewie do)[8] in a country like Germany, where the idea of cultural homogeneity, of the *Kulturnation* has official status, and is incorporated into the institutions and the law of the *Staatsnation* – for example into the conditions for naturalisation. Contrary to a legend deeply entrenched on both sides of the Rhine, it is not certain that France represents an absolutely opposite case. But, however that may be, this ought to lead us to deconstruct this notion, to demonstrate that there is, in Europe, no 'homogeneous' national culture, particularly no so-called 'German culture'. The aim cannot be, then, to induce a particular 'national culture' more or less peacefully to regard itself, on its own, imaginarily closed-off territory, as one culture among others – or, in other words, to pass, as it were, from cultural monism to cultural pluralism.

Once again, what is in play here are not customs or traditions, but symbolic demarcation lines, and these demarcation lines are registered in institutions, in the architecture and practice of massive state apparatuses; while they are also over determined by rifts in social and economic conditions. The order of the day, then, in my view, is to disrupt the dialogue between 'civil society' and the 'state', which has been for some time now – at least at the level of public consciousness and discourse – a dialogue between cultural communities and the state in which politics disappears, and to reintroduce a third term: the political movement (I use this term advisedly, rather than party or organisation).

We must aim for a recognition by institutions – by the state at its different levels – of existing 'cultural difference', both individual and communal (and the state runs from the level of a local authority, a housing authority or a school right up to supra-national administrative bodies). In France, for example, we must demand an end to discrimination against the Islamic religion in the name of official 'laicity' (which Edgar Morin has quite rightly dubbed 'Catholaicity'). But we must at the same time – and this, I

8 See Leggewie 1993 and also his paper to the Frankfurt Congress (Leggewie 1993).

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believe, is the precondition for everything else – reconstitute a demos for democracy: *das Volk*, not *ein Volk*, as the Leipzig demonstrators initially proclaimed five years ago. In simple terms, this means creating democratic, civic (but not state) movements, and in particular transcultural movements (and even transcultural cultural movements) – both movements that cut across cultural borders and reach beyond the viewpoint of cultural identities, that is to say, make possible and embody other forms of identification.

The question I ask, then, is whether this twofold objective of enshrining a recognition of the 'right to difference' in state institutions, and of developing political and civic movements facing the state (which does not mean against it) can be achieved today within the national (or purely national) framework. I do not have the time to fully justify my position here, but I think it is, in fact, impossible, and that the only level at which there is a chance (I do not say a certainty) of succeeding in this is the European level: the level of an open, transnational European citizenship, which is to be discussed and defined as it develops its social bases, its ideology. The question of a European culture does not even arise (except in the nostalgic dreams of Pope John Paul II), and the culture of a European nation or super-nation has no meaning; this includes culture on the American model – indeed, particularly, such a model. On the other hand, the task which does lie before us today is the construction of a European public space. And we are precisely deploying our intellectual resources here to develop such a thing.

This construction of a public space or a space of European citizenship is on the agenda because, pace Dahrendorf, there was no revolution in Europe in 1989; because the European project of central banks and bureaucracies is politically dead; but also because it is impossible and unbearable to allow ourselves to be locked into a choice between this corpse or a return to 19th century nationalisms – indeed, medieval nationalisms, if it is true that in a few years there may no longer be a British or an Italian nation state.

In this long march towards the European public space – a march which is also a race – we can clearly see that the intervention of the members of the Turkish communities or pseudo communities in Germany, of Indians and Pakistanis in Britain, of Arabs or Africans in France, and so forth, is an essential moment. These groups, who are today objects of demagoguery and obsessional fixation, will tomorrow be fully fledged political actors. But this will be so only if they do not remain 'among their own kind', and we do not remain 'among our own kind'. When something like a march, a congress, a demonstration or a network of European youth for democratic rights and equality emerges, then at that point we shall be able to say that a door has opened.

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THEMATIC APPROACHES

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Philip V. Bohlman

THE MUSIC OF JEWISH EUROPE

The Paradoxical Presence of a Non-minority Minority

Paradox haunts the identification of Jews as a minority or migrant culture in Europe. It pushes them to the cultural peripheries and marks them as foreign and transient in the centres of European politics. Jews do not so much build and occupy the cities of modern Europe as pass through them. They remain *shtetl*-dwellers [lit. 'little city'], denizens of the border regions and ghettos. The paradox of the minority establishes their status as powerless, dependent by definition on the majority and its hegemony. Rather than contributing to the culture of Europe as modern, global, and cosmopolitan, migrant and minority, Jews take their presence only as a subculture, surviving by adapting, compromising, and accepting influence from the majority. Only as a minority could Jews become the victims of Richard Wagner's mid 19th century invectives against "Judaism in Music" (Wagner 1995). Only as migrants could Jewish musicians be relegated to the historical role of non-creative performers, accompanying European history rather than making it. As a minority, Jews lived in a Europe that was not really their own. They automatically constituted an otherness measured against the majority's 'selfness'. In Europe's modern sense of historical progress, Jews in Europe too often find themselves relegated to a "people without history" (Bohlman 1997).

This chapter tells a different story and seeks to understand a different history about Jewish musicians in Europe and musicians in Jewish Europe. The concept of 'Jewish Europe', as embraced in the chapter title, resists the conditions of minority status. In Jewish Europe, centres and peripheries are realigned, and music histories accumulate different canons. The musicians of Jewish music make audible a different Europe, and in so doing they also contribute to the larger goal of the present volume, understanding through diverse musics what the authors consider to be a Europe of difference.

The chapter unfolds as a counterpoint of explorations of ontologies and chronotopes – times and places in European history – in which Jews and

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Jewish musicians were central, not peripheral. In the broader history of European art music, for example, Jewish contributions to Renaissance and Baroque early-modern styles in Italy were crucial. Musical modernism in the first half of the 20th century is unthinkable without a powerful Jewish presence. European popular music and film music emerged from Jewish music history at the urban centre. The historicism and hybridity that transform European music today into a mix of styles and soundscapes in vertiginous transition are inseparable from the massive tragedy that befell Europe's Jews in the 20th century.

The Jewish musics the reader encounters in this chapter are therefore not only the sounds of remote villages or minority settlements at the edge of the city. They are not the symbols of others or strangers, sojourners from elsewhere. Jewish music was and is the everyday music, that of history unfolding in the presence of all Europeans.

THE VIRTUAL JEWISH MUSIC OF POST-HOLOCAUST EUROPE

Revival, renaissance, return: On the surface, it would seem that Jewish music is back again, rising from the destruction wrought by the Holocaust, moving from the peripheries of postmodern diaspora. Musically, no 21st century revival has exerted a greater presence in Europe than that of *klezmer*, the ensemble of Eastern European Jewish dance and popular music that has won over audiences across the continent with its mixture of the sonic shtetl – the village sound of East European Yiddish culture – and American jazz and popular music. Klezmer music mixes the Old World with the New, and it does so by joining traditional musicians, who presumably came of musical age with Jewish folk music and younger musicians who transform the sounds of an earlier generation to produce dialects of popular music they claim for themselves and for Europe today. The historical mix of past and present is crucial to klezmer, so much so that its reception is referred to as *the klezmer revival*. To the traditional complement of a quartet of string instruments (two violins, one melodic, the other rhythmic, a viola, and a small bass violin) have been added a more modern, popular contingent, sometimes pulling the klezmer sound toward Eastern Europe (e.g. with the *tsimbalom,* or large hammered dulcimer), sometimes toward America (e.g. with the clarinet and saxophone).

So prevalent is klezmer on Europe's festival and recording scene that many regard it as the symbol for healing the wounds left by the Holocaust. Klezmer in 21st Europe thrives in the West no less than the East, even though it was largely unknown outside of Yiddish-speaking Europe prior to the Holocaust. Urban Germans flock to klezmer concerts and passionately

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Fig. 1 – The Klezmer House *Restaurant and Hotel, Kraków.*

Photo by Philip V. Bohlman

Fig. 2 – Advertisement for the Belgrade performance of Kroke on 27th May 2008, following the European Song Contest 2008.

Photo by Philip V. Bohlman

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learn in regular jam sessions and workshops, and yet klezmer was virtually unknown in the cosmopolitan and modernist Jewish culture of German-speaking Europe. Klezmer serves as the umbrella for everything that Jewish music is and can be. It can be old-timey or jazzy, folk-like or avant-garde. It can draw musicians from other traditions of world music into it – the African, Celtic, South Asian, and Middle Eastern sounds of other European minorities.

In so doing, klezmer translates the Jewish into the global, reinstating and remembering the diaspora that also came to an end with the Holocaust. Klezmer becomes the most powerful symbol of what Ruth Ellen Gruber calls 'virtually Jewish,' identity made ephemeral and illusive through electronic transmission. As Jewish music in contemporary Europe, klezmer musically marks an aporia, a time and place of absence and emptiness.

Other modes and practices of Jewish music-making also accompany the announcement of what some European cultural organisations call the 'Jewish Renaissance.' The UK magazine adopting that name (*Jewish Renaissance: Quarterly Magazine of Jewish Culture,* vol. 1, 2002) charts a European cultural landscape of rebirth and renewal. The three musical articles of volume 6, number 4, include a study of the Swiss-American-Jewish composer Ernest Bloch (Knapp 2007), the *shofar* in religious and classical music (Miller 2007), and 'hip spirituality' (Eiseman 2007). Academic articles, theatre and the arts, and extensive reviews join a special section devoted to the 'Jews of Denmark.' Most notable is the very comprehensiveness of Jewish renaissance in European culture and the arts. Jewish music in contemporary Europe depends no less on rediscovery than on renaissance (cf. the classic study of the 20th century Jewish music renaissance, Weisser 1983).

The song traditions of Europe's two largest Jewish regions – *Ashkenaz,* in which Jews spoke the numerous dialects of Yiddish, and *Sepharad,* in which Jews spoke Ladino after the expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century – both enjoyed rediscovery at the end of the 20th century. Yiddish song became the repertoire of Eastern European Jewry during the post-1989 processes of European reunification. Sephardic song relocated Jewish history to Mediterranean Europe, historically connecting the Sephardic diaspora to the Age of Discovery that also began in 1492 to the war sweeping across the Balkans, where Sephardic Jews had built new communities at the onset of early modern Europe. Wherever one searched in Europe's past, there was Jewish music to rediscover. I myself, as the Artistic Director of a Jewish cabaret ensemble, the New Budapest Orpheum Society, must admit to participating actively in the rediscovery of Europe's Jewish music (see New Budapest Orpheum Society 2002).

If revival and renaissance signal rebirth and renewal, they also draw our attention to the place of death and silence. It is critical to recognise the

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silence of Europe's Jews – and of Europe's other minorities – as an historical condition that the present does not cover with festivals and celebrations. Jewish music remains absent from the soundscapes of many 21st century European musics. Goffredo Plastino has critically revealed the extent to which Italian jazz and popular musicians have pushed Jewish music from the repertories and recordings they compile to represent the Mediterranean (Plastino, forthcoming). Sephardic music is silent once again in the Balkans, failing to survive the wars of the 1990s (see, however, *Shira u'tfila* 2006). Entire national communities, such as that in Romania, struggle to retain their distinctive liturgical musics because of the total unavailability of musical specialists, especially cantors, for their synagogue services. In many places in Eastern Europe it is difficult to worship as a Jew and as a Jewish community (see Bohlman 2000).

It is important to remember that silence resounds also in the revival of anti-Semitism, which has swept across many areas of Europe and European society. The silencing of anti-Semitism may be local, expressed through the unrelenting willingness of neo-fascists to vandalise synagogues and cemeteries. It is also present on national and international levels, for example, in the repeated calls for boycotting Israeli academics and cultural organisations, or through public censorship of Jewish books and other media, as at the 2008 Turin Book Fair. The silencing of music, too, is part and parcel of what marks a religious and cultural community as minority, forcing them to choose migration as a means of survival. The celebrating and silencing of Jewish music at the beginning of the 21st century remain inseparable.

ON THE MEANING OF JEWISH MUSIC IN EUROPE

Historically, Jewish music has had many meanings in Europe, some reflecting the distinctiveness of Jewish culture and identity, others representing the interaction between Jewish communities and the larger societies of which they were a part. When Jews began extensive settlement in Europe after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 AD, religious musical practices accompanied ritual and liturgy in the synagogue and everyday practice in the family and community life of the diaspora. Diaspora musical practices were dynamic, not least because of the ways they expressed the geographic separation from Jerusalem and the historical Land of Israel, *Eretz Yisrael*. In contrast to the centrality of sacred music in the Temple, the ritual and liturgy of the synagogue responded to the distinctiveness of the culture encountered by a diaspora community. We witness the responsiveness of sacred music historically in the almost two-

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millennium presence of Jews in Europe through the formation of local and regional musical rites and traditions, or *minhagim* (sing.: *minhag*). Anchored in traditional responses to sacred texts, the musical dimensions of minhagim were open to the influences of musical specialists in a Jewish community – a cantor/composer such as Solomon Sulzer (1804–1890), who created the Viennese Rite [*Wiener Ritus*] in 19th century Austria-Hungary (see Avenary 1985) – and musical styles, secular and sacred, from elsewhere. Because of the responsiveness of sacred music and musicians Jewish music became fully European, reflecting the difference and similarity of European music history until the present (Idelsohn 1929).

The meanings of Jewish music in Europe also result from religious and aesthetic perspectives on embodied practice. The role of the body as a vessel for music has its origins in biblical and diasporic distinctions between vocal and instrumental practices. Whereas the invention of musical instruments is accounted for by Old Testament narratives in Genesis, the first book of the Torah, and in later books, such as the Psalms, with references to sometimes sonorous ensembles of instruments (e.g. in the 150th Psalm), instruments were consciously removed from ritual practices with the expulsion from Jerusalem and the onset of diaspora. Theologically speaking, vocal practices – prayer, cantillation and recitation, and liturgical and paraliturgical song – were permissible, providing a set of core meanings in European Jewish history. Aesthetically speaking, instruments resulted from and facilitated Jewish music-making in the public sphere, even when that meant intensive interaction with non-Jewish musicians and social settings. The vocal-instrumental dichotomy finds its way into the discourse about Jewish music in Europe, for example, into the term *klezmer* itself – *kleh* = 'vessel' + *zemer* = 'song' – which first appeared sometime in the fourteenth century (Salmen 1991).

Ambivalence, contradiction, and paradox all accompany modern attempts to understand what Jewish music did sound like and what it might sound like. Claims to musical authenticity are at best speculative, but most often grounded on imaginative endeavours to retrieve a past that has been forever lost. Prior to the Renaissance, there is far more evidence about what Jewish music should not be than about what it really was. Writing in the twelfth century, the great Jewish polymath, Maimonides (1135–1204), placed considerable restrictions on what he called "listening to music," even as he opened an aesthetic space for it in medieval Iberia and *al-Andalus*:

> And in reality it is the hearing of folly that is prohibited, even if uttered [i.e. accompanied] by stringed instruments. And if melodised upon them there would be three prohibitions: (1) the prohibition of listening to folly (follies of the mouth), (2) the prohibition of

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> listening to singing (*ghina'*), I mean playing with the mouth, and (3) the prohibition of listening to stringed instruments. (quoted in Farmer 1941: 16)

As Jewish music changed in response to the Age of Discovery, the social changes of early modern Europe, and the modernity that followed the Enlightenment – and its Jewish form, the *Haskala* – questions about its meaning and sound multiplied. The compositions for the synagogue and Jewish community (e.g. *Shir asher lishlomo,* or *Songs of Solomon,* ca. 1623; see fig. 3) by the great Mantuan composer Salamone Rossi (ca. 1570–ca. 1628) are stylistically almost indistinguishable from his non-Jewish works. Searching for Jewishness in the music of Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, and Mahler is similarly vexing, all the more so because of the assaults of anti-Semites against them and the attempts in Nazi Germany to silence them. The multiple meanings of Jewish music in Europe are more rather than less critical for the central theoretical argument of this essay, namely that the intensive and extensive engagement of minorities and migrant cultures with music through their many musical traditions empowers them actively to transform themselves from minorities into Europeans.

קאנטו

חשירים
אשר לשלמה

Appresso gli Illuſt. Sig.
Pietro e Lorenzo Brag.

Fig. 3 – Salamone Rossi, Shir asher lishlomo [Songs of Solomon], ca. 1623 (title page).

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FROM PERIPHERY TO CENTER, ORALITY TO LITERACY

Synagogues spread across Europe, the sacred sites where Jewish music historically sounded and today resounds. Aesthetically and theologically, the music of the synagogue is the least open to question about its identity as Jewish and local. Woven into liturgy and ritual, cantillation and song in the synagogue convey a language distinctive of Jewish belief, Hebrew. In the course of European Jewish history, however, other languages, usually through a combination of vernacular and literary usage (as in 19th century Reform and liberal Judaism in Central and Eastern Europe), did enter some musical practices, accompanying and embellishing, rather than eliminating, the liturgical presence of Hebrew. Whether textually anchored in biblical tradition or a vehicle for the elevation of religious practices, sacred song powerfully conveyed identity to the Jewish community and provides a crucial text for the interpretation of European Jewish history. The historical power of sacred song in 19th century Vienna was sufficient to convince community leaders to turn to Ludwig van Beethoven to compose a new work for the dedication of their new *Stadttempel* [city temple] in 1826, even if Beethoven failed to complete the *oratorio* or *cantata* by the end of his life. As the canonic compilation of song for the Viennese Stadttempel took shape during the course of the next generation, published in 1841 as *Schir Zion* and edited by Vienna's chief cantor, Salomon Sulzer, it did succeed in attracting other compositions by the leading composers of the day, most notably Franz Schubert, who contributed a setting of the 92nd Psalm in Hebrew (see Sulzer 1865).

In the course of modern European history, the synagogue increasingly generated debate about the identity of both Jewish music and the Jewish community in European society. Would sacred song provide a conduit between the sacred private sphere and the secular public sphere in Europe when Hebrew was supplemented with a local vernacular? Would tensions over the inclusion of women's voices in the polyphonic texture of 19th century synagogue compositions enable new forms of exchange between the sexes? Did the sometimes hotly contested 'organ war' [*Orgelstreit*], in which parishioners and musicians struggled over the admissibility of musical instruments in the synagogue, signal a Europeanisation of Jewish music (see Frühauf 2008)? The historical answers to all these questions reveal that synagogue song was of enormous importance, not because it isolated Jews from European society, but rather because it provided them with new and changing ways to interact with the culture at its centre.

It was from the European synagogue that Jewish sacred musical professionals emerged. The first modern musical professional was the cantor, a modern transformation of the figure if the *chazzan*, who had

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traditionally combined prayer leading with other religious duties in the Jewish community. In the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, the cantor's musical undertakings expanded exponentially as he – or she, by the turn of the 21st century – moved from the solo voice in the sacred service to choir director, composer, and musical director of Jewish musical activities outside the synagogue (Bohlman 1994). The musical professional further expanded the conduits between Jewish and European society, so much so that star singers, such as Joseph Schmidt (1904–1942), acquired fame both for performances on the synagogue stage and appearances in opera and film (cf. *The Musical Tradition of the Jewish Reform Congregation in Berlin* 1997).

In contemporary Europe, the synagogue's symbolism for the centrality of Jews and Jewish culture in European history is growing even as the continent struggles to reunify and heal the fissures wrought by the Holocaust. It was the music of the synagogue that was silenced on *Kristallnacht*, on 9th November 1938, when Nazis burned synagogues, also throwing music and organs into the streets. In former Jewish centres throughout Eastern Europe, synagogues stand empty and silent, the communities they previously served devastated during the Holocaust. The silence of the music in the synagogue serves not only as a reminder of the past but also as an impetus to reconcile through revival and renaissance.

The reunification of Europe after 1989 unleashed a wave of synagogue restoration, not only in the communities destroyed through pogrom and the Holocaust, but also in the metropolitan centres of Western Europe and Mediterranean Europe (see Bohlman 2000). Whether in Jewish communities without Jews or in those with new and growing communities (such as those in Central Europe providing spiritual homes to Jews migrating from the former Soviet Union and today from Russia), music again provides the focal point for expressing Jewish identity. As in the renovation of Europe's 'largest synagogue,' Budapest's Dohány utca Synagogue, in the 1990s, considerable effort and expense were invested in restoring the organ. Synagogues provide a space for concerts and a stage for Jewish choirs on tour. Synagogue musicians also produce CDs of Jewish music, often juxtaposing the local minhag with the sounds of revival, and offering them for sale in street kiosks and museum shops alike (e.g. *Shira u'tfila* 2006). The resounding of European sacred song in the restored synagogue reminds us not only of virtual and real Jewish musical traditions, but it sustains the historical struggle of Jews in Europe seeking to reclaim the centre of a European society that has so often pushed them to the periphery.

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BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH, SACRED AND SECULAR

Jewish music in Europe resonates, historically and at present, across a landscape formed of many complex levels. Jewish musicians and those making music in Jewish communities have by necessity moved across that landscape, following journeys motivated at times by sacred goals – shrines and pilgrimage sites attracting them – and at other times forced because of prejudice and pogroms – danger and devastation repelling them. Until the 19th century, when Jews in many areas of Europe were permitted to own land for the first time only, Jewish Europe appeared to a large degree as the result of spaces formed only by dynamic movement. The great migration from the Jewish centres along the Rhine River, especially in the imperial seats of the Holy Roman Empire (Speyer, Worms, and Mainz, for instance), was the result of widespread pogroms in the 14th century. It was this attempt to expel Jews from Central Europe that led to the Jewish settlement of Eastern Europe and the eventual efflorescence of Yiddish culture and music by the 19th century. Similarly, the *reconquista* and the expulsion of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century led to the spread of Sephardic culture and music across the European coastal areas, not only along the Mediterranean, but also in the Netherlands and the British Isles.

As a condition of European Jewish settlement, diaspora has both Jewish and non-Jewish causes, and therefore the musical response to the various processes of diaspora shape music in different ways. In the *longue durée* of Jewish history in Europe diaspora may give physical, even geographical shape to Jewish music. The synagogue, for example, is 'oriented' toward the East, and all vocal practices within it are directed toward the altar, designated as *mizrakh* [Hebrew, 'East'], symbolically the location of the destroyed temple in Jerusalem and the place of eventual return from the diaspora. In related but also different ways, the return from diaspora leaves a spatial imprint on the music of pilgrimage. In the annual cycle of sacred holidays, for example, *Sukkot*, *Shavuot*, and *Pesach* [Passover] all enact through music and song the return from diaspora to Jerusalem (e.g. in the injunction at the end of the Passover meal, or *seder, "ba-shana ha-ba be-yerushalayim"* – "next year in Jerusalem").

Jewish Europe also contains musical landscapes that reveal the distinctive histories of the Jewish communities along East-West and North-South axis. In the modern era, the East-West axis, with Central and Western European communities at one end and Eastern European communities at the other, reflected divergent histories – and music histories – between large regions of Ashkenazic culture. Just as Yiddish marked a more traditional

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culture in Eastern Europe, maintained through a language spoken almost exclusively by Jews ('Yiddish' translates as 'Jewish'), so too were and are the folk song and folk music of the East regarded as more traditional. At historical moments when Jewish communities in Western Europe sought to revive ethnic and religious identity – at the end of the 19th century or the beginning of the 21st – it was therefore Yiddish folk song and klezmer music, both musics of the Eastern Ashkenaz that provided the ideal models for renaissance and revival (see Bohlman 2005).

The North-South axis developed over several millennia during which the differences between Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jewish traditions expanded. In both traditions such differences resulted from the patterns of cultural exchange with the surrounding non-Jewish communities as well as with Jewish communities in Europe and in the Eastern Mediterranean. Liturgical practices developed their own linguistic and musical dialects in both North and South. Secular music, too, unfolded along distinctive historical paths in North and South, for example, the narrative, ballad genre of *romance* in the Ladino tradition of the South, which has become emblematic of Sephardic song.

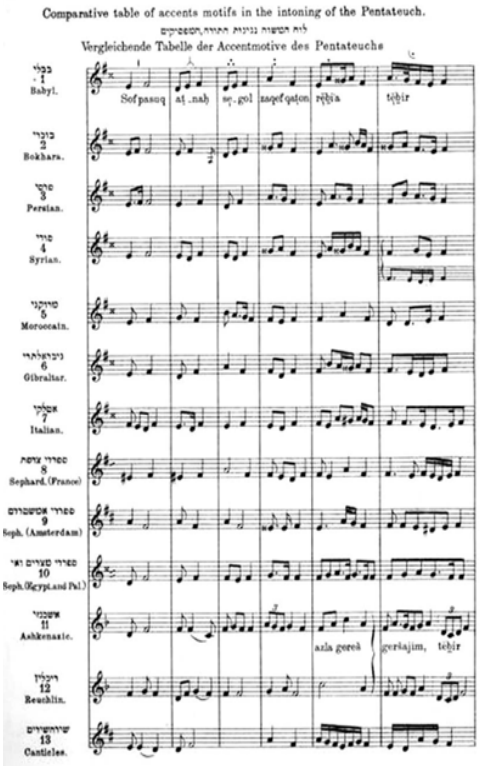

Fig. 4 – "Comparative Table of Accents Motifs in the Intoning of the Pentateuch" (Idelsohn 1923: 44).

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It was the dynamic quality of Jewish musical landscapes in the diaspora that inspired the major undertakings to describe and represent Jewish music in Europe in the 20th century, particularly in the lifework of Abraham Zvi Idelsohn (1882–1938). A cantor and musicologist from Latvia, who was educated in Berlin and Leipzig, Idelsohn turned to the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna to sponsor a recording expedition to Jerusalem on the eve of World War I. From 1911 to 1913, Idelsohn made wax-disc recordings in Jerusalem, attempting to capture as many different Jewish traditions as possible at their point of historical convergence in Jerusalem (for modern digitised CDs created from his field studies see Lechleitner 2005). Drawing upon transcriptions from his field recordings and European manuscript and print collections, Idelsohn published his *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* [Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies] in ten volumes over a span of some 18 years (Idelsohn 1914–1932). The first five volumes, stretching from the Yemenite Jews (vol. 1) to the Moroccan Jews (vol. 5), broadly included the music of the Eastern and Sephardic communities. The second set of five volumes began with 18th century German synagogue traditions (vol. 6) and concluded with the Hassidic Jews of Eastern Europe (vol. 10).

The significance of the Idelsohn *Thesaurus* cannot be underestimated. First of all, its transcriptions and analysis expansively drew repertories from many Jewish communities – it is safe to say that Idelsohn meant to represent *all* communities to the extent this might be possible – in a single, modern anthology. History and geography, as well as ritual, were drawn together as Jewish. Second, Idelsohn clearly represented the differences within and among Jewish communities in the Mediterranean and in Europe, powerfully asserting the mutual impact and exchange that results from a musical sense of place. The *Thesaurus* and the recordings it represented were nothing less than a musical map of Jewish Europe (see fig. 4 for a table comparing different melodic styles used in the cantillation of the Torah).

MUSICAL GEOGRAPHIES OF IN-BETWEENNESS

European history and cultural geography, and their impact on Jewish cultural and musical practices, have left a significant impact on the vocabulary of modern European cultural history. Metaphors such as the shtetl and the *ghetto,* with their dialectic of tension between the traditional and the modern, between music isolated and music acculturated, between Ashkenazic and Sephardic communities, grew from Jewish forms of settlement in Europe. The shtetl has historically been the designation for Jewish village culture. It was in the shtetl that Jewish folk song and folk music flourished, expressing

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the intimacy of a Jewish past and a belief in authenticity. Despite claims of isolation, the shtetl was also the site of a dynamic musical life, for example, the interaction in many areas of European shtetl life between Jewish and Roma musicians. Nonetheless, as a symbol of the past and its traditions, the shtetl frequently symbolises the source for recovering the past. Yiddish song and film idealises the shtetl, just as they mourn its passing with modernity.

If the shtetl came to represent a utopian Jewish world, the ghetto came to represent a dystopian Jewish encounter with modern Europe. The word ghetto itself first described the peripheral district of Venice (in Venetian dialect, 'the iron foundry') into which Jews fleeing the expulsion from Spain and Portugal were forced from the 16th century onward. The cultural and musical life of the ghetto was the product of hybridity, different traditions converging in the urban space made available to them. Sephardic, Eastern, and Ashkenazic traditions, therefore, mixed together. The sounds of the non-Jewish city formed a mix from which new popular musics emerged.

By the 19th century, the term ghetto was applied to the urban Jewish neighbourhoods throughout Europe that were forged from migration and industrialisation. The Jewish ghetto, therefore, became the site for styles of popular music that endure until the present. Cabaret in Vienna's Leopoldstadt or London's East End is no less the product of the Jewish ghetto than is Tin Pan Alley.

The modern models of Jewish urban music have been critical for reassessing the ways in which Jewish music is not isolated in Europe, and by extension is not simply the music of a minority or migrant culture. Jewish urban structures enhance rather than hinder the exchange of musical styles and repertories. They provide the economic and social structures that generate new forms of entertainment and musical exchange. They contribute to the ways in which Jews moving into the 19th century could integrate into an urban economy and contribute to nascent forms of multiculturalism, not least in urban musical life.

The European metropolis also contained the conservatoires and cultural conduits upon which Jews moving to the city in the 19th and early 20th century seized, transforming both Jewish and European history in the modern era. Europe, today, would be very different had the shtetl and ghetto not transformed Jewish life in the modern era.

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MODERNITY, MODERNISM, AND THE JEWISHNESS OF EUROPEAN MUSIC

How Popular Music Became Jewish. With this provocative title for an article published several years ago (Bohlman 2006), I intentionally attempted to articulate a set of assumptions about the Jewishness of music in 20th century Europe and beyond. Claims about modern music's Jewishness already began to proliferate in the 19th century, not only in Wagner's infamous essay, but also in numerous tracts that expressed both the anxiety and hopefulness that accompany modernity, and found expression through modernism. By the 20th century, especially in the period between the world wars, modernism itself – in music but also in the other arts and the sciences – was attributed to Jewish influence and participation, whether merited by the numbers and importance of individual artists or not (e.g. see the essays in Bohlman 2008).

Far more important than whether such claims are either verifiable or justifiable according to numbers is the extent to which they are emblematic of a modern European sense of self, and whether that sense of self could or did survive the almost total destruction of Central and European Jewry in the mid 20th century. More to the point in this present volume, moreover, the seeming recognition of Jewishness in modern European cultural history reveals a great deal about the ways in which minorities and minority cultures are created, and in which notions of 'selfness' and otherness shape European history.

Popular music entered modernism as an inseparable component of modernity, that is, the modernisation and mass production of sound. It was hardly by chance, therefore, that the first English- and German-language films to employ sound, *The Jazz Singer* of 1927 (directed by Alan Crosland) and *Der blaue Engel* of 1930 (directed by Josef von Sternberg), were notable not only for using popular music but also for the ways they were about popular music that was Jewish. *The Jazz Singer* is a film about the conflict between musical style and family identity in an immigrant Jewish family in New York City, between the pull of Jewish liturgical music in the immigrant generation and the seduction of jazz for Jakie Rabinowitz, the film's main character. The music of the *Blue Engel* cabaret in the filming of Heinrich Mann's novel, *Professor Unrat* (1905), does not so much represent the Jewish metropolis in Germany as fill the stage after mediation by Jewish musicians, whose presence, as the house jazz band, Weintraubs Syncopators, directed by the score's composer, Friedrich Holländer. The music for both films produced several of the most enduring hits of the interwar period and accelerated the fame of their stars, Al Jolson (*Mammy*) and Marlene Dietrich *(Ich bin von Kopf bis Fuß auf Liebe eingestellt)*.

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What is critical about the music is not so much its connecting Jewish music and identity as the ways it insisted on the problematic conditions of its hybrid nature, the very problem of Jewishness in European modernity. Jewish identity, in fact, is never alone on the stages from which the films' characters sing, but rather it opens itself to the music of other ethnic and racial groups, as well as to shifting patterns of gender and sexuality. Jewish musicians and Jewish music thus moved to centre stage, and critically, were not isolated there.

One could easily trace the movement of Jewish popular music to the centre of modern film music history in the course of the generation that followed *The Jazz Singer* and *Der blaue Engel*. The English-language film musical was only made possible because of European Jewish emigrants and exiles in the United States. Hollywood film studios built their stables of composers from the exile generation of the 1940s and 1950s. The Jewish contribution to European film music was no less substantial, both before and after Jewish film composers such as Friedrich Holländer and Hanns Eisler immigrated to North America and returned to Europe.

Relatively unknown is the extent to which Yiddish film musicals, in their all-too-brief heyday in the 1930s, remixed the hybridity of popular styles of Jewish Europe, as in *Dem Hazns Kindl* [*The Cantor's Child*] and *Der Purimshpilr* [*The Purim Actor*, usually called *The Jester* in English]. Traditional musical and dramatic themes connect both to Jewish tradition – the pull between East and West, the stage occupied by the cantor and that by the character enacting the biblical play of Purim from the book of Esther. Musically, however, the mix was unremitting, drawing musicians from Vienna and New York for the filming in Kraków. What made popular music Jewish on the threshold of the Holocaust – and after the Holocaust, in the film and cabaret work of Friedrich Holländer (1896–1976), Gerhard Bronner (1922–2007), Hanns Eisler (1898–1962), Georg Kreisler (bn. 1922), Armin Berg (1883–1956), or Hermann Leopoldi (1888–1959) – was that their music transformed the very meaning of what Jewish popular could be in a modern Europe, in which the ideological power of 'selfness' endangered the otherness of its minorities.

THE PRESENCE OF JEWISH MUSIC IN EUROPE TODAY

I deliberately conclude this chapter by entering the ethnographic present, that is, with my most recent moments of encounter with Jewish music in Europe. I do so consciously in order to move beyond the tendency of much research on European Jewish culture to relegate it to the past and to portray its presence only nostalgically, as the vanished world of yesterday. The tragic

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history wrought by the Holocaust cannot, of course, be erased, nor should it be forgotten. As minorities – or not, as I argue in this essay – Jews and Jewish music have not disappeared from Europe today. Listening to Jewish music today – and to the music of the other Europeans portrayed in the present volume – is critical to understanding what Europe is and will become, how it will respond to growing diversity and multiculturalism.

In April 2007, while travelling by rail from London to Newcastle upon Tyne in the north-east of England, I happened to take my seat in a carriage occupied by a group of Jewish *yeshiva* (Jewish religious academy) students and a group of young Newcastle soldiers travelling home on weekend leave. Begun at midday on Friday, my journey accompanied contrasting periods of ritual transition for my fellow travellers. As the soldiers approached home, their consumption of alcohol increased, as did their slide into the Northumbrian regional dialect, Geordie, and a repertoire of songs that, at least functionally, fulfilled the conditions of soldier and drinking songs. My young Jewish fellow travellers, returning from Israel, turned to prayer and song to observe the approaching Sabbath, using Hebrew rather than their vernacular Yiddish. Sitting between these two groups of young travellers, I listened to the counterpoint of their styles of recitation, song, and melody. None of the soldiers or the yeshiva students was older than 20, it was fitting that they were all returning to their homes. It may not be well known that Newcastle, especially its southern urban neighbour, Gateshead, is home to a historically important Sephardic community and a growing number of religious academies. The music I was hearing was freshly formed from youthful exuberance and self-identity. Stunningly, the diverse parts of the music all fitted together – as Northumbrian, English and European, as Jewish and non-Jewish.

Such encounters with Jewish music in Europe today raise more questions than they provide answers about what it might mean to make music as a minority or as a European. These encounters reveal that the familiarity with which notions such as 'European music' or 'Jewish music,' 'Europeanness in music' or 'Jewishness in music,' are sometimes employed might well deceive us into confusing them with the diverse musical sounds that have re-charted the European soundscape of the 21st century: The musical mixture of Jewish music is so rich that it seems pointless to relegate it to a postmodern ghetto or ban it to the farthest reaches of diaspora. Listening to Jewish music in that mix, moreover, is critical to understanding why it is so European.

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Ursula Hemetek

GELEM, GELEM LUNGONE DROMEJA – I HAVE WALKED A LONG WAY

The International Anthem of the 'Travelling People' – Symbol of a Nation?[1]

Translated by Mike Delaney

This title deliberately contains some contradictions: To what extent can an anthem that is supposed to be the symbol of a nation also be international, and how can a people who have no territory be a nation?

The example of the Roma – a minority worldwide without its own territory – is particularly suited to questioning certain assumed attitudes and hypotheses related to nations, their symbols, and particularly to anthems.

ANTHEMS AS NATIONAL SYMBOLS

In the European nation state – the 19th century construct which has predominated until today in Europe – unity is propagated as national identity and ethnic homogeneity is associated with a specific territory. There are different ways of dealing with the historically derived and logically existent ethnic and religious diversity, but there is always one dominant culture, a state language and alongside them various non-dominant minorities. The only exception is the model of the multinational state of Switzerland. Whether the drive towards homogeneity is carried to extremes by also striving for ethnic purity depends on the respective political regime. As an example I would like to point to the relatively new nation states in

1 This article has been published in German in the book *Die andere Hymne. Minderheitenstimmen aus Österreich* (see Hemetek 2005). It is here published in English by courtesy of the publisher, Österreichische Dialektautoren.

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former Yugoslavia and 'ethnic cleansing', a cynical concept that we heard of far too often during the war in 1992.

All of these models of dominance need national systems so that people can identify with this artificial unity, a "nation as an imagined community" (Anderson 1993). These symbols also have the function of marginalising others. Signs and symbols are used as visible signals to represent a joint identity, a common past and also a future (Grbić 1997).

Emotions are important in this context. As symbols of this type, anthems have the additional characteristic of directly addressing the emotional level through their musical aspect.

If a national anthem is therefore a symbol for a nation, and if a nation presupposes a specific territory, then the Romani anthem is not an anthem, because the Roma are not a nation with a territory. On the other hand, however, if a common identity, a common history and future are to be symbolised as a form of differentiation from others, then *Gelem gelem*[2] could indeed have this function and quality.

It is, however, not possible to do justice to the phenomenon of *Gelem gelem* without taking a look at the history and social structure of the Roma, since there is not just one '*Gelem gelem*', but many different variations of it. And *Gelem gelem* is an example for the fact that an anthem can also foster diversity and not just uniformity.

THE ROMA ANTHEM AS AN EXPRESSION OF COMMUNITY

First of all, an example of this anthem:

Text variation 1:

1. Ġelem, ġelem lungone dromeja
   maladilem šukare romeja.
   Ġelem, ġelem lungone dromeja
   maladilem šukare romeja.
   Chorus: Aj, aj, romalen, (aj romalen)
   aj čhavalen. (2x)
2. Ćindem laće lolo dikhlo tursko
   kaj voliv la, ačhel latar pusto.
   Chorus

2 There are different ways of spelling *Gelem gelem*, according to the specific Romani dialects.

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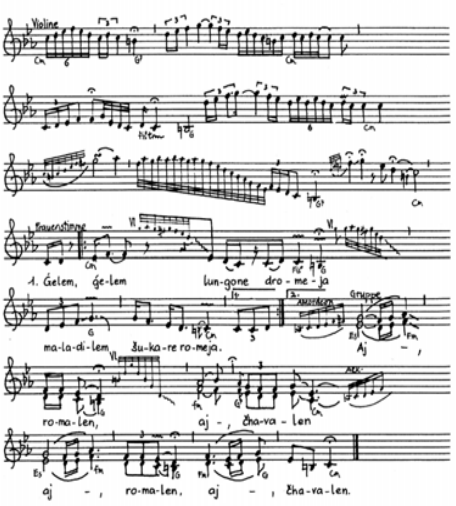

Fig. 1 – Ensemble Milan Jovanović (referred to as Paganini), featuring vocals, violin, accordion, keyboards and guitar, Vienna, 8th June 1990. Recording: Helmut Frank; transcription: Albena Pantcheva; source: Hemetek et al. 1992.

3. Ala voliv lake kale jakha
   kaj si kale sar duj kale drakha.
   Chorus

Translation[3]:

1. I have walked a long way
   And I have met a beautiful Rom.
   Chorus: Oh, you Roma, oh, you boys.
2. I bought her a red Turkish scarf,
   Because I love her. She is supposed to have cursed it.
   Chorus
3. Oh, how I love her dark eyes
   Because they are as black as two grapes.

About the lyrics:

"I have walked a long way, I have met a beautiful Rom (or other happy Roma)". Compared to the Austrian anthem 'Land of the Mountains' or the lyrics of other anthems, this is a rather surprising text. Usually these sing the praises of the beauty, size and historical achievements of one's own country and the magnificent qualities of its inhabitants.

In spite of this, these lyrics do say a lot about the Roma, about their history and the structure of their society.

3 Translation by Ursula Hemetek and Mike Delaney.

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A brief summary of their history: the history of the Roma is a story of persecution, which reached its horrible climax at the time of National Socialism when around 500 000 Roma were murdered in the Nazi concentration camps. The Roma originally came from India; the first evidence of their presence in Europe is from around 1100. The story of their migration has been roughly reconstructed on the basis of their language, but also on the basis of decrees against them (cf. Vossen 1983; Heinschink 1994, and others). This makes it clear that they were not welcome anywhere and were repeatedly driven away, and that it was not their *Wanderlust* which was responsible for their long travels, but the rejection they faced everywhere. Travelling is thus on the one hand a historical reality, but in our times it is a legend, because today 95 % of the Roma in Europe are settled. Travelling took place in individual groups on different routes. The different groups stayed for longer periods in various countries, and the cultural traditions of the respective majority had on the one hand an influence on their language – recognisable from the loan words – and on their traditional culture. There is neither a uniform Romani culture nor a uniform Romani music. The Romanes language has around 1 000 original words from Sanskrit; the remainder are loan words from different languages. There are an immense number of varieties of Romanes worldwide. The various Romani groups thus differ in terms of their respective history and their varieties of Romanes, but also through different customs, taboos and not least through their music. This diversity is further favoured by the fact that until recently the Romani culture was only passed on orally.

This situation results in different levels of identification (I am referring to collective identities): Firstly with their own family or clan, then with their own group, then with the people as a whole, then with the feeling of being different from the Gaže (non-Roma), then in part with the state in which they live and whose citizenship they possess. Great importance is still attached to the cohesion of the clan, which is revealed by frequent meetings, financial and emotional support, and various customs which honour an arriving guest (*paćiv*, see Hemetek 2001: 470–475). The social structure is often described in the literature as placing the collective far above the individual. "A Rom is nothing without his family, his clan" is a sentence that I often heard during my field research.

The lyrics therefore address the legend of travelling, and in addition the cohesion of the clan ("I have met a Rom/other Roma"): general values of the Roma culture worldwide. Differentiation is carried out through the other parameters. The dialect of Romanes used indicates which Romani group this is, as does the realisation of the music, as we will see now.

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VARIATIONS OF THE ROMANI ANTHEM AS A REFLECTION OF DIVERSITY

There is no Romani music per se. For historical reasons, there are a large number of different styles, which include Sinti jazz, Flamenco or Hungarian gypsy music.

Gelem gelem is probably the only melody worldwide that is played and sung by so many different Romani groups. But the great differences lie in the way they play it. The only fixed elements in the many different variations are the first two lines of text presented earlier and the basic melody of the first part.

The Serbian version (fig. 1) also has different musical characteristics apart from the structure of the melody, which is articulated in a free rhythmical way, and from A and B (chorus). It is played by an ensemble featuring vocals, violin, accordion, keyboards and guitar.

The singer takes a background role, and the text is not understandable. The chorus is sung by two voices with the participation of the public.

This style of performance is not a characteristic of Romani music in general, but a regionally influenced one. One can clearly hear the Serbian influence, particularly with regard to the instrumental elements. The Romani anthem is articulated in Romani musical style.

This is completely different to the next example. This belongs to the vocal style of the Lovara, a Romani group that used to trade in horses and travelled throughout Austria in caravans until after the World War II (for more details see Halwachs 1999). The vocal style of the Lovara is of a type that can be found among this group of Roma worldwide. Characteristics of the 'slow songs' of the Lovara are: Free rhythmical articulation, easily understandable lyrics (a song always tells a story) solo recital with the involvement of the audience, improvisations and a particular structure of the final tones of the lines (for more details see Hemetek 2001: 293–328). The anthem was adapted to that effect. The melody line is preserved, but the lyrics are varied according to the situation. The singer 'talks' to the public, and expects reactions. The instrumental accompaniment retreats into the background. Different stylistic devices that arise from improvisation are employed in the structuring of the melody.

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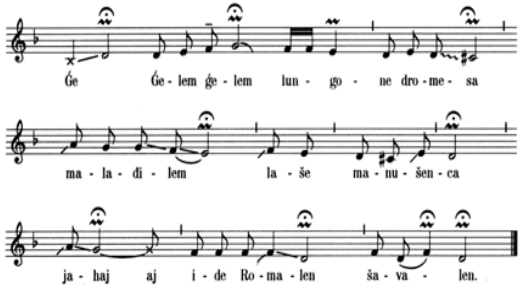

Fig. 2 – Rudi Mikula, vocals and accordion, Vienna, 26th June 1993. Recording and transcription: Ursula Hemetek; source: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie.

A different text version of the Lovara is given below. Mišo Nikolić, the husband and accompanying musician of the singer Ruža Nikolić-Lakatos, has created new lyrics here that refer to the history of the Roma and relate their story in more detail.

1. Gelem gelem, lungone dromenca
   maladilem e bute romenca.
   Barvalenca taj vi e čorenca
   taj vi lenge bute šavorenca.
   Chorus: Aj, romalen, aj šavalen.
2. Aj romalen, katar tumen aven?
   Katar aven romale butalen?
   Amen avas anda e Indija,
   sa le Rom sam sar jek familija.
   Chorus
3. Aj romalen, kado drom sas pharo
   kaj phirasas ando them, o baro.
   Vurdonenca taj čore cerenca,
   e asvenca taj bare dukhenca.
   Chorus

Translation[4]:

1. I have walked long roads
   And I have met many Roma.

4 Translation by Mišo Nikolić, Ursula Hemetek and Mike Delaney.

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I have met rich and poor
And their many children too.

2. Roma, where do you come from?
Where do you come from, so many of you?
We come from India
We Roma are all like a big family.

3. Oh, Roma, it was a difficult road,
Which we have walked on this Earth.
With carts and shabby tents,
With tears and pain.

Lyrics: Mišo Nikolić, April 1994

The anthem has been adapted to a very particular group style here in order to fulfil the aesthetic expectations of a Lovara audience.

In the next example it is again a region that can be clearly heard. Oriental vocalisation and the use of melisms are striking here. Esma Redjepova is from Macedonia and sings the anthem in the typical Macedonian style. This is additionally complemented by a very individual artistic structure (see fig.3).

I could easily continue this list, for example with 'Hungarian gypsy music', where the chorus is phrased as a Csárdás, or a 'Flamenco version'. But I think that the differences have already become clear.

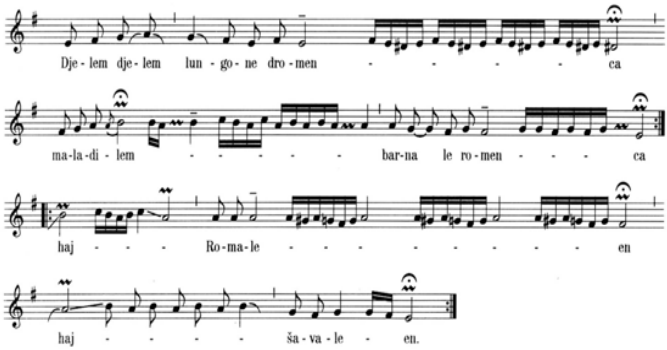

Fig. 3 - Esma Redjepova and Ensemble Teodosievski, rehearsal for Magneten, 1993. Recording and transcription by Ursula Hemetek.

Source: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie.

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OBSTACLES TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF A 'NATIONAL' SYMBOL

In order to be able to judge to what extent this variety of melodies a uniform identity represents, or what sort of identity it represents, one has to investigate how the Roma use the anthem. In this context, it is important how the Roma treat music in relation to that which is 'their own' and that which is 'foreign'. Svanibor Pettan (2001) says something very apt about this that corresponds to my own observations:

> Dispersed all over the world, having no nation-state of their own, and even lacking a strong sense of belonging to a national (Gypsy) body, Gypsies seem to personify conditions that are as far as possible removed from conditions a (conservative) folk music researcher would wish for his or her own ethnic group. Gypsy musicians do not perform one "Gypsy folk music" and even do not necessarily distinguish between own and adopted music. Neither the origin of tunes is relevant, nor their 'Gypsyness', but their aesthetic or market values. (Pettan 2001: 132)

In the practice of their music, the Roma thus elude the production of nationality through music in its normal form. The Romani anthem is therefore performed in such a way as the style of the musicians' demands, or depending on what they think will suit their audience. In spite of this, it does get played but in many contexts it is probably simply a piece of music which fits the audience and which can be used.

The history of its origin also speaks for the hypothesis of a certain amount of coincidence: In 1971 the first Roma World Conference took place in London with participants from all over the world, but predominantly from Europe. The President came from former Yugoslavia. This was probably why it was decided to use a traditional melody from his country of origin as an anthem. The lyrics are said to have been written by a certain Mr Jovanović. Apart from the first verse this original version is unfamiliar to me. However, it might not have been the same as the way I heard it in Vienna because in that case it just continued with the lyrics of a love song (see fig. 1).

At the beginning there was a desire to have a common 'national' symbol, simply because there are also such symbols in the world of the Gaže (the non-Roma). Subsequently, a carefree and extremely creative way of dealing with this 'national symbol' developed.

In Austria, this melody for the five main groups of the Roma only became important with the beginning of the political movement, and was introduced by Roma from the former Yugoslavia.

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	SINTI	BGLD.-ROMA	LOVARA	KALDERAŠ	ARLIJE
Emigrationsland	*S-Deutschland Tschechien*	*Ungarn*	*Ungarn Slowakei*	*Serbien*	*Mazedonien Kosovo*
Immigrationszeit	*um 1900*	*ab 15. Jhdt.*	*2.Hlfte 19. Jhdt. 1956*	*ab 1960er*	*ab 1960er*
Siedlungsraum	*primär Städte*	*Burgenland (oöst. Städte)*	*primär Raum Wien*	*Raum Wien*	*Raum Wien*

Fig. 4 – From Halwachs 1999: 125.

The following table shows the land of origin, settlement areas and time of settlement, but makes no claim to be exhaustive and should only provide an orientation. Comments can be found i.a. in Halwachs 1999 or Hemetek 2001.

The Burgenland Roma did not know the anthem previously but have recorded a pop version of it in the meantime (Rath 1999).

The Lovara have made a version that is centred on the lyrics (see above), and previously they did not like the melody. Now, however, it regularly appears among the songs performed by Ruža Nikolić-Lakatos, for example, who even called her latest CD after it (*Gelem, gelem*, Nikolić-Lakatos 2001).

As far as I know, the Sinti have not reacted in musical terms, at least not in Austria.

The Roma from the former Yugoslavia were those who brought the melody to Austria with them, but here its use as a 'national symbol' is also only taken half-seriously. In spite of this the anthem has become an ethnic symbol that is necessary in a struggle for political recognition in the world of the Gaže.

It is also undoubtedly useful as proof of a common identity. It is an obeisance to the way of thinking of the Gaže, and can always be brought out when 'national' symbols are needed.

This is made very clear by an example from 1994. It is the final scene from André Heller's *Magneten* (a Roma music show which brought Romani styles from throughout the world onto the stage). At the end, Esma Redjepova sings the Roma anthem *Gelem, gelem* together with all of the protagonists of the show. They celebrate what they have in common, 'national' unity. According to the stage concept, the respective groups were to appear one after the other, and would then stay on the stage and interact with each other musically or in dance. The anthem at the end should then represent the climax of their unity, because otherwise it was diversity that provided the focus of the show.

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Fig. 5 – The final scene from Magneten**.**
Source: The Magneten programme 1994.

I am sure that Esma appreciates the anthem as a good piece of music. I am, however, not so sure that she sees it as a national symbol. André Heller, the director, certainly did, which is why he directed the finale in that way.

I have often heard the Romani anthem, in many different contexts and versions. Roma have never stood up or put their hands on their heart on those occasions, or developed the sort of solemnity and emotionality that is often attached to national symbols. Mozes Heinschink and I, two Gaže who identify with the Roma movement, did it once for fun at a Roma event, which led to laughs all round.

If there is any attempt at all to conjure up a feeling of nationhood, then it is always accompanied by a nod and a wink. This can be explained by the reasons given, and it makes the Romani anthem that much more likeable.

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Martin Greve

MUSIC IN THE EUROPEAN- TURKISH DIASPORA

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of 'Turkish music' has existed in Turkey for approximately 100 years and yet still no agreement exists as to exactly which kind of music it covers. In fact examples of various styles of 'European music' exist in Turkey as a variety of 'Turkish music' does exist in Europe. With regards to the social or political implications of the idea of 'Turkish music in Europe' there are several problems. First of all, there are only a few examples of reliable data concerning the number of 'Turks' living in Europe. According to the Independent Commission on Turkey of the European Community, approximately 3,8 million Turkish citizens live in Europe.[1] However, these statistics do not include the many naturalised people of Turkish origin or/ and their children and grandchildren who may only have one Turkish (or naturalised) parent. Three quarters of European Turks live in German-speaking countries with the majority living in Germany itself. Although in Germany Turkish migrants occupy a central role in public and migration discourses, they do not hold the same social and political position in other European countries such as the Netherlands, France and Great Britain.[2]

Most of the existing musicological research concerning the music of the Turkish diaspora is engaging with the situation in Germany (Wurm

1 Persons born in Turkey and/or those with Turkish nationality in 2001: Germany (2,6 million), France (370 000), Netherlands (270 000), Austria (200 000), Belgium (110 000), Denmark (53 000), UK (70 000), Sweden (37 000), rest of EU: 20 000 (Independent Commission on Turkey 2004). The Turkish population of Switzerland was about 74 000 in 2006 (Perchinig 2007).

2 Outside the scope of this article but also worthy of mention are the nominal Turkish minorities which exist in the USA, Canada, Australia as well as in some Arabic and Central Asian countries (de Tapia 1995, Unbehaun 1995).

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2006; Greve 2003; Uysal 2001; Öztürk 2001; Kaya 2000; Schedtler 1999: 125–136; Reinhard 1987; Baumann 1985; Anhegger 1982) and Austria (Netzer 1995). As for other European countries, only a few case studies have been published (Kalyon 2005; Lundberg 1994; Hammarlund 1993) though further research does exist on the Turkish diaspora of North America (Hall 1982) and Australia (Marett 1987). The first international conference about music in the Turkish diaspora took place in Vienna in 2007 (Hemetek and Sağlam 2008). In general, our understanding of the European Turkish diasporic music scenes is still limited; all we know is of the existence of a broad diversity. Unfortunately, reliable figures about the musical preferences or practices of European Turks do not exist for any country.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first emigrants left the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. Most of them were ethnically not Turkish and the majority of them had North America as their intended destination (Karpat 1995). Persecutions and massacres led to a mass exodus of Ottoman Armenians and this initally occured in the 1880s and again in 1915–16. From 1893 onwards an Ottoman Armenian music scene was very active in Chicago and New York (Rasmussen 1992) and at around this same period there were also Ottoman Armenian communities emerging in European cities such as Leipzig, Berlin and Zurich. During this time Ottoman Jews, Armenians and Greeks developed increasingly close relations with Europe. Members of the Ottoman high society started traveling regulary to France and in particular to Paris.

In the late 19th century students from Turkey started to enrol in European universities, including many who would later be influential in Turkey. Among these was, for instance, Saffet Bey [Atabinen] (1858–1939) who lived in Paris in 1876. In 1908, Saffet Bey became the conductor of the court orchestra *(mızıkay-ı hümâyûn)*. Another example is the musician Musa Süreyya Bey (1884–1932) who studied in Berlin at the dawn of World War I and later became the director of the Istanbul Conservatoire.

Following the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the newly-formed government started sending young musicians to study in European cities such as Paris, Vienna, Prague or Berlin. In 1935, the German composer Paul Hindemith was officially invited as an advisor to build up a Western musical scene in Turkey and sent German musicians such as Eduard Zuckmayer and Ernst Praetorius to Ankara. A couple of years later, refugees from Nazi Germany became music teachers in Istanbul and Ankara (Neumark 1980) and up until the 1950s German musicians remained influential in the Western music life of Turkey. Consequently, and until

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the 1960s, this exchange encouraged many young Turkish music students to begin or continue their studies in the homelands of their teachers. Today we can observe that many Western oriented Turkish musicians have a wide range of international experiences.

Another group of migrants were Jews, who left Turkey during the 20th century for the United States, South America, and from 1948 on for Israel (Cohen 1999; Seroussi 1989).

The 1960s marked out a new era of Turkish emigration to Europe. Several factors necessitated a new type of migration: strong economic growth in Europe, the massive loss of Europe's male population during World War II, and finally the Cold War, that blocked access to countries in Eastern Europe which had traditionally supplied workers. Many central European states began to recruit workers from Southern European states including Italy, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Spain. At this point in time, Turkey was feeling the effects of a weak economy and high unemployment rates. This led to recruitment agreements with Germany and the United Kingdom (1961), Austria (1964), the Netherlands (1964), Belgium (1964), France (1966), Sweden and Australia (1967), Switzerland (1971), Denmark (1973) and Norway (1981) (Perchinig 2008). The majority of the so-called 'guest workers' came from rural Anatolia, although many of them had lived in various Turkish cities before their departure to Europe. For many migrant workers of this era, the experience of poverty, devastating housing and working conditions and the feeling of alienation were a fixture of everday life. In these first years in particular many Turkish workers aimed to save as much money as possible to put aside for a later return to Turkey or to send to their family members who had remained in Turkey.

In the early 1970s, most European countries stopped the recruitment of Turkish workers (Germany in 1973). After these developments, another wave of Turkish migration began, to countries such as Libya und Saudi Arabia, Iraq (between 1981 and 1990) and from the 1990s onwards to the countries of the Commonwealth Independent States (Unbehaun 1995).

In some European countries, Turkish workers who suspected that the legal possibility of family unification might soon be stopped, called their families to follow them. From the 1970s onwards, a European Turkish family culture began to develop with slightly better housing conditions and the establishment of self-entrepreneurial activities. The first Döner Kebab take-away shops, Turkish grocery shops and small handicraft enterprises emerged. In the 1970s, a Turkish entertainment market developed with music restaurants and *gazinos* [music nightclubs]. At the beginning, amateurs played and sang folk music for the guests but as the years passed semi-professional and professional musicians took over these jobs. Professional commercial musicians were also in high demand for Turkish weddings, which began

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to be celebrated regularly from the 1970s onwards in European countries. Many Turkish migrant associations founded at this time offered lessons in folk dance or the *bağlama* (a long-necked lute, sometimes also referred to as *saz,* literally 'instrument'). A few schools, music schools and social projects in Germany and the Netherlands (among other countries) started to offer these classes. European-Turkish life became more and more diversified. While in the 1960s, almost all Turks in Western Europe had been unskilled workers, from the 1990s onwards this situation changed significantly. Since then, European-Turks have occupied almost all professions and social strata.

Initially, most of the 'guest workers' had came to Europe with the idea of returning to Turkey after some years. However, only some of them put this plan into practice and others postponed their return again and again or gave up completely on this idea.

Thus, while in Europe this period was perceived as a transition, a longing for a glorified past in Turkey began simultaneously. At the end of the 1960s, the longing for a faraway 'home' found its expression in *Arabesk*, a new hybrid music style with sentimental and fatalistic lyrics that combined Anatolian folk music with Western, Turkish and Libanese pop (Güngör 1990; Stokes 1992). *Arabesk* as a new musical genre emerged in Turkey alongside increasing migration to the major cities. Amongst European-Turks, it became the most popular music style, thanks to the introduction of music tapes that had made recorded music affordable for the poor sections of the population.

Concurrently with the migration of factory workers to Germany, Turkish musicians also came to Europe and they were highly interested in building up co-operations with the European music scenes. Paris, in particular, became a starting point for international careers such as it is the case for the singers Tülay German (since 1966) and Timur Selçuk (1964–1975), the rock group *Moğollar* (late 1960s), the *ney* (end-blown-flute) player Kudsi Ergüner (since 1975) and the bağlama-player Talip Özkan (since 1977). During the 1970s, the Turkish rock singer Erkin Koray moved around various European countries. After the military coup in Turkey in September 1980, a number of intellectuals and artists escaped to European countries, especially to Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. Amongst these were Selda Bağcan, Melike Demirağ, Sanar Yurdatapan, Fuat Saka, Sümeyra, Nizamettin Arıç, Karaca, Şivan Perwer and Zülfü Livaneli. Some of these refugees returned to Turkey after the political situation changed for the better, such as for instance Cem Karaca, Melike Demirağ, Sanar Yurdatapan and Livaneli. Others such as Sümeyra, Fuat Saka or Şiwan Perwer stayed in their new home countries.

Since the 1980s, the size of the Turkish population in Europe has remained more or less constant, with a gradual increase due to a birth surplus.

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Today the structure of the Turkish population is not the same in all European countries. In countries such as Germany, Austria or the Netherlands, second-generation Turks are the dominant group. However, in Switzerland or Sweden there is a much higher percentage of Kurdish and Turkish refugees. In the United Kingdom, most of the Turks originate from Cyprus and have a completely different migration history (Coggins 1995). At this moment in time, there are still complex migration movements going on. Refugees, guest students and their spouses come from Turkey to Western Europe, whilst retired workers of the first generation or people with a high level of education and the second generation move to Turkey or to other countries.

3. TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Transnational connections between European countries and Turkey are much more developed today than in the early period of Turkish mass migration to Europe. Travelling has become cheap and easy, although flight prices to Turkey differ widely between European countries and cities. Whereas flights from Germany are quite cheap, in particular outside the holiday season, flights from France, the Netherlands or Great Britain are more expensive.

Since the 1970s, a major part of the European Turkish population has spent the summer holidays in Turkey to enjoy the beach and meet relatives and friends. Conversely, Turkey-based businessmen, politicians or musicians regularly visit Europe, for hours, days or even weeks at a time. Intensive contacts between families usually maintained by regular phone calls or Internet chats. Today, almost every Anatolian village is connected to the telephone lines. Family celebrations such as weddings, funerals or circumcisions and also private business matters lead to frequent travel between Europe and Turkey. European Turkish pensioners often live in two countries, spending six months in one home and six months at their other home.

A similar form of travelling can be observed with regards to the production of music CDs. Studio musicians come from Turkey to Europe or singers and groups fly to Istanbul to record. Moreover, various Turkey based musicians, doing all sorts of music, come regularly to Germany for gigs or concerts. For young musicians in Turkey, it has become, in recent years, also more and more usual and normal to spend some time in Germany or another European country. At the same time, Turkish-European associations and businessmen regularly invite musicians from Turkey. Many popular singers in Turkey have, in the past, worked for a long time in music restaurants in

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Germany, e.g. Mahsun Kırmızıgül and Özcan Deniz in Berlin, or Ceylan in Munich.

Many first generation migrants invest their money in houses or apartments in Turkey (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1992), while in their European homes photos, posters or religious symbols document their connection to Turkey.

The Turkish media enforces these transnational connections. Turkish newspapers such as *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Zaman* or *Türkiye* dominate the influencing of public Turkish opinion-making in Europe. Many younger European-Turks of the second generation however prefer newspapers in German, Dutch, French, etc.

The Turkish newspapers available in Europe are similar to those in Turkey; they are just shorter and include added pages with news and advertisements from Europe.

Since the early 1990s, television has become the most important factor for the formation of a Turkish diaspora, influential in particular for the development of music. *TRT-INT* (run by the Turkish state) has become available on many European cable networks, and from 1993 on, the deregulation of the Turkish TV market and the spread of TV satellites has opened further possibilities for Turkish TV programmes. Today there are more than a hundred Turkish TV channels available in Europe (Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung 2005), including several *TRT* channels, private commercial programmes, music channels (such as *Kral TV*), channels from special Anatolian regions (like *Karadeniz TV* from the Black Sea coast) or religious channels. Some of the bigger channels have studios in Germany; a few are even completely produced in Germany (*TD 1* in Berlin, *Kanal Avrupa* in Duisburg, *Düzgün TV* in Lünen). A unique case in the TV-landscape is the Kurdish *Roj TV*, intitially broadcasting under the name *Med TV* from Belgium, later officially from Denmark (Hassanpour 1997: 246). In co-operation with the 'Kurdish Academy' in Neuss (Germany), Roj TV produces many live or pre-recorded concerts and music talkshows with Kurdish musicians.

Turkish radio programmes can be received in Europe via satellite, but they are much less popular. Europe-based radio stations that do exist are *Metropol FM* (Berlin) or *Londra Türk Radyosu* (London; O'Connell 2008).

Most striking in Turkish-European music life is the overwhelming production of CDs (and earlier MCs). Many European Turkish amateur musicians spend thousands of euros to produce CDs, believing that this plan will help them achieve their dream of becoming famous. Their primary aim is to become successful in Turkey, which will lead to performances on Turkish TV programmes. Only at a later point in time, so the common

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belief is, can concerts be of any serious financial benefit. The selling of CDs itself is much less lucrative. Of course there are only very few European-Turkish musicians who are actually successful with this approach, such as for instance Özlem Özdil or the group Yurtseven Kardeşler (Germany). By far most of these CDs contain Anatolian folk music, whereas pop is of minor importance. CDs with Arabesk or Turkish art music are rare exceptions. Many recordings are made in Europe as Turkish Studios exist in many European cities. Music managers select and arrange the songs and organise guest musicians. Production and distribution is usually based in Turkey due to its higher prestige. For the Turkish music industry the productions of European-Turkish musicians are an important source of income. Unfortunately, many inexperienced amateur musicians lose a lot of money in this process and are left with nothing but a bad experience, plus some copies of their own CD which, of course, nobody ever buys.

Over four decades, Turkey has thus remained an important point of reference. At the *Eurovision Song Contest*, for instance, candidates from Turkey regularly receive high marks from countries with a large Turkish population (Solomon 2007). The official Turkish holidays are also celebrated in Europe, such as April 23rd (children's day), which in Berlin is celebrated with two competing street festivals. Less successful is the so-called Türk günü [Turkish day] in Berlin, a street festival organised yearly (since 2002) like its American model on the prestigious *Straße des 17. Juni* (Klebe 2008). Similar events take place in Odense, South Denmark (Odense Türk Günü) and Zurich (Türk Günü). Formally, many European-Turks are still connected to Turkey by their Turkish citizenship. Embassies are responsible for all issues of passport, wedding, military service and other documents. The biggest Islamic organisation in Europe, DITIB, is associated to the embassies as well as with the state office for religion in Turkey (Diyanet).

In musical affairs, however, the Turkish state remains almost inactive with the exception of some small cultural centres (Türk Kültür Merkezi, Türk Evi) which are affilliated with the Turkish consulates.

The earlier-mentioned extension of transnational connections has changed the attitude of European Turks towards Turkey. The first generation used to compare their daily lives in Europe with an idealised picture of Turkey as it was when they left. In European-Turkish music life this attitude still prevails: Instruments, even strings, are not considered as good when they have not been bought directly in Turkey. Since the 1980s, the nostalgic longing for a lost home has become more and more obsolete. New developments in Turkey concerning ideological and political debates as well as changes in the language immediately lead to similar developments within the European-Turkish diaspora. Similarly, new musical styles, instruments or

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songs are instantly adopted in the diaspora. During the 1980s, for example, musicians based in Turkey, such as Arif Sağ, and the group *Muhabbet* contributed substantially to the popularity of the short-necked variant of the traditionally long-necked lute bağlama – and soon young Turkish musicians in Europe also prefered this type of instrument. Later, musicians such as Arif Sağ, Erdal Erzincan or Erol Parlak developed the new – or renewed – technique of tapping (the so-called *Şelpe* technique) and, again, most Europe-based bağlama players tried to learn it as soon as possible.

Another example is the governmental encouragment of a new style of art music under the name 'Classical Turkish Music' [klasik türk müziği] in Turkey in the 1980s, which led to the formation of similar Turkish choirs in many European cities. Most of the first choir leaders were autodidacts and it was then that a first academic programme in Turkish art music came into existence in Istanbul. Subsequently, music graduates from Turkey have come to Europe – most of them by marriage – and improved the general musical level of this musical tradition. However, the members of these choirs, as well as those of folk music choirs, remain amateur groups. They make music without any prior knowledge of Turkish music traditions. Some choirs are attached to associations, culture centres or consulates, while others just meet privately.

On the other hand, it would be misleading to think of one coherent Turkish diaspora. In fact, a great number of transnational networks have emerged. Economical, religious, ideological, political, ethnic, regional or personal networks of different types: Families, friends, companies or several types of organisations.

Kurdish nationalism, for instance, grew in the 1980s, both in Turkey and in Europe. In particular, the developement of a new Kurdish culture and its influence on the European diaspora can hardly be overestimated. Many excellent Kurdish musicians, such as Şivan Perwer, Nizamettin Arıç, Ciwan Haco, Naso Rezazi, Temo or Yılmaz Çelik live in Europe (Skalla and Amiri 1999: 378–384). In the 1980s, most cassettes of Kurdish music were produced in Germany and secretly distributed in Turkey. Just after 1991, when the ban on the Kurdish language in Turkey was lifted, most Kurdish music productions moved to Istanbul.

For live music, in particular, Alevi associations have become increasingly influencial. In Alevism, a heterodox Islamic confession from Anatolia (Kehl-Bodrogi 1992: 7), music is an important element, both in ceremonies and for the transmission of religious knowledge. Most European Alevi associations offer bağlama lessons and some also have folk music choirs or dance groups. Alevi centres and festivals are networking opportunities for musicians, music managers or organisers. In 2000, the German federation of Alevi

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associations organised the *Saga of the Millenium* in Cologne, a monumental event with 1 246 young bağlama players from all over Germany.

Orthodox Islamic identity discourse also has an impact on music products, such as for instance the so-called 'Green Pop' genre, with its current star Yusuf Sami (London) or hip-hop groups such as *Sert Müslümanlar* [Hard Muslims; Frankfurt a. M.] (Solomon 2006).

4. INSIDE EUROPE

The integration of Turkish musicians in Europe differs widely, but actually less between countries than between musical styles. Historically, the first musicians from Turkey in Europe practised Western classical music. This exchange has continued to the present day, and many students come from Turkey to Europe (or to the USA) to study the piano, the violin, opera singing or composition. Such Western-oriented musicians usually do not face any problems integrating into the European music life. They play in orchestras, teach or study just like any other Western musician.

It is a completely different situation for 'traditional' musicians, those who play either Anatolian folk music or Ottoman Turkish art music. There is no public institutional financial support of any kind for these types of music in European countries. There are no publicly financed state ensemble or officially accepted education programmes. Only a few German and Dutch municipal music schools offer bağlama lessons and even fewer offer Turkish percussion lessons. Generally, Turkish migrants are primarily perceived as a social problem by the white, Christian European majority. European-Turkish culture is rarely seen in terms of a cultural enrichment. Many music projects run by non-Turks are mainly sociocultural and not professionally musical. Since the 1970s, for example, Turkish dance groups have regulary performed at German street festivals. This kind of sociocultural, yet artistically rather modest, presentation has shaped the white European perception of Turkish culture for decades.

As a reaction to this exclusion from musical institutions, Turkish musicians have opened several private and exclusively Turkish music schools in many European cities since the 1990s, especially in Germany. In Berlin alone there are seven private Turkish music schools. There is also one in Amsterdam and a smaller one in London.

Recent fears concerning Islamist terror has changed the attitudes of many white Christian Europeans, raising an awareness that there is too little knowledge about Muslim minorities, their daily lives and also about their music styles. In Germany and the Netherlands in particular, a growing debate seems to slowly change the public musical life, allowing

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Turkish musicians to also enter this sphere (Greve 2008). In 2000, the well-established German youth music competition *Jugend Musiziert* started in Berlin with a regular annual competition of bağlama at a regional level; the federal state of North Rhine-Westfalia followed four years later. From 2005 to the end of 2008, North Rhine-Westfalia supported bağlama courses in municipal music schools within the framework of the project *Bağlama Für Alle* [Bağlama for Everyone].

Some music academies are seemingly opening up more and more. One of the leading institutions is the *World Music Academy*, which is part of the municipal conservatoire in Rotterdam (Codarts). In 2000, and for the first time outside of Turkey, a regular study programme for Turkish music was initiated. Talip Özkan (Paris) was its first musical director. The basic courses of the programme were held by lecturers from Rotterdam, in particular by Nahim Avcı. After internal difficulties, the programme restarted in 2006 with Kemal Dinç (Cologne), Alper Kekeç (Amsterdam) and recently Kudsi Ergüner (Paris). In Germany several universities and music academies are now discussing the importance of such programmes to improve intercultural skills.

At the Berlin *Universität der Künste, UdK* [University of the Arts] regular courses on Turkish music have been held since 2000 by the private music school *Konservatorium für Türkische Musik* Berlin [Conservatoire for Turkish Music]. In return, the UdK provides courses in Western music theory at the Music Academy for Turkish Music. At the *École Nationale de Musique de Villeurbanne* (Lyon), Marc Loopuyt offers a programme for the short-necked lute *ud* combining Turkish and Arabic art musics.

Concurrently to these developments, European concert promoters have tried to draw Turkish and non-Turkish audiences to Turkish music. The Amsterdam-based agency Kulsan has organised ambitious Turkish concerts at all of the main concert halls in Holland over the past 20 years. Their office is situated today in the prestigious *Muziekgebouw aan't IJ*. In Germany, an increasing number of festivals, which include Turkish music are taking place with official financial support, such as in Berlin in 1998. As from 2001, a festival has taken place in Munich annually. Similar events were held in 2003 at the Kemnade (near Bochum), 2004 in Karlsruhe and 2005 in Bochum (Hoffmann 2007). In 2004, the London-based management company Harrison & Parrot organised the festival *Şimdi Now* in Berlin in cooperation with the Istanbul Culture and Art Foundation. Taking place just before to the EU decision-making process concerning Turkey's official candidate status within the EU, the event had the character of a European application.

In 2005 a similar, but smaller festival *Şimdi Stuttgart* took place in Southern Germany. In 2006 and 2008, *Turkey Now* was held in Amsterdam

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and Rotterdam. In 2009, it will again take place, this time in Vienna. In 2007, Berlin witnessed two concert series almost simultaneously: *Alla Turca – a Cultural Dialogue* at the *Berlin Philharmonic*, and *Sound Culture* by the *Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Berlin* [Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra], which were held in cooperation with the above-mentioned private *Conservatoire for Turkish Music Berlin*. It was the first time that Turkish concerts had been organised by these important institutions and took place in the most respectable concert halls of Berlin. In the federal state of North Rhine-Westfalia, there has been a similar development since the beginning of the run-up to the *European Cultural Capital Essen 2010*. Essen and the Ruhr area explicitly emphasised, for their application, the national and ethnic diversity of the region, which might have contributed substantially to its success.

Cross-cultural musical encounters have been witnessed since the 1980s and have fallen mainly within the frame of 'world music'. Most non-Turkish musicians in this field are not only interested in Turkish music, as for them Turkish music is generally speaking just one style among others, such as for example Arab, Indian or Persian music.

Two technical problems constrain these musical co-operations. Firstly, language: Both Anatolian folk music and Ottoman Turkish art music are primarily vocal music. Turkish is very different to Indo-European languages and difficult to learn, which means that non-Turkish musicians are often forced to remain in the background, only accompanying Turkish singers. The second challenge is the different tone system, which makes exact intonation for non-Turks very difficult. Most cross-cultural ensembles are thus forced to play in tempered tuning.

Moreover, only a few European-Turkish musicians are active in world music and many are actually percussionists. Their experience with the typical asymmetric Anatolian aksak-rhythms gives them a particular competence, which turns out to be highly interesting for European musicians. Once they are part of the world music scene, many Turkish percussionists learn to play other non-Western percussion instruments such as the *conga*, *djembe* or *berimbao*. Most successful in this field are artists such as Okay Temiz in Sweden and Burhan Öçal in Zurich.

One of the most exceptional Turkish musicians is the ney [flute] player Kudsi Ergüner. Born into a respected Turkish Sufi family and having grown up with Ottoman music, he went to Paris as a young man in 1975. When he arrived in the city he soon discovered that many Europeans are fond of Sufi culture and music. Kudsi Ergüner gave concerts all over Europe and America and released up to 90 recordings, in particular for French labels *al sur*, *Inedit – Maison des Cultures du Monde*, *Arion* and *Ocora* (Ergüner 2000; Greve 2003: 395). Due to his extensive teaching activities, a European-wide

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ney scene emerged, that is today connected via the Internet. Noteworthy are the regular ney courses in Venice and Vicenza organised by Ergüner's student Giovanni De Zorzi (De Zorzi 2008). The students are Italians, many of them former saxophone and transverse flute players.

Most Europeans' encounters with Anatolian or Ottoman music are at least initially influenced by the still-existing expectation of an impassionate, irrational and mysterious 'Orient'. The best prospects for success in Europe lie in the hands of those Turkish musicians who meet these orientalist expectations. In Germany alone, there are three German-language journals for belly dance and most belly dancers are also Germans.

Until the early 1990s, most Turkish Sufi music was produced in Europe and not in Turkey. Still today European world music shops sell Islamic music in particular. Whereas Turkish shops in Europe sell this music as one style in its own right (even of minor importance) among many others. Similarly, concerts of Sufi music raise much more interest among European audiences than even the most famous Turkish folk music singers. This also explains why many cross-cultural oriented European musicians have concentrated on Sufi music.

Many European Turkish musicians, particularly those of the second generation, are familiar with European 'Orientalism'. Some Turkish presenters in Germany try to meet these expectations with their names, e.g. *Dervish Kulturmanagement* (Bochum) or *Oriental Media Network* (Berlin). Besides, many music groups or solo musicians that are trying to attract a non-Turkish audience consider themselves more or less ironically as 'oriental', such as the groups *Orient Express*, *Orient Connection* or *Orientation* (all Berlin). Whole styles have even picked up the term, such as 'orient rock' in Berlin (in the 1980s) or 'oriental hip-hop', which emerged ten years later. Similarly other keywords are sometimes used, such as *Fata Morgana*, the name of another group from Berlin. Another example is *Sultan*, a management company for Turkish pop music. A Swedish group playing 'ethnopop' has the name *Urban Turban*. The advert for the intercultural festival *Kemnade* (Bochum, Germany) in 2001, for instance, showed the picture of a Mevlevi dervish in front of a pink background. However, the most successful world music artist with regards to this particular ironic play with 'oriental' images is the ney player and DJ Mercan Dede from Canada.

The efforts for the establishment of an international market, for Turkish pop music in particular, have become important for a musical European-Turkish exchange. As early as the 1990s a new pop culture developed in Turkey, that soon spilled over to the European Turkish diapora. At that time in Europe, most of the first Turkish clubs were situated downtown and far away from the social control of neighbours and relatives in Turkish neigbourhoods, thus also stressing the social rise of the former migrants

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(Çaglar 1998: 49). Furthermore, many of the new pop stars from Turkey had grown up as children of Turkish working class migrants in Europe: Bendeniz in Switzerland, Ragga Oktay in the Netherlands, Tarkan, Rafet El Roman and Candan Erçetin in Germany.

During the second half of the 1990s some major international record companies tried to open up the international market by selling samplers with Turkish pop music. Concurrently, Turkish labels attempted to get access to the international market, often through the intermediation of European Turkish managers who were working for international labels. The main problem concerning the fusion of the European and the Turkish markets is, however, the very different price levels.

One of the few internationally-acclaimed Turkish pop artists is Tarkan. His record *Tarkan*, which was released in 1998 for the international market in particular, reached the top of the charts all over Europe. In 2003, the Turkish singer Sertab Erener won the *Eurovision Song Contest* with her song in English *Everyway That I Can* (Solomon 2007).

At the same time, several European-Turkish musicians have succeeded in the European pop business: Mousse T. (Mustafa Gündoğdu), living in Hannover (Germany), was nominated for a Grammy as the best remixer in 1998, and two years later his song *Sex Bomb*, sung by Tom Jones, became an international hit. In 1999, the German Turkish group *Sürpriz* represented Germany at the *Eurovision Song Contest*.

The film *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul* by Fatih Akın (Hamburg, Germany), produced in 2005 directly after his prizewinning film *Gegen die Wand* [Head On], made Istanbul widely known as a cutting edge centre for rock and hip-hop.

In fact, the adaptation of hip-hop shows in exemplary for the change of identity discourse amongst youngsters with a migration background who have turned away (and still are) from any form of national identity in favour of a European or global identity. At the end of the 1980s, this still new cultural form attracted the attention of youngsters from the second generation of migrants. For them, hip-hop had no national connotation, neither German, Dutch, Swiss, Turkish, Arab or Italian. Hip-hop was completely unknown in Turkey at that time. Making music as a rapper does not necessarily involve buying expensive instruments and having a musical education. Multiracial migrant hip-hop crews emerged, whose members identified with U.S. African-Americans. For many of these young people, hip-hop was an African-American musical expression and they found similarities to their own position within European society. Music symbolised the articulation of the discriminated voice of migrants for them. Furthermore, freestyle gave the opportunity for playful internal competitions relating to virility and group hierarchy, which were also

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typical rituals within Turkish youth gangs (Elflein 1997). One of the very first recorded rap songs in German, *Ahmet Gündüz*, was written by the Turkish rap crew Fresh Family and told the story of a working class Turk in Germany (Verlan and Loh 2000: 134).

It was at this time that a considerable European-Turkish rap scene developed in Germany. The first rap song in Turkish was released in 1991 on the debut LP of the German Nuremberg-based group *King Size Terror*, entitled *Bir Yabancının Hayati* [The Life of a Foreigner], (Elflein 1997: 289). Four years later, the hip-hop formation *Cartel* with MCs from Nuremberg, Kiel and Berlin attracted the attention of almost all the main German media, which was followed by completely unexpected success in Turkey. During the subsequent hype of the so-called 'oriental hip-hop' in Germany, the female rapper Aziza A. (from Berlin) became particularly well-known. She performed among others at the Hannover Expo 2000 in the German pavillion representing Germany.

Today, the hip-hop scenes in Germany and Turkey (mainly in Istanbul) are closely linked to each other. Aziza A., for instance, travels regularly between Berlin and Istanbul. The most popular rapper in Turkey is at present Ceza who, in 2008, came to Germany for several months and collaborated with German-based artists in Berlin.

Another very well-known Turkish German rapper is Kool Savas, whose raps have marked out a new development in German hip-hop. Rapping in German, he is generally not perceived as a Turk by the German mainstream, but is considered merely as a pop star from Germany. In fact, hip-hop has become common in Germany (like in many other European countries), with an infinite number of record labels and styles, and many active rappers come from migrant families.

Whilst transnational connections are continuously growing and all traditional identities and musics coexist simultaneously in Europe today, we can also observe that there is an increasing disintegration of the Turkish diaspora. Many young Europeans with Turkish parents or grandparents refuse to be called Turks or migrants and consider themselves as Europeans. A similar self-definition can be found amongst musicians who are active in all sorts of pop and classical music styles.

In the last few years, the aforementioned self-ironisation and playful self-orientalisation has become a major trend in Europe. In Germany for instance, R'n'Besk has emerged as a new pop music style, a mixture of R'n'B and Arabesk.[3] In addition, many other musicians play with contradictions nowadays: the Kazakh-Turkish Swiss singer Saadet Türköz deconstructs

3 Muhabbet is the most famous R'n'Besk singer in Germany.

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old Anatolian folk songs, together with musicians of the international free improvisation scene. In Rotterdam, composers from Holland, Germany and Turkey discussed the 'Rewriting of Turkish Traditions' in 2007. In a recent project, Kudsi Ergüner interpreted Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* [West-Eastern Divan] in the style of Ottoman art music ... in German.

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Wolfgang Bender

MUSIC FROM AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPE

When writing about the music of African immigrants in Europe, one must first admit that it would be futile to try to provide a complete picture.

It is necessary to offer an advance statement: African musicians and singers have contributed immensely to the musical culture of Europe. Since their first arrival in Europe, be it with the early folkloric show groups at world exhibitions in colonial times, until the beginning of the 21st century, much of it has gone unnoticed, while some of it has become known. A lot remains to be done to fully acknowledge this contribution.

Even if it were possible, there has been no attempt at a complete survey of African music in Europe. Were such a survey to be undertaken, it would only be possible to draw an incomplete picture, or provide certain diverging pictures of the composition of music by African immigrants. Whether they live for a period of their lives or their whole life in Europe, we shall see that the most important difference among the African musicians and singers in Europe is whether they see themselves as part of their host societies, or whether they continue to feel part of the 'original' society which they have left.

Musicians and singers may live in Europe for years and never relate very much to the European public while continuing to be creative despite being away from home. In contrast, others try to open up towards the local population, educating them, or at least trying to please them by detecting their expectations and consequently trying to meet them. These two basic differences allow us to categorise most of the practising artists. Of additional importance are their reasons for having come to Europe in the first place. These depend on historical and political conditions at home and in Europe. For many years – and even up to today – the colonial past was a decisive factor for a positive or negative choice when deciding to migrate to a particular European state.

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THE DISCOURSE OF 'BLACKNESS'

Another initial observation must be made: there are immigrants who are musicians before they arrive in Europe, and there are those who become musicians on their arrival or after.

Some of the contributors to the publication *Musiques Migrantes* by Laurent Aubert from Geneva, Djamchid Chemirani, a musician from Iran, arrived in France in 1961. About his training he remarks: "Né en 1942 à Téhéran, j´ai commencé l´apprentissage du *zarb* dès l´âge de huit ans chez le plus grand maître de cet instrument, Hosein Teherani" (Chemirani 2005: 79).

Musicians like him contribute with their knowledge and their basic training to the enrichment of our culture. A different matter altogether are the migrants, who might already indeed have had an inkling towards music in their own country, but might not really have been professionally active in this field. Others again might not even have been all that interested in musical practice at home, but on their arrival chose music as their means of survival.

As musicians create their own public image according to economic demands, it is not always easy to know the truth of a particular musician's biography. The aim of this article is not to investigate false or adapted CVs but from an academic point of view, the formulation of myths and the creation of images to achieve particular ends are of significant interest. For example, an immigrant who wants to make a living by teaching how to play a *djembe* drum may not voluntarily admit that he never touched that instrument before coming to Germany; he may therefore create a fictitious story of his musical past at home. In this way he will definitely meet the expectations of the German lovers of African music. Moreover, it might even fit the conceptions or images many Germans have of Africans, who supposedly all 'have music in their blood' – which is in fact a racist prejudice and not far from a fascist ideology, in 'blood and soil' terms of Nazi-Germany. This concept proceeds even further: a German person may become a drummer through talent and learning, but an immigrant from Africa is seen somehow as a 'natural carrier of rhythm'. That again is connected to prejudices and expectations toward the 'other'.

Another contributor to *Musiques Migrantes*, Vincent Zanetti, comments on this attitude:

> […] Les enfants africains ne naissent pas avec le sens du rythme; ils ont simplement plus de chance de l´acquérir dès leur plus jeune âge, dans la mesure où ils baignent dans des cultures musicales particulièrement riche en polyrythmies. (Zanetti 2005: 96)

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The next general assertion we must address is the term 'African'. Nowadays, it is a common notion that there is something like 'African' music from north to south or at least south of the Sahara. Anyone opposed to the idea of unity in African music is quickly tagged as somebody who wants to divide Africans: 'divide et impera' in the colonial tradition. This again is an argument one cannot argue against with rational thoughts. My experience is that if you do not acknowledge a common 'Africanness' or even worse, a 'Blackness', you may raise arguments that are quite surprising. Instead of appreciating the variety and the diversity of the African continental cultures, you will be told of a fictitious 'oneness', like the doctrines of the Rastafarian belief system. These and similar reactions seem – from a European point of view – somewhat awkward. According to my personal experiences if you ask an African migrant musician where he or she is from, you might receive an answer, but if you ask where this and that music originates from, the answer will simply be: "it's African". If you insist, you might succeed in getting an answer such as "it's West African". In this case, one gets the impression to have asked something the musician or singer does not know. The appropriation might have only taken place after their arrival in Europe. The answer "African" or "West African" is a truthful reply, insomuch as it is music circulating among Africans or West Africans. In Europe, it has no name, and at home it might not exist in that particular form. It is not a lie after all but the recognition of its missing roots, a music as rootless as the immigrants themselves living in the 'diaspora'. This discourse is not all that easy to practise with immigrants unless there is a strong rapport and enough self-confidence involved.

THE ADAPTATION OF MISTAKES

Quite an amazing phenomenon with immigrant musicians is that they adopt the fallacies of the learned ethnomusicologists, such as the false terms for African musical instruments. For example, the usage of the name for the Shona lamellophone *mbira* for all sorts of other lamellophones throughout the continent is now obsolete. They might appear similar but usually are of a totally different nature, each belonging to its particular musical culture and sound system.

This happens with a number of other musical instruments as well. It also applies to the names a musician may have in a specific culture. The term *griot*, for example, is called *jali* etc., in the Mandingo and related cultures in the Sahel region of West Africa. For a discussion on the usage of the terms griot and jali see Hale (1998).

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In Paris, we may read of a griot from Gabon performing on a given evening. This is most likely to be a musician and singer from Gabon who has heard that in Paris musicians from West Africa are termed griot, although he is not a griot in the strict sense of the word, as the griot in the Mandingo region is part of a specific culture, history, and society. There is a way to find out if he is really a descendent of a griot family, as there are only a few families whose names are known.

Today, not all the offspring of a griot family will become griots. Only those who prove talented receive further education. Today, children are supposed to go to school to receive a modern formal training. This means for the griot student less or no time to learn the knowledge needed to perform functionally and well.

THE DEMANDS OF THE AUDIENCE

There has always been a tendency on the part of European consumers of African music to appreciate acoustic instrumentation as more 'African' than electrically amplified or electronic sound. Again, African immigrant musicians adapt to this preference of the audience, which depends on the size of the African community in the area. In France, in particular in Paris, African musicians and singers have the opportunity to perform in front of an entirely African public (i.e. a regional fixed selection audience, such as an exclusively Cameroonian, Zairian, from the Ivory Coast etc. is therefore not an 'African' public).

Fig. 1 – The singer and bandleader Amakye Dede from Ghana with his band "the Apollo Highkings" at the hall of the Fachhochschule in Frankfurt a. M. 1991.
Photo by Wolfgang Bender

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AFRICANS FOR AFRICANS

In Germany, the situation is somewhat different. The African communities are not as large and not so many orchestras have chosen to live and work here. Therefore, it is more common for orchestras to be invited to tour those places frequented by a specific, local African community. In the 1980s and 1990s, Ghanaians would regularly come to concerts organised by Ghanaians themselves in the *Aula der Fachhochschule in der Nordweststadt* (Frankfurt am Main). All the famous groups performed there one after the other. The German public was not informed, nor would it have attended anyhow, as Ghanaian artists were totally unknown in Germany. I once personally tried to bridge the gap between the Ghanaian community and the Hessen regional public by announcing a concert by the former top star Amakye Dede in a TV weekly cultural announcement programme, the *Kulturkalender* (24th March 1991, Apollo Highkings of Ghana, 2.30) of the *Hessischer Rundfunk, Fernsehen*. However it seems to have had no effect on the constellation of the audience.

This may lead to the conclusion that immigrant communities often occupy a completely separate cultural, musical, and entertainment sphere. They rarely mix, having one goal: To enjoy dancing to the music that they regard as their own, and which they love. In general, this music has no place in Germany's public TV or radio stations. *Radio-Multikulti* in Berlin used to offer a programme of music from all over the world but it was closed down at the end of 2008.

This again is different in France where you have different radio stations playing African music. There is Africa No. 1, an FM station, the main operation of which is in Libreville, Gabon, although there is a Paris studio. There are also radio stations in Britain, which regularly play African music. In Portugal, you have African music on TV and radio, *RTP-Africa*.

WORLD MUSIC SPOTS

This is even more startling if you look at the attendance of African music concerts in the so-called 'world music spots' in Germany, such as the *Brotfabrik* in Frankfurt, the *Raschplatz Pavillion* in Hannover, die *Markthalle* in Hamburg, etc. There you may watch the reverse situation!

The famous Boubacar Traoré from Mali might perform but Malian immigrants will not be there in large numbers. This is a German event for a German public – and the entry price is too costly. Perhaps this is a little bit different in Britain and France where more middle class Africans can afford to pay expensive entrance fees.

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The Eritreans as well as the Ethiopians often host their own stars to full houses with people coming to a Frankfurt suburb from as far as Stuttgart or Kassel, a journey of hundreds of kilometres. Hardly any Europeans or Germans are present.

The German audience is hardly interested in Ethiopian or Eritrean music. Therefore, the people from these countries meet among themselves on these occasions. I went to one of the regular events of Aster Aweke, a well-known United States-based Ethiopian singer. No other European guests were present; nor is it likely that there were guests from other parts of Africa.

Fig. 2 – Maio Coope from Guinea Bissao performs together with diverse musicians at all sorts of events in Portugal and all over Europe. In Lisbon he had a small gig at a support organisation in 2007. Here the poster inviting for the evening.

Photo by Wolfgang Bender

Fig. 3 – The singer Cesaria Evora from the Cape Verdian islands is announced here on posters in Lisbon in 1999. The posters were put up on purpose across the multi-story market building, highly frequented by African migrants.

Photo by Wolfgang Bender

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In Lisbon however, the situation is slightly different. For example, a group such as Maio Coope & Co. from Guinea Bissao gave a performance on 10th October 2005 at the premises of *Solidariedade Imigrante* [assistance office]. Who was present? The musicians brought a few old friends, themselves musicians, and a few Portuguese NGO staff. Mozambique students from one of the Lisbon universities performed in a club along the Tejo. Who was present then? Only other students from Lisbon of mixed colour.

In Lisbon there are also clubs such as the 'En-clave' formerly from Bana, but currently run by Tito Paris from the Cape Verde islands. There, people from all cultural and ethnic backgrounds mix. Recently a 'Casa da Morna' opened. Tito Paris does steer it towards an international audience.

AFRICAN EXILE MUSICIANS AND THEIR AUDIENCES

African musicians and singers in exile usually have a different public to themselves, showing a different picture of their 'country of origin', to use that phrase from the 'immigration card' of so many African countries.

When Fela Anikulapo-Kuti came to Germany for the first time to perform at the Berlin Jazz Festival in 1978 at the most prestigious hall available then, the *Berlin Philharmonic*, he spiced up his performance with a lot of necessary political background information, much to the dislike of the ignorant majority of the audience, a purist jazz crowd, who did not expect to be taught in a pedantic fashion. Somebody shouted, "We don't want politics, we want music!" – to Fela Kuti, who in a unique way fused politics with music, as politics was essential to his music!

Later on the same evening, in the *Quartier Latin*, the famous exile orchestra from Guinea (Conakry), Africa Djolé, then residing in Holland, gave a performance of their Mandingo jazz construct to a mesmerised public.

Fodé Youla and his men (Fodé Camara, Ségou Camara, Kaloga Traoré) knew very well what jazz fans liked. They presented nothing other than the current repertoire of the region in a way that engulfed the people present. Intensive solos on the djembe (on the cover the djembe was not even called that; it was subsumed under tam-tam, SAJ-19), with a constant percussive web background. One still can listen to the recordings, even live, on the jazz label *fmp – free music production* (SAJ-19, 1978; SAJ-48, 1984). They even sang their version of the *Taxi Driver* song that made Bobby Benson famous in Nigeria of the 1950s. Harmonica sound mixed with the *gongoma* (the large lamellophone), metal percussion, whistle and additional drums (SAJ-19).

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It was the arrangement that worked. It was intensive and driving, as well as minimal in a sense. The audience, almost all European, with a few men from Africa as well, was in for 'authentic sound' – whatever this might really be. Measuring the degree of authenticity in an absolute way, a version of the *Highlife* evergreen *Taxi Driver* – recorded on Philips in the early 50s on a shellac 78 rpm initially – will end negatively, but then, who knew the *Taxi Driver* song in Berlin 1978?

The success story of Africa Djolé is a good example of how an exile group of musicians can capture a market segment in a new performance environment. I suppose that in this case, all members were professional artists before their arrival in Europe.

I am sure it was their professionalism which made them choose the right compositions, the right arrangements, and the right choice of instruments. Interestingly enough, they made no reference whatsoever to their situation as exiles, at least not in a way easily recognisable to non-Guineans. They did not try to educate the public about the dictatorship of President Sekou Touré of Guinea, the reason for their leaving. I assume they thought that this might shed negative vibes on their music and bring in unpleasant 'undertones', whereas the audience wanted an unspoilt experience of Africa: Exotic sounds unspoiled by politics.

AGITATING PERFORMANCES

In radical contrast to Africa Djolé or their later offspring, Fatala, the South African exile bands usually chose the path of agitation. With this they as well were pretty successful. Africa Djolé was resident in The Netherlands – at the time a more liberal-minded European society and state. The group *Jabula* visited Amsterdam, but according to the *Jabula* label address, lived in England.

From there they toured Europe. Their lyrics were mostly propaganda songs, or at least trying to relate to the situation at home. The East German supported West German publishing house *pläne* from Dortmund edited the LP *Jabula – African Soul pläne* 88154, 1979. It was in fact the licensed LP of the original *Jabula in Amsterdam* JBL 2003.

It had an inside extra-sheet the size of the LP to provide political and historical information, and on the flip side some of the song texts in English and German translations. The first song on that LP is *Afrika* [sic!] *awake*. Part of the lyrics said:

We want power for the people, in this hour
We will stand for the people, for our land

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Together we
Will be free
Time to fight
For our right
Not far away,
Freedom Day.

Throughout the lyrics is a political message, and Julian Sebothane Bahula, the bandleader, intended to use music to teach and to ask for solidarity in the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

There was a kind of setup in a number of smaller groups that became a common practice: You start off with 'traditional dances', raffia skirts and all that, to satisfy the European longing for an exotic Africa. It was to demonstrate the existence of their own cultural heritage and to express pride. Then, in a second part of the evening, the same people would get on stage with electric amplified instruments and a singer, male or female, that sang political statements to dance to. The favourable public appreciated both sections. The relationship with the people in the audience was cordial and supportive. There was a common ground of international solidarity in the struggle against Apartheid. It was not so much the quality of the music that counted as much as it was the right position you had to adhere to. The musicians might not always have been professionals, but that was not the issue: it was the struggle that mattered.

Others coming out of South Africa were professional musicians: Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, and Dollar Brand (who was later to become Abdullah Ibrahim).

Dollar Brand lived in New York and in Europe from the 1960s onward, travelling annually throughout Europe, giving all kinds of performances: solos, duos, trios, quartets and even a revolutionary opera, the Kalahari Liberation Opera, to support the struggle of his people at home. Unfortunately, the opera was more like a superficial piece of propaganda and missed the depth of his usual musical products.

His presence alone was usually political enough in the first place, so that it was not really necessary for him to subscribe to shallow propaganda. His music was an expression of the situation in which he found himself, and of how he saw the situation of his home country. For the period of the 1970s and 1980s, he was a very important figure in the anti-Apartheid struggle when Apartheid politics were still rampant. Dollar Brand was a musician with the Manhattan Brothers in South Africa, playing dance music for the African population. The style was partially called 'African jazz', but was dance music first and foremost. In exile, he became a jazz musician here in Europe. His recipe was to transform popular dance tunes from 1950s

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South African *kwela* dance music into jazz arrangements. He did it very well indeed, as in *African Marketplace* (ELK 52217). The trick, or the way it worked was that the European or American public did not know the popular tunes and totally regarded the compositions of Dollar Brand as his own creations. Dollar Brand on the other hand did not provide copyright references, playing with the ignorance of the listeners. As a matter of fact, not all of Dollar Brand's recordings contain *kwela* arrangements and sound as if the compositions were 'original'. One can observe that life in the host country dramatically changes the migrant musician as well.

Whereas Dollar Brand resided in New York and went on European tours, South African sax player Dudu Pukwana stayed in London. In London during the 1970s and 1980s it was possible to watch and hear him play at the *100 Club* on Oxford Street. He simply played and it was his playing that expressed his political stand against the Apartheid regime. One of the many LPs that carried his music with his band *Zila*, *Live at the 100 Club* (London, 16th January 1981) includes the voice of the female exile-singer Peggy Phango (Wilmer 1981).

Miriam Makeba became the best-known singer exiled from South Africa. She did not intentionally leave South Africa to run away: She was invited by Lionel Rogosin, the *cinema verité* director from the United States, who featured her with two beautiful songs in the anti-Apartheid film *Come Back Africa* in 1959.

Makeba lived initially in the United States, and was then forced to leave the 'free world', as she was ostracised, banned from performing, after marrying Black Power militant Stokely Carmichael.

The dictator and music lover, President Sekou Touré from Guinea, offered her refuge in Conakry. Later she lived more or less in Europe (in Belgium – and carried a French passport), where she had her main public and went regularly on tour. Again, Makeba was not political in every song or statement. She was a kind of cultural ambassador for the black South Africans.

A completely different kind of exile are those who have at one point or another cooperated with a particular regime, that has been overturned by a coup d´etat. The duo *Ouro Negro of Angola* (Raúl Indipwo, Milo MacMahon) allowed the Portuguese colonial fascist regime to use them as a showpiece for their successful colonial policy. The duo travelled throughout the world but when independence arrived, they had to seek exile in Lisbon. Raúl Indipwo later ran a foundation there and lived off the royalties of his many published recordings. The duo *Ouro Negro* played any kind of music. They knew all of the current pop songs, and additionally they played their Angolan tunes.

Seigneur Rochereau Tabu Ley, one of the surviving stars of the most famous Congolese music from the 1960s, left crumbling Zaire to live in

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Paris during the final years (end of 1990s) of Marshall Mobutu Sese Seko. Instead of being proud to host such a high-class singer and bandleader, the French immigration authorities did not renew his permit of residence and Tabu Ley had to leave for the United States instead, before returning home to serve the Kabilas in politics. In 2005, he became vice-president of the Kinshasa region (Mazzoleni 2008: 133). As to his music, it remained the *soukous* but it always depends on the musicians available.

THE 'SMALL' VERSUS THE 'GIANTS'

There is another categorical difference: There are a few 'high-class' international orchestras and/or singers, and then there are many small bands of mainly local importance, Makeba on the one hand, and Audrey Motaung from Hamburg on the other.

Audrey Motaung had to do additional work in order to survive. This does not include a judgement about the quality of the music itself, though it does have an economic aspect.

THE BIG EFFECT OF THE LITTLE ...

The many 'little' bands have over the years probably had a far greater effect on the European audience than the performances of 'outstanding' international stars. Through the regular and intensive hard work of many of these musicians and singers, African music has become part of the musical culture all over Europe. Nowadays, there is no city or even small town where there an African drum workshop or dance weekend is not on offer. African music is everywhere.

THE PRESENCE OF THE DJEMBE

European instrument shops – not only specialised African or World Music shops – offer djembe drums besides pianos or trumpets. Djembe are even produced in Europe now. The djembe – originally from Guinea Mandingo Malinke region – has spread throughout West Africa, and now East Africa, even all over the globe. There are djembe drums in Australia and in Latin America. In the United States, the djembe is everywhere as well. People do not even ask where it is from as it has become the African drum par excellence. When it is manufactured in Ghana, it might carry a symbolic sign indicating its origin.

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During the 1990s, the company Afroton in Frankfurt am Main sold over a thousand per year. At that time, they were built in Senegal.

The globalisation of this instrument is an incredible phenomenon. But on its way to world-wide recognition, the djembe was deprived of one of its characteristic parts. The djembe in Guinea – when played by a master soloist – possesses at least three metal resonators fixed around the drumhead, and these metal rings tingle with every beat on the drum, producing a kind of snare effect. The so-called 'ears' of the djembe have disappeared – nowadays, most drummers do not even know of their existence. How are we to explain the success of this instrument?

Katja Luft, formerly one of our students at the African Music Archive in Mainz, undertook an inquiry with me in the mid 1990s into the usage of the djembe. We went to a regular course in West African drumming in Wiesbaden-Biebrich. There, she recorded various sessions on video, and we watched the participants in class and also conducted interviews[1].

A very clear indication of our investigation was that the participants, mostly women, preferred the djembe to other African instruments simply because of the noise it produces with relative little physical exertion. It was obvious that the women used drumming as a kind of psychological tool to increase their self-consciousness. In general, they were not interested at all in the specific cultural context or content of the music.

THE REDUCTION OF AFRICAN MUSIC TO DRUMMING

The overwhelming presence of the djembe, almost the only instrument offered for anybody interested in learning to play African instruments, has resulted in the exclusion of all the other instruments. In the 1980s, when I registered for a gongoma workshop announced by the Guinean group *Fatala* at the *Batschkapp* in Frankfurt am Main, one could also enroll for a workshop in djembe drumming. No one else had booked the gongoma! The fans of the djembe, I am quite sure, had probably never heard of the gongoma before. That fairly large box-lamellophone from Guinea, used mainly for accompaniment, usually has four metal lamellae and sounds terrific.

But where in Europe are all the workshops in African string instruments? Where are all the workshops in aerophones? The drum is about all that is

1 The lecture in which I presented the results of this short research at the Hochschule für Musik Würzburg was titled: *Djembe Ger-Mania*: Zur Rezeption afrikanischer Musik in Deutschland (27th May 1995) – to highlight the manic character of djembe playing.

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present in people's heads as being African, and worth learning. This Africa-drum association is a kind of obsession.

Why are there are no *kora* workshops all around the continent? In Britain, I remember, the situation was a bit more hopeful. In London, kora workshops were offered at different places. In Lisbon, Domingo Morais organised kora learning at schools in the 1990s and the early 2000s – there is a Mandingo population in Lusophone Guinea Bissao.

If drumming has such a high status, why then only the djembe? The Yoruba *dundun* drums, or the *gangan*, the tension-drums are among the most highly sophisticated instruments in the world. With this drum, the percussionist may imitate the Yoruba speech melody and thus come very near actual speaking – hence its popular name, the 'talking drum'! Perhaps the playing of that drum is too demanding for the general Afrophile public? Which again would strengthen the general assumption, African is simple, and if it is too complicated, it is not accepted as African …

COLONIAL EXHIBITIONS

Music from African immigrants in Europe has a longer history than is usually assumed.

In the 19th century, musicians and singers were part of *Völkerschauen* – exhibitions of exotic people – in Germany and generally in Europe in the framework of colonial exhibitions, as people from Africa were known for a long time in large cities like Paris, Berlin, London and Brussels. These exhibitions took often place in zoos, although according to more recent literature, with Africans the show took place literally everywhere and was a regular part of entertainment, be it in a dance hall, a *Schützenhaus*, a theatre, a hotel or a restaurant (Brändle 2007: 201-220).

The press comment of one of these events that took place in mid-1901 in Eisenach at the colonial exhibition was not really favourable, but reflects the prejudice concerning African music, which has been virulent up till today:

> By all means the monotonous screaming and odd singing of these exotics who, besides the dark colour of their flesh, are well proportioned and not at all bad looking, does not manage to fascinate us for long.[2] (Brändle 2007: 39, legend to Abb. 6).

2 Translated by the author.

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> *Freilich vermag uns das monotone Geschrei und Gesinge dieser Exoten, die abgesehen von der dunklen Fleischfarbe sich wohlgewachsen und nicht übel präsentieren, nicht lange zu fesseln. (Brändle 2007: 39, legend to Abb. 6).*

To what extent this and similar statements can be found in recent opinions on 'African' music remains speculative, yet might still be heard. It is not easy to overcome the Eurocentric conviction of the superiority of 'Western' musical civilisation.

Some of these early visitors from the colonies stayed and became migrants. The recently published story of Nayo Bruce from Togo is remarkable. His troupe has toured Europe for 20 years, when its leader managed to get rid of their German impresario and to become independent (Brändle 2007). In a Swiss book about him and his family we may recognise, from some of the photographs then taken, some of the instruments used by musicians at the time in this context. Obviously there were drums of different shapes and other percussion instruments, such as rattles (*calabashes* with nets) as well as iron gongs (Brändle 2007: 25, 41).

Another source of information is the well-documented story of a Nubian boy who was presented by the Egyptian Viceroy to the Prussian Prince Albrecht in 1843 (Pieken/Kruse 2007) and became his personal servant. Sabac el Cher´s son Gustav joined the band of the 35th Regiment of Fusiliers in 1885. In 1895, Prinz Heinrich of Prussia, a military musician (Pieken/Kruse 2007: 91), was offered the position of conductor of the band of the 1st Regiment of Grenadiers in Königsberg and moved to Eastern Prussia: "Er wurde zum Star seiner Zeit" [he became the star of his time] (Pieken/Kruse 2007: 103). Later, he left the military and established himself as an independent music conductor.

Tessema Eshete from Ethiopia came to Berlin 1908 to be trained as a car driver and mechanic – along with two more colleagues. By the time he returned, he had recorded 17 shellac discs with BEKA records. But until now, it seems these recordings of songs in Amharic accompanied by himself on the Masinko, a one-sided fiddle of the Azmari (musicians), might ave been unkown to the European, or even Berlin public (www.tessemas.net).

This is exactly what happened over the next hundred years of African music production in Europe: Africans were either recorded here, or the recordings were sent from African countries. The records, audio-cassettes or CDs were produced here technically and then sent back straight away. They did not, and rarely do now, touch the European market. That is why it is very difficult to trace older recordings of African music in Europe. Most of them never left African markets. An exception are the so called 'world music' African musicians. They have decided to serve the European or US

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American markets with their music. The CDs they record are intended to be consumed by a European world music loving buyer. This has all sorts of consequences. The music must appeal to the ear, the *Hörgewohnheit* [listening habit] of the Europeans. The arrangements, the mixing, the sound as such, has to fit the *Hörwunsch* [listening wish] of the listeners.

The outer appearance of the recording must also fit the taste of potential buyers. The comments inside the accompanying booklet have to be exhaustive and the lyrics should be transcribed and translated. The aesthetics of the CD cover has to attract the attention of the consumer.

When Günter Gretz sold the distribution rights of the CD on *Ngoma – The early years 1948 to 1960*, the African recordseller in Paris was not at all interested in supplying his clientele, that is, the African Parisian music lovers, with the extensive booklet. Instead, he took the CD cover picture and the list of titles, nothing else.

The French African buyer, it was assumed, would know enough about the music and the text in itself might be seen as patronising. Therefore, the CD sold in Paris was reduced to its essentials: The music.

In many other cases of productions of African music by African producers in Paris, London, or Lisbon, the cover does not really provide a lot of detailed information, often not even the composition of the band or the names of the individual musicians.

If it is missing additional information, this may indicate that this particular production is aimed at the African audience. The typical European intellectual buyer is the opposite: he cherishes the booklet as much as the music.

Günter Gretz and his record label *African music* started at the end of the 1970s with vinyl productions and later continued with CDs. He always tried to put into the cover or booklet as much information as possible. Into the jacket of the 12'' LP, another sheet of printed paper was added (as for example with the LPs pam 02; pam 03; pam 04; pam 05; copam 11), or the inset was printed upon as well. The CD booklets were printed with a lot of pages and text.

The cover designs sometimes stayed within the tradition of African musicians' interest to position themselves as 'been tos', meaning been to London, been to Paris. To prove it, the cover shows them in front of the Tower Bridge (Ebenezer Obey *In London*, DECCA WAPS 28) or with Big Ben in the background (Ebenzer Obey *On the Town,* DECCA WAPS 30), or in front of the Eiffel Tower (Baobab *Baobab à Paris,* Ledoux ASL. 7004).

Günter Gretz's CD on his African music label (pam 404, 1996) of Sona Diabaté, a Guinean living in Paris, shows her in front of the Paris metro station *Europe*. Another CD cover of Günter Gretz features a Parisian *banlieue*: The front cover features Alassane and Doudou (sons of kanté

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Fig. 4 – The singer from Guinea (Conakry) Sona Diabate in front of the metro station Europe. Cover of CD pam 404, 1996 designed by Günter Gretz, Frankfurt a. M.

Fig. 5 – The CD featuring the musician Kanté Manfila from Guinea (Conakry). Here the CD cover from 1994 designed by Günter Gretz, Frankfurt a. M.

manfila and Sona Diabeté respectively) at 'la Grande Borne' – a new suburb of Grigny, designed by French architect Emile Aillaud, and built between the years 1967 and 1971 to replace the existing shanty town. (Günter Gretz, pam 402, 1994, note on back cover)

This 'old' tradition from at least the 1950s continued in the visual presentations, music videos or video clips. Wherever produced, it carries the visual characteristics of the particular place or city. The Eiffel Tower or Sacré Cœur belong to its preferred backgrounds. There is a clip in Berlin where Stan Tohon from Benin can be seen in front of the Reichstag (a Pirnaha label production I saw on ARTE years ago).

THE DREAM CITIES

Metropolitan cities are places musicians have always dreamed of. But having tried so hard and spent so much to reach them, an awakening often follows the arrival. After their arrival in Paris, Salif Keita or Mory Kanté experienced hardship. It took them some time to get established and to be recognised for what they were. The current biography tells part of the story, though not all of it by far:

> […] il [Salif Keita] parle du calvaire de l´immigré africain en

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> Europe, il s´attaque à une des séquelles les plus caractéristiques de la période postcoloniale, conséquence à la fois de l´échec de bien des gouvernements africains à assurer le bonheur et la liberté à leurs citoyens, de l´exploitation continuelle des anciennes colonies par les puissances occidentales sous le couvert de la coopération, et enfin du racisme suscité chez les Européens par la psychose d´une imaginaire invasion noire et tiers-mondiste. (Keita 2001: 91)

They experienced how difficult it was to enter a market, to compete for the audience to achieve higher sales – and how luck can help, or strange coincidences, as in the case of Mory Kanté. He had recorded the song *Yeke Yeke* several times before. But when, in 1986, a French company chose it as its summer jingle to advertise soft drinks, it became a real hit across Europe.

Indeed, it was one of the few hits by an African artist that managed to top most European charts for some time. It is one of these songs that everybody has heard, but in the end nobody knows who it is by. I have tested this my seminars as often as I could. I have never found a person who at one time or another had not heard *Yeke Yeke*. But hardly anyone knew the singer, composer or even that it was by an African. This may not be something typical for the African musician alone: Many other singers of chart hits are not known by name to the average listener. The title was enough to increase the sales and to make it famous.

The sad thing indeed is that it takes a jingle, an advertisement jingle, to promote a piece of music, instead of the music itself being appreciated by the public. But that is the capitalist economy: It is not the real value that counts but the money you can make out if it. Though that is not all that contributed to the success of *Yeke Yeke*. The record company *Barclay* had asked Nick Patrick to help rework that song and he himself described his contribution in an interview he gave to a journalist of *Le Monde* in 1990:

> Mon travail est de faire en sorte que la musique de Mory soit accessible aux oreilles occidentales. Si on enregistrait toutes les percussions en une seule prise comme les Africains, ce serait un fouillis. C´est pour ca que nous avons eu recours aux ordinateurs, à la technologie des studios. (quoted after Tenaille 2000: 202)

INSTEAD OF A SURVEY

To cover all European countries and to document the presence of African musicians and singers there is really a job that should have been done

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regularly by now. But as we cannot rely on any existing survey, I can only provide random examples. Take Spain, for example. There is the duo of the *Hijas del Sol* [Daughers of the Sun] who came from the island of Bioko, the former Fernando Po and its capital Malabo (St. Isabel). They are Bubi and at the beginning they lived off the references to their ethnic origin. Today, they seem to have less interest in cashing in on their ethnic background.[3] Now they seem to live permanently in Madrid. They have separated and no longer perform together.

Being in a Spanish-speaking country, musicians from other Spanish-speaking states from – in this case Cuba – were part of the orchestra.

The late Nigerian musician Bayo Martins (1932–2003) is a typical example of an African musician coming to Germany – in this case because of the Biafran war in Nigeria (1967–1970), who in the end stayed quasi permanently in Germany. Bayo Martins travelled back and forth but became in the long run an African migrant rather than remaining a Nigerian musician. When Bayo Martins first returned to Nigeria with a drum set of his own and the knowledge of a 'been to' he could not really be part of any of the local Nigerian bands under the leadership of an authoritarian band leader any more. Owning one's own instrument gives one an independent status, makes one uncontrollable by the boss, thus no boss would take one on either. Bayo Martins is the founder of the Musicians' Foundation of Nigeria and that has not made him many friends among the bandleaders either. He propagated the introduction of professionalism among musicians in Nigeria by encouraging the granting of basic rights for ordinary musicians (pamphlet Give Musicianship a Chance). Today, the 'band boy' is still without rights and can be pushed around. Bayo Martins remained a solitary artist for the rest of his life, a destiny he shared with many other artists that migrated from Africa – not referring here to his private family status (he was happily married to a German wife and received full support).

Whenever he performed in Germany, he either played the *congas* or his drum set, singing or reciting or accompanying a poetess or poet. He seldom played in a band. Some other singular musicians have set up their network within which they operate, such as the Congolese guitarist Dizzy Mandjeku, who lives in Brussels and takes part whenever Sam Mangwana prepares a tour to Britain, for example, to serve the Congolese community there. Sam Mangwana, who resides in Paris, selects several musicians living

3 Currently Julia Tinjaca is writing a MA thesis and we are already very curious to find out more about these two singers. Paul Seelig and myself did an interview with the sisters after their first appearance on the German world music scene, when they gave a performance at the *Alte Oper* in Frankfurt a. M. http://ntama.uni-mainz.de (accessed 20th February 2009)

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in Europe to join him. They rehearse in Brussels before going on tour. Sam Mangwana, a Congolese musician from Angola, belongs to the top selection of African stars globally. Living in Paris (as do his colleagues Mory Kanté, Salif Keita, Mbilia Bell and many others) guarantees an income based on receiving royalty payments for published material. In Africa, this is rarely the case because of piracy and missing legislation or existing legislation that lacks legal enforcement. Presently, the general downfall of CD sales in Europe is posing new problems. The only chance is to perform, and this is one of the areas where African immigrant musicians will have to rely on more in the near future.

Internet sales and purchased downloads will increase and might develop into another source of income. The more the musicians depend on their tours, the more they have to make sure to please the audience. A few years ago, Mory Kanté explained to me in an interview in Darmstadt before a concert at the *Centralstation* (one of the German venues that promotes a lot of music from Africa or generally from the whole world), that he got more requests for his acoustic band than for his electric orchestra. The acoustic variant is a European creation. The underlying attitude is, that 'African' is 'natural' and natural is acoustic. This is obviously complete nonsense, but it is the belief of many so-called 'Afrophiles'. One may consider this a sad development, but the market decides. For Mory Kanté, it is all right. If the audience prefers the acoustic folkloristic version, let it have it. The 'folklorisation' of African popular music has gradually become the trend. When Makeba recorded her first post-Apartheid CD in 1991, *Eyes on Tomorrow*, it was largely criticised for its global rock/pop approach: This was the typical misunderstanding of the outside tabloid! For Makeba, it was a liberty to no longer have to limit herself to folkloristic material! She was liberated from the forced 'African' drill. Now she could play music she liked without the strings of anti-Apartheid, without the strings of the fear of 'betraying' tradition. Poor Miriam Makeba had for years to sing lullabies or other social tunes or cultural markers, like the 'click song'. She constantly had to present herself as a South African, not as a musician first. It is hard life indeed, if you have to live with these strings attached. With the liberation of South Africa she has left behind the prison of alleged 'authenticity'. African musicians living in Europe that have become part of 'club music', such as Tony Allen and Kezaiah Jones, have established themselves quite well. Not so much because of their African origin but because of their music that has been accepted by a certain public.

Born in Lagos 1968, Keziah Jones arrived in England 1977 with his father and brother. In 1992, his first album *Bluefunk Is a Fact* appeared. Fela Anikulapo-Kuti was always his model. In an interview with the famous world music journalist Véronique Mortaigne published in *Le Monde*, he

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places himself in a global context: "Y a-t-il un monde musical noir? Sans doute, mais sourtout des héros" (Mortaigne 2003).

The integration of African musicians in this domain is working extremely well. This could be a very positive and optimistic development in Europe: a non-racial approach, one determined by a style of music that is accepted and promoted by the audiences involved.

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Dan Lundberg

TRANSLOCAL COMMUNITIES

Music as an Identity Marker in the Assyrian Diaspora

Welcome to Assyria, "Your land on cyberspace", is how the Nineveh Online[1] greeted its visitors to its home page for the first time in 1997. It sounded really fascinating – as if virtual reality had become part of the real world, and that ancient civilisations could get a second chance on the Internet. Today, perhaps we are less impressed by the Internet, and less inclined to consider the possibility of it serving as a means of communication and a meeting place. But the discussion in the 1990s about the Internet as a virtual space or a parallel cyber-reality was truly interesting and important. The name of the website was obviously a humoristic way of pointing out that a town that ceased to exist more than 2 500 years ago could be reborn in a new modern and virtual form. Anyway, at the end of the 1990s, the Assyrians in Sweden and the USA were out early trying to establish and maintain a transnational community that connected groupings[2] and individuals living in the diaspora. At that time, they were pioneers, while today, everybody seems to use the Internet for similar reasons.

In this article I will use my experience from studying the Assyrian communities as a point of departure in a discussion of how groupings, affinities or communities can emerge around and in modern networks such as the Internet. When looking back at the development of the Internet,

1 http://www.nineveh.com

2 'Group' is a central term in the language of sociology. The distinction is often made between primary groups, where the members are in direct contact with each other, and secondary groups, where the members only enjoy indirect contact. In this article, I will hereafter use groupings as a broader term for collectives of individuals who gather around roots/origins, e.g. ethnic groups, or around a mutual interest. 'Grouping' is here primarily an analytical tool and does not proceed from the members' own affinities and categorisations, even though they coincide in most cases.

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it seems as if the cyberspace that was announced on the home page of Nineveh Online has become less virtual over the years. Today, we live in both worlds – using the Internet for shopping, reading, finding information, communication, playing, dating, and so forth. The border between the virtual and the real often appears to be diffuse and unimportant.

Why did the Assyrians use the Internet earlier than many other possible groupings? Maybe they had a better reason than most ethnic groups, being a people without a political or geographical homeland. What, then, is Assyria? Is it a region, a nation, or an organisation? Well, what is a nation, exactly? What does it mean when some people call themselves Assyrians – a people?

'Cyberland Assyria'. To me, it sounded like a vision of the future, or possibly a video game. The idea is of course that with the opportunities that global electronic networks put at our disposal, our experience of reality changes. The 'real' world now has a rival. Through virtual realities, such as 'The Internet World', we are forced to consider the question: What actually is a nation, a community, a union or an interest grouping?

Fig. 1 – The Internet gave Assyrians an opportunity to become part of a cultural community.
Illustration by Ann Ahlbom-Sundqvist

Does Assyria exist? Yes, but not as a nation in the old sense, where we imagine a country with geographical borders – a specific region inhabited by people who call themselves Assyrians. Certainly, the ancient Assyrian Empire – 'the land between the rivers' – Beth Nahrain or Mesopotamia, can still be pointed out on a map. But for more than 2 500 years the region has been in the hands of other nations.

When the creators of Nineveh Online's home page welcome us to cyberspace, it is obvious that they are referring to something very different from a specific geographical region. Obviously, the Internet exists, and Nineveh Online's home page exists. And through this and many other knowledge and information banks, Assyria also exists.

> In the new debate on mobile, displaced, fragmented life worlds, media technologies have an important explanatory power. Through them we can dissolve the boundaries of time and space. In the future we will live in media worlds and fantasy landscapes, which lack a

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> concrete, systematic foundation. We surf the net and zap between channels. (Löfgren 1997)[3]

The ethnologist Orvar Löfgren presents an ironic picture of how postmodern man is portrayed in sociological literature. But Assyrian virtual reality should not be described in terms of 'homelessness' and transitoriness'. Perhaps the Swedish zappers and surfers of the 1990s can be seen as homeless nomads in a timeless and spaceless media world, trying to escape from life's reality. What the Assyrians are doing is just the opposite: In an unstable existence in exile round the world, Internet websites and home pages can truly be seen as a kind of home – a fixed point where common values and common culture can be established and shared with others.

When we discuss the role of music as a symbol of identity, the Assyrian immigrant group in Sweden is particularly interesting in several respects. Above all, the Assyrian group differs from most other ethnic groups in Sweden in three essential areas:

- For Assyrians there is no 'homeland' to return to. The dream of the old Beth Nahrain, or Mesopotamia, seems like a utopia to most of them. They realise that life in Sweden is not of a temporary nature and that they will probably continue to live here for several generations. In addition, the uniting national concept of an origin in the ancient Assyrian Empire is in itself far from unproblematic.
- They have deliberately chosen an ethnic identity as Assyrians rather than the Syriac identity, which has religious associations. When we in Sweden distinguish between Assyrians and Syrians, we do it on grounds that have never applied to the surroundings from which these people come. The term 'Syrian' refers to the Syrian Orthodox Church, while Assyrian refers to an ethnic kinship with the inhabitants of the ancient Assyrian Empire. (In the Swedish language the distinction is more obvious since there are two terms for the English 'Syrian': *Syrier* = native of Syria, and *Syrian* = Christian from the Middle East.)
- Within the group, Assyrians themselves have actively worked to establish and cultivate distinguishing ethnic marks, in particular language and music. Basically, the Assyrian/Syrian group is far from homogeneous. People differ from each other in language, ethnicity, and religion, depending on which part of the region they come from.

3 Translated by the author.

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In this complex situation in permanent exile and with no great hopes of ever being able to return, a strong nationalistic movement has burgeoned, based on the idea of a common Assyrian identity. What means are used in the attempt to create an Assyrian 'we' – a sense of community built on an ethnic and cultural foundation?

When I have interviewed Assyrians about the relation between music and identity, all of them in different ways have pointed out the important role that so-called 'national music' plays for Assyrian identity. But what do they mean by national music? For Syrian Orthodox believers, no specifically Assyrian music existed outside the Church until after the First World War.

TRANSLOCALITY

It is easy to observe that the new awareness of an Assyrian community is connected to the development of the networking possibilities of the Internet. The diaspora suddenly became visible, and the access to information was almost unlimited. Discussions of connections between music, identity and new understandings of place have been examined in several studies and anthologies. One of the earliest was Martin Stokes' *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (1994). More recent publications that can be mentioned are Connell and Gibson (2003), Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins (2004) and Inglis (2006). Electronic networks give individuals and groupings that are geographically spread out over practically the whole world, possibilities to share cultural expressions, values, and thoughts in an uncomplicated way.

Translocality in the sense that I am using it here in connection with cultural activities involves a sense of concurrency between many different local groupings of actors. This results in a feeling of affinity or community. In the case of music making, translocality means that many similar local practices are to be found at the same time in different places – that the music in one or many respects is of the same kind – that the actors are aware of each other's existence and that they experience themselves as part of a larger community. The last criterion is perhaps the most important one: that actors have a feeling of being part of a community, imagined or real.

Fig. 2 – What does 'meeting people' mean today?
Illustration by Ann Ahlbom-Sundqvist

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ORGANISATION OR NATION

What is required to establish and maintain an organised community of the kind that a nation represents? Well, a large proportion of the work is concerned with creating homogeneity. 'One language, one people, one culture', was the recipe for European nationalism. Nationalism in Europe emerged during the Romantic era, taking as its starting point the ideas of thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and German philosophers such as Johann Gottfried von Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte.

Idealism regarded history as the realisation of a plan from a higher power to attain a state of perfection in the world. A well-known example is Hegel's historic scheme of how the 'soul of the world' (God) step-by-step realised his plan through the special missions of different nations throughout history (Larsson 1994: 151).

A nation was seen as a collective whole. Each nation had its own language and way of being – its own 'national character'. This national character did not always show itself spontaneously, but it was assumed to be present as a hereditary characteristic in people of the same nationality. It was up to intellectuals to capture or possibly even awaken the 'soul of the people', which was manifested in the language and in the popular culture.

> "Now we have created Italy, then we have to create Italians", an Italian statesman is reported to have said in the 1860s. At that time there were also many resolute utopians in the North who wanted to remould their country's inhabitants into a people with a common language and a common culture – the conditions were different but the goal was the same. These visionaries particularly emphasised the key role of archaic popular customs. Folklore collectors and ethnologists of every sort and description were therefore credited with special authority and legitimacy. By collecting and analysing artefacts, myths, folk tales, folk tunes, songs and much more besides, these folklore archaeologists endowed the nations with form and content. They gave their findings to museums and archives to preserve and display. Thus the museums and archives also took over part of the mission of portraying the nation to the populace. This mission is still one of their most important functions. (Ronström, Malm and Lundberg 1997)[4]

4 Translated by the author.

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From a global perspective, it is easy to see that most nation states seem to have been cast in the same mould. Nationalism, quite simply, is a very international phenomenon. We can toy with the idea of introducing a 'do-it-yourself nation kit' on the market (see Löfgren 1989: 7ff.). What would we actually need to include in such a kit? Folklore collections, libraries, and museums are only part of what is needed to achieve community and homogeneity on a national level.

Our 'D.I.Y. nation kit' could take the form of a filing cabinet with four different compartments. In two of the drawers we find people's 'lived reality', in the other two we find their 'oral reality' (see Ronström, Runfors and Wahlström 1994). In one of the drawers for lived reality we find such fundamental elements as language, manners and customs, folk tales and much more. The second drawer would contain models for various activities that bring people together. What the contents of both these drawers have in common is that they exist without our having to think about them. Our language and our way of being also provide the basis for other cultural, scientific and political activities. In the remaining two drawers, we find models for people's oral reality. This is where theories about lived reality and documentation of our common culture belong, as well as ideas about how or why a specific culture is, and ought to be, a certain way. It is in one of these drawers that we find libraries, archives, and research centres. The last drawer, which provides the finishing touches to our D.I.Y. nation kit, contains the political, philosophical, and ideological tools that are essential for the creation of a 'national ideology'.

THE D.I.Y. NATION KIT

1 **Language and practices**
Based on language, manners and customs (clothes, food etc.). Also includes the establishing of national symbols, legends, folk tales and heroes.

2 **Common activities**
Includes cultural practices (for example, music, dance and theatre), sports activities (clubs, associations, teams and national sports), participating in the same cultural sphere – reading the same magazines, listening to the same radio programmes, watching the same TV programmes, sharing the same religion and religious practices.

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3 **Historic/scientific documentation**
Research into a common history and origin, establishing one's own libraries, archives and museums. A common history of popular heroes, kings, and champions of liberty.

4 **National ideology**
Making people aware of the nation's common demands for the above. Creating one's own information net, mass media. Establishing one's own cultural institutions and sports institutions.

Fig. 3 – The D.I.Y. Nation Kit.
Illustration by Ann Ahlbom-Sundqvist

For a Swedish citizen or a citizen of another Western 'nation', many of the above items are institutionalised, self-evident phenomena. We have a common Swedish language and we hardly need to reflect on how or why it came into being. We talk of a Swedish cultural life, even if it is difficult to state precisely what such a thing consists of. We base our Swedishness on historic heroes and the works of national poets, composers and artists. We do not have to prove that we have a historically based right to call ourselves Swedish and to live in Sweden. Much of this established Swedish identity is due to the fact that we have schools, libraries and archives, which are based on a national concept, through which the Swedish language and cultural heritage is preserved and protected.

Since Assyrians lack this type of nationally unifying institutions (due to the fact that they do not live in a state of their own), the construction of an international network has enormous significance. The Internet has now made it possible for groups other than states to build up 'national' information banks. Throughout the world, Assyrian idealists are putting in a tremendous amount of effort writing articles, producing link sites, and publishing music, literature and pictures.

EAST AND WEST ASSYRIANS

From a linguistic, and perhaps also ethnic point of view, there is a sharp dividing line between East Assyrians and West Assyrians. The differences are most apparent in their religions and languages. Since people from both regions now call themselves Assyrians, there is a considerable risk of

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confusion. Among those who call themselves Assyrians in Sweden today, an overwhelming majority are of West Assyrian origin; that is, they speak Turoyo and belong to the Syrian Orthodox Church. In America, on the other hand, the majority of Assyrians speak Aturaya and belong to the Church of the East. At the present time, the flow of information via the Internet concerning Assyrians is dominated by American East Assyrian sources. By using the terms 'East Assyrians' and 'West Assyrians' whenever possible, I hope to minimise the risk of confusing these two groups. At the same time, there is no doubt that East Assyrian web sites are read by many West Assyrians, and vice-versa (the predominant Internet language is English, of course). However, it is important to remember, particularly where information about language (articles, language courses, etc.) is concerned, that we are talking about two very different dialects, and that individuals from one language group do not normally have a complete understanding of the other dialect. The linguistic situation is perhaps the most decisive difference between the Assyrian's lived reality and the oral reality. In the lived reality, we find a colourful diversity of English, Swedish, German, Turkish, Arabic and Turoyo. In the oral reality, on the other hand, 'Assyrian' in its different variants reigns supreme. While it has a common symbolic value, its potential as an international means of communication is poor.

In this study, an attempt is made to follow the process by which a 'virtual Assyria' is being built up with the help of modern electronic networks. The focus is on the role of music as an organising factor in multicultural societies. This gives us the possibility to see music as a central theme, running like a scarlet thread through the creation of an Assyrian national identity. Music is present, in varying degrees and in different ways, in every part of the Assyrian communities.

COMMON ACTIVITIES. THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN THE BUILDING OF A NATION

> If it would have been possible without music!!!??? No way! No way! God only knows what would have happened, I swear. I've lived here since 1970 and I know. I've gotten to know nearly all the families that live here through music and through parties, and I know.
> (Joseph Malki, interview 3rd March 1997)

This was the Assyrian musician and composer Joseph Malki's answer when asked if he would have been able to organise the Assyrians in Sweden in the 1970s if he had not been able to entice them to meetings with music and dance. Music plays the role of a pleasure-filled hub around which a large

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Fig. 4 – One of the youth groups are performing at a party in Södertälje, Sweden.
Illustration by Ann Ahlbom-Sundqvist

part of the work and activities of the group's societies revolve. What makes music so special is that it can have several simultaneous, parallel functions. Music can function directly as a centre for activities – for dancing or for music making – and at the same time form a link to other people in other places. Music is an important part of our cultural identity.

The East Assyrian singer Linda George sings the song *Malikta Shamiram* (by Peter Jasim). Like so many other Assyrian popular songs, the lyrics are about the home country in the Middle East, and the title, *Queen Shamiram* brings to mind the ancient Assyrian Empire.

Malikta Shamiram (Queen Shamiram)

O young men
O gentlemen and young ladies
Listen (all of you).
I will tell you a story about your country.

I am ...
I am a dove
From Nineveh.
I have flown (and came) from Nineveh

Let me know
Let me know oh homeless (landless) person
Where are ...
The patriotic sons of Ashur.
Let me know (all of you).
Let me know, o homeless ones:
Where are they,
The patriotic sons of Ashur?

*

For thousands, for thousands of years I've been flying

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With hope
Of returning to my country keeping me alive.
In Ashur,
In Nineveh and Arrbel, Garmoo
One voice
I heard calling us all.
It said, Show them,
Show them the son and the daughter.
That way,
To the country, of our mothers and our fathers.

Linda George lives in the United States and is the idol of many young Assyrians, particularly in Sweden, despite the fact that most of them cannot understand the Aturaya dialect.

It is extremely common for cultural expressions to take on a special significance among people living in exile: Music, dance, food, and above all, language become far more important and are far more visible in the new context. Our identity can of course display itself in a variety of ways, as an individual awareness, for example, or as a collective identity as members of a group. Music can be an individual pastime or a uniting symbol that bonds people together. Music has this double function in Sweden when Assyrians meet together in societies, for instance. The role of music in the activities of immigrant societies has been described by several ethnomusicologists and ethnologists. One example is Jan Sverre Knudsen's dissertation, *Those That Fly Without Wings: Music and Dance in a Chilean Immigrant Community* (2004), which discusses the role of music among Chilean immigrants in Norway during the 1970s and 1980s.

What makes the Assyrians especially interesting is that for the most part their music has developed in the diaspora. Many of the most popular singers, musicians and composers (the majority, in fact) work in Sweden, America and Australia, and to a lesser extent, in Russia. One reason for this is that all profane music making was actually forbidden by their own Christian Church in the Middle East. As far back as the fourth century, music making outside the church walls was forbidden by St. Afrem, the patriarch of what would later become the Syrian Orthodox church. When growing nationalism burgeoned in Syria during the years between the First and Second World Wars, advocates of a free Assyria realised the significance of a national music of their own. Another reason is that there is often a greater need of uniting activities and symbols in the diaspora than in a 'home environment'. In multicultural societies such as Sweden, music is often an important identity and boundary marker that distinguishes different groups

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from each other. Having a music of their own is a prerequisite for visibility in the multicultural arena.

An important part of the national struggle was to 'liberate the music' and to make it possible for music to be used outside the church. That profane music was considered sinful meant that the performance of instrumental folk music had been left to other minority groups in the region, mainly Kurds and Romanis.

The leading composer of the new West Assyrian music that was written during the 1930s and 1940s was Gabriel Assad from Damascus. Assad died in 1997, having spent his last years in Sweden. He is regarded as a popular hero within the West Assyrian group.

When the Assyrian societies were building up their activities in Sweden during the 1970s, Gabriel Assad's songs were like a backbone for Assyrian identity. He soon had his followers and a repertoire of Assyrian music gradually grew, with Sweden as one of its main bases. From an early stage, the 'expressive specialists' (singers, musicians, dancers, actors, etc.) became important symbols for the 'Assyrian idea'. That this is still the case is reflected by the fact that the president of the Swedish Assyrian National Federation at the end of the 1990s, Ninib Ablahad Lahdo, was and still is one of the best known singers among Assyrians the world over. In an interview published in the magazine *Hujådå*, Lahdo was asked by the journalist Demir Aho if it was due to the fact that he is a singer that he was elected president:

In your opinion, was it the singer or the person Ablahad Lahdo who was elected to the post of president?

> I don't think that people primarily chose the singer rather than the person because he is popular and well-known as a singer, even if there are certain people who may have reasoned this way. But for most of the others I think they chose the person Ablahad as president, because they think he's also capable of holding the position of president of the ANF. (Hujådå, May 1997)[5]

Of course Lahdo was not prepared to accept that people voted for him in his role as singer. But at the same time it is obvious, not least since the question was posed in the first place, that his role as a stage artist played a part. In the Assyrian group in Sweden there are very few, if any, active politicians or other types of visible figures in Swedish public life. Since the Assyrian community revolves around aesthetic forms to such a degree, the people

5 Translated by the author.

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that control these forms – the expressive specialists – automatically become the centre of focus. This fact separates aesthetically based communities, such as the Assyrian virtual world, from other types of nationalistic goals.

MASS MEDIA

"Even if we're on our own at home, when we put on the TV we become part of a cultural community (be it good or bad)", Peter Dahlgren wrote in an article as early as 1990. Today, this is even truer about our use of the Internet (Dahlgren 1990)[6].

A glance along the high-rise blocks of flats in Alby and Rinkeby (two Stockholm suburbs with a high percentage of immigrants) confirm the need for TV programmes in our own language. On nearly every balcony there is a huge satellite dish turned upwards towards the skies. Via parabolic aerials and satellite receivers, Turkish, Arabic, and Latin American immigrants in Sweden can see the same TV programmes as their compatriots in their homelands – simultaneously! These transnational links undoubtedly play a highly significant part in establishing and maintaining cultural frames of reference.

Fig. 5 – Recording session with a live audience in Södertälje, Sweden.
Illustration by Ann Ahlbom-Sundqvist

HISTORICAL/SCIENTIFIC DOCUMENTATION. THE RIGHT TO A HISTORY

The term 'Assyrian' denotes a national and ethnic identity. In calling oneself Assyrian one is claiming kinship with ancient Assyrian high culture, while the term 'Syrian' indicates membership of a Church. In Sweden, the 'name issue' has been the subject of discussions among representatives of the Syrian Orthodox Church, as well as among the Swedish authorities, historians and philologists. In 1982, the Swedish National Immigration Board and the

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National Council for Cultural Affairs published Bengt Knutsson's book *Assur eller Aram* (Assur or Aram). Among other things, Knutsson discusses the Assyrian/Syrian name issue. His scientific analysis of the 'right' to an Assyrian identity – the right to call oneself Assyrian – has extended the discussion to cover such questions as to whether kinship with the 'ancient Assyrians' can be proved (later also in Karlsson 1991). Paradoxically, today we can observe how Syrians in Sweden are now trying to find a language-based ethnic identity as Arameans.

Today, research and other attempts to find scientific proof of kinship with the inhabitants of the Assyrian Empire are presented to a large extent on the Internet. Assyrian libraries are being established mainly in America. Virtually every Assyrian home page on the Internet publishes (or provides links to) articles that try to describe the historical background to the Assyrians' situation today, as well as presenting research on the Assyrian Empire.

Research by historians and archaeologists into the Assyrian Empire forms a scientific background to the Assyrian national concept. Assyria is something to be proud of. On several Assyrian home pages, there are links to historic archives, lists of Assyrian kings, and reports from excavations.

The Assyrian martyrs perhaps play an even more important part in the awareness of a common history. On the 7th of August every year, 'Martyr's Day' is celebrated by Assyrians throughout the world, both East Assyrians and West Assyrians. The role of martyrs for the national identity is obvious: "Our beloved martyrs who gave their lives for their Culture, Language, and God" (Qisat'e Shakeen'e).

The Assyrian situation has been described in musical guise in many songs. Perhaps the most direct example is Evin Aghassi's *An Appeal to the United Nations* to a text by Givergis Aghassi on the *United Nations* record. In the last verse, the Assyrian people are likened to an eagle that is forced to live in exile in the mountains.

The eagle lives in the mountains.
He cannot show himself all at once.
Don't break its flying wings –
Until when – shall it be safe to fly.
We shall cultivate with our own hands
And earn our – daily (blessed) – bread.
Just give us our freedom
And we shall all live as neighbours.

National songs such as the one by Aghassi above follow a tradition that leads back to Gabriel Assad's almost revolutionary activities in Syria during

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the 1930s and 1940s. But what were the sources of Gabriel Assad's 'new' Assyrian music? Assad, like his successor Joseph Malki, often emphasises the importance of Syrian Orthodox church music in this connection. In presentations of the history of Assyrian music, Assad's work is commonly regarded as a conquest. The Church deprived its members of their everyday music making and now, 1 600 years later, the people have taken their music back.

Although Assyrian national music was created during the 20th century, the link to Syrian church music gives it a kind of historic legitimacy. This fact is often pointed out by present-day Assyrian musicians:

> We have a musical legacy which goes back to the time before the Turks. Our ancestors sang this music. So these maqams existed. We know that Mar Afrem the Great and Bar Daisan taught these maqams, these scales in the church music, to pupils in Antioch and in Edessa and Nsi bin (which is called Diyarbakir today) as early as the 11th century. […] And then Arabic music, if you analyse Arabic music – we have eight maqams in our cultural legacy, they are bayat, rast, sigah, hidjas, nahavand, and saba; we have these eight scales in our music. The Arabs borrowed them. Many Arabic history books openly admit that we were the ones who created this sort of music. If we start out from this historical background, obviously I can say that it is our music that we have practised, it's our legacy. Plus that there are nuances that are not like Arabian, Kurdish or Turkish music. There are nuances and meaning in music, the musical sentence structure which distinguishes it from all of these.[7] (Joseph Malki, interview 3rd March 1997)

Malki also provides arguments for the Assyrians' right to music. In his discussion, he tries to produce historic evidence that modal music was used by Assyrians long ago to prove that the tonal language of Middle Eastern music is more Assyrian than Turkish, for instance. The fact that Assyrian high culture existed before the Ottoman and Arabic cultures is a strong argument in many Assyrian's eyes in the fight for their right to the music.

7 Translated by the author.

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NATIONAL IDEOLOGY. A POLITICAL COMMUNITY

The idea of an Assyrian nation was awakened in earnest after the genocide of Armenians and Assyrians in Turkey during the First World War. Many Assyrians fled from persecution to the region, which today is Northern Syria and was then a French mandate. There, the idea of an Assyrian state of their own developed. Cultural champions went into the breach that fought for a homogeneous Assyrian language and culture. One of the most influential among the West Assyrian group was the poet Naum Faik. Faik, who lived in America, wrote in lyrical terms about his ancient homeland, emphasising the Assyrians' historical ties to ancient Mesopotamian culture.

At this stage, resistance in this cultural liberation struggle was composed of Turks and Arabs, as well as the Assyrians' own Church. As early as the fourth century, profane music making had been forbidden by St. Afrem, the patriarch of what would later become the Syrian Orthodox church. Thus it was also partly a battle against the decrees of the Church that was fought by the nationalistic representatives. To 'liberate the music', to make it possible to use music outside the church, was an important part of this battle.

Within the Ottoman Empire, which was the dominating political power in the Middle East from the 15th century up to the First World War, religion provided the main basis for classifying people. Nationality, or whether someone regarded himself as Turk or Syrian from an ethnic perspective, was of less significance. In the Ottoman Empire, the most important political category was also a religious category: Muslims were inhabitants of 'The House of Islam' – *Dar ül-Islam*. The Ottoman ruling class was a mixture of Turkish military officers, certain members of the priesthood of the Orthodox Church, Jewish and Greek merchants and bankers, scholars and writers of Persian, Arab, and sometimes even Balkan origin, and others. It was not until the 16th and 17th centuries that the Ottoman ruling classes came to be dominated by Muslims. The subordinate classes, *re'aya*, consisted, like the ruling class, of a diversity of ethnically and religiously defined groups. Different Muslim congregations were organised in *millets* (approximately nation, body). Groups living in the Ottoman Empire that were part of a millet were allowed a kind of religious and ethnic self-government. Taxes were imposed but they were allowed to manage their own internal affairs. Even non-Muslims seem to have been organised in millets in certain cases (see Lapidus 1988: 324). The basic rule was that minorities with Jewish or Christian beliefs were to be left in peace as long as they kept a low political and economic profile and paid their taxes. Judaism and Christianity were regarded as brother religions since they, like Islam, were based on the Old Testament. This system also granted people the right to schooling and

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religious education in their own language right up until the 19th century. The non-Muslim groups that lived in the Ottoman Empire were named *dhimmi* [protected people], *tai'fa* [group] or *jamat* [religious congregation], depending on how they were organised. Through local agreements with the Ottoman rulers, these groups were organised in millets or given similar rights to the members of a millet. The system encouraged ethnic and cultural pluralism and was one of the prerequisites that enabled multinational centres of commerce such as Istanbul to function within the Islamic world. The Christian identity was regarded as most important by Syrian Orthodox Christians in Tur'Abdin, and in fact the group of Christians in Sweden today who come from the Middle East and who call themselves Syrians are continuing along the same track. However, when part of this group of Syrian Orthodox Christians began to call themselves Syrians [Swedish *syrianer*], the basis for religious classification was set aside. (In recent years, however, Syrians in Sweden have begun to identify themselves as Arameans.)

The musician and composer Gabriel Assad began his nationalistic activities among Christians in Syria. When asked what he hoped to achieve with the national music, Gabriel Assad answered:

> My aim was to cause a revolution with music. And I thought I could do it, so that the songs and the music would belong to the people. And I reached this goal and that makes me very happy. I travelled around – through Syria, the whole of Syria, then Israel and Lebanon and taught the poems and music which you now find in Assyrian and Syrian schools. And all these people learned them.

Assad's nephew, Afram Some, (who acted as interpreter during the interview) added:

> He made a book. It was in 1952/53. The first book about music. He travelled around but he was very poor too. Nobody helped him, either financially or with anything else. But he went on fighting all the time. (Gabriel Assad and Afram Some, interview 10th March 1997)[8]

To reach out with his message Assad needed an organisational platform, and this was provided by a cultural centre that was founded in 1958 in the town of Qamishli in Northern Syria. Assad worked as musical director at the centre and could thereby intensify his work of composing national

8 Translated by the author.

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songs. Through his educational work at the centre and by issuing records and books he was able to reach more and more people.

Music is a large and important part of the process of building an Assyrian nation. In certain cases, it acts as a 'lubricator' in processes that are designed to create a sense of community. Music undoubtedly plays an important part as a uniting force at meetings and parties. This is how Joseph Malki expresses his views of the role of music in society activities:

> So we began to organise parties in Motala, in Linköping and in Gothenburg where the Assyrians lived. The simple fact is, it all started with the help of the music.
> So you can say that by organising parties people were brought together?
> Well, that's how we attracted people. And people began to like each other. And began to get stronger ties, and love and relationships and people began to feel less isolated. The isolation was broken, and they felt that somebody cared about them. And music – I think that that is the greatest element one can use to show that people care for each other and have feelings for each other. (Joseph Malki, interview 3rd March 1997)[9]

But music can also be a medium through which the national idea can be spread, or it can be used as a pedagogical tool in language instruction, for instance. Perhaps these are the two most important aspects of music: Its ability to be both an actual part of culture itself and at the same time to serve as a transmitter and symbol of cultural community.

CONCLUSION

It has become relevant to ask: What is a grouping, a community or 'culture' in today's media-dominated world. Is it relevant to think of culture as a geographically defined unit anymore? Alan Lomax presented his cantometrics-model in *Folk Song Style and Culture* 1968. Lomax' model connected societies with musical style, but in a world that looked very much different from today's. Now many musical expressions have become global 'belongings'. The phenomenon has been called globalisation, internationalisation, acculturation and transculturation. Music is disconnected from its social

9 Translated by the author.

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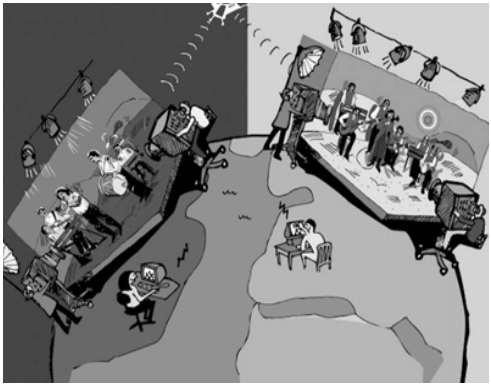

Fig. 6 – Similar local practices exist at the same time in different places, and the actors have a feeling of being part of a community, imagined or real.
Illustration by Ann Ahlbom-Sundqvist

context and becomes available and given new meanings to others in new situations.

Anthony Giddens addresses this as 'disembedding mechanisms', (Giddens 1990), a process where de-culturalisation has also been described as 'uncoupling' (Lundberg, Malm and Ronström 2003). Disembedded cultural expressions turn up in new contexts. The new media provides new possibilities and music is perhaps the cultural form that has adjusted in the most total way to the new techniques. The mediatised musical forms seem to have gained infinite opportunities with the Internet.

At the same time we can observe another process that gives the impression of going in the opposite direction. Music is very often used or seen as a symbol or a marker of belonging. This means that at the same time as music is uncoupled from its original context, it is reattached to a new one. This can sometimes be seen as a contradiction. But the uncoupling is also a condition for the possibility of new connections in a global perspective.

The tension between global and local cultures has created a neologism 'glocalisation': The process where cultural expressions are created in a local context and the transforms into an often mediatised global form. After that, the global form can be re-localised in a new context. An oft-used example is rap music that entered the process of globalisation after being born and developed in the Bronx, New York, at the beginning of the 1970s. About 15 years later, young Swedish musicians and dancers (among many others around the Western world) took over the music and transformed it to fit Swedish conditions. The Swedish rap scene was highly influenced by the American, but still became a new musical expression with a strong Swedish accent.

In the case of the Assyrians, the logic of glocalisation is not the most appropriate. It is more a form of local-to-local phenomena. The situation

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with the Internet, in many cases, seems to make the globalisation process unnecessary.

What does it mean to be a social grouping, a community? Many would refer to a sense of belonging, or affinity. To be Assyrian can on one level be simply to own an Assyrian passport (if that were possible): Citizenship. But on another level it is about an idea that Assyrians think in an Assyrian way, act in an Assyrian way, etc. A community in the later sense becomes a system of mutual references, values, and thinking patterns. The question of how we can have and receive that kind of knowledge has been discussed by many researchers in different disciplines. The most well-known is Benedict Anderson's ideas about imagined communities (1983). One of the most important qualities of a community is that it is experienced by its members as such. In the book *Music Media Multiculture,* music's role as catalyst in the process of creating such imagined communities is discussed. The music gives us a sense of belonging – perhaps one of the reasons why music has such a central position in different social movements – around sports, religion, and many other collective activities.

Technical conquests and progress have always changed the conditions for communication. Today, in the era of mobile telephones, nobody needs to keep meeting places or exact points of time in mind. "I'll call when I arrive", is often enough. We can presuppose that the person we are meeting will have his mobile on. "I am at the central station, going down the escalator. Where are you?" Times change, our behaviour changes and similar modifications often follow the new means of communication.

It is possible to be Assyrian without a geographically defined country. It is also possible to live in a local context in Turlock, California, in the USA and feel a strong belonging with persons in Södertälje in Sweden, the common denominator being an idea of participation in the same community. This gives new meaning to the concept of nations.

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Adelaida Reyes

URBAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY: PAST AND PRESENT

From preservation to proliferation, from homogeneity to heterogeneity: those word-pairs suggest the quantum leaps that the ethnomusicological mind increasingly has to consider if it is to keep pace with the urbanisation that has been accelerating worldwide since the middle of the last century.[1]

For more than half of its life, ethnomusicology has leaned heavily on the first half of each of these pairs, largely as a result of its assumptions about the music it studied. The emphasis on authenticity, on fidelity to historic forms has favoured preservation. The emphasis on simple and self-contained societies as the source of the music to be studied has favoured a belief in homogeneity as a defining attribute of culture and its music. In his 1905 article, *Die Probleme der Vergleichenden Musikwissenschaft*, E. M. von Hornbostel emphasised the need for preservation with these words: "The danger is great that the rapid dissemination of European culture will destroy the remaining traces of ethnic singing and saying. We must save whatever can be saved …" (translated by Richard Campbell in Hornbostel 1975: 270). In Bruno Nettl's translation, the global homogenizing power of European culture and the danger that it will overwhelm the distinctiveness of discrete musics gains in emphasis: "There is great danger that the rapid diffusion of European culture will eliminate the last vestiges of song and story of foreign cultures. We must save what can be saved before […] the musical world becomes totally homogeneous" (Nettl 2006: 180–181).

Hornbostel's fears have not materialised. European culture has not brought about global homogenisation. The ease with which modern

1 "In 1950 when the world population numbered about 2.5 thousand million, just over a quarter lived in places classified as urban. By 1970, the world population had increased by about 50 % and twice as many lived in urban places. […] it looks as if by the year 2000, half the population of the world will be urban dwellers. […] For the less developed countries the rate of urbanisation is even greater than in the world as a whole." (Kendall 1974)

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technology can spread cultural products worldwide seems to have promoted rather than prevented the proliferation of different culture groups and their music. Shortly before his death, Bernard Nietschmann, professor of geography at the University of California in Berkeley, supported this contention, citing Martin W. Lewis and Karen E. Wigen, geographer and historian respectively. They found that 90 % of the world's countries or nation states were multinational, i.e. culturally diverse (Nietschmann 1998: 8). Ten years after the appearance of Nietschmann's article, there is no indication that the trends toward diversity and urbanisation have been, or will soon be reversed.

But the full impact of urbanisation on ethnomusicology has yet to be fully realised. Much of the challenge comes from the dynamism of the urban world – the pace at which it grows, and the variety and complexity of the forms that it takes. But no less challenging is the hold of the discipline's past on the present.

At the threshold of a new field of investigation, namely, the urban area, the legacy of comparative musicology/ethnomusicology continues to make itself felt. The discipline's tradition of confining itself to non-Western musics and of favouring simple or rural societies as the context for its study kept asserting itself even as ethnomusicologists, in the mid 20th century, began to venture into cities. The attitudes toward things urban, spawned by long and almost-exclusive attention to the non-urban, pursued ethnomusicologists as they grappled with territory then perceived to be threatening in its unfamiliarity, its dynamism, its seeming disorganisation. The pull of history in one direction and of the present in the opposite direction has created a crossroad; choices have to be made from what the past has to offer so that the needs of the present can best be served.

THE JUNCTURE

To the best of my knowledge, the term urban ethnomusicology was first used publicly in 1974 at a *Society for Ethnomusicology* (SEM) conference in San Francisco, California. A year later, the first ethnomusicological study of urban musical phenomena as such, based on fieldwork in a major modern Western city in a developed nation was completed: *The Role of Music in the Interaction of Black Americans and Hispanos in New York City's East Harlem* (Reyes Schramm 1975). Shortly thereafter, the first book on music in urban areas, *Eight Urban Musical Cultures. Tradition and Change* (Nettl 1978), was published. Its very first sentence gave important clues on how ethnomusicological studies in urban areas were regarded within the discipline at the time. "This volume presents a group of ethnomusicological studies

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devoted to the fate of traditional musics in modern cities of developing or recently developed nations of Africa and the Americas" (Nettl 1978: 3). The word 'fate' harks back to a long-standing belief in ethnomusicology that the urban threatens the assumed purity of the musics of simple, self-contained societies that were comparative musicology's and ethnomusicology's subject matter. Faced with a situation where the binary opposition between ideal types, rural and urban, had gained acceptance as a way to arrive at a characterisation of the urban, the book, in its exclusion of the industrialised and the capital cities of the developed Western world, took a position that reflected the conflicting claims being made on ethnomusicology at the time.[2] Anthropology had raised questions about the concept of simple societies and had legitimised entry into urban cultures, while the conditioning power of ethnomusicological tradition was making it hard for ethnomusicology to shake off the strong resistance to the urban.

By the final quarter of the 20th century, different orientations within the discipline had begun to coalesce around those two poles, the rural and the urban. The opposition between what had historically been ethnomusicology's focus, i.e. the non-urban and the non-Western, and that which the discipline now finds itself unable to ignore, i.e. the urban and the Western, was underscored.

This opposition fueled the emergence of what came to be known as urban ethnomusicology.[3] The term, at the time, signaled two things: 1) the introduction to ethnomusicology of a field outside its customary terrain, and 2) the implication that the opposition, which induced the term's creation was not likely to find resolution within what Thomas S. Kuhn called the 'normal practice' of ethnomusicology (Kuhn 1996).[4]

2 The use of ideal types in conceptualizing the city was adopted by Max Weber, the leader of the German School in urban studies which was centered in Heidelberg and Berlin and was most active in the first quarter of the 20th century. The concept of ideal types was subsequently used by sociologists and anthropologists led by the Chicago School of urban studies, notably by Robert Redfield who was most responsible for the concept of the rural and the urban as binary opposites. Weber's major work on the subject, *The City,* appeared in 1905. Redfield's most influential articles appeared in the late 1940s to the 1950s.

3 For a discussion of this subject, see Reyes 2007.

4 Throughout his book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1996), Kuhn used the term 'normal practice' to refer to *modi operandi* in research that have become standard practice or normative. Its entrenched expectations exert powerful influences on the way the research is conducted and hence, on its results.

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Neither of these two points has been adequately explored. What urban ethnomusicology stands for has never been the subject of serious discussion. The term is therefore surrounded with considerable ambiguity. The question continues to be asked: Now that working in urban areas has become commonplace among ethnomusicologists, now that objections to doing so are no longer heard, do we still need the term urban ethnomusicology?

The question suggests that the issue is and has been no more than a matter of location, one that departs from what comparative musicologists/ethnomusicologists had been used to. Once the departure has been accepted, the issue can be considered resolved.

This is an oversimplification that conceals what could be a major contribution to ethnomusicology if the term urban ethnomusicology were to be explored in all that it implies theoretically and methodologically. At a time when what we study and what we consider its sociocultural context is growing ever more complex, the urban, by its intrinsic complexity can hold the key to new perspectives and to innovative thinking. If the urban were understood not just as a physical entity but, more important, as a congeries of dynamic processes, it could help us transcend or complement studies of music as types or genres or nation state-specific products. An understanding of music as more than these, or as not only these but also *as essentially urban phenomena* cannot help but energise and enrich the discipline as a whole.

This paper seeks to help disambiguate urban ethnomusicology by exploring grounds for a meaningful discussion of what it stands for. To this end, the paper will begin with a past-orientedness that will invoke history to shed light on the contemporary while allowing the contemporary to benefit from the past. Standing on this base, the paper will then proceed to explore present possibilities.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

The problems confronting urban ethnomusicology are twofold: those that come from the outside – from the subject that invites investigation – and those that come from within ethnomusicology itself. The degree to which problems of the first kind can be satisfactorily resolved is often contingent on how satisfactorily pertinent problems of the second kind have been resolved. Of particular concern in the present context is a class of problems from within ethnomusicology that are fundamental and yet often intractable because they have receded from conscious thought. Within this class of problems are those that have contributed significantly to the persistence of the opposition that induced the birth of urban ethnomusicology and that,

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if properly addressed, could promote growth or, if left unaddressed, could inhibit it.

I am referring to certain habits of mind – procedures and ways of thinking that become so embedded in 'normal practice' that they are taken for granted, and, by virtue of having become habits, escape critical scrutiny. Overlooked and hence, unacknowledged, they are not addressed. Virtually unexamined, they continue in effect even when new data and new knowledge dictate a change or a re-evaluation.

Of these habits of mind, I would like to focus on those that are set into motion by: 1) sociocultural context (because it is essential to ethnomusicological explanation), and 2) a particular assumption that has become central to ethnomusicological method having supported some of the discipline's major achievements. Because habits are acquired through time and because their embeddedness in a discipline's way of thinking is the result of a long process, they must be seen in historical perspective.

HABITS OF MIND

The musics that comparative musicology and, after it ethnomusicology, traditionally studied were assumed to have originated from societies that were simple, monolithic, and self-contained – qualities that fostered and protected the homogeneity of their cultures. In the first decades of the discipline's life, this view of the musics' native socio-cultural environments was validated by the observations and reports of scholars, government officials, missionaries, travellers, and sojourners.

Data on music, however, was much harder to collect. People who had direct access to the music of other cultures needed to have skills in transcription to bring the materials to those who had the musical expertise to study and analyse them. Documentation was problematic and the accuracy of musical data was difficult to verify filtered as they were through the ears, perceptions, and documentary tools of Western collectors. Verification through fieldwork was a difficulty few scholars of the late 19th and early 20th century could overcome. Studies of these musics therefore rested on assumptions about the music based largely on what was known about the cultures they came from or on what the investigator knew about his or her music which was then projected onto the music under study.

One of the most powerful of these assumptions was the homogeneity of the musical cultures under study. The music was believed to be governed by a unitary musical system in a manner analogous to the way a unitary linguistic system governed all utterances in a monolingual community. This assumption became the principal basis for analysis in ethnomusicology. It

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remained in force until the third quarter of the 20th century even as the ethnographic information that had supported it no longer applied, and even as the circumstances that had made it defensible and necessary originally had already been altered by technology, developments in transportation, world events, and new findings in the social sciences.

By the end of the Second World War, it had become evident that boundaries guarding the insularity of simple societies had in fact been less than wholly insular or had become fluid and porous. A rapid decline in the number of such societies – ethnomusicology's traditional 'hunting grounds' – followed. To the dramatic shrinkage of its territory and the rapid incursion of urban areas, ethnomusicology responded in two ways. First, it adjusted its description of the music it studied by shifting its focus from the 'primitive' and 'exotic' to the folk and traditional musics of the non-Western world. In so doing, it broadened the scope of its subject matter. But more importantly, it attenuated – and eventually removed – the requisite cultural distance between the culture of the music investigated and that of the investigator.

This underappreciated development[5] facilitated the second response. Ethnomusicologists began to work in cities, familiar environment if not home to many of them. They were motivated, however, not by an interest in the urban as such but by an interest in following the musics they had traditionally studied as 'the folk' – the music makers and users – migrated to cities. To all intents and purposes, therefore, the progress that came in the form of expanding fieldwork sites to include urban areas produced little conceptual and methodological change.

By the 1970s, the practice of studying folk and traditional music in cities while ignoring the urban as the music's sociocultural context began to raise important questions. Articles such as *Is there a folk in the city?* (Dorson 1971) and *The folkness of the nonfolk and the nonfolkness of the folk* (Seeger 1977) exemplified the growing discomfort created by the lack of fit between the

5 It is often forgotten that the focus on the 'primitive' and the 'exotic' as objects of ethnomusicological investigation derived from European colonial attitudes and from ideas drawn from theories of evolution. They therefore had strong intellectual and ideological roots which conditioned the way ethnomusicologists, almost all Westerners until the mid 20th century, regarded their subjects of study. To anthropologists and ethnomusicologists, there was the added cache of the romantic (Fox 1972). The transition from a commitment to the culturally and geographically distant, with all its associations, to the urban was thus tantamount to a transition from the almost-mysterious to the commonplace. The difficulty of the transition had its methodological consequences.

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prevailing notions of 'folk'[6] and the realities of the urban area to which the folk had migrated. In a very real sense, ethnomusicology was caught between, on the one hand, the undeniability of changes in the character of the environment in which the musics now functioned, and, on the other, the assumption about such musics that did not take those changes into account but was nonetheless difficult to abandon. Thus, the oppositions between the rural and the urban, between habitual ways of thinking and contemporary realities persisted.

Even after ethnomusicology had laid to rest its insistence on non-Western environments, even when ethnomusicologists found themselves in field sites then unfamiliar to ethnomusicology, methods based on the old assumptions hardly deviated from established practice. This was rationalised through a tacit insistence that migrant musics are not native to urban areas; they are replications of the music of the non-urban cultures from which they originally came – cultures that ethnomusicology had traditionally studied. The music, therefore, continued to be conceptualised as rural, albeit an unusual kind of rural music (Nettl 1975: 18).

Maintaining this way of thinking meant adherence to the belief that the musical lives of migrants now resettled in cities retain their pre-migration forms, or adapt only to the extent necessary to maintain what was presumed to be the authenticity of their music in an alien or threatening environment. It meant arguing that the culture of origin is the context within which the music is to be explained; not the urban area to where the music and their makers and users have migrated, and where these now live and may have lived perhaps for generations.

The consequences of pursuing this line of thought are obvious. First, a methodology that ignores or defies relevant information on something that is as observable and verifiable as the urban setting invites skepticism. Reducing the urban to insignificance in studies of urban musical phenomena is such an instance. Second, the risk of distortion in the image of the music and of the city in which it resides is high. "When studies of music *have* taken place in a city, they have rarely given much specific consideration to the urban environment as such, but have concentrated rather on enclaves that have preserved authentic rural traditions …" (Nettl 1978: 5; italics in original). Confining the study of presumably rural musics to enclaves for the sake of reproducing the music's original environment is a manipulation of data

6 "'Folk' in the traditional sense means *vulgus in populo* … rural people living in little communities in the countryside […] Relatively isolated from the more progressive urban centers, the folk […] accepts outside impulses only to a limited extent, adjusting them to the traditional pattern" (Degh commenting on Dorson 1971: 53).

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that is, at best, of dubious value. And presuming that enclaves represent the totality of urban influences on a music is no less so.

Thus, there came about a serious disconnect between ethnomusicologists' pursuit of the homogeneous in the folk and the traditional musics they had customarily studied, and the environment in which they now sought those musics: a sociocultural milieu that is intrinsically heterogeneous.

Habits of mind are not all that account for the above developments, but they were a powerful force in the pace at which those developments unfolded and in the direction they took. Such habits go a long way toward explaining how urban areas, observable and open to investigation as they are, were nonetheless ignored for a long time as contexts for musical life. The assumption of homogeneity, by virtue of its function as premise, operated largely outside conscious methodological control. Together, these habits became what the linguist, Paul Friedrich, called debilitating premises – premises that had once been "wisely accepted […] [as] part of the intellectual history of a field of knowledge" (Friedrich 1979: 2) but had become debilitating through habitual and uncritical use.

These were the contingencies that pushed the study of urban musical phenomena outside of ethnomusicology's normal practice to a place where the past, particularly its insistence on the explanatory potential of sociocultural context, can be explored anew and where the present can be seen from a refreshed perspective. These were the contingencies that led to urban ethnomusicology.

CITIES, CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND URBAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

Cities are the paramount exemplars of the urban area. They are also relatively easy to identify; individual cities are named and they have designated boundaries. Along with the city, as the category to which they belong, cities will be my focus as a context for music and musical life.

In all their forms, cities are distinguished by the heterogeneity of their population, the density of human interactions that take place in a relatively small space, and the complex dynamics that govern human relations as well as the relations between the city's people and the city as the place where they live. Many more attributes – demographic, economic, or administrative – have been proposed as distinctive of cities, but this paper will focus on one that is of particular interest to ethnomusicology – its cultural diversity.

The sociologist, Louis Wirth, offered what he called a 'minimal definition' of the city. It is a "relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals" (Wirth 1969: 148). But it is not, as

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Robert Park, the leader of the Chicago School for urban studies has pointed out, a mere physical entity. It is a:

> state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organised attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition. […] It is involved in the vital process of the people who compose [the city which] is a product of nature, and particularly of human nature. (Park 1969a: 91)

The city, therefore, is place and people bound by relations of reciprocity; the one shapes the other and vice versa.

Most, if not all, cities owe their demographic density more to migration[7], than to internal growth (birth rates); urban dwellers tend to be more mobile than their rural counterparts. Hence, in the city, the association of native-ness with membership in a culture is far from automatic; cultural identity is more fluid and multiplex in cities. Identity markers – rituals, institutions, symbols – are not easily transferable from one cultural context to another. Establishing them and then maintaining them is made difficult by the character of migration to cities and their effects on human relations. Migrants seldom come in sufficient numbers from the same region of the country from which they migrated. This pattern reinforces the predominance of non-kin relations in cities. What emerges as ethnic culture is thus almost inevitably a composite of elements from the 'old country' and those created by contingencies in the new home.

Voluntary migrants (as opposed to forced migrants, often called refugees or asylees, who often constitute mass population movements) gravitate toward cities for the wide range of opportunities – economic, cultural, educational, etc. – that cities offer. The relative anonymity that a large and mobile population affords allows newcomers to adjust to a new way of life or to create their own without attracting too much attention. At the same time, that very diversity makes possible encountering people or groups among whom one can find a sense of belonging. All these factors have historically made the city:

> a most favorable breeding ground of new […] cultural hybrids. […] It has brought together people from the ends of the earth because they are different and thus useful to one another, rather than because they are homogeneous and like-minded. (Wirth 1969: 150)

7 Migration is used here in its generic sense; it includes in-migration, emigration and immigration.

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Whether or not one agrees with Wirth's view of why people migrate to cities, the hybridisation that is bred by cultural difference is hard to dispute. Borrowing, appropriation, cross-fertilisation, fusion, border-crossing and similar terms all suggest some form of hybridisation or exchange on every level of social and musical life. It is an almost inescapable consequence of location, its effects on human relations and the products that result from those relations. Being where culturally diverse groups are thrown together in close quarters over a period of time in an environment where difference encourages – even demands – adaptive creative activity.

Everything that has been said so far argues *against* the validity of discounting the city as context for the musical universe that takes shape in the city as part of its cultural life. But more importantly, it argues *for* the need to go beyond the components of urban life – its ethnic and regional groups, the different forms of expressive culture (e.g., music, literature, the visual and performing arts) – and to study their relations. The dynamic processes at work in those relations are what mould a culturally heterogeneous population into a cohesive and coherent social organism. In these processes, I think, lies the key to understanding urban culture as such – as a distinctive whole that is not just the sum of separate cultural 'islands', each occupying its part of the city's geography. That whole is not merely a locus. It is a focus of investigation, an essential ingredient in the creation of urban musical phenomena that functions beyond the specificities of ethnic and regional identity.

BRIDGING PAST AND PRESENT

Insights into the past can be difficult to translate into strategies for dealing with new realities. Apart from some of the impediments discussed above, the wealth of information that the literature offers can be confusing and overwhelming. I would therefore like to return to an article mentioned earlier in this paper which, to my mind, encapsulates an intellectual journey from familiar terrain to a frontier, from the scholar's mastery of his discipline's normal practice to a confrontation with challenges to the expectations that normal practice raises. The account serves as an abbreviated account of a transition that could serve as a metaphor for ethnomusicology's transition from a simple society-oriented discipline to one that is face-to-face with the complexity of societies ethnomusicology must now deal with – a complexity that is exemplified by the city.

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Richard M. Dorson was an eminent scholar, a historian, who eventually became best known as a folklorist.[8] At about the time when anthropologists, folklorists, and ethnomusicologists were grappling with the issue of the urban, and its relevance to their respective disciplines, Dorson wrote the article *Is there a folk in the city*? (Dorson 1971). It was based on fieldwork in the city of Gary, Indiana in the United States. As was the case with most ethnomusicologists then, Richard Dorson's frame of reference and point of departure was folk society, specifically that of North Uist in Scotland which Dorson described as a simple, rural society, "a classic illustration of […] the concept of folk" (Dorson 1971: 21).

Gary was clearly a contrastive case. Its population was described as heterogeneous; a complex of ethnic and regional groups. Following a common pattern, Dorson organised his research according to the major groups: Serbs, Croats, Greeks, 'Latino', i. e. Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. His findings straddled old expectations and new observations. 'Genre folklore' – those forms conventionally collected by folklorists such as songs and narratives – were becoming "increasingly displaced by other kinds of oral tradition" (Dorson 1971: 42). This did not mean that folk culture was about to disappear. Folk culture, Dorson noted, was in fact 'present and pervasive', its manifestations organised[9] by churches and civic organisations around festivals, saints' day and national holiday celebrations, and cuisine. It was thus evident that transformations were taking place. These, Dorson implied, were attributable to social dynamics in Gary that involved more than a linear process of migration, preservation and maintenance, or decline and eventual disappearance of traditional practices. He concluded that "city folk are different from the country folk of yesteryear …" (Dorson 1971: 52). In other words, the folk can no longer be presumed to be an undifferentiated population that is resistant to change. The difference is expressed in the opposition country-city, a parallel to the more familiar rural-urban opposition.

This conclusion put Dorson at a methodological frontier. It challenged the assumption that migrants from rural areas retain their character as

8 In the United States, the relations between ethnomusicology, anthropology, and folklore are particularly close. Many members in the *Society for Ethnomusicology* are also members in the societies of the two other disciplines and vice versa, and many articles by ethnomusicologists are published in the journals of anthropology and folklore.

9 In her comments to the article when it was initially presented as a paper, the folklorist Linda Degh used the term 'fabricated' in lieu of 'organised', and included the media and voluntary associations as agents for the propagation of cultural practices. (Degh's comments were appended to Dorson 1971.)

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members of the same rural culture from which they came, support for which necessitates disavowing the role of the urban in the life they now live. Dorson's response was to espouse neither position: migrants from rural to urban areas did not need to be denied their rural roots; neither did the effects of their urban residence need to be ignored. In differentiating between country and city folk, he put both members of a pair in binary opposition, where (as in linguistics) one member does not reject or invalidate the other but, through contrast, illumines it. As a pair, they share some general facts. As opposites, the members of the pair de-emphasise what they share to call attention instead to how they contrast with each other. Thus, what C. Seeger called 'folkness' is shared by country and city folk, but under certain conditions, what they do not share is what becomes significant.

To better appreciate the bridge from the past to the present that Dorson had constructed, and to explore its implications for urban ethnomusicology today, let us review the particularly instructive facets of Dorson's article.

First, Dorson, noting his past-orientedness by referring to his work in North Uist, began with what was customary. He looked for 'old familiar genres' that replicated forms from the culture of origin. In her commentary to Dorson's paper, Linda Degh, referred to those forms as "the vanishing relics of the traditional and self-contained ways of life preserved in various isolated enclaves" (Dorson 1971: 53–54). The interest in conservation is unmistakable. Without re-contextualizing the forms, these were placed in their historic rather than their contemporary context.

Second, Gary, Indiana as host society to the migrant groups under study, was not accorded the role of a majority; hence, there was no reference to minority groups. In the absence of a majority, the different ethnic groups were studied not as minorities but as isolates – as wholes in themselves. A very important set of processes with great explanatory potential – those revealed by majority-minority relations – was missed as a consequence.

Up to this point, Dorson was following 'normal practice'. But more questions seemed to emerge than could be answered by that practice. These led Dorson to explore other ways of thinking about familiar phenomena.

1) Along with the displacement of old forms, Dorson noted what he called a 'new lore'. Instead of themes and concerns drawn from each group's rural life – themes that would have been group-specific and hence, different from each other – Dorson noted themes that cut across those differences. There were stories about working in the steel industry (which employed many of the migrants); about the problems of communicating among different ethnic groups, about crime and shared fears. These were clearly urban concerns that transcended group differences and referred to Gary as a shared environment that gave the groups a common living

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experience. These were data that led Dorson to acknowledge the city as the context without which it would be impossible to explain the 'new lore' or excise it as insignificant. Taking the city as context, in turn, allowed him to accept the differences between city folk and country folk within the framework of a shared 'folkness'.

2) In a section of the article that he titled *Urban Synthesis* he noted the boundaries that created "ethnic separation" (Dorson 1971: 45). Dorson dealt with what seemed to be conflicting processes through the concept of cultural pluralism. The term had quantitative and qualitative connotations. Whereas the quantitative was immediately observable in the number of groups studied separately, the qualitative was an acknowledgment of group interaction. It was an acknowledgment that separateness in urban life is not absolute but relative and contingent. This was evident in the way the groups Dorson studied crossed each other's 'zones'; but the degree to which they were allowed to do so varied on different levels. Certain groups, for example, may mingle and socialise freely but tolerance and social integration stopped short of intermarriage. Marriage was a 'zone' where the inclusionary tendencies in other zones no longer apply; marriage was a zone where exclusionary tendencies became the rule.

At this point, it is clear that Dorson had either stretched normal practice or stepped outside its boundaries.

Like cultural diversity, cultural pluralism also presupposes a number of culture groups engaged in social interaction. But the two terms differ in emphasis. Pluralism leans toward ethnic separation (the exclusionary aspect of the uniqueness that Dorson attributed to each of the groups); while diversity underscores the inclusionary aspects of the group interaction that he later observed. Indeed, the difference may not be readily visible on the surface, but the distinctions are useful for analytic purposes. Inclusivity and exclusivity can alternate rather quickly or may operate simultaneously on different social levels in the course of daily life in the urban environment.

It is important to note that what Dorson saw in Gary was not specific to that location and to that particular society. I saw it in the course of fieldwork undertaken in New York City at roughly the same time that Dorson was doing his fieldwork in Gary (late 1960s, early 1970s).

In East Harlem, a section of Manhattan in New York City which was then predominantly Latino (Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans) and African-American, members of the community, regardless of ethnic affiliation, participated in a weekly activity intended to fight drug trafficking and drug use in the community. People gathered in an easily accessible

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place – a church or a school – and then marched in procession to a place where drug-related activities were said to be going on. There, the procession stopped, the participants sang and danced together to bring the location to the attention of the community. The intent was to bring what was hidden, clandestine, or possibly criminal to public notice, to put the people involved to shame, and in general, to discourage association with the designated place. The rallying song of the community groups was *We shall overcome*, which became nationally known when it became associated with the civil rights movement of the 1960s. In East Harlem, for the activity just described, the verses of the song were sung alternately in English and Spanish to signify a community-wide, non-ethnic-group-specific initiative.

At the same time, on another issue, many of the same people who participated as members of a solidary community in the anti-drug campaign broke down into opposing groups when confronted with government-supported English-as-a-second-language programmes. Seen as benefiting only the Latinos, the programmes in essence drew a line that separated Latinos from African Americans.

THE CITY TODAY

From the legacy of the past through the transition to the present, represented in a single piece of research by an individual scholar and packed in a nutshell in Dorson's article, two things come into view: 1) we catch a glimpse of the time it takes to become conscious of habits of mind and to address them; and 2) we see the place to which that transition from past to present has taken us. We have entered a field marked prominently by complexity not in the common sense meaning of the term as complicated or difficult to solve, but in a more recent usage according to which nonlinearity is an essential component.

Patterns of behavior that exemplify inclusionary and exclusionary processes are not difficult to discern once the strictures of normal practice are put in proper perspective.[10] They are part of the social dynamics that accommodate and order difference for the sake of creating and maintaining a cohesive whole in places like cities where heterogeneity and cultural diversity prevail. They are part of the binary oppositions – the global and the local, the cosmopolitanism and the provincialism, the majority and the minority –

10 Other examples are in Reyes Schramm 1975 and 1982 (New York City), Reyes 1999 (Vietnamese in the Philippines and the United States), and forthcoming (Sudanese and Ugandans in Kampala).

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that give urban life its character. They are what make the heterogeneity of the city systemic and orderly.

I began this paper with pairs of terms – preservation-proliferation, homogeneity-heterogeneity – each pair separated by the word 'to' as though they represented a point of departure and a destination. This is the way those pairs of words have been commonly presented, as one following the other in some kind of narrative progression or as one replacing the other. The 'quantum leaps' seemed to reinforce the sense of linearity and unidirectionality. I hope that the discussion that followed served to present an alternative way of thinking, namely, taking those pairs as binary oppositions presented to the ethnomusicological mind for consideration. For ethnomusicology's world has now come closer to the city as a model of the context in which more and more of the musics we study reside. It is a context that conforms to what the Nobel laureate Murray Gell-Mann called a complex adaptive system which is characterised by a "mix of simplicity and complexity, regularity and randomness, order and disorder" (Gell-Mann 1994: 119–20). It is a mix that the city as a complex adaptive mechanism requires, for too much order and regularity stifles the incentive to innovate while a sense of disorder and irregularity provokes the social organism to respond adaptively and creatively to the heterogeneity and cultural diversity that are inherent in urban environments.

> United Nations experts […] say [in 2000] that their early projections show that… the European Union as a whole [would need] about 35 million immigrants if the Europeans want to keep their ratio of older people to active workers at the 1995 levels; the Union would need 135 million immigrants by 2025. (Crosette 2000: 1)

Ten years earlier, the distinguished Polish philosopher and historian of ideas, Leszek Kolakowski had written:

> There is no doubt […] that without so many religiously or politically motivated expulsions and self-expulsions, without all those wanderers and refugees, European intellectual and artistic life would be much different from what it is. […]We have to accept, however reluctantly, the simple fact that we live in an age of refugees, of migrants, vagrants, nomads […]. (Kolakowski 1990: 58–59)

Growing urbanisation has given us an inevitably and necessarily culturally diverse population and with it, a culturally diverse musical life. Interactions among a culturally diverse population constitute some of the most complex and challenging kinds of social dynamics that make cities not only highly

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promising environments for creating, performing, using and marketing music. They are also laboratories for the study of collective human behaviour – for music as cultural expression, as something we might make our own as individuals but "whose meaning entirely comes from its being in the public world" (Toulmin 1995: 193).

If we owe anything to the urban area, it is an awareness of a new (ethnomusicological) reality. In compelling us to confront a complex musical world, urban ethnomusicology as the study of urban musical phenomena, arouses something that may be dormant in us – that tendency demonstrated by a line of thinkers from Galileo to Charles Sanders Peirce to Alfred North Whitehead: "to make relations the primary reality and relata secondary" (Shapiro 1991: 18), to make cultural diversity a system of relations that creates a dynamic musical world and challenges ethnomusicology to bring to it a fresh perspective.

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Laura Leante

»URBAN MYTH«: BHANGRA AND THE DHOL CRAZE IN THE UK

Bhangra is believed to have originated in Western Punjab (in today's Pakistan) as a rural male dance performed to the rhythm of the *dhol*, a large double-headed barrel drum, to celebrate the spring harvest. Soon after Indian Partition in 1947 and following the social upheaval that accompanied it, a dance called bhangra became associated with the new Indian Punjab's cultural identity. This phenomenon was encouraged and supported from the outset by the local administration and can be attributed to two main factors. On the one hand, from the first half of the 1950s, the image of bhangra as a symbol of Punjabi identity was spread outside Punjab by teams of bhangra dancers featured in national and international events (such as the Republic Day Parade in Delhi) and in Bollywood movies.[1] On the other hand, what cemented this association among Punjabis and marked the institutionalisation of bhangra was the participation of dance teams in inter-college and inter-university youth festivals and competitions, which became more and more common from the 1960s, with the foundation of Punjab's first higher education institutions. To this day, schools and colleges are the places where young Punjabis learn to dance bhangra.

Within a short time, therefore, bhangra was established in the urban context, the rural dance being destined to become a nostalgic memory for the few who could claim to have witnessed it, as well as the ideal reference for the homonymous urban stage dance. The newer urban dance, which is still accompanied by a dhol player, is performed by teams of approximately

1 In 1954, the Maharaja of Patiala sponsored a team of Punjabi dancers to perform at the parade held in Delhi on Republic Day. The leader of the team, Manohar Deepak, took his group to Mumbai and in 1956 bhangra made its first appearance in Bollywood movies such as *Jagte Raho* and, a few months later, *Naya Daur* (see also Schreffler 2002: 20 and Ballantyne 2007: 128–129).

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Fig. 1 – Punjabi students performing bhangra. Guru Nanak College, Phagwara – Punjab, November 2004.

Photo by Laura Leante

ten to twelve dancers in costume, who present choreographies put together, following the competitions' guidelines and rules, by a coach (fig. 1).[2]

The vast majority of Punjabis who left India (especially from the late 1950s, in the post-Second World War migratory waves) and brought their knowledge of bhangra to the UK, had seen or danced it in its urban form, and their acquaintance with it dates back to their own or some friend's or relative's schooldays in Punjab. Therefore, although most dancers will talk about bhangra as a traditional village dance performed for the harvest, as a matter of fact, what they have experienced directly is the staged performance, which has become consolidated in the past few decades.

However, the form of bhangra which is nowadays more in the public eye in the West – often attracting the attention of the non-South Asian mainstream media – is different again: a popular music genre which spread during the 1980s among the communities outside India, where it established

2 Apart from the dhol, other instruments can be used to accompany bhangra teams, including the percussion *chimta*, the one-stringed lute *toombi*, and the double flute *algoza*. The dancers also use two kinds of wooden clappers during the performance: the lattice-shaped *sapp*, and the squirrel-shaped *katto*. A singer can also perform in the background.

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itself as the means for immigrants, especially the second-generation youth, to assert a modern Punjabi identity in diaspora (Leante 2003 and 2004).[3]

This pop-influenced bhangra, which also claims direct descent from the rural dance, is actually a sung genre intended for dancing, which owes as much to Punjabi popular and folk singing as it does to dance.[4] (It is no accident, I believe, that two of the first and most influential bhangra stars in the UK, singers Channi Singh and Malkit Singh, were known in their schooldays in Punjab for their vocal skills, and never joined a dance team). This genre of bhangra is danced by individuals, both male and female, and the choreographed dance (considered 'more traditional') is referenced only by a handful of moves, performed at the discretion of the participants. Jokes about these stereotyped movements abound, and make some senior members of bhangra teams knit their eyebrows indignantly, remarking that the complexity and intricacy of the dance cannot be reduced to a few moves mimicking, for example, the act of 'screwing in a light bulb' or 'stepping on a cigarette end'. The real celebrities of this modern genre are singers and DJs, who have nourished a rich record market for the past three decades. Many of these artists produce, promote, and perform their music in both the UK and India, fostering that international web within which bhangra proliferates.

Both modern pop bhangra and the choreographed stage dance are regularly and easily accessible in the communities of the Punjabi diaspora in the UK, where one can always find posters in the streets and in shops advertising forthcoming shows, disco events,[5] or *melas* [fairs][6].

3 Roughly at the same time as the modern pop-influenced bhangra emerged in Britain, an analogous form of music started to spread in Punjab. It is not possible to talk about the first without taking the second into account, as the two scenes are part of the same web of music production. Much could also be said about the osmotic relationship between this modern bhangra and Bollywood music; the topic, nevertheless, falls beyond the scope of this article.

4 For the sake of clarity, in the next few pages, whenever possible, I will refer to choreographed bhangra dancers as 'bhangra teams', and to the artists and musicians of the modern western pop-influenced genre as 'bhangra bands'.

5 See also Banerji and Baumann 1990.

6 Interestingly enough, in the UK, contrary to India and other countries, there are no bhangra competitions. Occasionally, British teams try to raise funds to participate in contests abroad, especially in the U.S. or Canada, where these events are widespread and regular. When in January 2008 a widely-advertised international bhangra competition took place in Punjab, only one British-based team showed an interest in participating. Not having been able to find a

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Other occasions of performance include annual celebrations, the biggest being the Sikh festival of Vaisakhi, which usually features (especially for its association to the Indian harvest happening in the same season, and therefore to bhangra) teams of dancers who follow the religious processions, either performing to the sound of a dhol played live, or to a pre-recorded, often heavily pop-influenced track. In fact, it is not uncommon for a team of dancers to choreograph a performance to some bhangra pop hit, and this reveals how the two modern forms of bhangra do not belong to mutually exclusive scenes, but, on the contrary, often intersect.

The establishment of groups of bhangra dancers in the UK preceded the spread of the modern pop-influenced form. In fact, a few teams were already performing in the late 1960s, made up of immigrants who had learned or seen the dance back in their days in Punjab. Some of the younger generation, in contrast, have experienced bhangra exclusively in Britain – although today's communication technology allows Punjabis around the world to easily share a lot of their culture. Nevertheless, until a few years ago, in the absence of established teachers, those who wanted to learn often had to teach themselves, imitating the music and dance being played and performed at weddings or parties, or watching Indian movies and TV programmes. Jag Kumar, of the Nachda Sansaar team from Birmingham, told me how, as a teenager in the early 1980s, he started getting into bhangra when, with a group of friends, he decided to put together a dance routine to music by London-based band Alaap in order to enliven a school assembly:

> We didn't have a teacher to teach us, we were picking up movements and we were probably adding our little twist to the movements. We started looking at old videos from India – movies. And at that time there used to be a programme called 'New Way New Life' [Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan], just specifically for Indians […] we watched things like that. (Jag Kumar, personal communication – Birmingham, 10th April 2008)

In a few months, Jag joined a team, started wearing a bhangra costume during his performances, and began to ask more senior dancers and dhol players for advice, since by this time he and his friends were committed to dancing bhangra "in the right way" (Jag Kumar, personal communication – Birmingham, 10th April 2008). Stories similar to Jag Kumar's could no doubt have been told by many of his contemporaries.

sponsor to support the travel expenses for the whole group, only two members of the team went to India just to attend the event (Jag Kumar, informal communication – Jalandhar, 7th January 2008).

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Nowadays most bhangra learners are second or third generation British Punjabis, who sometimes, like Jag, develop an interest in bhangra in their teens, while also being into western popular music; for them, though, the learning path is more straightforward, as they can easily join one of the numerous teams (one being Jag's own) which provide classes at all levels. Those who are more into the modern pop-influenced form of bhangra than the choreographed dance join or start a band with their friends; many others, finally, are stirred by the sound of the dhol and decide to learn to play this drum – a phenomenon to which I will now turn.

THE UK DHOL CRAZE

So far, I have discussed how bhangra refers to different forms or genres: a rural dance, a choreographed dance performed in urban Punjab and in the diaspora, and a western pop-influenced genre which spread in the 1980s. Especially in the wake of the huge popularity of the latter, many people, in particular outside India, started referring to Punjabi pop in general and even to other forms of dance-oriented South Asian popular music as bhangra (see also Schreffler 2002: 17–18). No wonder, then, that such indeterminacy of definition can make it difficult to shed light, for example, on the first developments of the pop-influenced form of bhangra in the UK between the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. In this period, in fact, teams performing the choreographed dance were popular in the Punjabi communities alongside folk singers, and both genres are nowadays often labelled as bhangra.[7] Nevertheless, what they seem to have in common is a certain character of 'danceability', which can be associated to the dhol and/or to a set of rhythms derived from the choreographed dance, especially the distinctive eight-beat swung trochaic pattern called *kaharva*. This rhythm and the dhol have come to signify 'bhangra par excellence'. In the UK in particular, not only has the dhol become a symbol of bhangra, it has equalled it in representing Punjabi identity. Here, a real craze has developed for the last 15 years in a unique way, so far unparalleled in other communities of the Punjabi diaspora, which entailed a change in the social status of this instrument and its players compared to the original Indian context.

Traditionally, *dholis* [dhol players] in Punjab, like most other drummers in South Asia, belong to communities of professional male players from

7 An example in this sense is *Teri Chunni de Sitare*, the first album published by the group Alaap, often considered the pioneer UK-bhangra record (see also Schreffler 2002: 4 – note 6).

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Fig. 2 – Young British Punjabis playing the dhol during the Vaisakhi procession (Southall – London, April 2006).

Photo by Laura Leante

low caste social groups.[8] Apart from very few exceptions, dhol playing is not sought after as a profession by young boys from outside drummers' communities, while many of these boys do aspire to join their school or college's bhangra team as dancers – an activity which will grant them visibility among their peers and which will often give lustre to their institution. In Britain, on the contrary, children of all ages long to pick up the dhol and to play the eight-beat kaharva rhythm. Here social class and gender issues seem not to be an obstacle, as both boys and girls from different social backgrounds want to play the dhol (Poole 2004: 20–23). The occasions for performance are numerous, and range from the private sphere, on the occasion of parties, to the public space. At processions, such as those held for the annual celebration of Vaiskhi, line-ups of young dhol players (fig. 2) usually follow at the end of the column, alongside teams of bhangra dancers, often wearing a T-shirt with the name or logo of their team while parading their skills.

In recent years the number of dhol teachers has been rapidly increasing within Punjabi communities in Britain. Local music shops and community

8 For more information about dholi communities, see Schreffler 2002, 2002–4 and 2005b. To this day, the vast majority of dholis come from these social classes, although a few young men from outside these communities are starting to show interest in the instrument, an interest that is often due to its association with bhangra.

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centres provide lists and contacts of dholis, or offer on-site tuition. Most importantly, some players with a stronger entrepreneurial inclination have founded large groups offering classes for different levels and ages. At the same time, they have provided a number of more experienced dholis for hire to perform at a range of events, including parties, melas, and disco gigs. The *Dhol Foundation*, the *Ministry of Dhol*, the *Dhol Academy*, and the *Dhol Blasters* are only a few of the best-known names. Some of them are twinned within the same organisation with bhangra teams of the same name, and the activities of the most resourceful include the promotion of workshops on both the dance and the dhol among schools outside the South Asian communities in various locations in the UK.

This interest has started to create a growing market for the drum itself. One of the largest Indian musical instruments retailers in the UK, London-based *Bina Musicals*, for example, have significantly increased the trade of their dhols in the past 15 years. They told me that sometimes they sell 'even five or six' dhols in a week. Their drums – advertised on their website as 'bhangra dhols' – are all manufactured in India (in different designs and sizes)[9] and imported from the main family shop in New Delhi.[10]

Most interestingly, dhol playing has developed as integral to, and at the same time separate from, bhangra bands or dance teams. In fact, as well as playing for bhangra dancers, more skilled dholis can join bands in which they are often the main attraction, supported by a group of other musicians (playing, for example, guitars, basses, drum kits, or keyboards). These bands have sometimes enjoyed exposure even among non-South Asian audiences, and have contributed significantly to the professionalisation and to the raising of the status of dhol playing in the UK. This somehow subverts the conception of the role of the dholi in Punjab, who belongs to specific low-caste social groups, and has a relatively low status.

How does the UK dhol craze relate to the traditional position of dhol playing in India? How do UK-based musicians articulate these differences? One of the things that I found most striking when I started discussing this shift of status with UK-based dholis, bhangra dancers, producers, and players was their lukewarm reaction. In fact, they would not raise the topic unless I did so, but would then proudly mention the popularity of dhol playing in Britain across gender and class distribution and its significance as a sign of social equality; they would not usually refer to how this could

9 Further reference to organological issues will be made in the next pages.

10 Manu Sura, informal communication – London, 12th May 2008. See also *Bina Musicals*' website (www.binaswar.com) and the website of another major London-based retailer, *Jas Musicals* (www.jas-musicals.com).

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be seen, for instance, in India. However, in Punjab, UK-based dhol players are considered *amateurs* rather than 'real' professional players faithful to the tradition. The fact that they do not learn from a 'proper' teacher belonging to dholi communities is valued negatively, and the style of playing of these 'half-baked' UK dholis is often described as lacking the subtleties or nuances of the expert players, as well as the full mastery of the instrument and its repertories.

The apparent indifference of UK-based Punjabis towards these issues may seem quite peculiar, especially when we consider that, through the equation 'dhol = bhangra = Punjabiness', this drum is a direct referent to India and to Punjabi tradition. Nevertheless, the paradox is resolved once one realises that as long as the dhol is perceived as an index of Punjab and its culture, it does not really matter whether the style of playing or the status of the player are the same as those in India. In fact, the dhol addresses not so much Punjab *per se*, but Punjab as an ideal projection, that is, Punjab as perceived by UK-based Punjabis.

India and Punjab emerge as essential aspects in shaping identity, but this identity is ultimately 'British Punjabi' and references the social reality of the diaspora community in the UK. Therefore, this identity is asserted through a double process entailing both ideal proximity to India (by addressing the Punjabi origin), and distance from it (as a result of the experience of the life in the West). This process also contributes to Punjab's accession to a sort of mythical status, which emerges, for example, from the fascination mingled with vagueness with which many talk about bhangra's origin as a village dance, and about the jollity of the harvest, and – of course – of the dhol.

Therefore, the key to studying the dhol craze in the UK is to look beyond its reference to India and to consider it also as a phenomenon establishing a sort of parallel, new tradition. In order to understand the character of this tradition, it will be necessary to take a few steps back and try to shed some light on its developments through the past few decades. At this point, though, the reader will not be surprised to discover that the early days of the dhol in Britain are shrouded in a certain haziness, as the emphasis tends to be more on today's UK-based stars than on who brought the dhol to Britain, and when and how they started playing it.

However, it seems that the first UK dhol players did not belong to traditional dholi communities, who were probably too financially disadvantaged to be able to afford, at least at that time, the cost of travelling outside India.[11] On the contrary, it seems these immigrants got to know about dhol playing from the drummers who accompanied their college's

11 I am indebted to Gibb Schreffler for his input on this subject.

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bhangra team back in their school days in India. In general, these first dholis either kept a relatively low profile, or anyway never reached the status of celebrities which some of the younger drummers have enjoyed for the past 20 years.

Harbinder Singh, the dholi of the Great Indian Dancers, one of the first bhangra teams based in the West-London neighbourhood of Southall, was one of the few dholis of his generation to achieve public exposure in Britain, especially after the Great Indian Dancers were recruited to feature in a movie.[12] Harbinder, who had been a bhangra dancer in his college team in Jalandhar, settled in the UK in 1964, and only later resolved on playing the dhol, after seeing Amritsar-based renowned dhol master Ustad Harbans Lal accompany Punjabi singer K. Deep touring Britain. Harbinder then decided to go back to India and spend some time there to learn from Harbans Lal.[13] This kind of learning path is quite unusual and definitely not the first choice for the following generations of drummers in Britain: young dhol players do not usually take up this option, as they are already catered for by a growing number of UK-based dholis who can satisfy their needs. I would suggest that there would be little point in these youngsters going abroad in any case, as what they want to learn is actually the dhol as it is played in the UK. To fully understand this craze, one should also take into account two more aspects: first, especially for the young and teenage boys and girls, joining a team of dhol players affords a possibility to socialise and have fun with their peers. Secondly, one cannot overestimate the fascination of those dholis who have recently ascended to the status of popular stars, nourishing, as a result, the desires and ambitions of the younger generation to emulate their idols.

The emergence of these stars has surely had an impact on the development of a new youth culture associated to the dhol craze in the UK. Two players who can be considered emblematic in this sense are Gurcharan Mall and Johnny Kalsi – the founders and leaders of two of the most established dhol teams in the UK: respectively, The *Dhol Blasters* and *The Dhol Foundation*.

Gurcharan Mall, now in his 50s, moved to Birmingham from Punjab with his parents in the early 1960s. Here, he first started to play the *dholak* (a double-headed barrel drum smaller than the dhol), accompanying singers in the local temple, and then got into the dhol. During a recent interview, he explained to me how, like many of his contemporaries (and in a way

12 Kuljit Bhamra, personal communication – London, 20th May 2008.

13 Harbinder Singh, informal communication – 28th May 2008.

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similar to many UK-based bhangra dancers) he was mostly a self-taught musician:

> My first instrument was the dholak […] Everybody who started in music in olden days […] they just watched films and picked things up […] because in those days there was no one to teach us. […] Before I picked up the dhol there was five or six [bhangra] teams. Some of them [the dholis of those teams] even went back [to learn dhol] […]
>
> When you join a team, then you start to learn things […] When I started I wanted to make a progress and then this friend of mine was a dholi in [a bhangra team] and I said to him "Look, I wanna come along" […] He learnt the same way that I learnt. (Gurcharan Mall, personal communication – Birmingham, 10th May 2008)

It is interesting how the musician refers to some of the dholis who were active in the UK before him as to those who "even went back" to Punjab to learn the dhol: in Gurcharan Mall's words one can find the legitimisation of the UK dhol playing through a connection to the Punjabi playing tradition, while at the same time stepping back from that same lineage.

This process of distancing was somehow completed in the past 15 years or so by Johnny Kalsi, born in the UK to parents whose families had originally left India to settle in Kenya. A third generation emigrant, Johnny was brought up in the suburban areas of West London, and never visited his ancestors' village in Punjab.[14] Although he claims to have been fascinated by Indian percussion instruments (especially the *tabla* and dholak) since he was a child, he started playing with dedication and commitment as a teenager, when he learnt the western drum kit and used to play it at his school's events and assemblies. The first opportunity to play a dhol arose through an uncle, who had brought his drum from India and who, in turn, had learned from the dholi who accompanied the bhangra team of his college in Punjab (evidently following the same path which I have described above).

Johnny's career as a dhol player was propelled when he joined bhangra band *Alaap*. After establishing his popularity with them, Johnny moved on to what would become a solo career with his Dhol Foundation. Unlike most British bhangra singers and dhol players, Johnny also managed to enjoy a certain degree of exposure on the western mainstream circuit, securing a deal with Real World. His look is very different from Gurcharan Mall's more traditional bhangra outfit, and addresses a more contemporary, western-

14 Johnny Kalsi, personal communication – Feltham, 6th May 2008.

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influenced British Asian youth. Most of all, he focuses on his image as a dhol soloist: his shows are built around him and a group of drum players. When we met, Johnny was keen to stress how he made enquiries and did 'his research'[15] to find out about the 'real Punjabi tradition' and about the dhol. Significantly, though, according to Johnny, this research ultimately led him to think of some changes to make on his drum in order to obtain a *new* sound that would please him more.

THE 'ORIGIN' OF A NEW TRADITION

The diffusion of dhol playing in the UK is also responsible for the development of a modern model of the instrument, in which the high-pitched goatskin is replaced by a plastic membrane, held by metal hooks which are screwed in the body of the drum, while the rope remains the means of tension for the low-pitch skin.[16] This new model has become extremely common both in the UK and abroad, including India, where nowadays most dhols are manufactured with the plastic head (Schreffler 2005a). This innovation seems to have been introduced as a result of the encounter with western drum kit playing and is attributed to and claimed by Johnny Kalsi.

In the previous pages I have discussed how both bhangra and the dhol craze developed in the UK as a phenomenon characterised at the same time by an ideal proximity to and distance from India: They claim in fact descent from Punjabi tradition, while at the same time revealing characteristics and innovations derived from the experience of life in the UK. The dhol, in particular, has acquired a new status compared to that it is accorded in Punjab, and it seems to have taken a new direction to the extent that it is often not valued or appreciated by more orthodox and senior bhangra dancers and dholis in India.

To me, what confirms the parting of the UK dhol craze from the Punjabi drumming tradition is Johnny Kalsi's description, which he gave me during a recent interview, of how he introduced his changes to his dhol, namely a

15 The theme of 'research' on Punjabi musical tradition is quite common in conversations, especially with second-generation British-born Asians (Johnny Kalsi, personal communication – Feltham, 6th May 2008; Jag Kumar, personal communication – Birmingham, 10th April 2008).

16 In figure 2, the first two dhols from the left feature a (dark) plastic head held by metal hooks. The goatskin tightened by a rope is visible in the dhol in the foreground on the right.

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straight shape and the plastic head[17]. I think Johnny's narration can provide interesting perspectives on the analysis not only of the dhol craze in Britain, but also of its relationship with Punjab and of what I previously introduced as a sort of 'mythical' status acquired by the latter. For this reason, I will quote him at length:

> I had a friend who was at college – a Pakistani guy, also Punjabi, and I took a trip with him [to] Lahore.[18] I wanted to find somebody to make me one [a drum] in the shape that I wanted. This was the birth of the new hybrid dhol drum, [in the] early Eighties. [It was] almost like an expedition – [from] Lahore [to] Jammu. [We] Took the trip on the train, found a mill – 'cause taahli was the wood that I needed. Now, [in] Jammu there's a forest, and next to the forest there's mill, but it's government protected. It's right next to Kashmir, the place is almost a warzone. You can go there, but you have to have people with you. I had to bribe lots of people with my friend. And we bribed the security, we bribed the millworkers, we bribed the people that de-barked the wood, we bribed the person that had to get [it] on the cart to bring it down. I must have spent maybe ten thousand rupees. Came down to Lahore, and then I found a mill worker. He said: "I'll make a dhol for you" and I said "alright, fine, no problem". The wood arrived, he put it on a lathe and he started carving. He [had] never made a dhol in his life, but I found out afterwards. [He] cut the wood, put it on the lathe, and he put a tool at one end. Don't forget, trees don't grow perfectly straight; they have to be made straight, right? So, started turning it, and mounted a tool with a point on one side to hold the thing. Eventually you end up with a straight piece of wood. Perfect. Then he mounts a very sharp blade. He winds in, as the thing is going around, and he cuts through. Then he turns the things around and he does the other side, then he takes it off and the middle falls out, and he goes "this is the start of your dhol" and I go "wow, this is amazing" and I look at the middle bit and [say:] "this is mine as well", and he goes "no, – says – that's mine". I said "what are you going to do with that?" He said "I'm gonna make dholaks and tablas". I completely got ripped off. It was my piece of wood,

17 Although the body of the Punjabi dhol is curved, straight dhols are common in other areas of India.

18 The fact that Johnny Kalsi had a Pakistani Punjabi school friend is also a result of his experience of the life in the diaspora. The reason why he went to Pakistan with his friend and not to India was, however, not discussed in our conversation.

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> but he kept it. So, this argument went on [until I] let him have it, but we made a deal, so he would lessen the price of his machinery [and] his days of working. And then, on the last part of the drum he allowed me to work the machine and cut the grooves on my drum. I did all the grooves myself. And there was one more bribe on the way back from Pakistan: the security at the airport. They said "this is an instrument". We went: "no, this is a plant pot. We're going to fill it with mud and plant a tree". [We] got away with it. Brought it back, and when I got it back then I drilled the holes, took the hooks off my old drum, and put it on the new one, and then mounted the rope, and the sound was unbelievable. (Johnny Kalsi, personal communication – Feltham, 6th May 2008) [19]

Several details in Johnny's story are consistent with the description of dhol making in Punjab provided by Gibb Schreffler (2005). According to Schreffler, in fact, the majority of dhols marketed in Punjab are made from *taahli* (Indian rosewood) or mango trees, both common in Northern India. The woods come from the forests in Uttar Pradesh and are initially carved by craftsmen in the same region[20] using a lathe and a flat wedge-shaped blade like those employed by the novice instrument maker/mill worker in Lahore for Johnny Kalsi. Similarly, it is usual practice to use the wood remnant after the dhol shell has been carved to make dholaks and tablas (Schreffler 2005).

However, what struck me in Johnny's story was not so much the content, but rather the narrative strategy that he adopted. What was presented to me was in fact a sort of 'myth of origin' not only of the 'new hybrid dhol', as he calls it – the one with the high pitch plastic head – but also of the 'modern dhol drumming tradition', so popular nowadays among Punjabis in the UK[21]. (While listening to his narration I could not help figuring him

19 In order to facilitate the reading of this quotation, most of the ellipses were omitted from the text.

20 Schreffler mentions one town in particular, Amroha: "Amroha is a sort of 'Dholak City'; in certain areas, everywhere you look people are working on some stage of the manufacture of *dholaks* (many more *dholaks* are made than *dhols*, for obvious reasons). If you see a *dhol* in a shop in Punjab, it has more than likely come from Amroha" (Schreffler 2005).

21 A shorter version of the story was written by Johnny Kalsi himself for his blog (Kalsi 2006). This version, though, omits many of the details present in the interview quoted in this article and does not present some of the stylistic features, more common in oral narratives, which made me first think of this story as a sort of 'myth'.

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as a sort of Prometheus taking [stealing] the dhol [fire] from South Asia [Olympus] to bring it to Britain and give it to British Asians [mankind] to start a new musical tradition.)

It is not my intention to doubt the truth of the events as described. However, I suggest that applying a metaphorical reading to the story can unveil more stimulating interpretations. For instance, the fact that the millworker who carved the drum had never made a dhol before can be seen as a way to further reinforce Johnny's process of distancing himself from the existing dhol drumming tradition in Punjab.

Moreover, if we take the story as a whole, at a macroscopic level one can easily identify the two main geographic locations in which Johnny's dhol is crafted – Lahore and UK – with what Jurij Lotman would have defined as textual *topoi* (i.e. narrative spaces defining a semantic continuum); these *topoi* are charged with clearly distinct semantic relations, Western Punjab (in which bhangra is believed to have originated) and modern-day communities of the Punjabi diaspora respectively. As the protagonist, Johnny is the figure who moves across the topoi's borders, brings the story forward, and acts as a *trait d'union* between the two cultures, bridging the gaps between them (Lotman 1977).

He emerges thus as the hero-agent who, together with his helper-friend, has to accomplish a number of tasks, including travelling to Jammu (another *topos*) in spite of the dangers in the area, bribing the people working at the mill ('custodians' of the taahli wood), enduring the requests of the ambiguous helper/mill worker in Lahore, and, finally, sagaciously devise a way (this time bribery needs to be accompanied by the trick of the plant pot) in order to cross the last border (in this case, a physical one) before reaching Britain.

The narration makes recourse to several stylistic features typical of oral narratives, the most striking probably being repetition ("we bribed the security, we bribed the millworkers, we bribed the person that de-barked the wood, we bribed the person that had to get [it] on the cart"), and the positioning of places and actions in a hazy spatial[22] and temporal dimension. In particular, although a rough time reference is given (the trip to Pakistan is said to have taken place 'in the 1980s'), the chronological succession of the events is not informed by their temporal scale: for instance, the stages of wood cutting and carving are described with no reference to the length of the processes, which can take up to several weeks (Schreffler 2005). This contributes to the projection of the narration into a timeless space, and

22 "[In] Jammu there's a forest, and next to the forest there's mill" (Johnny Kalsi, personal communication – Feltham, 6th May 2008).

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thus to envelope it with a mythical aura[23]. In other words, Johnny Kalsi's story presents that 'double structure, altogether historical and ahistorical' which – according to Lévi-Strauss – characterises myth (Lévi-Strauss 1968: 209–210). Most importantly, if "mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution" (Lévi-Strauss 1968: 224), then this story emerges as a possible explanation – and can be said to resolve – the controversial relationship between the dhol tradition in Punjab and the recent craze in the UK: in fact, while still acknowledging the South Asian descent of his drum (again, the drum standing for a whole tradition), Johnny backs away from it, by describing how his dhol was carved out of taahli wood in Punjab, but was actually equipped with the new features and completed in the UK.

If Johnny Kalsi's story can be read as a myth of the origin of the modern dhol and of the UK dhol craze, then, at the same time, India emerges as a mythical place. It is no accident, I believe, that many British Punjabi children, as soon as they hear that some elder relative or friend is going to Punjab, ask them to bring back as a present for them a dhol – which of course in the vast majority of cases does not happen, the size and weight of the instrument and the airlines' luggage fees being among the most obvious deterrents. Most interestingly, though, the drum they would be most likely to receive would not be different from one of those they can easily buy a few hundred yards from their homes in Britain in one of the music shops which import them from India at quite reasonable prices. Again, the value of the dhol they long to have is not so much in the instrument *per se*, but in its symbolic connection to India.

CONCLUSIONS

Elsewhere, I have argued that the key to understanding how British Asian identity is expressed and asserted through music is to be sought in the ambiguity between 'self' and 'other', between what is perceived as 'familiar' or 'alien', which permeates the life of UK-based Punjabis, who are exposed to both South Asian and western culture (Leante 2004). Moreover, one must bear in mind that a similar ambiguity characterises the relationship of British Punjabis with India: Punjab, in fact, is an essential reference in claiming cultural descent and separation. It is the convergence and concurrence of proximity to and distance from India that shape both bhangra and dhol playing in the UK. The way in which each individual

23 "What gives the myth an operational value is that the specific pattern described is timeless" (Lévi-Strauss 1968: 209).

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positions himself with respect to these dynamics of proximity and distance depends on his or her own experience: I have illustrated how different first, second, or third generation emigrants got to know and became involved in Punjabi music and dance in Britain. Without wishing to risk simplistic generalisations, though, it could be argued that by affirming its link with Indian tradition, bhangra (especially the choreographed dance) virtually brings Punjab 'here and now' into the community of diaspora, among British Punjabis; by stepping back from that same tradition, it legitimises new developments in music and playing styles, which unveil more explicitly the experience of life in the diaspora.

Dhol playing in the UK has recently developed as a new phenomenon, parallel and autonomous to the tradition in Punjab to the extent that the diffusion of the new model of the drum (apparently resulting from the encounter with western drum kit playing) is ascribed to UK-based players. The British dhol craze, heavily frowned upon by dholis in India, has established itself as a phenomenon based on a new social background and has nourished a pop-like star-system which attracts many young Punjabis in the diaspora. This seems to have been facilitated from the beginning by distance from Punjab (in physical as well as figurative terms) and, at the same time, by close association to bhangra (both in its popular music incarnation and as a choreographed dance), and through bhangra the Punjabi tradition. India emerges ultimately as a mythical place, longed-for but essentially distant. Nevertheless, it remains an essential reference addressed as the result of an ideal projection, a necessary aspect in shaping and asserting identity, although this identity is actually 'British Punjabi' and references the experience of the diaspora in the UK.

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Jan Sverre Knudsen

DANCING FOR SURVIVAL

Belonging, Authenticity, Space and Place in a Chilean Immigrant Dance Group

> And dancing, like listening, doesn't come naturally: to dance to music is not just to move to it, but to say something about it – whatever else the performer may tell us from stage, what they really think about their music is shown by how they move to it. (Frith 1996: 224)

INTRODUCTION

In many immigrant communities in Europe, we find groups of people engaged in cultivating traditional music and dance. Immigrants have experienced significant disruptions in their relationships to space and place. Cultural practices are exercised in new and different circumstances altering their social function and significance. Music and dance can play a key role both in the building of local immigrant communities and maintaining ties to the home countries, while also playing an important part in building relationships with the majority culture. This article takes a close look at how experiences of place and social belonging are perceived, constructed, and limited within an immigrant community, and how dance practices are involved in these processes. I will approach these issues by focusing on *Ayekantún*, a Chilean dance group in Oslo, Norway. I will refer to how the role of traditional music and dance belonging to the Chilean *criollo* culture – referred to as *folclore* in the community – is conceived on different levels: First, in relation to the local immigrant environment in Norway; second, in relation to images of the homeland; and third, in a more abstract sense, in relation to the building of a worldwide community of Chilean expatriates.

The flow of immigrants to Europe during the past 20 to 30 years has forcefully raised new issues concerning cultural complexity and the role of immigrants within a multicultural society. In Scandinavia, several

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authors from different fields have shown a particular interest in the cultural strategies of immigrant communities. Various studies explore how notions of belonging, space, and place are perceived, constructed, maintained, and transferred through music and dance (Schierup and Ålund 1986; Hammarlund 1990; Knudsen 2004; Lundberg, Malm, and Ronström 2003; Ronström 1992). This article, based on ethnomusicological field research among Chilean immigrants, can be placed within this Scandinavian body of research. A common feature in the aforementioned publications is the notion that music is an instrument of social construction. The focus is not primarily directed towards how music 'represents' or 'reflects' social structures, identities, or geographic location, but rather on how it is used as a tool in the social construction and configuration of these categories. Hence, music and dance practices are regarded as 'symbolic work', playing a part in the formation of collective ideas and efforts aimed at reaching a variety of social goals: community-building based on ethnic background (Schierup and Ålund 1986: 204), the 'external' promotion of immigrant culture (Hammarlund 1990: 92), or the construction and policing of social boundaries (Knudsen 2004: 89). An active relationship to music – as a performer, concert audience or music consumer – is seen as a practice used to organise and build individual and collective notions of space and place. It is argued that music is a human strategy that 'creates place' – by stimulating, organising and communicating memories, emotions and experiences. This is done "... with an intensity, simplicity and power that surpasses any other social activity" (Stokes 1994: 3).

The practice of dance in the immigrant community can be understood from two different but closely linked perspectives. On the one hand, we may regard dance as symbolic expression; the issues at stake concern what dancing is thought to represent and what place it ought to have – or not to have – in the life of a social group, a community or a nation. Dancing as a key social practice in a community is a primary social text of great importance. Dance styles play an essential part in the configuration of social distinctions, working as markers of individual identity, group belonging, and national identity.

On the other hand, dance can be regarded as a bodily practice. When dancing, we experience our bodies as they move to music, while at the same time we experience music through our moving bodies. Drawing upon the framework outlined by Patria Román-Velázquez (1999), dance practices can be seen as embodied discourses of individual and collective identities. Through corporal practices in social space the body becomes part of the construction of identity, acquiring, articulating, and communicating identity at the same time.

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> Dancing is a process that allows for an understanding of the relationship between body and music as culturally constructed and culturally specific. […] Hence, the bodily expression of music is directly related to the way in which music has become connected to particular social meanings at any given moment in place. (Romàn-Velázquez 1999: 145)

AYEKANTÚN

Ayekantún was started in 1999 as a folk-dance workshop for children [taller infantil de danzas folclóricas] in the Chilean community of Oslo. The name '*Ayekantún*' is an indigenous Mapuche term meaning: "to amuse oneself merrily with stories, dance and music" [divertirse alegremente, con cuentos, bailes y música]. The group was originally established with the aim of …

> … preserving our choreographic and musical traditions in the children, some of them born in this country, and with very little contact with the country of origin of their parents.[1] (From programme folder presenting *Ayekantún*, May 2000)

> *… preservar nuestras tradiciones coreográfico-musicales en los niños, algunos de ellos nacidos en esta tierra y con muy poco contacto con el país de origen de sus padres. (From programme folder presenting* Ayekantún*, May 2000)*

Today, *Ayekantún* consists of both an adult dance group and a children's group, *Los Ayekantuncitos*. They have an active repertoire of about 20 different traditional dances. Like many contemporary folk dance instructors in Chile, Patricio Quintana, the leader and dance instructor of *Ayekantún*, emphasises the stylistic multiplicity of Chilean folk dance, including in the repertoire a variety of dances from virtually all of Chile. The dancers may be seen in rustic ponchos performing an indigenous Mapuche dance, in the sparkling costumes pertaining to the energetic *diablada* dances of the Tirana festival, and the children may even dance in straw skirts and flower wreaths, swaying to the Polynesian rhythms of *Rapa Nui* [Easter Island]. The core of the repertoire is, however, made up of criollo dance styles, including the *polka*, *trote*, *cachimbo*, *chincolito*, *trastrasera*, *el costillar* and not least, a number of different varieties of the *cueca*: Chile's national dance

1 Translated by the author.

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and official symbol of the nation (Knudsen 2001). The group performs at events both within and outside the community: Independence Day celebrations, the inauguration of the Chilean cultural centre, an annual kite festival, various multicultural events, and events arranged by the Catholic Church.

The majority of the twelve adult dancers active in *Ayekantún* today came to Norway as part of a relatively large wave of immigrants that arrived at the very end of the Pinochet dictatorship. Their professional occupations are typically working class. Most of them come from predominantly urban backgrounds with limited folclore interest within their families. More than half of them had never danced traditional dances before arriving in Norway, and admit to having had little or no interest in this kind of cultural practice before leaving Chile. Whether they had dancing experience in Chile or not, they all report that the immigrant situation spurred a new interest in specifically Chilean cultural expressions. At the beginning of my first research period from 1999 to 2003, it was quite a surprise to realise that the activity of these folclore dancers, at the very core of the Chilean community, by and large, was not a continuation of any cultural activity brought along from Chile, but rather a revival or reconstruction in Norway (Knudsen 2001).

A COMMUNITY UNDER THREAT

Many minorities live a precarious existence although they may maintain their dissimilarity and cultural boundaries over many decades, even in complex urban societies. Just like other cultural practitioners in various immigrant communities, Chilean folclore performers experience their community as being culturally threatened. Some general observations regarding this perceived threat may be worth considering as they have a strong and direct influence on the development and configuration of cultural strategies. The observations are based on my own fieldwork among immigrants from recent waves of migration to Norway.

First of all, minority communities are surrounded by majority culture, which may be experienced as dominating, difficult to understand, or both. Cultural visibility in concert arenas and in the media is controlled by powerful commercial organisations which generally show little interest in stimulating minority musics. When a majority becomes a minority, as is the case for Chilean immigrants, the need to reflect upon, reconsider, and in many cases, defend notions of cultural belonging arises. The majority society challenges these notions by offering options that are not available in the homeland, where there is no great threat to the common feeling of

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ethnic or national belonging. In Chile, the cultivation of collective identity is taken care of by the school system, the media and public institutions. It is not an issue that needs to be questioned by the individual or pointed out to the surrounding society.

A second, related aspect is the threat of assimilation. Especially for groups with little new recruitment and limited contact with cultural 'roots', the possibilities offered by the majority society or internationalised popular culture may seem more attractive, particularly for the second generation. As a result of intermarriage and cultural interaction, many minority communities have a sense of losing their foothold in the traditions and customs with which they identify. Although current European policies regarding minorities often encourage so-called multiculturalism, there is minimal support directed towards those internal practices that enable the cultural survival of the community.

A third circumstance is the lack of cultural expertise. Today the Chilean population in Norway numbers around 7 000. Within a population this size, one cannot expect to find more than a handful of high quality cultural performers. There are few other performers to exchange musical ideas with and measure performance quality against. There is limited organised training and no major cultural institutions promoting Chilean music and dance. For example, there is only one performer of the traditional folclore harp in all of Norway. Despite modern communication technology providing possibilities for seeking inspiration from sources back in Chile and maintaining a certain contact with performers and musicians in other Norwegian cities and in Sweden, *Ayekantún* still has to cope with a certain cultural isolation.

A fourth observation and a characteristic feature of the Chilean community, is an unbalanced demography. Migrants come in waves. The onset or discontinuation of a wave of migration is due to economic and political events around the world. Young adults dominate most of these waves, either seeking better economic opportunities than they had in their country of origin or fleeing from persecution. The wave of Chileans arriving in the late 1980s was mainly made up of couples and young families. When this wave of migration subsided after the fall of the Pinochet dictatorship in 1989, immigration to Norway dropped abruptly. There is today hardly any 'fresh' immigration to the community. Most of the cultural leaders are in their 50s and 60s and large parts of the second generation are choosing alternative cultural networks. Consequently, the community is faced with cultural decline. A declining interest in cultural practices and symbols of ethnic belonging is undoubtedly a very real threat to the future of the community understood as a coherent cultural entity, distinct from the surrounding society.

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DISCOURSES AND NARRATIVES

In earlier field research in the Chilean community of Oslo, I have often been struck by the variety and complexity of discourses surrounding the configuration and justification of cultural practices. I have experienced that within the same music or dance group there may exist various, and sometimes contradictory, narratives surrounding their activity. However, all the performers with whom I have been in contact during my research share an overarching ambition: To work for the cultural survival of the Chilean community as a distinct social group. The remainder of this chapter will bring forth a number of coexisting perspectives and discourses by letting the voices of the *Ayekantún* dancers be heard through excerpts from interviews I carried out with ten adult members in May 2008. These are obviously primarily individual statements representing each member's attitudes and interpretations of dance practices as experienced within the immigrant setting. Still, together, they form a relatively coherent image of what it means to be engaged in the cultural struggles of this immigrant group. The interview excerpts are used as a point of departure for elaborating on five key discourses: authenticity, community, relations to majority society, cultural survival, and national belonging. Finally, these discourses are drawn together and related to the role of immigrant culture in view of integration policies. Additional material from my longstanding contact with the Chilean community will be used to complete the picture.

AUTHENTICITY – GETTING YOUR SHOES DIRTY

As any performers engaged in traditional music and dance, the dancers of *Ayekantún* have a deep desire to present their work as genuine and authentic. Negotiations concerning costumes, choice of music or dance movements play an important part in the social construction of folclore, both in Chile and in the immigrant communities. Parallel to the historical discourses surrounding 'folk' culture in much of the western world (Storey 2003), authenticity in criollo music is based on images of peasant life in rural Chile, often connected to the culture of the *huaso*, the equivalent of the Argentinian *gaucho*.

When issues concerning authenticity arise, the dancers of *Ayekantún* often refer to *tierra* as a *summarising metaphor* (Ortner 1975). Tierra is a complex term that can have a variety of meanings: Earth, soil, land, ground, place, region, home, country, nation, motherland or even world. In discourses surrounding Chilean traditional music *de tierra* [of the earth] is used synonymously with 'traditional' or 'folkloristic' in terms like *bailes de*

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tierra (traditional folk dances) and *cancionero de tierra* (book of traditional songs) (Loyola 1980, 1985). Both in conversations about music and in folclore song lyrics, tierra is often used ambiguously or carries multiple meanings, touching upon two or more understandings at the same time. However, the aspects of connection and belonging are always present. It is no coincidence that when referring to either Chile or to their own birthplace tierra is the preferred term, undoubtedly being more poetically loaded than alternative, more 'objective', terms such as *país, nación, pueblo,* or *ciudad*. Tierra emerges as a key concept in the prevailing understanding of folclore culture within *Ayekantún*. Taking tradition seriously means relating to tierra by moving your body in certain ways understood as authentic traditional dance. In the words of the instructor Patricio Quintana, this involves an aspect of 'grounding', a metaphorical attachment to the earth:

> We are trying to work towards authenticity in the way that ... What I am trying to do is to teach people what is most attached [literally 'glued'] to the earth [tierra].[2] (Patricio Q.)[3]
>
> *La autenticidad, la hemos tratado nosotros de trabajar, en el sentido de … lo que yo utilizo es ... enseñar a la gente lo que es mas pegado a la tierra. (Patricio Q.)*

Tierra is socially constructed as connected to the culture of rural areas of Chile, the preferred source of the performance material of *Ayekantún*. Underlying this understanding there is a recognition that authenticity has to do with connections to *cultores*, 'bearers of tradition' in rural areas, living on and off the land. As understood by Verónica, one of the female dancers, tierra is linked to the simplicity and humility characteristic of rural, 'peasant' life in Chile, thus constituting a contrast to modernity and complexity:

> JSK[4]: So what does tierra mean to you?
>
> For example, I had the opportunity to travel to southern Chile, and this [impression] filled me. To see the spontaneity of a peasant who started dancing a guaracha, I was charmed. He was so attached to the earth [tierra], because he knew how to dance. And [seeing

2 Translated by the author.

3 Pseudonyms are used for all interviewees except for the instructor and leader of the group Patricio Quintana.

4 The author, Jan Sverre Knudsen.

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them dance] the cueca of the south too, the way of dancing. What impressed me was their feeling, their affection.

They are humble people, right? Living on what they live on, kneading their own bread, living off their own harvest.

I think that's what is happening everywhere, in Norway, everywhere. Cities are filled with buildings, are filled with other things, and the authentic, the original remains in the periphery, where modernity doesn't come. If you go to downtown Oslo or downtown Santiago or any capital, you will not find the authentic.[5] (Verónica)

JSK: ¿Entonces, que significa tierra para ti?

Por ejemplo, yo tuve la oportunidad de viajar al sur de Chile, y eso me lleno… ver la espontaneidad del campesino, que salió a bailar una guaracha, me encanto como, bien pegado a la tierra, porque la sabía bailar. La cueca sureña también, la forma de bailar, la impresión se veía afecto, se veía cariño.

¿Es gente humilde, no? Vive con lo que vive, amasa su pan, vive de su cosecha.

Creo que es lo que pasa en todas partes, en Noruega, en todas partes, las ciudades se llenan de edificios, se llenan de otras cosas, y lo autentico, lo original queda en la periferia, donde la modernidad no llega. Si tú vas al centro de Oslo o al centro de Santiago o cualquier capital, no puedes encontrar lo autentico. (Verónica)

Many of the *Ayekantún* dancers refer to changes in their understandings of authenticity, basically involving a stronger focus on cultural 'roots' in rural Chile. This development can be linked to an increased contact and cooperation with certain folclore performers in Chile – notably with the group *Paillal* – and not least, the influence of the leader of this group, Osvaldo Jaque who has visited Norway to teach and give workshops with the group. In 2005, after fund-raising in the community for more than two years, *Ayekantún* made a study trip to Chile that included a dance workshop with *Paillal*, a meeting with the wife of president Lagos and a tour of some important folclore areas. Following this visit, the group underwent major changes. *Ayekantún* was divided into an adult group and a children's group – possibly because some of the older children left the group shortly after the trip. They also started working more with the *campesino* [peasant] dance styles and began performing to their own live music instead of only

5 Translated by the author.

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using recordings. The cultural ideology and understandings of authenticity promoted by Jaque – and supported by Patricio Quintana – made a strong impression, and have to a great extent been adopted by the *Ayekantún* members.

> Osvaldo Jaque, it is he who is the authority. We have to know where we come from. We have to know where folclore comes from, where this culture comes from and where tradition comes from.[6] (Patricio Q.)
>
> *Osvaldo Jaque, el es la autoridad. Tenemos que saber de donde venimos, tenemos que saber de donde viene el folclore. De donde viene la cultura, de donde viene la tradición. (Patricio Q.)*

Changes in understandings and new configurations of dance practices also meant dissociating oneself from cultural narratives previously dominating folclore discourses in the community.

> Many things that were done before were copied in wrong ways. When [Chilean] people had just arrived, what was meant by folclore? What people thought of was *Bafochi*, *Bafona*[7], and *Los Huasos Quincheros*, *Los Perlas*, *Los Hermanos Campos*, and *Los Chacareros de Paine*[8]. People were copying what they were doing then. They were copying great groups such as the Chilean folkloric ballet, which rehearses many hours every day. And they copied it incorrectly, the costumes, everything. And they stuck to those stereotypes.[9] (Patricio Q.)
>
> *Muchas cosas que se hacían antes se copiaban mal. La gente aquí cuando recién llego, ¿Qué era lo que se entendía con folclore? Lo que conocían era* Bafochi, Bafona, *y* Los Huasos Quincheros, *y* Los perlas, Los Hermanos Campos, Los Chacareros de Paine. *Copiaron el toque que ellos tenían en ese entonces. Copiaron cosa que eran muy grandes. El ballet folclórico chileno que ensayan horas al día. Y lo copiaron mal. Copiaron mal los trajes, copiaron mal todo. Se quedaron con esos estereotipos. (Patricio Q.)*

6 Translated by the author.

7 *Bafochi* (Ballet Folclórico Chileno) and *Bafona* (Ballet Folclórico Nacionál): The two major Chilean national folk dance ensembles.

8 These are major professional *folclore* music and dance groups.

9 Translated by the author.

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Verónica clearly distances herself from the view of authenticity she held previously, when she performed with Chile Andino, a dance group active in the Chilean community of Oslo during the later years of the Pinochet era. Today she is proud of dancing more 'authentically' in *Ayekantún*, even engaging with 'tierra' by getting it on her shoes.

> I became acquainted with folclore in Chile Andino. And I was practically a dancing Barbie doll. I thought that was the most beautiful thing, a dancing doll.
>
> For me, that was the authentic thing. But then, when our teacher Osvaldo Jaque came, I learned that it was not. And this was what my mother had told me. So now I have another image of authenticity. What we are doing now is much better. I get my shoes dirty, dancing outdoors at the 4H farm.[10] (Verónica)

> *Yo conocí el folclore con Chile Andino. Y era prácticamente una Barbie para bailar. Una muñeca Barbie. Pensé que eso era lo más lindo, una muñeca para bailar.*
>
> *Para mi, yo pensaba que eso era lo autentico. Pero ahora cuando vino el profesor Osvaldo Jaque, aprendí que no. Y eso era lo que me contó mi mamá. Entonces ahora tengo otro imagen de lo autentico. Lo que estamos haciendo ahora es mucho mejor. Ensuciarme los zapatos, bailando afuera en el 4H gård[11]. (Verónica)*

Such changes of attitude and alterations in the repertoire and performance mode of *Ayekantún* cannot be viewed only as the result of the establishment of contacts with Jaque and Paillal, but should also be understood in relation to social changes affecting affecting the Chilean community. As the community has matured and a new generation, born and raised in Norway, is beginning to make itself noticed, there is a certain downplaying of the most explicit nationally emblematic aspects which were so important for many of the original immigrants during their first years in a foreign country. Today, there is a wish to go deeper than the purely symbolic level. Simply taking part in the cultivation of a major national symbol is no longer enough. Over time, the attraction of folclore dance activities in this immigrant community has come to depend on greater challenges: New images of authenticity, a more varied repertoire, and higher artistic quality, understood here as an approximation to a particular set of performance modes and ideals.

10 Translated by the author.

11 Name of the 4H farm pronounced in Norwegian.

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Fig. 1 – Ayekantún practice session. May 2008.

Photo by Jan Sverre Knudsen

COMMUNITY

Ayekantún could fittingly be called an extended family. Many of the dancers are related, some are close friends, and they all know each other well through the activities of the Chilean Cultural Centre, *Casa Cultural Chilena*. The weekly practice sessions are held in a relaxed, informal atmosphere in a 'semi-private' arena: a locale belonging to the housing community where the instructor lives (see fig. 1). Before the session starts members engage in small talk while the children are playing in the kitchen area or outdoors. During the practice session constellations change: some of the dancing is done in a large group, while sometimes one or two couples may dance while the others watch or play guitars and sing. Alicia, from a family that has had five members dancing in *Ayekantún*, emphasises the family aspect:

> It's something beautiful, something that I shared with my parents. We have been three generations in the folclore activities. Five members of my family dance. It is something that unites us. We know that once a week we participate together in an activity. It is a family thing.[12] (Alicia)
>
> *Es algo bonito. Algo que yo compartía con mis padres. Siempre había tres generaciones en las actividades del folclore. Cinco en mi*

12 Translated by the author.

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familia bailan. Es algo que nos une. Ya sabemos que una vez por la semana estamos juntas en una actividad. Es algo familiar. (Alicia)

For Chileans, living far from what they regard as their home country, or tierra, maintaining links to their relatives in Chile is important. Most families make visits 'back home' more or less regularly depending on what they can afford. The members of *Ayekantún* see their activity as a way of preparing their children for such visits. This includes teaching them folclore, cultural values and practices as well as learning Spanish:

> This [participating in *Ayekantún*] makes it easier when they visit Chile. It is tragic when children have no [Spanish] language. They visit Chile and find that they cannot communicate with their relatives. And they say: "I want to go back to Norway." In Chile it may be hard for them because they have lost their language.[13] (Felipe)

> *Eso les facilita cuando van de visita a Chile. Porque es trágico cuando los niños no tienen idioma. Van para Chile y se encuentran con que no pueden comunicarse con los familiares. Y luego dicen: "quiero irme para Noruega". En Chile se les hace duro porque han perdido el idioma. (Felipe)*

Several members of the group emphasise the positive social role of their cultural activity in the upbringing of children and their inclusion in the community. Participating in the dance group is seen as a way to give the children positive values and habits and even as a way to prevent them from running into problems with crime and drugs. Felipe puts it this way:

> So I say to all the people I know who have children: "Get them to join *Ayekantún*." It is better to spend 1 000, 2 000 or 3 000 kroner on your son for a folclore activity instead of having to spend thousands and thousands of kroner on him because he became a drug addict. Children have many possibilities in their free time. So we must pass on the positive activities, and one of them is the folclore activity.[14] (Felipe)

> *Entonces, a toda la gente que conozco y que tengan hijos digo: Metan los niños [en el* Ayekantún*]. Mas vale gastar 1 000, 2 000 ó*

13 Translated by the author.

14 Translated by the author.

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> *3 000 en su hijo en una actividad Folclórica antes de que tengan que gastar miles y miles de coronas porque su hijo le cayo a la narcótica. Porque en el tiempo libre, los niños aquí tienen muchas posibilidades. Entonces hay que trasladarles las actividades positivas, y una de ellas es la actividad folclórica. (Felipe)*

This way of justifying cultural activities seems to echo arguments often furthered in Norwegian cultural and educational policies. According to what we might call a 'socio-political strategy', the promotion of music and dance is seen as a tool to build young people's self esteem and to develop positive social bonds (Knudsen and Berkaak 1998: 13). Adolescents 'at risk' are given an alternative to getting involved in criminal activities. Basically, they are kept away from the streets. While the Chilean community as a whole has not been troubled by many of the social problems various other immigrant communities are burdened with, this argument is quite common in discussions referring to the need to include children and adolescents in cultural practices.

Besides the primary activities of dancing and performing music there are other important areas that have to be taken care of: Transport to performance venues, providing food and drinks for the performers, and last but not least, ensuring that the dancers have the appropriate costumes for all the different dances. Much of this work is carried out by women. Since it may be difficult and expensive to depend on getting costumes from Chile, the women of *Ayekantún* have established their own sewing group. In the following quotation, Isabel relates how this started.

> Me and my sister-in-law, we were bored one Sunday. And I found an old duvet cover [*cubredyna*[15]] and started to cut it open: "Let's see, let's try!". I had an old, worn dress. We unstitched it and used it as a model. And so we made a huaso *china*[16] dress using an old duvet cover. And since it turned out pretty well, we went out to buy fabric. We improvised, measuring by eye, as we say in Chile. And we made a really beautiful dress, which I'm going to use for the first time tomorrow. I had never sewn a dress before. I bought a curtain which was the most similar, and made it from that. The sleeves were

15 *Cubredyna* is a hybrid verbal construction particular to the Chilean-Norwegian community. It is made up of the Spanish term *cubre* (cover) and the *Norwegian dyne*, a bedding duvet traditionally filled with eiderdown or feathers.

16 *Huaso china* is the female figure of the huaso culture, the Chilean equivalent to the gaucho culture of Argentina.

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too short because there was not enough fabric, but my *china* dress turned out well.[17] (Isabel)

Yo y mi cuñada, estábamos aburridas un día domingo. Y encontré una cubredyna bien viejita, y la abrimos. "¡A ver, vamos a probar!" Tenía un traje viejo. Lo partí, y lo cupe como modelo. Y hicimos un traje de china de huaso, con una cubredyna vieja. Y como nos resultó, fuimos a comprar telas. Improvisamos, cortamos así, al ojo, como se dice en Chile. Y nos salió un vestido bien bonito, que mañana lo voy a estrenar. Nunca había cosido un vestido. Compré una cortina, lo que más acercaba, y de allí la hice. La manga quedó corta porque no había género, pero salió el vestido de china. (Isabel)

In this way, the women of *Ayekantún* have formed their own social setting in addition to the dance sessions and performances. They use old duvet covers and curtain material to make more or less authentic-looking replicas of traditional Chilean folk costumes which they proudly display at the practice sessions. Their activity highlights one of the characteristics of this and many other immigrant communities: An altered and often pragmatic approach to cultural practices. Obviously, the dancers of *Ayekantún* are at a much greater distance from the 'authentic sources' than similar groups in Chile. There is little competition from rival groups and the activity is rarely subject to any competent external evaluations. The social boundaries surrounding the activity are not patrolled as they would be in Chile.

It may seem that this relatively pragmatic approach gives the group a sense of freedom which is beneficial for the social atmosphere, allowing it to construct a space marked by a lot of fun, spontaneity and improvisation. In Chile, there is a great deal of competition surrounding folclore dancing, particularly around the nationally emblematic cueca dance, which has even been a compulsory activity in schools. Competitions are held at local, national and even international level with participation from immigrant communities worldwide. Patricio Quintana points out that this focus on competition does not match his own image of the authentic folclore of rural Chile, and would definitely not be welcomed by young members of the immigrant community; it would most likely prevent many children and teenagers from participating.

The children who went to Chile saw how the instructors treated the children there. And they realised the difference between Chile

17 Translated by the author.

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and Norway when it comes to the relationship between adults and children. Our children do not compete with other children. We do not participate in cueca competitions. Even if many of them dance very well, we do not participate in competitions because we have no intention of beating anyone. We only want to show something. And that is the role of *Ayekantún*: To show our tradition.

But it depends on us adults to bring them to the practice session in a positive way so that they have fun. Because children have fun dancing. They are allowed to make mistakes. They are children. They play. They play dancing. And that's the idea: We encourage the children to play dancing. Then they will get to know it bit by bit. It is not about teaching them in a military way. Children lose interest when they feel compelled, don't you think? "They force me in school, they force me at home." And what happens if they come to dance and say, "Look, they force me there too."[18] (Patricio Q.)

Los niños que estuvieron en Chile vieron como los instructores de conjuntos trataron a los niños allá. Y se dieron cuenta de la diferencia que hay entre Chile y Noruega en torno a esta relación entre adultos y jóvenes. Los niños nuestros no compiten con otros niños. Nosotros no participamos en competencias de cueca. Por muchos que bailan bonito, baila una pareja, no participamos en competencias. Porque no tenemos ninguna intención de ganar a nadie. Queremos solamente mostrar algo. Y esa es la función de Ayekantún. *Mostrar nuestra tradición.*

Pero depende de nosotros los adultos, que los inculquemos a ellos que los traigamos a los ensayos que los motivemos, de manera positiva, que se divierten. Porque los niños se divierten bailando. Ellos no tienen de esa prestación que tenemos nosotros. Tienen permiso para equivocarse. Ellos son niños. Ellos juegan. Juegan bailando. Y eso es la idea. Que nosotros hacemos que los niños juegan bailando. Para que ellos conozcan el folclore de apoco. Los vamos llevándole a poquito. No que lleguen allí y que tengan que aprender un baile, pero así. Así militarmente hablando. Los niños pierden el interés cuando se sienten obligados, ¿o no? Se sienten obligados "me obligan en la escuela, me obligan en la casa." Y mas, si llegan a bailar y van a decir, "mira, me obligan allí también." (Patricio Q.)

This 'learning by playing' may on the one hand be understood as a necessary pragmatic approach in a threatened community that struggles to recruit

18 Translated by the author.

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young people for folclore activities; on the other hand, it might also be seen as an adaptation of a Scandinavian approach to teaching which doubtlessly is much less focused on discipline and compulsion than what we generally find in Chile. In any event, this approach to dance tuition is facilitated by the relaxed 'semi-private' character of the practice sessions and the physical characteristics of the locale. The children might sit on sofas and watch the adults or listen to the music, play for a while outdoors or in the kitchen area before joining the dance with their peers.

Field observations at practice sessions with *Paillal* in Chile, in September 2000, provide an interesting comparison. Here, specific details concerning costumes, such as the height of the heels on the men's boots, the colour of a sowing-apron used in a peasant dance, or the use of sandals or shoes were the subject of lively, and sometimes heated, discussions among group members. For *Paillal*, direct links to rural sources are considered an important mark of quality. They call their presentations *proyecciones folclóricos* reserving the term folclore or sometimes *folclore auténtico* for music and dance situated in what they see as the 'original' setting in rural areas. Obtaining material through personal contacts with *cultores*, 'bearers of tradition', is highly valued. The performance of a specific song or dance is often introduced as a generous gift from the cultor. In immigrant groups, such authenticity debates receive less attention. Issues of authenticity become disconnected from rural Chilean sources and, instead, become linked to the instructor, who comes to be seen as the one who has the expertise and represents the group's closest connections to folclore 'roots' and their cultural models in Paillal.

RELATING TO MAJORITY SOCIETY

The social position of Chilean folclore dancing in Norwegian cultural life is marginal. In the struggle for visibility in the various multicultural arenas of Oslo folclore maintains a low profile, especially if we compare it to the more commercially-oriented salsa scene, where a number of Chileans can be seen performing in Latino bands. While the Chilean community in general shows limited interest in presenting their cultural activities to outside audiences, the interest shown by Norwegian cultural institutions has not been exactly overwhelming either. Folclore dancing does not coincide with popular Latin American music trends and has not become integrated into the commercial 'world music' market. In essence, it remains 'Chilean culture for the Chileans'.

Still, there has been a certain change in the efforts of *Ayekantún* regarding the way they relate to the surrounding society. While the first years of the

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group were primarily focused on performing for the immigrant community, today more attention is paid to the way in which performances are received by Norwegians and the image of Chilean culture the group promotes. Before their trip to Chile in 2005, members signed up for courses in traditional Norwegian folk dancing so that they would be able to include some of these in their performances during their tour of Chile. Patricio Quintana points out that the aim of this effort on the one hand was based on a wish to approach Norwegians engaged in the preservation of dance traditions, and on the other hand was aimed at showing people in Chile that living in a foreign country should ideally imply getting to know some of the culture of this country.

Roughly speaking *Ayekantún* has two kinds of performances: 'internal' performances at celebrations, and parties within the community and performances meant for Norwegians and mixed audiences, mainly at multicultural events. Consequently, they have developed two different repertoires. When performing for Norwegians, most of the repertoire is based on the more flashy style related to the huaso culture of central Chile, notably featuring the nationally emblematic cueca dance. The more varied 'internal' repertoire highlights the rural campesino [peasant] dances as well as dances representing the different geographical districts of Chile.

In a study of the music culture of Assyrian immigrants in Sweden, Anders Hammarlund (1990: 95) addresses aspects of community building by suggesting that we discern between the *catalytic* and the *emblematic* functions of a musical practice. Catalytic functions are described as stimulants of processes in the internal social chemistry of the immigrant group. They concern experiences of togetherness and community. Emblematic functions, on the other hand, deal with a group's outward self-representation, especially in relation to the majority culture. They concern the creation of difference: The self-definition of the community as distinct from the surrounding world, and the outward communication of this difference. As shown in Hammarlund's research, these two distinct functions can be filled by different music styles. Similarly, for *Ayekantún*, we could say that the emblematic functions are taken care of by the huaso style which dominates in performances for Norwegians, while the catalytic functions relate to the wider range of campesino music featured at the more 'internal' venues. In explaining these differences, Patricio Quintana refers to the educational role of *Ayekantún* in the community. A repertoire with a wide range of traditional dances is seen as an educational representation of the complete geographic and demographic expanse of Chile.

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CULTURAL SURVIVAL – BEING SWALLOWED BY THE SYSTEM

Pervading all the discourses surrounding the dance practices of *Ayekantún* is one common understanding shared by all the dancers: What they are involved in is of utmost importance to the cultural survival of their community. There is a sense of an uphill struggle. The demographic development of the Chilean community seems to be working against it. Since new recruitment in the form of 'fresh' immigration from Chile is insignificant, the increasing distance in time to a past life in Chile becomes a growing obstacle to a cultural community understood as a coherent social entity, eventually threatening its very existence. Also, as Patricio Quintana sees it, the increasing integration of young 'second-generation' Chileans into alternative cultural arenas is a threat to the cultural survival of the community.

> It is very important to preserve the children's feeling of being Chilean. This is an issue that is becoming more important all the time. Children also have other interests. I think that with every year that passes it becomes more difficult to work with folclore here, because people are becoming integrated. Chileans integrate very easily. They easily copy what goes on around them. They work and work, they have no time; they are not interested in this activity. We adults carry the responsibility of keeping this tradition alive, but how long can we go on? Until our knees give way? Until our bodies tell us it's enough? Our intention is that the [Chilean] children join the group. We now have six, with the possibility that more will join us. We are always asking for more children.
>
> It's getting harder every day. Every day it's becoming more difficult to maintain our identity in this country. The system is eating us up – swallowing us, little by little. And the fact is that for these people here, it's a tremendous job, and a costly one.[19] (Patricio Q.)

> *Es bien importante mantener el sentido de ser chileno a los niños. Es un asunto que va cuesta arriba. Los niños también tienen otros intereses. Yo creo que cada año que pase es más difícil hacer folclore acá, porque la gente se integra. El chileno tiene muy fácil de integrarse. Copia muy fácilmente los ejemplos de lo que esta pasando, y trabaja y trabaja, no tiene tiempo, no se interesa por ese tipo de actividad. Nosotros los adultos, somos encargados de mantener viva esa tradición; ¿pero hasta donde?*

19 Translated by the author.

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¿Hasta que las rodillas nos den? ¿Hasta cuando el cuerpo nos diga: está bueno? Entonces, la intención de que los niños se integren al grupo, como ahora tenemos seis, con la posibilidad de que sean mas. Siempre estamos pidiendo más niños.

Es más difícil cada día. Cada día es mas difícil mantener nuestra identidad en este país, porque la gente, el sistema se la va comiendo, se la va tragando a poco. Y el hecho de que esta gente acá, es un tremendo trabajo, y cuesta. (Patricio Q.)

The second-generation Chileans of Norway, who have only recently begun to influence cultural life, generally tend to establish their own social networks, transgressing the boundaries of the cultural community their parents are involved in. While never denying their background and heritage, their involvement in exclusively Chilean expressions is obviously not as closely linked to a personal past as it is for their parents and thus attains a different and sometimes purely symbolic character. Young Chilean-Norwegians have their own understandings of the symbolically loaded expressions so much valued by their parents, and their own ways of dealing with them. As most adolescents in multicultural urban societies the children and teenagers performing with *Ayekantún* are engaged in internationalised popular culture. They can be seen performing hip-hop or other popular music, though they often prefer music and dance of Latin American origin, particularly the salsa, which has experienced a surge in popularity. The 'Latin wave', including salsa, merengue and cumbia as well as newer styles such as 'rock Latino' and 'Latin house', has in recent years had a strong impact on the music culture of young people. This offers Chilean teenagers a social field where they can enjoy what we might call an 'ethnic advantage'. By virtue of their Latino background, their appearance, and their mastery of the Spanish language, young Chileans easily obtain a certain status in ethnically mixed groups of young Latin music lovers.

NATIONAL BELONGING, INCORPORATING IDENTITY

The single fundamental notion holding both *Ayekantún* and the Chilean immigrant community together is obviously some kind of feeling of being Chilean. The survival of the community depends entirely on the successful transmission of this feeling to the next generation. The adult dancers of *Ayekantún* attempt to transmit this feeling to their children by organising various cultural activities in a Spanish-speaking environment where the children can feel at home and over time strengthen their sense of being

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Chileans. As Alicia and Silvia maintain, a sense of connection to 'their' Chile can be attained through body movement:

> With a dance style, they [the children] can present their culture, their traditions, and their roots. When the children ask about Chile, it is not so necessary to know that Santiago is the capital. Connecting to the motherland is not only about knowing, it is something that can be done by dancing.[20] (Alicia)
>
> It is a way of incorporating identity. ... We help the children in their identification, with music, with conversation, with celebrations, with everything. But it is difficult.[21] (Silvia)

> *Con una forma de baile [los niños] pueden presentar su cultura, su tradición, sus raíces. Cuando los niños preguntan de Chile, lo más necesario no es saber que Santiago es la capital. La conexión con la Patria no se trata solamente de sabiduría, es algo que se puede hacer en forma de baile. (Alicia)*
>
> *Es una forma de incorporar a la identidad. …A los niños les ayudamos con la identificación, con la música, con la conversación, y con las fiestas, y con todo. Pero es difícil. (Silvia)*

Similarly, in a *brindis* – a traditional folclore toast – written by a member of the community with close relations to *Ayekantún*, creating bonds to Chile is understood as an action more than as a feeling or an idea. Connections to Chile are constructed through body movement by dancing the cueca – literally 'creating the motherland' [*haciendo Patria*] 'outside' in the immigrant community.

> I am a foreigner, that is true, and I come from far away / but I have my roots and tradition / and the cueca dance reflects the joy of my nation / of my nation, that is true / whoever may say so / we are creating motherland here, outside.[22] (Written by Sergio Campos)

> *Soy extranjero, es cierto, y vengo de lejos / pero tengo raíces y tradición / y en la cueca se refleja la alegría de mi nación / de mi nación es cierto/ quien lo dijera / estamos haciendo Patria aquí afuera. (Sergio Campos)*

20 Translated by the author.

21 Translated by the author.

22 Translated by the author.

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As these quotations indicate, the *Ayekantún* dancers have an awareness of their dance as a practice embodying the nation, while at the same time virtually constructing it. Regarding dance in this way highlights the ways in which the dancing body expresses, articulates and builds a sense of national identification. Related to the cultural influence of Chilean immigrant communities around the world, a new particular notion of the Chilean nation has emerged. The map of Chile shows 13 regions, but during the past decade a 14th region, called the region of *el exterior*, or the region of *el reencuentro* [reunion] has virtually been added; a region made up of the approximately one million Chileans living outside Chile today. Allegedly coined by former President Lagos, this expanded image of the nation – an imagined community – is gaining increasing recognition both from the Chilean authorities and from expatriate communities around the world. At least on a symbolic level it responds to the deeply felt wish that many Chilean expatriates carry: To be accepted fully as Chilean nationals while still having permanent residence in a foreign country.

CONCLUSION – IMMIGRANT CULTURE AND INTEGRATION

As discussed in this article, the folclore dance practices of *Ayekantún* should be understood as an important cultural strategy in a community of Chilean immigrants. It is a strategy aimed at creating a meeting place where several generations of Chileans feel at home and can cultivate their common interests. It is aimed at preserving and passing on traditional practices as well as maintaining links to Chile. Finally, it can be understood as a part of the group's own integration strategy aimed at negotiating a place for these practices within the wider multicultural society of Norway.

Although the configuration and social role of the dance activity discussed here has undergone certain changes – including recent efforts aimed at reaching out to Norwegian folk dance practitioners – folclore dancing still must be regarded as a rather 'internal' cultural practice. We may, of course, regard such exclusive practices of an immigrant community as the expression of an isolationist tendency and consequently, as contradictory to integration efforts. Cultural activities surrounded by more or less obvious national or ethnic boundaries undoubtedly contribute to giving immigrants the opportunity to live a more or less complete social life without engaging themselves in the majority culture more than absolutely necessary.

There is, nevertheless, a different way to understand this issue. For many immigrants, there are major obstacles to participation in cultural activities outside the limits of their community. For some of the older members, the Chilean community is practically their only social world – their only

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'family'. Attempting to understand and participate in settings dominated by the majority culture is simply not a very tempting alternative to their own familiar and controllable cultural world. The maintenance of culture and tradition which is so highly esteemed by the dancers of *Ayekantún* can be regarded as necessary symbolic work needed for the preservation of the community. The 'internal integration' of an ethnic community – the ethnic cohesion cultivated through catalytic cultural practices – gives immigrants a necessary foothold and may very well be a precondition for functioning outwardly as a noticeable cultural force and, consequently, for their 'external integration' into surrounding society. Even for the young second generation Chileans, who explore and cross cultural boundaries on a daily basis, a sense of grounding in a culture that relates to their background and heritage, whether they participate actively or not, may give them a better chance of succeeding in social and cultural life outside the limits of the Chilean community.

At any rate, one must be careful not to draw the conclusion that these more or less exclusive, internal practices of immigrant communities pose any social problem or that they counteract integration efforts. Based on my encounters with the committed practitioners of folclore dancing, I would argue that cultural activities among immigrants, including those taking place exclusively within the limits of their communities, can have positive social effects transcending the communities themselves.

As several studies point out (Ronström 1992; Schierup and Ålund 1986; Knudsen 2004), the survival of an immigrant community as a distinct cultural entity depends not only on the opportunity its members have to engage in their 'own' particular cultural practices but also on their willingness and capability to do so. It is not difficult to predict that in the course of a few decades the passionate cultural survival strategies spearheaded by *Ayekantún* and other enthusiasts of Chilean-ness will become diffused, or at least altered, with the approaching 'new' generation. In the coming years we will most probably see young Chileans exploring new ways of being 'ethnics', increasingly relating to their Chilean-ness on a more symbolic level, while at the same time involving themselves deeply in the pan-ethnic Latino culture, where they benefit from an 'ethnic advantage'. Still, as studies on immigrant communities indicate, feelings of ethnic and national belonging can persist, and practices of music and dance in immigrant communities may survive for several generations, thus contributing to the cultural wealth and complexity of societies around the world.

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Alenka Barber-Kersovan

HOW BALKAN ROCK WENT WEST

Political Implications of an Ethno-Wave

TITO'S SOCIALISTIC ROCK'N'ROLL

The term Balkan Rock[1] was originally applied to the once flourishing Yugo Rock. Considering the fact that communist regimes regarded Anglo-American popular music as a 'carrier of Western values', and consequently as a direct attack on Marxist ideology (see Pilkington 1994; Rauhut 1996: 239–240), at first glance the existence of a lively pop music scene in the former Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ) might seem paradoxical. However, if we take into account the historical development and the specifics of the political system of the now disintegrated country, the positive attitude towards this musical genre and Western popular culture in general becomes comprehensible.

After the political breakaway from Moscow in 1948 (see Fritzler 1993: 38–40), the former Yugoslavia embarked on what it called its 'self-determining way into socialism'. The main pillars of this doctrine were the adoption of certain features of the market economy (the Economic Reform of 1965), the system of socialistic self-government (installed after the change of the constitution in 1968), and the leading role within the Non-Aligned Nations. In practice, this meant that the country, situated between the two current dominant political systems, was a kind of West of the East, where market-oriented production conditions coincided with socialistic ideology, and the neo-Stalinist roots of the communist regime were covered with a coat of pseudo-democratic pseudo-liberalism (see Tomc 1985: 13).

Hence, on the one hand (except for sporadic cycles of tighter Party control), in Yugoslavia a specific 'repressive-tolerant' (see Tomc 1985) political climate dominated, which proved to be favourable for the re-contextualisation of western musical genres. Especially during the 1960s, as the economy boomed, the borders towards the West were opened, and

1 In the West, this musical genre is also known under the terms 'Balkan Beat' or 'Balkan Jazz'.

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the political atmosphere was rather relaxed, the country experienced a wide-ranging adoption of the western lifestyle. The media broadcasted a considerable amount of rock and pop music, the record industry issued licensed hits by western stars, and from the middle of the decade onwards, even big names such as *Blood, Sweat & Tears*, *Jethro Tull*, *Osibisa*, Frank Zappa, Ike and Tina Turner, and *The Rolling Stones* occasionally toured the country.

Parallel to this development, a growing number of domestic rock and pop groups emerged[2], which worked under rather favourable conditions. The media were open to their music, the record industry promoted these musical genres and live events attracted a mass public, so that by the mid 1970s, especially in big cities, there prevailed a "nearly authentic rock and pop climate" (Tuksar 1978: 10)[3]. Also, musically, the groups gradually turned away from copying foreign role models and gave a genuine imprint on what used to be one of the most vibrant musical scenes in continental Europe (see Ramet 1994; Janjatović 1998).

On the other hand, for a number of reasons, popular music also enjoyed considerable political support: Rock'n'Roll and its derivatives acted as an optimistic sound of modernisation, accompanying the accelerated industrialisation and urbanisation of the country. The growing consumption of popular culture served as a proof of the success of the economic policies of that period. Furthermore, the adoption of certain aspects of the western lifestyle signalled the basic difference between socialistic self-government and what used to be the actual existing socialism of the Eastern Bloc countries (see Mastnak 1987: 41–43).

YUGO ROCK – A HYBRID MUSICAL GENRE FROM THE BOSNIAN CAPITAL SARAJEVO

Another political reason for the promotion of the Western popular culture was the attempt to diminish the existing cultural differences between the various ethnic groups. In practice, the (cultural) diversity of what used to be called 'the nations and nationalities of the Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia' was never standardised, and accordingly there were also

2 A reliable overview of the most important ones has been published by Petar Janjatović (Janjatović 1998).

3 Translated from Serbo-Croatian by the author.

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significant differences between the scenes in the individual republics[4]. But there were also a number of unifying elements which made popular music genres trans-national: The commercially-oriented music industry[5] operated in a state-wide domestic market; well-known singers and groups toured the whole country; musicians from all parts of Yugoslavia took part in the numerous music festivals and competitions; the 'nationally' structured media also broadcasted popular music emissions from other republics, etc. And last but not least, there was Yugo Rock, which carried away fans across the whole country.

The cradle of Yugo Rock was the Bosnian capital Sarajevo. Due to its multicultural social structure, before the civil war between 1992 and 1995, Sarajevo was often referred to as a 'miniature Yugoslavia', or even as a holographic replica of the Balkans itself. It was a lively, tolerant, and inspiring urban centre, in which Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim traditions merged in a creative atmosphere of intense cultural exchange, and local musical idioms amalgamated with international pop music into a new hybrid genre (see NN 1991–92).

Though one of the first groups that combined rock music with ethno-sounds must have been the Serbian band *Smak* [Destruction] with its hit single *Ulazak u harem* [Entrance to the Harem; 1975], the official founder of Yugo Rock is generally considered to be *Bijelo dugme* [White Button] from Sarajevo. A previous member of *Smak* played in this group (see Janjatović 1998: 166), which was formed in the beginning of the 1970s and mingled hard rock riffs with regional folk songs. Also, the texts transmitted issues that were perceived as a direct reflection of the 'Bosnian mentality', so that their songs could be regarded as a kind of 'Balkan Country Rock' (Tomc 1998: 41).

Furthermore, *Bijelo dugme* was the first Yugoslav band to draw some 10 000 fans to its concerts. The mass adoration it caused, called

4 In Macedonia and Montenegro, rock music was cultivated rather sporadically. Croatia, on the other hand, maintained a highly developed music industry, and from this republic came the most sophisticated products of the ex-Yugoslav pop music. The trademarks of the Rock-oriented scene of the Serbian capital Belgrade were *Disciplina kičme* [The Discipline of the Backbone] and *Ekaterina velika* [Katharina the Great]. The alternative scene from Ljubljana (Slovenia) became known predominantly through the politically-engaged punk and the scandal group *Laibach,* etc.

5 Contrary to other socialistic countries, the Yugoslav record industry was never centralised. Next to the Serbian and Croatian majors Jugoton, Suzy, Discos and RTV Beograd, there were also a number of smaller producers competing for the market. From the 1980s onwards, there even existed some independent labels.

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'Dugmemania', was the subject of several controversies, some of which were partly politically motivated. In spite of that, *Bijelo dugme* was marketed on a big scale by the music industry, which discovered a major source of income in the domestic Rock 'n' Roll scene (see Janjatović 1998: 31–33).

During the 1980s, an important representative of this musical genre was the group *Plavi orkestar* [The Blue Orchestra], which was also from Sarajevo. Due to numerous references to traditional music their re-launch of Yugo Rock has been described as 'Balkan folklorism', 'new primitivism', and 'newly composed Pop Rock' respectively (see Gračanin 1985: 47). "We are folk musicians", the group explained in an interview. "We glorify the folk and the folk culture. We are paying taxes to our tradition. All original ideas are home-made" (quoted after Gračanin 1987: 44)[6]. Comparable to *Bijelo dugme*, the members of this band, nicknamed the 'Balkan Beatles', were also celebrated stars in the whole country, regardless of the ethnic or cultural background of their fans (see Virant 1998: 25).

DISINTEGRATION OF THE MUSIC SCENE AND THE INTEGRATIVE POWER OF YUGO ROCK

As severe tensions between different national and ethnic groups increased from the mid-1980s onwards, as with other aspects of life, the individual music scenes started to close themselves into republican or ethnical borders (see Dragičević-Šešić 1997: 130). Festivals and competitions with participants from all the republics lost their importance or were abolished (see Janjatović 1998). The media concentrated on broadcasting 'national' productions or international pop music; once 'Yugoslav' stars, these celebrated musicians could only perform in their own cultural milieus; the record industry did not sign artists from 'other' republics, and the public also predominantly appreciated artists who were considered to be 'theirs'[7].

Musicians reacted to this situation in different ways. Some of them went abroad, robbed of their financial basis and disgusted by the political

6 Translated from Slovenian by the author.

7 There were even some cases of 'musical cleansing'. Thus for instance in Croatia during the early 1990s, everything that sounded 'Serbian' was undesirable (see Pieper 1999: 101). Another example is the *sevdalinka,* a Bosnian urban love song, which was traditionally performed and listened to by all three ethnic groups, the Serbs, the Croats, and the Muslims. Under the tense political conditions, however, the *sevdalinka* was appropriated by the Muslims as the musical symbol of their cultural identity, and was consequently banned from the musical repertoire of other ethnic groups (see Pieper 1999).

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situation or fearing the threatening war. Some stayed and let themselves be used for political purposes, and while some heated up the emotional outbursts of ethnical intolerance or were even engaged in the spreading of war propaganda (see Pešić and Rosandić 1997: 220), others played at anti-war demonstrations.

Among those whom the nationalist warlords could not recruit for their political goals was the group *Bijelo dugme*. This band propagated a kind of 'Yugoslav nationalism' and recorded, among other songs, the Yugoslav national anthem. It warned of the escalation of ethnic conflicts and tried, such as with the song *Pljuni i zapjevaj, moja Jugoslavijo* [Spit and sing, my Yugoslavia] to prevent civil war (see Tomc 1998: 41). In this title, issued in 1986, the group appealed for peace with the following words: "Get up and sing, my Yugoslavia. Who does not listen to the song, will hear the thunder".

Also in the same year, the group *Plavi orkestar* issued a similarly conceptualised LP. The title *Smrt fašizmu – svobodo narodu* [Death to Fascism – Freedom for the People] is a partisan salute, and the song *Nemoj biti fašista* [You are not supposed to become a fascist] refers to the Second World War. On the surface, this title is a love song about a girl who has surrendered to the charm of a 'blond son of Hitler': This is a hint to the fact that during World War II a part of the Bosnian Muslims sympathised with the Germans (see Glenny 1993: 215). But the refrain, with its clear anti-nationalist message "You are not supposed to become a fascist, dear, because otherwise I am going to kill you", does not recount events long past, but points to the growing nationalist tendencies of that time.

YUGO ROCK IN EXILE

The civil wars in Slovenia (1991), Croatia (1991–1992), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995), and Serbia (1999) left approximately 350 000 citizens dead and forced some 3 500 000 people to flee the country. Further, with the disintegration of the federation and the declaration of the former republics Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia as independent states, not only did Yugoslavia as a governmental unit cease to exist but also its name. Thus, Yugo Rock became metaphorically as well as de facto deprived of its original territorial anchorage and found a new home in diaspora.

This was especially the case in big European cities (London, Amsterdam, Vienna, or Berlin) with large immigrant communities from all parts of ex-Yugoslavia. In Berlin, the first venue to host Yugo Rock was the *Arcanoa Bar*, where from 1993 on, anti-nationalistic oriented young emigrants

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congregated in order to listen to music from their country of origin. "Music from the former Yugoslavia is still holding the young generation from the Balkans together", noted a report on the Berlin Yugo Rock scene. "It is Rock against the nationalism of the warlords and separators" (Hoffmann and Rossig 1997: 125).

What was unthinkable in the country at war was practiced on a daily basis in the *Arcanoa Bar*: A harmonious social life beyond the religious or ethnic barriers that had fuelled the armed conflict between what had previously been considered 'brother nations'. Yugo Rock was the emotional tie of this community, although this label no longer covered a specific musical genre as *Bijelo dugme* and *Plavi orkestar* understood it, but encompassed music production from former Yugoslavia in general. As the following statements by three young refugees from different former republics show, most songs were known to everyone, and they presented a shared source of nostalgia, comfort and remembrance:

> Tatjana: Now in Berlin I am listening to more Yugoslav music as I did before, because at that time it was not so important to me. Since in the past the Yugoslav one was always there and easy to acquire, I preferred to listen to international pop music. The music from Western Europe and the US was interesting among others also because it was very hard to get hold of records and cassettes. That was attractive. And today it is the other way round. Here I listen almost exclusively to Yugoslav Rock and Punk music. I love to listen to this music. This music gives me a certain feeling. The language, the mentality – I can understand it better. I miss it. That is home sickness.
>
> Mario: The Yugoslav music is for me a connection between myself and my friends, some of whom died in the war. The music serves as a connection between the homeland, my city and my friends. My friends are now all over the place.
>
> Akisa: Also I myself listened at the beginning to a lot of Yugoslav music. This was for me a connection between the past and the presence. It was like living in the past.
>
> (quoted after Hoffmann and Rossig 1997: 132–133).

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GORAN BREGOVIĆ – THE MUSICAL AMBASSADOR OF THE BALKANS

Another contribution towards the popularisation of the 'Balkan sound' was made by musicians in (temporary) exile, in particular by Goran Bregović, the former bandleader of the Yugo Rock group *Bijelo dugme*. In the West, Bregović first raised awareness with the music for the films of his compatriot Emir Kusturica (*Time of the Gypsies*, *Arizona Dream* and *Underground*). Later, he toured with his *Wedding and Funeral Band*, consisting of a symphony orchestra, a male choir, four vocal soloists, and a Roma brass band. Furthermore, he also wrote music for the theatre and for a number of stage spectacles. The show entitled *Goran Bregovic's Karmen with a Happy End*[8] became especially popular. Recalling Bizet's *Carmen,* it deals with the life of the Roma in the suburbs of big cities.

In addition to the high professional level of his musicianship, the mystery of Bregović's success can be traced to two variables that are closely connected with the image of the Balkans. The first one refers to the extensive use of folk music traditions of the whole Balkan Peninsula with their rich cultural overlapping. The second one may be found on a rather abstract level, and implies the collision of harsh contradictions that have often been considered as typical for this region. Goran Bregović explained:

> I think that we are a bit more snivelling than other Europeans. And I think that we are sometimes over-emotional. We tend to move in extremes only: Either there is too much joy or too many tears, but nothing in between. (quoted after Buhre: 2005)[9]

The same contrasts can be found also in his music. Here, impressive brass band sound and thick string arrangements alternate with soft shepherd flute and delicate violin solos, and the traditional Bulgarian vocal polyphony mixes with hard drums and rocking guitar sounds. This melange of pathos, bordering on 'kitsch', evokes associations with the Balkans as topos also in those for whom this term does not signify an actual region, but calls up just a mental representation:

8 The inconsistency in the use of the diacritical signs is due to the fact that sources from different languages were used. The determining factor for the respective abandonment of diacritical signs is the spelling of the original source.

9 Translated from German by the author.

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> Too many reports on the crisis did let us forget what the Balkans can also stand for: For an authentic life that got lost in Western Europe. The new work of the former rock star Bregovic is exactly in this sense Balkan at its best[10]. It is a record for any moment of life because any moment of life has been captured on it. Every gloomy emotion finds its musical expression here; every single manifestation of joy finds its adequate realisation. (Ein Kunde 2002)[11]

THE 'SANDI LOPIČIĆ ORKESTAR'

Since the end of the wars, Bregović has lived partly in Paris, but he prefers to work in Belgrade, so that he cannot be considered as a representative of the Balkan diaspora in a strict sense. But there are also a number of groups which were formed in Western Europe and which are permanently stationed there. One of the most prolific is the *Sandy Lopičić orkestar* [Sandi Lopičić Orchestra] from Graz. Lopičić, an offspring of the older generation of Bosnian 'guest workers', spent his childhood in Esslingen and studied piano in Sarajevo and at the Jazz Department of the Art University in Graz. After finishing his studies, he was employed as the music director at the Theatre in Graz. Among his productions was *Black Rider*, an adaptation by Tom Waits of the story of the *Freischütz*, which he located musically in the Balkans.

The music of this theatre performances became so popular, that in 1998 Lopičić expanded his small theatre ensemble into a full *orkestar* playing Balkan jazz. This musical body unifies predominantly professional musicians, who were mostly studying jazz or classical music at academy level. A number of the members originate from the succession states of the former Yugoslavia, and are well-informed about the music traditions of those regions and the bordering Balkan countries. This also accounts for the characteristic sound of the three female singers, which has often been compared with the *Bulgarian Mysterious Voices*. The specific flavour of this orchestra is further due to the use of instruments such as the barrel organ, the violin, and accordion, which are unusual for a Big Band formation.

The repertoire of the *Sandi Lopičić orkestar* consists of traditional songs in new arrangements and original pieces. Their compositions are mostly constructed as a "cocktail of cultural approaches" (Duric 2002: 27) from the whole Balkan Peninsula, with a sophisticated, jazzy touch. Another characteristic is the "wild blend of reflexiveness, bubbling of joy, sadness and

10 The quotation refers to the CD *Tales and Songs from Weddings and Funerals*.

11 Translated from German by the author.

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power" (Duric 2002)[12], that is the collision of emotional extremes, which have already been identified in the case of Goran Bregović as 'typical of the Balkans'. Furthermore, the titles of their CDs *Border Confusion* and *Balkea* may be associated with the political situation in the former Yugoslavia. "We do not massacre each other", explained one of the singers, "instead, we create out of our cultures" (quoted after Balkan Fever 2004).

BALKAN ROCK LEGENDS AND THE NEW IMMIGRANT'S MOVEMENT

Though most reports on the *Sandi Lopičić orkestar* emphasise the fact that its three charismatic singers stem from different republics of former Yugoslavia[13] (see Wolfen 2005), the group refuses to be considered as a "symbol for the peaceful, anti-nationalistic ex-Yugoslavia" nor as an "ex-Yugoslav reconciliation band" (Rath 2001)[14]. The *Balkan Rock Legends* from Amsterdam, on the contrary, referred explicitly to these issues:

> The music and the band are legendary, not only by name but per definition as they are a living reminiscence of a certain kind of music and of a country that does not exist anymore, a country destroyed by politics, its name erased and its history thrown into the garbage bin of the times gone by. (Balkan Rock Legends)[15]

The band *Balkan Rock Legends* was formed in 2002 by three students of the *Muziek Conservatorium* in Amsterdam who all originated from ex-Yugoslavia. They were a cover band, exclusively playing Yugo Rock – and actually what they considered to have been 'urban ex-Yugoslav pop rock music'. Consequently they also invited for their concerts members of (still existing or already disintegrated) cult groups from former Yugoslavia.

The public of the *Balkan Rock Legends* concerts consisted mainly of immigrants, some of whom were prepared to come all the way from Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Germany, and France to hear them play in the Amsterdam *Paradiso* club. As described by one concert-goer, on the

12 Translated from German by the author.

13 Kosovo, Serbia, Bosnia.

14 Translated from German by the author.

15 Originally in English.

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one hand, the musical events with this group were emotionally loaded with positive feelings:

> Who wouldn't enjoy hearing the songs whose lines one knows by heart and can recite even if awoken in the middle of the night? And on top of that, it was just so refreshing to be surrounded by people who speak (one of) your language(s), so an almost unimaginable thought occurred to me during the concert: I am here in a huge crowd of people and I like it. (Balkan Rock Legends)[16]

But on the other hand, according to the same concert-goer, the "positive human energy crammed in one place" (Balkan Rock Legends)[17] also evoked the contemplation of one's own situation of being an immigrant:

> We are the most complex people in the world. History has not played a joke on anyone as she has on us. Until a day ago we were what we would rather forget today. But we have not become something else. We stopped midway, startled. We cannot go on. We have been dislodged, without being accepted, like a channel separated from its mother river by a torrent, without a course or an estuary, too unsubstantial to become a lake, too sizeable to be absorbed by soil. Vaguely ashamed of our ancestry, feeling guilty for being outcasts, we never look back, but have nothing to look forward to, we hold time, fearing resolutions. Detested by both our kinfolk and the immigrants, we defend ourselves using pride and hatred. We wanted to preserve ourselves, but became so lost we did not even know who we were anymore. Unfortunately, we came to love this blind alley and do not want to leave. And everything has to be paid for, including this love. (Balkan Rock Legends)[18]

Balkan Rock Legends were also actively involved in an art movement called *New Immigrants*. This network, unifying artists from different disciplines (literature, painting, music, film),[19] was founded in 2004, as protagonists

16 Originally in English.

17 Originally in English.

18 Originally in English.

19 In Paris there is also a comparable organisation called K-R-U-G, which is devoted to the fostering of alternative culture (music, painting, graphic, theatre, photography, film) from former Yugoslavia. K-R-U-G also organised a concert of the *Balkan Rock Legends* in Paris (see Balkan Rock Legends).

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from various European cities gathered in Amsterdam at a concert of this group. The aim of the initiative was "to connect and consolidate individual and group creative efforts of intellectual and artistic talent who, following the Balkan wars, were left scattered and stratified around in immigration" (*Balkan Rock Legends*). Thus in the *New Immigrants Movement*, "an important role is played by the work based on the experiences and problems related to immigration and the authors who, in their social and aesthetic approach, combine their cultural background with the culture they currently live and work in" (*Balkan Rock Legends*)[20].

»THERE IS A SECRET BOND ...«

Balkan Rock Legends habitually opened their concerts with the line "There is a secret bond", which was taken from a hit by *Bijelo dugme*. Further 'secret bonds' are woven by the increasing number of concerts the remaining 'Rock legends' are giving in the successor states of former Yugoslavia as well as in countries with strong immigrant communities (Western Europe, United States, Canada, Australia). Among the most popular is Zdravko Čolić, born in 1951. Čolić sang with the rock groups *Ambasadori* [Ambassadors] and *Korni grupa* [Korni group], interpreted pop songs and disco hits, and embarked during the 1990s on the 'ethno-wave'. He worked with almost all prominent Yugoslav musicians and also cooperated with Goran Bregović, who wrote a number of songs for Čolić. By Yugoslav standards, his career was exceptional: in 1973, he represented the country at the *Eurovision Song Contest* in Luxemburg[21]; his singles and LPs (including numerous reprints) used to sell between 300 000 and 700 000 copies, and in 1978 at one of his concerts, some 60 000 people participated, which made it one of the biggest events in Yugoslav music history (see Janjatović 1998: 46–47).

Being on the scene for more than 35 years, his voice was firmly imprinted in the memory of generations of fans, not always free from nostalgic feelings of a youth gone by. Sometimes, as in the case of a message that a fan signed as Dijana posted on the official web site of Zdravko Čolić, these recollections include also the painful experience of being away from what used to be home:

20 Originally in English.

21 During the Cold War, Yugoslavia was the only East European country that participated in the *Eurovision Song Contest.*

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> I have adored Cola[22] since I was a kid and I grew up with him […]. I even wanted to marry him, but the plan did not work out! Now I am 36 years old, I have lived in London for 15 years, and one evening on YouTube I watched your old recording, Cola […]. And I cried for my childhood, for my home town, for all, this place still means to me […], all of it was destroyed by the war […]. I asked my sister to buy your hits, and that is what is going to be played in my car […]. The worst thing is that my husband is British and he cannot understand what Cola means to me […]. Thanks for everything, Zdravko, you were and still remain someone special in my heart! PS: Do you have any plans for a concert in London? (quoted after Čolić)[23]

VIRTUAL COMMUNITIES AND DIGITAL DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS

Of increasing importance in weaving 'secret bonds' is having the Internet. Most of the numerous websites on particular stars, groups, or Yugo Rock in general are simple fan pages, set up by engaged individuals presenting information, reporting on musical preferences, and exchanging personal experiences. Though the notes published do not necessarily convey a message of great significance, they stimulate the feeling of belonging. Hence, members of these virtual communities may live in different cultural surroundings and social conditions, but they have one thing in common: The love for a certain kind of music and/or the adoration of an idol that they want to share with like-minded people.

Some websites are in Serbo-Croatian or the other languages spoken in former Yugoslavia, some in English, and some multilingual in order to allow for the participation of those fans who do not necessary speak the mother tongue of their parents, or who were born into multicultural families. Thus, for instance, a homepage called Balkan Media, set up presumably by two ex-patriots, reads as follows:

> We have created this website for al the people from the ex-yugoslavian country's who are Living outsite there homecountry so that they still have a conection with there homeland […] You can email us in the

22 Cola (Čola) is the nickname of Čolović.

23 Translated from Serbo-Croatian by the author.

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folowing language's Slovenian, Croation, Bosnian, English, German and Dutch.[24]

Some websites present themselves quite professionally, though they are run on a non-commercial basis. Worth mentioning is Galerija muzičkih tekstova [The Galerie of Musical Lyrics], which includes the original lyrics of some 25 000 songs from former Yugoslavia[25] and which also offers free music for downloading. It is operated by nine volunteers who administer a database fed by fans and financed by advertising. If we are to believe the webmasters, this site is visited by 23 000 users a day, mainly from Bosnia, Croatia, the United States, Serbia and Sweden (see Galerija).

At balkanmedia.com (the term 'Balkanmedia' in different spelling variations is a frequently chosen name for websites dealing with popular culture from former Yugoslavia), we find an online store, permanently based in the German town of Mannheim. This retailer, promoting himself as "the oldest Internet shop of the Balkans", has operated for twelve years, and sells traditional and popular music from former Yugoslavia, as well as films, documentaries, and once popular television broadcasts, predominantly from Serbia. The store operates on a multi-lingual basis (Serbo-Croatian, German and English), delivers its products around the world, and accepts a number of different currencies, including also the Chinese Yuan (see Balkanmedia).

Another example of the digital distribution of the 'Balkan sound' is the television station Balkan Media TV. It was established in October 2005 and can be received via satellite as well as via Internet. In its own words, "Balkanmedia aims to realise a programming that will be 'above political and national' problems of the Balkan area" (Internet goes TV 2007). Or better, its apolitical programming follows an explicit pacifist goal: "If there is any political statement to be looked for in this very apolitical matter, we would like to submit this one: 'We would like to contribute that our children do not appear as dead bodies on CNN again'" (Balkanmedia)[26]. The programme of the Balkan Media TV is mainly devoted to video clips by groups from former Yugoslavia. However, this medium is greatly contested by its viewers: While some find it 'cool' to have also a music station 'from the Balkans', others argue that Balkan Media TV is 'a Yugo-nostalgic project'. Some viewers further criticise that it is 'patriotic kitsch', or that its

24 The text and its errors are quoted directly form the website.

25 There are also some websites that translate the lyrics into different languages.

26 Originally in English.

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programmes are heavily commercial; or even that music from other Balkan countries is being ignored.

SOCIAL AND MUSICAL TRANSFORMATIONS

In the same sense that the Balkan wave functions as a rather open musical system, absorbing different influences and allowing individual interpretations, its social connotations are also rather flexible and subject to change. A good example is the transformation of the events that started off as Yugo Rock evenings for young refugees in the aforementioned Arcanoa Bar in Berlin. Over the course of time, these gatherings became known as Balkan Beats Parties and later as the BalkanBeats Culture Recycling Project, and they also started to attract an international audience. In order to cope with the enthusiasm of a rapidly growing public, the Balkan parties have taken place in the Berlin Mud Club or in the *Kulturbrauerei* since 2001, enjoying extensive coverage by Radio MultiKulti Berlin and some print media (see BalkanBeats).

With mottos such as *Rock the Balkans* or *We belong to Tito, Tito belongs to us*, settled somewhere in the twilight zone between irony and nostalgia, three DJs from former Yugoslavia draw the public to the dance floor. They also organise concerts with live acts, mostly from their country of origin. Further activities have included the release by the newly founded Eastblock label (see Eastblock) of the CD *BalkanBeats*, featuring stars (such as Goran Bregović or Boban Marković) and newcomers to the scene (such as *Magnifico & Turbolentza* from Slovenia, *Besh O Drom* from Hungary, and *Sania & Balkanika* from Serbia). The DJ team has also toured Germany, the states of former Yugoslavia, and the United States.

In comparison to the early 1990s, the repertoire, which was initially devoted to Yugo Rock (especially to hard rock standards, punk, industrial and new wave from former Yugoslavia), was enlarged by ethno-sounds from this region first and then by a broad spectrum of music from other socialistic countries. The function of these parties has gradually changed: If they originally served as a kind of "survival training for refugees" (BalkanBeats)[27], the growing participation of an international public has changed the character of these events and their value as entertainment has now started to prevail.

27 Translated from German by the author.

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ROMANTICISING THE BALKAN SOUND

As these examples show, the message of Balkan Rock can be interpreted in a number of different ways. If for the emigrants from former Yugoslavia this genre can represent the musical memory of their lost country, for Western recipients the same music may have a totally different meaning. "It's a pleasure for all the people coming out of Yugoslavia" (BalkanBeats), remarked a German participant of the BalkanBeats parties. And: "For the diverse Eastern European communities in Germany's capital city, the music of their youth binds them together […]. For the Germans who populate club nights like BalkanBeats, the music is an escape into something both familiar and exotic" (BalkanBeats)[28].

By emphasizing issues such as 'adventure' and 'exotic', the appreciation of Balkan Rock recalls former patterns of reception of the Balkans. Remember historical travel reports, Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Karl May's novel *In the Gorges of the Balkans,* or the cult film *Murder in the Orient Express*. According to Maria Todorova, in these works the Balkans was constructed as an "exotic and imaginary sphere – a place for legends, fairy tales and wonders" and as such offered alternatives to the "prosaic and profane world of the West" (Todorova 1999: 31). Moreover, it served as a "projection surface for revolutionary yearnings of the Western Europe" (Wagner 2003: 21) in terms of a utopia or even of a "symbol of freedom" (Todorova 1999: 31).

Thus on the one hand, the romantic glorification of the Balkans can be understood as a radical critique directed against the self-image of the "European Europeans" (Todorova 1999: 267), who are supposed to symbolise "cleanness, order, self-control, strength of the character, feeling for the law, justice and efficient administration", and are therefore believed to stand on a "culturally higher level" (Todorova 1999: 175–176) than the so-called Balkanites. But on the other hand, the same centuries-old struggle for values also accounts for the "demonisation" (Todorova 1999: 31) of this region: As the Dionysian counter-pole of Europe, presenting itself as Apollonian, the Balkans stands for the "forbidden, erotic, female" respectively for the "dark side of the collective Europe", and serves consequently as the "trash can for negative characteristics" (Todorova 1999: 31, 85, 267).

28 Originally in English.

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RE-EVALUATING THE TERM 'BALKAN'

Yet according to Malcolm Chapman,

> romanticism is […] primarily a re-evaluative process. […] Romanticism is a re-evaluation, in the centre, of peripheral issues. The motivation for the re-evaluation is that those in the centre, who carry it out, benefit from it. […] If moral and political conditions in the centre are appropriate, this transported peripheral feature can be turned, at the centre, into a fashionable and glamorous rarity. (Chapman 1994: 41)

Correspondingly, in the framework discussed, one part of the re-evaluation resulted in the commercialisation of the Balkan sound. A further push towards the wide dissemination of this musical genre has come from the *Eurovision Song Contests* in these past years, which ha also made it popular with a largely international audience.

By establishing Balkan Rock as a firm marketing category, the musical expression of a marginal diaspora started to loose its initial objectives. What used to be local or regional became transregional or even transnational. The understanding of a geographically determined place gave way to the perception of a socially constructed space (see Stokes 1993: 3), which as a consequence led to a re-evaluation of the term 'Balkans' itself. The often discriminatively used expression mutated into a positively connoted metaphor, which no longer refers to a certain region, stigmatised by continuous political crisis, war, and ethnic cleansing, but to a very sensitive 'emotional territory', which lies according to Goran Bregović somewhere between Istanbul and Budapest (quoted after Lehman 2004: 11).

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Patricia Adkins Chiti

IMMIGRANT MUSICIANS IN AN URBAN CONTEXT

FOREWORD

During discussions chaired by the *European Music Council* in Bonn (between 2004 and 2007) with colleagues from different parts of Europe, it clearly emerged that very little field research into the presence of immigrant musicians in our communities has been undertaken. In most of the EU countries one can find and enrol in music courses for the study of Indian songs, Nigerian drumming and dancing, Turkish folk traditions or Indonesian Gamelan techniques, and there are many European provincial and local music schools, conservatoires and music academies with first or second generation immigrant students who may eventually find work with professional choirs, orchestras, jazz bands, rock groups and as teachers.

It is generally assumed that all immigrant musicians play within their own communities but there is little documentation about what they do, or when or how they do it. It appeared essential, therefore, to finally have some original data about these musical activities, and, in the EU Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008, it was felt that more should be known about the musicians themselves; who they are, where they come from and their relationship to the music making in the country in which they now live.

From an Italian point of view we determined that it was essential for us to know something about the contact between immigrant and Italian musicians, between an eventual immigrant and Italian public. We asked ourselves whether the immigrant musicians went to concerts or events organised by Italians, or whether an Italian public would turn up at a Singhalese 'pop' concert, or a Philippine choral festival. We also felt that 'our point of view' was no longer sufficient – it was now time to 'give voice' to the 'other' musicians in our midst.

Without previous documented material on this subject we began by drafting a very long questionnaire which started with questions referring to the status of the musician, his/her name, family, country or origin, and reason for arrival in Italy. Subsequent questions delved into, and around, each individual's personal experience with music and performance,

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participation in paid and unpaid music making and the 'professional' or 'financial' expectations (if any) of each musician. Once all the questionnaires had been filled in we were able to draw up lists of the kinds of music performed and the venues (with or without payment) for performances. We soon learned that earnings through music making were important for nearly all the musicians interviewed since the majority had come to Italy to make money and to support a family either in Italy or in their homeland.

The research project undertaken took far longer than we had originally envisaged because each interview turned into a person-to-person conversation: None of the musicians we met and spoke with had ever had this kind of contact with Italian citizens or with Italian musicians.

It is our hope that this study will encourage the preparation of others, thereby enabling the entire European music community to reflect upon the ways in which all citizens (whatever their status) and musicians can participate in the adventure of 'music making' and 'listening'.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Italy is home to over three million immigrants representing more than 1 540 different ethnic groups. The most numerous communities are those from Morocco, Albania, Ukraine, China, Philippines, Tunisia, and India, followed by Bangladesh, Peru, Egypt, Sri Lanka, Ecuador, Macedonia, Senegal, and Pakistan. The oldest are those from Albania, the Philippines, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Peru, Ecuador, Sri Lanka, and Senegal. According to studies published at the beginning of the year 2008 by the Italian Caritas and migrants organisations in *Dossier Statistico Immigrazione*, immigrants account for 5,6 % of the total Italian population with important variations: 0,5 % coming from the new EU member countries (Romania and Bulgaria) and between 4 % and 8 % from other parts of the EU. Two thirds of the immigrant population are composed of non-communitarians: 32 % from non-EU Europe (Russia, Turkey, and the Balkans), 22 % from Africa (of which two thirds come from North Africa), 16 % from Asia, and 15 % from the Americas (mainly from Latin America).

The number of legal immigrants should be easy to calculate, but many of the statistical sources are often incomplete. The status known as 'legal presence' covers both residents registered with 'municipalities' and short-term residents. Occupation is the consequence of these demographics and the revenue accrued by immigrants accounts for 6,1 % of the Italian national income. The weight of this workforce reaches 66,2 % in domestic work with families, 20,6 % in agriculture, 20,4 % in hotels and restaurants, and 19,4 % in construction. Women make up 40 % of employed workers and

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16,2 % of small business owners. The 150 languages spoken by immigrants can be heard daily in 172 radio programmes, 20 television programmes and read in 29 newspapers: Seven in Spanish, three in English, three in Portuguese, two in Chinese, Albanian, Ukrainian, Romanian and one in Punjabi, French, Polish, Bulgarian, Urdu, Russian, Tajik and Arab. Both RAI (Italian radio and television) and the Vatican broadcast programmes in all of these languages.

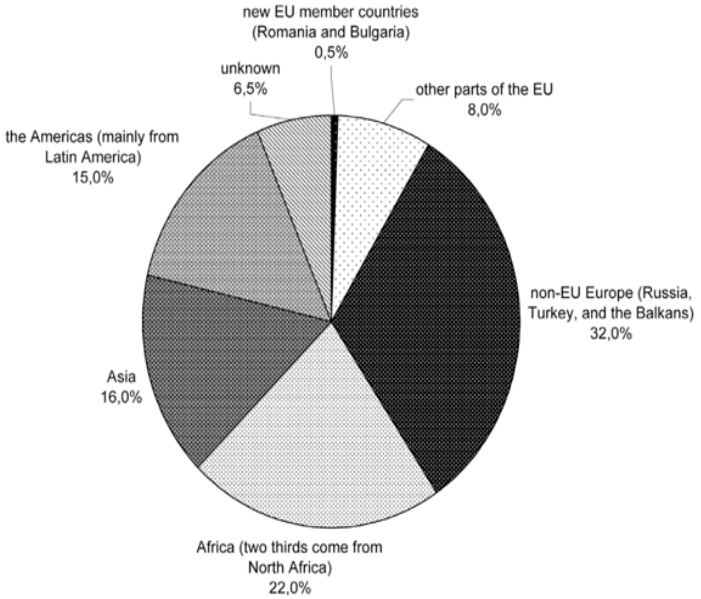

Fig. 1 – Geographical origin of immigrants living in Italy.
Graph by *European Music Council*. Source: Dossier Statistico Immigrazione, 2008

MUSIC AND IMMIGRANT MUSICIANS IN LAZIO

The publicity for the music and events programmed in auditoriums, concert halls, theatres and cultural centres in the Lazio region, reflects the tastes and musical traditions of the majority of the inhabitants: Classical music, opera, jazz, rock and occasional forays into contemporary music, tangos, Arab classical music with a sprinkling of hip-hop, electronic music and concerts by military bands. If, instead, one looks at the black and white

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photocopied posters taped to the gates of parks, hung from lamp-posts and decorating telephone booths, it is clear that that there is a parallel world of music and events for people speaking other languages: Serbo Croatian, Hindi, Tagalog, Chinese, Arabic, etc. The Peruvian community is the only one that prints posters in Italian. The featured artists publicised in the foreign language posters are unknown outside their communities; they are immigrants with double lives, earning a living in fields that have nothing to do with music:

- Sonia X, married with a family in Sri Lanka, a popular national recording artist and a graduate from an Indian university, is a house cleaner with a legal permit. She sings and teaches for Sri Lankan communities but has no contact with Italian musicians.
- Bill YY, an illegal immigrant drummer from Nigeria working on building sites is married with children and learned to play in his village. He performs with Nigerians and has no contact with Italians.
- Maria Z, a choirmaster and hymn writer for a Philippine choir in a central Roman church, with a regular work permit, is a single mother with one child, working as home-help for an elderly family. Her employers listen to her choir at Easter and Christmas.

There are countless immigrant musicians living and working in Rome, the capital of Lazio. Many have no legal entry documents, no means of support and scrape a living from busking on the streets or in the entrance tunnels to the underground railways system. In their own countries they were farm labourers, factory hands, artisans or housewives.

- M. A. A., a middle-aged Albanian violinist, illegal itinerant immigrant, plays in railway stations. Married with children near Tirana, he never went to school and has no other means of earning a living. No contact with other Albanians.
- S. B. B., a 40-year-old Roma from Bosnia, completed junior school and learned songs and dances from her mother. She sings in streets and fairs but declares that having an income is not as important as singing and dancing.

There is, however, a third category of immigrant musicians. Often highly educated with university degrees and specialised training in conservatoires or music schools, they came to Italy to seek the fame and fortune they were unable to obtain in their homelands. Although supported by friends and members of their communities, only a few perform regularly within the mainstream of Italian music and production. Those from Eastern Europe

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find seasonal contracts with orchestras or choirs, while those from Asia, Africa and the Americas work in fields that are nearer to 'crossover' or 'world music' than to their own traditional music. Some have made a name for themselves as soloists or group leaders, while others work with rock groups or the famous Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio, described in the appendix to this paper.

- A. W., a 25-year-old woman from Senegal with a literature degree, is a self-taught vocalist and hip-hop artist. She has a regular entry permit and since arrival in Italy, with community help, has appeared on Italian television as a dancer, but is not interested in a milieu that exploits her looks but not her talent. She is a member of a Senegalese hip-hop group.
- J. O., 50 years old, from Morocco with conservatoire diplomas from Tangiers and Verona in violin, pianoforte, percussion, and classical Arab music. He is now an Italian citizen working professionally with musicians and groups in the fields of folk and traditional music. Thanks to his highly professional preparation, he is much in demand.
- F. V., 45 years old, is a self-taught Brazilian percussionist with Italian citizenship working with Italian musicians and record companies, playing Latin music, jazz and blues. Interested in music from his childhood, his extreme poverty led him to make his own instruments. Well informed about all the latest trends in European music, his first love is jazz.
- A. T. T., 40 year old musician from the Ivory Coast with a residence permit, earned degrees in anthropology, art, and popular traditions in Montreal where he studied percussion, African music, reggae and rock. No longer working full-time as a musician (he once played with top pop stars), he now runs a rehearsal and dance hall in the suburbs while dreaming of an intercultural theatre for younger musicians.
- E. N., Hungarian, arrived in Italy in 1994 and completed cello studies at the Conservatoire of Milan. She performs with the Regional Symphony Orchestra of Lazio, in backing groups for rock stars, in the Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio and teaches privately.
- S. de S., in her 40s from Brazil, gained conservatoire diplomas in singing, Brazilian music and jazz. She is an Italian citizen and featured vocalist for international festivals and jazz clubs. She teaches Brazilian music privately and works for television and radio convinced that her success is due to her strong character and hard work.

So is there any interaction between these very different worlds? Does the Italian music community know anything about the immigrant music communities, and do the poorer members of these have any contact with

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those who appear to be fully integrated into the Italian scene? Apparently not, and our research left us with the feeling that the left hand does not seem to know, nor even want to know, what the right hand is doing.

Even before we began the preparation of the questionnaire, we knew that Rome was the home for a considerable number of musicians who work professionally on the Italian music scene but that the majority of the other immigrant musicians appeared to have little 'exchange' or 'musical experience' with Italians. For every musician like Pablo C. (Costa Rican classically trained composer, married to an Italian musician, teaching privately and writing music), there are 80 others who live on the outskirts of society, sometimes with only sporadic contact with their own communities.

If, at the start of this project, we had known what we know now, we would have investigated the interaction between the various communities and not just those between immigrant and Italian musicians and music making.

The five state conservatoires in the Lazio region do not offer courses in music history or instruments outside the western tradition. Most state schools do not teach a music curriculum and do not give an initiation into the world of music. Music participation comes primarily from families, parish communities and private local schools (for choirs and wind orchestras).

The empirical study described here is about how immigrants and migrant communities in the Lazio region make music and see themselves as musicians.

FINDING AND CHOOSING THE PARTICIPANTS

We began by identifying 16 countries with strong communities: Senegal, Morocco, Tunisia, Romania, Bulgaria, Brazil, Ukraine, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Ivory Coast, Peru, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and the Roma. Meetings were arranged with the official associations for each community to help identify musicians who could participate in our research. Some communities – from Albania, Ethiopia, China, India –, although numerous, are unfortunately absent from this study. The Albanians we talked with were all illegal foreigners who did not want to be traced. Ethiopians refuse contact with Italian organisations even though many have been residents for over 20 years. Indian musicians made appointments to which they never came, and then (this was a frequent problem not just with Indians and is a common experience of field studies) asked how much they would be paid: "What is in all of this for me?"

The Chinese community in Lazio is difficult to approach and very little is known about their legal status or how they live. Conservatoire classically

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trained musicians come to Italy to study in opera houses and then return home to work. There seem to be no traditional Chinese musicians in Italy. When necessary they are 'imported' from England, Paris, and Beijing.

The materials we collected confirm that the music traditions of the migrant communities are unknown by Italians living and working in the same territory – even by musicians. 41 % of all musicians interviewed only perform within their own community. 44 % have some contact with Italian organisations or the public (i.e. their employers come to attend a Peruvian/Moroccan/Brazilian evening). 4 % claim to have regular contact with Italians because they play in mixed bands, bars, or on the streets! The remainder are professional musicians (often with Italian or EU citizenship) working with Italian organisations.

This Foundation regularly programmes concerts including immigrant musicians. The Ministry of Internal Affairs invited us to organise an event for the opening of the Year of Intercultural Dialogue (Basilica of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli, Rome). We contracted Sri Lankan singers and dancers, a Philippine choir and an Italian vocal ensemble. The concert was planned for the one day in the week (Thursday) on which most workers are free, but the ratio of Italians to non-Italians in the public was three to one. Nearly 200 different communities were contacted, telephonically, by post and electronic mail. When we asked performers why there were so few of their friends in the audience, they answered: "We can hear our musicians whenever we want to". Some who came said "Well, you're doing a good job and I'd like to participate as an artist next time ..." Instead, the Italians in the public were enthusiastic and wanted to hear more.

During our research we learned that, with the exception of Filipinos, Peruvians, and some Eastern Europeans, the motivation to respond to our approach seemed to be the chance of visibility for 'their music' and – more pragmatically – a possible 'payment'. To some extent the presence of an Italian ensemble on the above occasion seem to have allowed both sides to listen to music from other traditions for the first time.

One of the most important results from this project was that all interviewees expressed their delight at not being considered second-class citizens any more, but as musicians and artists. They devoted time to the questionnaire and interview because of their love of music, realising that this could bring them visibility, and because they felt 'understood'. The most collaborative were musicians from Ecuador, Senegal, Brazil, Ukraine, the Philippines and the Roma. The latter participated with their association Unirsi, since they saw this as a way in which they could convince the Italian community that they were also artists.

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THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The project included two parts: The compilation of questionnaires followed by in-depth interviews with 120 musicians. All interviewees assumed we knew they were in Italy to earn money for their families and/or to send home, and that it was easier to enter Italy than other European countries.

One of the initial problems was the general diffidence to any kind of questioning, especially from an official Italian cultural institute. This diffidence disappeared when they realised that we are a music organisation with a library of music and recordings, carrying out research and producing books as well as organising public concerts.

In addition to the work undertaken by the Foundation's staff, we employed a professional researcher, Elisabetta Pucinischi, with experience in intercultural dialogue and degrees in Philosophy and Social Sciences. Her particular field is the Maghreb (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Mauritania) and she speaks English, French, and Arabic. She resolved all sorts of problems thanks to her personal contacts with immigrants who accompanied her to meetings and on her rounds at the central station in Rome.

THE QUESTIONS[1]:

- Name, Surname, Age, Gender.
- Country of origin, nationality, or ethnic group.
- Address in Italy.
- Family status (single, married, separated, cohabiting) including number of children or family members supported, with information about formal education for children.
- Education received by the musicians (schools, programmes)[2].
- The legal status of the interviewee in Italy: With entry and work permit, political exile or refugee, with temporary permits for health, professional training or temporary work[3], with Italian or European citizenship. Since many immigrants said they had regular entry and work permits they were asked whether they had one full-time job, temporary or occasional

1 For the sake of brevity we have 'condensed' the questions into sectors. The entire questionnaire was extremely detailed but the main 'sectors' are those described above.

2 In their own countries above all.

3 Often given to nurses, technicians and specialised workers in factories, industry and agriculture.

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work, or many different jobs. To those without legal entry permits we asked how they managed to live.
- We asked where the musician had learned to play an instrument or sing, begin to participate in music making.
- What instruments did they play and how did they judge their level of proficiency?
- What kind of music did they present: traditional, classical[4], folk, western, popular, dance, religious, disco or commercial (this for some meant jazz, rock or hip-hop, for most interviewees it meant 'crossover'or 'fusion')?
- We asked if any money was earned through music making, where, when, with whom and how often. If this music making was carried out only within their own community how often they performed, what, when and with whom?
- Were there any musical contacts with Italians and if so how, when and where did these contacts take place?
- Did the immigrant musicians ever go to concerts or events organised by Italians?
- Was there any contact with Italian media – radio, television, record companies, and newspapers?
- How many languages did the musician speak and could they read, write, or annotate music[5]?

PERCENTAGE OF INTERVIEWEES

- Senegal: 6 % (5 % men, 1 % women)
- Morocco: 12 % (7 % men, 5 % women)
- Roma: 9 % (from Bosnia 2 %, Croatia 1 %, Serbia 1 %, Romania 1 %, Kosovo Albania 1 %, others 3%) (7 % men, 2 % women)
- Tunisia: 2 % (men)
- Romania: 10 % (7 % men, 3 % women)
- Bulgaria: 5 % (3 % men, 2 % women)
- Brazil: 5 % (3 % men, 2 % women)
- Ukraine: 6 % (3 % men, 3 % women)
- Ecuador: 8 % (7 % men, 1 % women)

4 'Classical' as applied to the music history of the country of origin.

5 Reading music was normal for most musicians from Eastern Europe and from Commonwealth countries, but unheard of for those from North Africa. Clearly, those who had received 'formal music training' all read sufficiently to be able to play with other 'trained' musicians. Very few of the singers (in any community) knew how to read and appeared to learn everything by ear.

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- Bolivia: 1 % men
- Chile: 1 % women
- Cuba: 1 % (men)
- Ivory Coast: 1 % (men)
- Peru: 5 % (2 % men, 3 % women)
- Philippines: 19 % (10 % men, 9 % women)
- Sri Lanka: 9 % (2 % men, 7 % women)

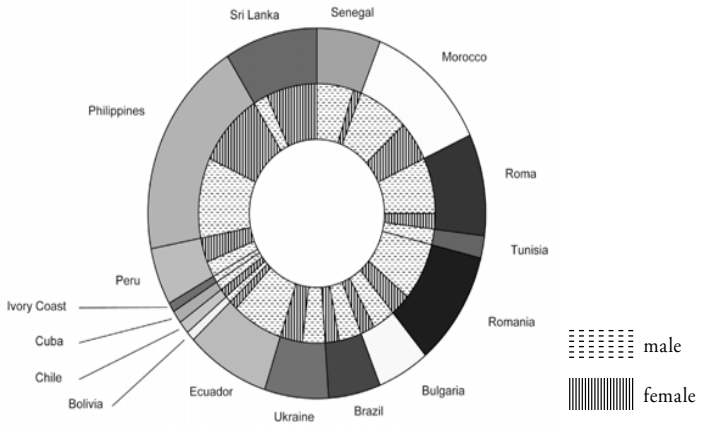

Fig. 2 – Origin and gender of the interviewees.
Graph by *European Music Council*. Source: Dossier Statistico Immigrazione, 2008

METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

Start-up

We initially contacted the organisations representing immigrant communities listed in the annual reports published by the Italian Caritas organisation, and on the website set up by the city of Rome (www.romamultietnica.it). Unfortunately, apart from the contact with the Roma community, this method turned out to be useless and a complete waste of time. Some associations said they were not interested unless there was a payment (or rehearsal hall facility). The majority of the official associations for immigrants did not appear to have any contact with musicians and were more interested in political and legal issues. We believe that most of these associations are under-staffed and that the request for contacts with musicians was not part of the daily workload. A contact with the Ukraine Cultural Institute was more fruitful and led to meetings with their musicians. The Moroccan

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community was particularly negative even after appointments had been arranged with embassy staff and the official association in Italy. We spent months while the embassy and the association passed the ball from one to another. On the other hand, the Brazilian Embassy immediately contacted one of their most popular artists in Italy, who was interviewed and who in turn introduced other colleagues. The network of Philippine church choirs, and choristers, in the capital (more than 60 different music groups) was very helpful and turned out to be that which most enjoyed using email. All other contacts were made by word of mouth, on the street, in bars, restaurants, at concerts and events and in the underground entrances to the subway.

Once contact had been made, an appointment was planned and many musicians chose to come across the city to the Foundation's offices while others preferred meetings after church, or in areas near where they lived. Some were interviewed in coffee shops, the subway, rehearsal halls and in private homes. Other appointments were set up in the community associations' offices and this meant that the interview was often carried out with a translator and some information may have been 'lost in translation'. Clearly too, all those interviewees in 'official circumstances' declared that they had been granted legal entry and work permits.

The interview normally lasted from 20 to 30 minutes and the length depended upon the linguistic knowledge of the person being interviewed. Some interviews were carried out by electronic mail. This allowed participants to 'talk' online when they had time and avoided travel across the city. Those using this method gave clear answers and were enthusiastic participants but we did not have the musician in front of us thereby limiting interaction. 2 % of the interviews took place over the telephone because the musicians did not have free time in which to meet us and did not use electronic mail.

Identification of the person being interviewed

Each musician was invited to give his/her name, age, gender and country of origin. This information was given by all interviewees without any difficulty. At the beginning we asked each musician for an identity document (to assure us that we were being given authentic information) but this led to problems (between 2 and 3 % of the interviewees) and we had to give up the idea. All of the musicians replied to the questions about their family status.

Legal and civil status

Current legislation in Italy determines that in order to be employed, enjoy social security and welfare benefits, a legal entry permit is required, followed by a work permit, and after six to ten years, citizenship is possible. We successively calculated that probably only 64 % of the interviewees had legal entry documents, 19 % were already EU or Italian citizens, thereby

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leaving 17 % who were illegal foreigners. 3 % of all those interviewed refused to discuss their status and it is to be assumed that they had no entry documents. These percentages did not coincide with declared employment and we assume that many 'invented' occupations because of their fear of being sent away. Interestingly, only one musician from Senegal held political refugee status.

Immigrant musicians can work for Italian organisations if they are (a) part of an amateur ensemble, (b) legally resident with work permits, or (c) members of the European Union or Italian citizens.

Education

We wanted to have a clear idea of where and how the musicians had been trained or educated. While many of them only received primary or junior level education (particularly the Roma), many others had completed a secondary education gaining official diplomas and a large number had studied in universities or conservatoires where they obtained degrees, and this was especially true for musicians coming from Ukraine, Morocco, the Ivory Coast, and the Philippines.

Immigrant women are usually considered less educated than men but the women interviewed for this project were more highly trained than their male counterparts. This was reflected by their 'other' job. Men interviewees worked as labourers, in the fields or in restaurant kitchens. Women worked in hospitals, clinics, private homes, boutiques and schools for their communities as well as for Italian associations.

4 % of all those interviewed had not frequented a school of any kind. 8 % had only completed primary school education, whereas 88 % had completed secondary school education 26 % had studied in a university, 7 % in a public music school or conservatoire and 73 % considered themselves self-taught musicians.

Music education

The central part of the questionnaire was about the musical preparation of the interviewees, and we asked about 'formal training' and the way in which they had begun their musical activities and the instruments played. We learned that many had started their musical activities as children (within families or communities) or considered themselves as self-taught. With those who had studied in academies, conservatoires or universities, we discussed the music curricula covered and asked whether they thought of themselves as 'professionals' or 'amateurs' living with earnings from other jobs.

The expectancies of musicians were decidedly different and we learned that Peruvian and Philippine musicians, even with specialised school or conservatoire studies, considered themselves as 'amateurs' happy to

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make music for their community or in church. Several immigrant groups, including those from Senegal and Sri Lanka, have their own traditional schools for children. The Filippinos teach choral singing and guitar, while some private Italian schools employ Ukrainian, Romanian and Bulgarian musicians for pianoforte, flute and violin. The participants coming from EU countries and having received conservatoire or university training were all able to read music. Many of the musicians interviewed said that they learned by ear and this was especially true of the Roma and Latin Americans performing with song and dance ensembles. The overall impression gained throughout the meetings was that the majority of the 'non-professional' musicians would probably not have used their music making as a form of 'earning power' in their own countries but that they were doing so in Italy in order to have some extra income.

Instruments played

All the musicians interviewed could sing and dance. The choice of musical instruments was determined by the traditions of the country of origin. The most popular instruments were the guitar and percussion instruments followed by the violin, accordion and a variety of other traditional instruments including: *kora*, saxophone, *bollonka*, *darbuka*, pianoforte, mouth organ, drums, flute, *bandura*, double bass, *charango*, banjo, Andean flutes, bagpipes, *quena*, *balafoon*, *djembe*, xylophone, organ, clarinet, and *sitar*.

Languages spoken

This question allowed us to understand to what extent the musician interviewed could find and forge useful contacts with Italian musicians. Many of them, although living for years in Italy, did not have a good knowledge of the Italian language and we often had to interview them in another language (Arabic, French, English, and German) or through an interpreter. Those from the Americas and Eastern Europe all spoke Italian reasonably well; the Filippinos and Asians preferred to speak English while those from North Africa spoke French. Some, as the result of the Italian public school education of their own children, were learning to speak Italian.

The professional musicians had a far better knowledge of Italian than 'amateurs' working in other fields, who had a better knowledge than those 'busking' or living by expediencies.

Money makes the world go round

The question of earnings from music making was central to the questionnaire. Here again, the results were extremely diversified even amongst the 'professionals'. We interviewed musicians living from their earnings (in

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different situations as far as venues, quality, number of performances and earned income were concerned) and others earning extra money through music performance but living primarily on the income earned from their official job or jobs.

44 % of all of the musicians interviewed stated that they earned money from performances and that 30 % of these earnings came from concerts, festivals, and community events. 10 % earned money playing in the streets and subway stations, 4 % played in pubs and nightclubs, 3 % had money from recordings, while 7 % stated that they earned money without clearly saying how. 22 % of all those interviewed played and sang for free in churches, religious centres, for marriages, national festivities and events organised by their communities.

The majority of those who participated in this research performed as 'occasional' musicians. The Romanians, Bulgarians and Ukrainians had all received excellent music education in conservatoires and universities and then found temporary work in Italy with public organisations, semi-professional choral and instrumental associations and private teaching, usually in Italian families (pianoforte, violin, music theory). They complained that it was difficult to live as musicians and we pointed out that this is true for most European musicians (including Italian conservatoire graduates), but obviously unexpected for those coming from an ex-Soviet system. None of the new EU artists knew how to go about finding professional opportunities and could not understand that the current production of classical and contemporary music is less energetic than the commercial and popular fields.

We tried, with the help of the Roma community association, to determine whether their musicians considered themselves 'professional' or 'occasional'. The replies received mirrored those of many other musicians. Music performance is central to the Roma way of life and all members of a community are expected to sing traditional songs and participate in traditional dances. Those moving from one part of Europe to another tend to consider earnings from public music performance as an 'extra'. The resident Roma have followed Italian educational routes and often have conservatoire diplomas. They teach in schools and universities and run professional music ensembles representing traditional Roma music in festivals and concert series.

Relationships between Italians and non-Italians in the musical field

We wanted to determine whether or not there is any collaboration between immigrants and Italians and if the music of the immigrant community is known or promoted by the Italian media. The professional musicians working with Italian organisations record for radio, television and record

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companies and appear to be well informed about work possibilities. They go to concerts and are knowledgeable about the 'Italian scene'. Where the immigrant musicians have little contact with their own associations (which in turn have even less contact with the Italian musical world), a lot of potentially interesting talent and musical energy is lost or 'underused'. All the musicians interviewed, whether professional, occasional or amateur, perform for their own communities: At weddings, funerals, national and religious festivities.

When we asked whether they would be interested in going to concerts of Italian music, we were told that tickets cost too much, and although this may be true for performances at the opera house or in the *Parco Della Musica*, it is certainly not true for hundreds of other initiatives that are free. Another reason given for not going to Italian music performances was the lack of free time.

Contact with the media (television, radio, and newspapers)

The Italian television and radio networks all have programmes centred on the activities of immigrant communities. Occasionally a musician is featured and these are normally the professionals described earlier.

Only 38 % of those interviewed appeared to have any contact with the media of any kind and 27 % had worked for television. These were the Roma (participation in debates and non-music programmes or working as actors/extras in TV drama series or soap operas) and the Sri Lankans (who have their own television station in Rome).

7 % had been interviewed or recorded by a radio station (usually transmitting in their language) and 4 % had seen their names written in an Italian newspaper.

The communities organising concerts were unaware that they could publicise their events, free of charge, in many daily newspapers and through a myriad of online websites. None of those contacted, or any of the individual artists (professional or not), had ever made proposals to television networks (not even smaller regional stations).

Occupation

The percentages calculated for those working with regular work permits appear plausible but, in fact, it was never very easy to understand if the job referred to was full time, part time or occasional. 62 % of all those interviewed declared that they had a paid occupation: 17 % worked as labourers, 9 % as musicians, 3 % as teachers, 24 % as home-helps for the elderly, 9 % in restaurants. A further 3 % were homemakers and mothers, 18 % declared that they had part-time or occasional work and 10 % were students. 3 % were extremely unclear as to what they did or how they lived.

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In theory, the 62 % with regular work should have been confirmed by the same percentage for those with regular entry permits but we had the sensation that this was not truly the case. Of the 9 % working as professional musicians, only one was a woman.

CONCLUSIONS

Having completed the interviews, read the questionnaires and worked on a statistical 'content analysis' before writing this report, the first reaction was that "had we known then what we know now" we should have extended the range of contacts to other communities outside the original 16. Obviously, this would have meant a longer period for the entire project and far greater economic means than we were able to invest.

What is sad, for a music organisation like ours[6], is the feeling that none of the musicians interviewed (with the exception of those teaching) really felt that they needed to promote 'their music'. If they are called to perform by an Italian organisation then they are very happy to do so and love having an appreciative public. This raises questions of whether our instruments of promoting and supporting music of migrant communities are applicable or appropriate and in what ways the dialogue could be triggered from the Italian side.

The impact of this research has been rather like waking a sleeping dragon. We are now being called by immigrant musicians volunteering to work with us, often offering their services without payment, prepared (or so they say) to carry out research into the music of the women of their countries or ethnic groups. This is an extraordinary result because immigrants very rarely think of proposing themselves to Italian organisations. We therefore realise that it is important for 'host' communities to make special efforts to identify and invite immigrant musicians to participate in the organisation of music events. This would certainly be useful for intercultural dialogue and could encourage younger talented immigrants to undertake the training necessary to equip them for musical careers in their new countries.

6 *Fondazione Adkins Chiti: Donne in Musica*.

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APPENDIX

The Orchestra of Piazza Vittorio

Piazza Vittorio is a multicultural district in Southern Rome with streets full of small stores reflecting the many nationalities of the inhabitants of the district. The musician Marco Tronco was inspired by the many musicians who lived or worked near the Piazza and with Agostino Ferrente and the Apollo 11 Association set up a multi cultural band: L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio. Many musicians, each one unique in terms of origin, instrument, and musical experience, form an orchestra that reinvents music from all over the world.

From the first concerts in 2002, the orchestra has achieved success and self-finances itself. Most of the musicians have more than one job, this means juggling timetables for rehearsals and performances, but also that they bring different kinds of musical inspiration to the works they create. The ensemble performs abroad causing headaches for the administrator who has to worry about entry visas and work permits for people whose legal situation is often far from clear.

The members of the orchestra are: **Houcine Ataa**, Tunisia – vocals; **Peppe D'Argenzio**, Italy – sax, bass clarinet; **Evandro Cesar Dos Reis**, Brazil – vocals, classical guitar, cavaquinho; **Omar Lopez Valle**, Cuba – trumpet, flugelhorn; **Awalys Ernesto 'El Kiri' Lopez Maturell**, Cuba – drums, congas, hands, feet, background vocals; **John Maida**, United States – violin; **Eszter Nagypal**, Hungary – cello; **Gaia Orsoni**, Italy – viola; **Carlos Paz**, Ecuador – vocals, Andean flutes; **Pino Pecorelli**, Italy – double bass, electric bass; **Raul 'Cuervo' Scebba**, Argentina – marimba, glockenspiel, congas, percussions, background vocals; **El Hadji 'Pap' Yeri Samb**, Senegal – vocals, djembe, dumdum, sabar, shaker; **'Kaw' Dialy Mady Sissoko**, Senegal – vocals, kora, feet; **Giuseppe Smaldino**, Italy – French horn; **Ziad Trabelsi**, Tunisia – vocals, oud.

Comments from some of the players

Houcine Ataa from Tunis studied with his father, a well-known singer, and was an entertainer on cruise ships. "The orchestra is unique because there is no other such organisation with so many international musicians taking part. Each has one role and one very precise musical personality. The orchestra will surely have a great future."

Ziad Trabelsi is also from Tunis with a music degree from the Conservatoire of Tunis and in mathematics and science from the university in the same city. "[…] Under the guidance of Mario and Pino, I am discovering myself as a composer. The idea of writing for the western ear is very different from that of Arabic music. This new experience is helping me

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to build a bridge between harmony and melody that includes reality with all of its problems, included those tied to a work permit."

Carlos Paz from Ecuador: "I am the new Latin American man: I am not Indian and I am not Spanish. My culture is western, I speak Spanish, I dress western, and I bring something of the native culture." Carlos also performs in the streets with a group of musicians from the Andes but considers himself an 'urban musician', not merely a 'street artist'.

Daddy Yeri Samb from Senegal: "I want to transmit my country's music, the rhythms, the songs, the dances […] In a few years, when I have finished the projects that are keeping me here I want to return to my country. But the orchestra I will leave never because all the musicians are my brothers."

Within the Rome's music-going public there are mixed reactions to the music presented. Purists consider the entire project 'commercial', or 'bending over backwards to a public that no longer understands classical music and knows nothing about traditional music.' The younger public is enthusiastic about the mingling of rhythms, instruments and music traditions. However, even within the immigrant communities there are contradictions. A performer from Senegal says that he is happy to play with western groups using his traditional instruments and does so following 'western rules' since he does not want to 'downgrade' his own background and culture.

The history of music is that of a 'mongrel art form' taking inspiration and colour from whatever the wind blows in. For this reason it will be interesting to see where the Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio goes, or has gone, ten years from now.

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Annunziata Dellisanti

THE TARANTA – DANCE OF THE SACRED SPIDER

TARANTISM

Tarantism is a widespread historical-religious phenomenon ('rural' according to De Martino) in Spain, Campania, Sardinia, Calabria and Puglia. It's different forms shared an identical curative aim and by around the middle of the 19th century it had already begun to decline. Ever since the Middle Ages it had been thought that the victim of the bite of the *tarantula* (a large, non-poisonous spider) would be afflicted by an ailment with symptoms similar to those of epilepsy or hysteria. This 'bite' was also described as a mental disorder usually appearing at puberty, at the time of the summer solstice, and caused by the repression of physical desire, depression or unrequited love. In order to be freed from this illness, a particular ritual which included dance, music and the use of certain colours was performed.

RITUAL DANCING

The first written account of music as an antidote to the bite of the tarantula was given by the Jesuit scientist, Athanasius Kircher, who was also the first to notate the music and rhythm in his book *Antidotum Tarantulæ* in the 16th century. Among the instruments involved and used, the frame drum plays an important role together with the violin, the guitar or *chitarra battente,* a ten-string guitar used percussively, and the button accordion or *organetto.* This form of exorcism consisted in a ritual carried out in the home of the sick person and a religious ritual in the Church of San Paolo (Saint Paolo in Galatina (Lecce)) during the celebrations of the Saints Peter and Paul on the 28th June each year. Exorcism, i.e. the liberation of the tarantula's poison and freedom from the illness, was achieved by using of a very special kind of music called the *pizzica-tarantata,* with a very marked rhythm, which

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forced the sick person to move, rocking backwards and forwards, until they burst into a frenzied dance with great leaps and contortions that represented the spider's behaviour and its final murder by the 'sick person'.

The first person to document this phenomenon in the Puglia region of Italy was Ernesto De Martino in his 'mythical' ethnographic expedition in 1959, which was described in great detail in the essay *La Terra del rimorso. Contributo a una storia religiosa del Sud* [The Land of Remorse. Contribution to a religious history of the South], the most detailed study on the subject. In the years following the publication in 1961 of *La Terra del rimorso* tarantism was the subject of numerous studies (often from diverse perspectives) and was provided with ample photographic and film documentation (such as *La Taranta*, a documentary in 1962 by Gianfranco Mingozzi and *Sangue vivo* by Edoardo Winspeare, a fiction film in 2000). In his essay, De Martino revealed that:

> The classical antecedents of the symbolism of the bite and sting thus *refer* to the sphere of female orgiastic cults and indicate maenadism in particular, as well as to the corresponding existential crisis of which those cults were at the same time the revival and 'change of the sign'. (De Martino 1996: 217)

WOMAN *TARANTATE*

Although De Martino believes that the *tarantate,* the afflicted women who fell into a hypnotic state of mind, are reminiscent of the crowd of maenads and bacchants of the ancient world stirred by the rhythm of the drum, he believes that "the rite [...] is a 'remnant', the remains of a pagan world in a context of extreme poverty and misery" (De Martino 1996: 31). He places it in the field of a 'minor religion', in a world such as that of the South of the 1950s, both underdeveloped and superstitious. Remorse expresses the 'sense of guilt' in the face of the cultural and psychological misery of the poor in the South, a society that had been forgotten and isolated for centuries by institutions. "Cultural misery", he states (De Martino 1996: 49), is the mirror of psychological misery and therefore also of the continual repression endured. It was no coincidence that the majority of people affected by the bite were women, psychologically frustrated, excluded from society and prevented from taking independent decisions, the most marginalised among the marginalised (see De Martino 1966: 270). The sting of a tarantula, the symbol of the bite that induces this agitation and frenzy, allows the women to provoke "the precluded Eros", to free themselves from an interior bite which today we would call depression and which De Martino defines as

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"an anxiety which is a coded symptom of unfulfilled choices and conflicts operating in the unconscious" (De Martino 1996: 272).

THE PREVALENT FEMALE PARTICIPATION

The historical data analysed by De Martino shows that more women were afflicted by tarantism from the end of the 17th century onwards, as indicated by Dalmatian Doctor Giorgio Baglivi. The ethnologist also reports that in the 15th century, the prevalent female participation of tarantism led the scholars of that period to suspect that women had invented the excuse of the spider so that they would then be free to do whatever they wished with men: "With this excuse of the tarantula, what others would have considered filthy and immodest acts, became for them a remedy" (De Martino 1996: 177). "The tarantate, the women bitten by the tarantula, simulated the symptoms of the bite to give vent to their passions, staging the so-called *Carnevaletto delle donne* [Women's little Carnival]" (De Martino 1996: 155, 157).

Ancient masculine prejudice aside, the ritual of the tarantate could be considered a form of self-cure, a primordial defence of women in the face of malaise, psychic discomfort, grief and a periodic explosion which allowed them to carry on the enduring and never ending fatigue to which they were subjected every day, pregnancy and numerous children included. Once a year, the women in Puglia were able to "act out their desperation in front of a crowd of spectators" (taken from the soundtrack of the film *La Taranta*, Mingozzi 1962*)* and escape from the anonymity and invisibility that relegated them to what was almost a cloistered life between home and church, hidden under black dresses and scarves, the symbols of mourning and death.

Ethnomusicologist Tullia Magrini carefully observed that:

> Finding themselves in a position socially 'without voice', the women [of southern Europe] resorted to a means of symbolic expression, discovering in religious and ritual behaviour one of the few expressive and emotional channels available to them in public contexts. Within this field of action, women could become the creators of events which were of significance for both themselves and their community, thus displaying their own particular skills. (Magrini 1998)

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THE FRAME DRUM: *TAMBURELLO*

The women from Puglia preserved particular skills as tambourine players, the tambourine being the main instrument in the choreutic-musical rituals of the tarantate. The Italian tambourine or tamburello is an ancient musical instrument connected to rituals associated with women, dating back to ancient Egyptian and Sumerian culture. Just as the Sumerian people felt the need in time to document the presence of the first percussionist in history, priestess Lipushiao, the scholars of tarantism in the 19th century also documented the presence of a highly skilled tambourine player: "In 1876 famous musicians for the tarantate were still living in Salento, and the scholar De Simone from Salento met and questioned the tambourine player Donata dell'Anna di Arnesano and the violinist Francesco Mazzotta di Nòvoli" (De Martino 1996: 148).

It was on Donata's ability that the success of the cure and recovery from the illness depended, in a ritual in which it was essential to find the 'appropriate' music, the sounds and rhythm that would crush the depressive tarantula illness, so-called musical motifs that were exclusive to "a divinity, a spirit, a genie, i.e. figures that […] are being evoked" by a specific melody or a particular rhythm, making them similar to the rituals of possession (Agamennone 2005: 41).

According to De Martino, the musicians thus take on "the character of exorcists, doctors and artists" (De Martino 1996: 75) and the female musicians that of shamans, witches and composers carrying out a magical ritual. Musicologist Meri Franco Lao writes:

> Analogous to shamans, the witches had to avail themselves of assistants who played and danced while they smeared the narcotic ointments and applied the cure, extracting the evil (symbolised by a piece of glass, a worm or an insect) and showing it to the community that had gathered. On the other hand, as was the case with tarantism from Puglian and Sardinian *argismo,* these musical, choreutic and periodic chromatic ceremonies had the function of controlling and resolving the hysterical crises. (Franco-Lao 1977: 13)

These religious-ritual practices, the result of cultural syncretism with pre-Christian religions, are often the "privileged field of action for women", generally represented along the Mediterranean in particular, "as silent, passive and marginal people, closed up in their homes, covered from head to foot because they are ashamed of their bodies, and apparently employed in the sole activity of tacitly showing their modesty" (Magrini 1998). Gender studies in music are very young, but it is necessary to emphasise that the

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presence of women in musical activities, documented by recordings collected by ethnomusicologists, have not always received the attention they deserve. However, other observers have emphasised not only the great number of females present in the therapy of tarantism but also the important role played by female musicians, the great "Ladies of the tambourine", who "have the honour of leading the dance of recovery and celebrating the death ritual" (Agamennone 2005: 39).

The woman-tambourine association can still be seen at the end of the 1950s in tarantella rituals in ceremonies which celebrate the passage from life to death, fertility rituals that recall the myth of Demeter and her daughter Persephone who, kidnapped by Hades to the bowels of the earth, are celebrated each spring. Agamennone's text *Le musiche tradizionali del Salento* [The Traditional Music of Salento] includes two CDs that present extensive audio documentation of music recorded by De Martino and Carpitella in 1959 and 1960 and in which the female presence is central. The music that starts the dance and the entire curative process is often played by a single musician who often accompanies her song with the continuously increasing insistent rhythm of the drum. When listening to the recordings, one can observe what a decisive and characteristic role in the tambourine players' part the convinced, confident role of percussion on the tambourine has, so much so that it seems to draw in the other instruments. The Puglia women demonstrate a special energy and strength, above all in the explosion of the *botta,* a strong blow to the centre of the membrane, to the face or near the ears of the tarantate, to shake up and revive the suffering women. The photographs in the volume show rather large instruments, apparently so heavy, as they would be played for hours on end, that the musicians had to bandage their forearms. This is in complete contradiction with the presence of many male performers who now dominate the scene during the revived Festival *The Nights of the Tarantella*. These musicians regard the tambourine as an exclusively masculine instrument since women would have neither the strength to support them, nor the resistance, to support them for such long lengths of time.

THE LADIES OF THE TAMBURELLO

Agamennone gives us a list of musicians: Salvatora Marzo, the 'Za Tora' of Nardò, specialised in a loud, strong *botta* and in the use of nonsensical verbal formulas, Cristina Stefanizzi, specialised in binary rhythms, Addolorata Assalve, Leonide Pediò, Grazia Zoccu, with a typical style that produces low-pitched frequencies and Laura Pediò, who was 73 years old at the time of recording. These women, used to hard labour in the fields and at home

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at a time when electrical appliances had not yet arrived to help female emancipation, were evidently endowed with great strength. Physically very unlike today's aesthetic 'television' models, they preserved the practice, custom and familiarity with the same instrument we see portrayed in the hands of the Maenads,[1] who held large tambourines similar to those in use today. The women from Puglia undoubtedly learned the technique from their mothers and grandmothers, who instinctively entrusted their daughters with this knowledge as if it were part of the female domain just as the preservation of the secrets of good traditional cooking. Later on, we shall see how this almost exclusively female tradition was interrupted and how today, only a very few musicians, like Alessandra Belloni, have rediscovered this musical heritage and are trying to spread these ancient therapeutic, choreutic musical traditions amongst women.

Like the Maenads, the Bacchantes described by Euripides, the tambourine players of Salento were the depositories of a musical tradition that was then already over 4 000 years old, in which the song, dance and sounds of tambourines were the means of harmony with the divine. This particular ritual is a continuation of the rites in honour of Cybele[2], the black goddess of the Earth. The tambourine players of Salento were gifted with a particular, typically 'feminine' sensitivity that allowed them to offer support and a cure to the tarantate, helping them endure grief, melancholy and fear of death or of an empty, miserable life. According to the ethnomusicologist Gianfranco Salvatore, the symbols of tarantism, which go back to cults and rituals of the goddesses of the Mediterranean, are numerous:

- The use of the tambourine as the main instrument of the ritual.
- The presence of a 'totemic animal' the *tarantata* can identify with, imitating its movements. In the ritual in the past, the animal was not a spider but rather a serpent, the symbol of Dionysius, skilfully controlled by the Maenads (Salvatore 1997: 140). Moreover, the image of the spiral linked to the cult of the Great Mother and the Serpent Goddess of Çatal

1 Maenads: the female devotees of the wine god Dionysus, thus also called Bacchantes.

2 Originally a Phrygian goddess, Cybele was first worshipped in Anatolia in neolithic times. She embodies the fertile earth, a goddess of caverns and mountains, walls and fortresses, nature, and wild animals (lions and bees in particular). Cybele's most ecstatic followers were castrated males called *Galli* by the Romans, who led the people in orgiastic ceremonies with wild music, drumming, dancing, dancing and drink. She was associated with the mystery religion concerning her son, Attis, who was castrated and resurrected.

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Hüyük[3] and to symbols of divination of life and cyclical time of birth and death, would in time take on the negative significance of the animal of the devil or sin. (Redmond 1997: 145)

- The presence of the thyrsus and vine leaf of life documented by Baglivi in 1695 as the accessories of the tarantatas' dances and clearly visible on both the Puglia ceramics and the ornaments of the Bacchantes.
- According to Athanasius Kircher, the tractate's habit of swinging evokes the myth of Phaedra who hangs herself for love, while the myth of Isis, who puts back together her husband Osiris, who had been cut to pieces by his brother, and symbol of the changing seasons, can be traced back to De Martino's words regarding the tarantate who felt they were "in pieces", "torn apart", "broken". (De Martino 1996: 132).

As can be seen from the above, all these elements help to trace the more or less direct influence of dionysionism and orphism on phenomena of trances and musical catharsis in the territories of Magna Graecia. Ethnomusicologist Gilbert Rouget interprets tarantism as a phenomenon of possession in which the therapy is a phenomenon of the reconciliation of the tarantata with the 'possessor entity', the tarantula, the spider. According to Georges Lapassade, one of the greatest experts on the study of altered states of consciousness, the most significant aspect of tarantism is the trance generated by the obsessive rhythm of the tambourines. It is the rhythm of the tarantella itself that draws people to the dance owing to the simultaneous presence of two complex rhythms – the beat, the pulsation, the regular beat and the offbeat, a 'rhythmic superstructure' that creates the effect of retard, syncopation and of slight rhythmical displacement. It is the percussion that stimulates the dance and begins the therapy that puts an end to the crisis. The tambourines and rattles possess such force that they can hypnotise and almost anaesthetise the tarantata, who, inside the holy space (called *perimetro cerimoniale*) – in the past a prehistoric cave, symbol of the maternal womb or sacred mountain of the Sybil – is now reduced to a white sheet stretched on the floor of the dark and poor houses of peasants.

3 Çatal Hüyük, ancient Turkey, is now considered to be one of the earliest known 'cities' in the world. A series of shrines has shown clear evidence of bull veneration, a vulture cult, and signs of worship of the prehistoric mother goddess. The earliest visual depiction of a drummer playing a frame drum comes from a cave in Çatal Hüyük, around 5600 BC. Archaeologist Marija Gimbutas, author of *The Language of the Goddess*, published in 1989, speculates that the small clay drums and bowls found in the Çatal Hüyük site represent the instruments used in the worship of the bird goddess, the goddess of music.

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All these elements confirm the continuity of a choreutic musical tradition that connects magic rites, recovery, rhythms of the tambourine and therapeutic musical actions of women. Female religiosity, wisdom and sexuality are confirmed through musical expression, perpetuating an ancient knowledge that has been preserved in various forms in the Mediterranean area, and in Salento in southern Puglia in particular. This strong, constant presence over the centuries of events that associate the tambourine and female musical actions with the celebration of the ritual of death and birth/rebirth through a curative process (but also of regenerative self-cure) might perhaps be the symptom of a greater capacity in women to let themselves go, surrender to emotions, relieve grief and tension, recharge themselves with energy, above all through the body, movement, breathing and search for rhythms connected to nature and its cycles. The same melody follows a cyclical form that is repeated obsessively until therapy is completed. The cure, which is a search for wellbeing and health but also the expression of one's own discomfort, takes place because of a particular need for relationships with others, apparently a characteristic of women. Today, the stereotype of 'female qualities' that characterise women as altruistic within the social sphere, looking after the sick and elderly, is still strong, as if women were destined to sacrifice themselves.

A WOMAN'S AFFAIR

The renewed interest in tarantism, which has produced a vast number of studies from different perspectives over the last few years, would seem to confirm and underline that this is almost exclusively a female phenomenon. Research carried out by Franco Signore in Nòvoli (Lecce) has provided further evidence that therapy involving the sound of a tambourine was a "woman's affair" and the "Lady of the Tambourine" was always the same: "La Cenza te lu Gervasi" [Gervasi's wife] (Signore in Agamennone 2003: 125–129). According to the information given, in the case of the town of Nòvoli, it is all about 'menstruation', a centuries-old taboo that should not be mentioned in public. The women allegedly simulated possession by the tarantula so they could dance until it induced a miscarriage. Signore believes that the use of this induction of miscarriage was an epiphenomenon of tarantism and suggests that in Nòvoli it was the specific and exclusive domain of the female world since women always played the tambourine and played a primary role in dealing with the crisis. There is, therefore, abundant evidence that tarantism is a specifically female manifestation, as an expression of psycho-physiological discomfort and as a remedy generally administered through the hands of the tambourine players. In his conclusion,

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Signore emphasises how difficult it might be for male observers to evaluate this 'female experience'. Furthermore, the very transmission of information might be partly unexpressed or censured by women out of fear and a feeling of discomfort owing to the lack of communication with men about taboos and subjects such as menstruation, pregnancy and sexuality. The gender of the interviewer and therapist seem to be important in initiating more intimate and profound forms of communication, capable of entering into the sphere of private experience. This was the case of the friendship between the scholar Annabella Rossi, a member of De Martino's team in June 1959, and the tarantata Anna. After their first meeting in Galatina, a strong friendship was established between them, unprecedented in ethnographic studies in Italy, giving rise to a long correspondence that continued until 1965. According to Annabella Rossi, Anna's story is common amongst the women of that area – one of poverty, fatigue, hunger, a strict father who forbade many things and a society that favoured male offspring, thus leading her to view the male universe with hostility, to the extent that she wrote, "Dear Miss, I hope you aren't offended but the way I see it, I really can't stand the male sex" (Rossi 1970: 154). This is a strong statement underlying this woman's desire to describe her own marginalisation and the wish to escape. Women have a special kind of sensitivity that allows them to begin interpersonal communication with greater ease, be it a therapy or an ethnographic study.

According to Ida Magli, the arrival of women anthropologists has been very important: "Indeed, only women anthropologists have 'really' been able to talk to women from those countries where, until now, researchers have almost been blind: Travellers, missionaries, ethnologists, anthropologists" (Magli 2007: 102).

Women, or rather 'scholars of the female sex' as ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl (Nettl 1993: 44), describes his American colleagues, have a particular way of dealing with field research, using an anthropological approach that pays more attention to human experience. Today, a gender study in Puglia is nearly impossible since tarantism has disappeared and musical therapy is no longer practised. The ritual of the *taranta* has become a collective joyful summer festival accompanied by the *pizzica-pizzica,* the last remains of the ancient curative dance.

Towards the end of the 1970s, the phenomenon of tarantism was viewed in Puglia as something shameful to hide, a past best forgotten, along with its music and instruments. At that time, ethnomusicologist Diego Carpitella took part in the *Tambourine Festival* in Cutrofiano (Lecce), organised with the aim of preserving old musical traditions. According to Carpitella it was highly possible that the tambourine would become the most popular instrument in Salento. During an interview for a local newspaper, he also

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tackled the problem of the conservation of techniques used in tambourine construction and made an appeal to his readers that an important and living symbol of civilisation should not be forgotten. Carpitella believed that a census should be carried out on both tambourine makers and performers. Once again, the ethnologist documented the presence of a tambourine player, Donna Rosa: "An elderly female player who had a highly original way of beating the tambourine. The rhythm, typical of Muro Leccese while preserving the therapy of tarantism is one of the fastest and liveliest" (Carpitella Interview in Agamennone 2005: 25–26).

Donna Rosa was another of the countless musicians with a strong personality and the ability to communicate tambourine rhythms in a new, personal and innovative fashion. But was she perhaps the last of the 'Ladies of the tambourine'? Where are the percussionists of Puglia today?

NEOTARANTISM

At the end of the 20th century, a new cult appeared: *neo*tarantism. This neologism was coined in 2001 by journalist Anna Nacci and defines the phenomenon of the revival of music and dance of the past in all its elements, rhythm in particular. The *neo-tarantella* induces an unrestrained unleashing of the body which, once liberated, moves in a collective manifestation of joy, in a 'modern' trance freeing itself from the problems of everyday life. In the past 20 years the music has survived, although deprived of its ritual framework, but the context has changed completely – dancing in festivals in public squares or discos (the new ritual cavern) with a vast number of people of all ages, united by the will to socialise and have fun. This renaissance of tarantism is not only supported by countless articles on the subject and the proliferation of musical groups, but also by a careful promotion of the local culture, which has managed to draw attention to a forgotten tradition that had been perhaps, for a certain period, unpopular and despised. In fact, over the last ten years there has been a radical change towards a phenomenon that had always been perceived as something to be ashamed of and to hide because it was the reflection of a poor, backward southern Italy. Today, the *pizzica* and the tambourine are vindicated as the symbols of Salento and of an autochthonous past in which the culture of the taranta existed before the influence of the Greeks, as proved by the painted murals of the *Grotta dei Cervi* [Cave of the Deers]. Discovered in 1970 in Porto Badisco (Lecce), the paintings witness the transition from the late Palaeolithic to Mesolithic eras, confirming the existence of rituals focused on a divinity believed to be the origin of this popular culture. According to Daniele Durante, the founder of *Canzoniere Grecanico Salentino* in 1975, the first group to include

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the pizzica-pizzica, the new *taranti* (now masculine) are not possessed by anything but are searching for their own god and a relationship with spirituality; demonstrating their pride in belonging to such a profound popular culture (Durante 2005: 78).

These new generations vindicate, as one of their own specific characteristics, the feelings their parents and grandparents used to consider shameful, a symptom of superstition, illness, hysteria, lack of equilibrium, madness, or weakness, but also a therapy from an almost exclusively female universe linked to the problems of women's condition in society and within the family. This cultural change, 'the repossession of identity' and globalisation make it possible for young people to revive this ancient therapeutic ritual that has become an expression of innovation, energy, celebration, joy, positive energy and strength, all expressions that are symbolically linked to a male world. At present, tarantism is claimed to be "a positive, noble, profound sign of the history of Puglia" (Imbriani in Agamennone 2005: 398), women as therapists and percussionists disappear. Many skilled singers perform, at times playing the tambourine as a simple accompaniment since the solo and virtuoso parts are left to the great *Signori del tamburello* [Masters of the tambourine]. The women in Puglia and southern Italy (and not only) have not stopped playing the tambourine, but are no longer at the centre of the stage, maintaining the frenetic rhythms of the pizzica-pizzica at times for hours on end, something which is now the prerogative of men only. The main figure, outstanding in both originality and personality, is Alfio Antico, a Sicilian percussionist who became the symbol of the tambourine thanks to his skill at creating a 'magical, primordial atmosphere'. This is what he says in an interview: "I was the inventor of the tambourine solo. At times I wonder if, without me, the tambourine would have been as important as it is now" (Antico 2007)[4].

Today, there are countless opportunities to attend courses by *Signori del tamburello*; however, if we wanted to find a female teacher out of respect for the original female nature of the instrument or just out of pure curiosity, it would be much more arduous. Indeed, women play at festivals and some singers and dancers in traditional music groups know how to play the tambourine but they never reach the virtuosity of their male colleagues. On the contrary, it seems as if they use the instrument as a decorative object to give their performance a traditional flavour. My research on female tambourine players began around ten years ago and is linked to a single Italian name – Alessandra Belloni, a singer, tambourine virtuoso, dancer and actress. Born in Italy, she works to preserve and disseminate the

4 http://www.operaincerta.it

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wealth and traditions of her culture. She is the only woman in the United States and Italy specialised in percussion linked to the ritual dances and songs she learned while studying and working together with the legendary percussionist Alfio Antico.

ALESSANDRA BELLONI: THE QUEEN OF THE TAMBOURINE

We first met on August 14th, 2005 in Tuscany in Chiara di Prumiano in Val d'Elsa, for the seminar *Rhythm is the cure* that Belloni has taught for over seven years. The musician offers seminars on Italian dance and the tambourine in relation to the therapy of tarantism. The following information comes from my participation in the two seminars Belloni held in August 2005 and 2006 and from an interview with Belloni herself and the participants in the seminar in 2005. I also took notes when I participated for the second time and these notes document the impressions, reactions and emotions each woman experienced. Indeed, a key moment of the workshop is the conclusive group reunion that allows participants to share their experiences. Belloni suggests that the numerous women and few men who attend her seminars recreate the ritual of the tarantate with the aim of freeing themselves of their own worries while searching within themselves for memories and dreams. Belloni plays the tambourine for hours and the whole group dances for hours. This experience is highly emotional and also physically tiring.

During the interview she told me that she herself had experienced the effectiveness of the rhythm of the tarantella, dancing for hours in a trance-like state to cure herself of a serious illness. She believed that other women she had helped had also benefited from the combination of the strength of the tambourine and movement. For many of those who participate in Alessandra Belloni's seminars, dancing and simulating the movements of the spider takes on a completely new meaning. The ritual space is seen "as a safe place where everyone can trust each other", "you feel protected", where you can "let go". While dancing, "you enter a relationship with the Madonna", you re-experience "your past and that of your forefathers", you experience "a sort of prayer", you feel "the energy increasing in the group when they are joined in a circle", and you feel "you have the courage to experience this". Some thank Alessandra for having protected and helped them and for having "experienced trust in themselves" and they feel "the desire to reciprocate the energy they have received". For some of them "time just flew" while for others it was "the longest experience of my life" (Personal communications, Chiara di Prumiano, Val d'Elsa, Tuscany, 27th August 2006). The recurrence of the word 'to experience' proves highlights

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that this was only the beginning of the journey and it should be pointed out that the women who came from countries where emancipation has been underway for years, for example the United States and England, found it easier and were more open-minded in their approach to these activities. The few Italian women present – just three – were more rational and said they found it difficult to let themselves go completely. As mentioned earlier, in Italy women do not play the tambourine professionally; normally they are singers or dancers who play it occasionally just for one song. According to Belloni this is because by going to school and leaving behind the exhausting work in the fields, they have lost contact with nature and the earth and, as a consequence, with strength (Mattingly 1999: 32). Since 1984, Alessandra Belloni participated in the Festival of San Rocco in Torrepaduli in Salento, a traditional celebration that takes place in the summer with the playing of tambourines and *pizziche.* Belloni says that at the beginning she was the only woman who played the tambourine and was not particularly well received (Consolmagno 1999: 59). Since then she has developed great strength and technical skill so she is now able to play for hours in competitions with drum players and percussionists. Once she had proven her bravura and her physical stamina she felt more welcome at these festivals and collective events in public squares, even if she was the only woman playing. Belloni's original objective to revive dance with therapeutic functions, which I believe has not yet been studied, annoys her colleagues and generates a sense of uneasiness that is similar to the one experienced by the elderly who regarded tarantism as a 'woman's affair to be ashamed of and left unspoken. Through seminars, Alessandra Belloni hopes to convince an increasing number of women to return to playing the instrument, to restore a balance between male and female energy. She wishes to transmit this female knowledge to women so may find "the courage to break the cobweb woven by society and women themselves" (Belloni 2004: 16).

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Huib Schippers

ATTITUDES, APPROACHES, AND ACTIONS

Learning and Teaching the Musics of Minorities in Europe

Three key factors have contributed to the embodiment of musical diversity in the European population: The presence of minorities from the continent itself (such as the Roma); the settling of former inhabitants from European colonies; and economic immigration (either invited or self-directed). The latter has undoubtedly had the deepest impact on cultural diversity beyond mainstream cultures. When Europe first started to receive large numbers of migrant workers, it was assumed that they were temporary guests to our shores. This is evident, for instance, with the German word *Gastarbeiter* and its equivalents in other European languages. Implicit in such terminology is the assumption that these people were to return to their home countries once the work was done. As we can say now with the wisdom that only comes with hindsight, this is not exactly how it turned out. Many of those brought here to assist in the workforce stayed, brought over families, and have inextricably become part of the cultural fabric of contemporary European societies.

DEALING WITH CULTURAL DIVERSITY

It would be unfair to say that this process was (or is) entirely harmonious. While there has been much rhetoric on the blessings of a diverse and colourful Europe, we have found as much evidence of 'culture as confrontation' (Ministerie van OCW 2000). As I have argued elsewhere (Schippers 2001: 7), it can be useful to distinguish four major approaches to cultural diversity in this context, which relate to culture in general, and to music in particular:

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- *Monocultural.* In this approach, the dominant culture (in most cases western classical music) is the only frame of reference. Other musics and approaches to music are marginalised. This may seem outdated but in essence still appears to be the underlying philosophy of most institutes, programmes and methods.

- *Multicultural.* Here, different musics lead completely separate lives. This translates mostly into music education targeting the 'roots' of the learners. Blacks are taught African music, Moroccans Arab songs, and whites Mozart, blissfully oblivious of the rapidly changing and blending cultural reality of musical tastes in our societies.

- *Intercultural.* This represents loose contacts and exchange between cultures, and includes simple forms of fusion. It is very popular in North-western Europe, particularly in music in schools, and steered largely by musical interest and awareness, although one may suspect that political correctness plays a role as well.

- *Transcultural.* This refers to an in-depth exchange of approaches and ideas. At first glance, it might sound a bit too idealistic. But it is actually possible to imagine – and even to realise – programmes where many different musics and musical approaches feature on an equal footing, particularly in general introductory courses, history, theory, methodology, aesthetics.

As the above text suggests, there may well be discrepancies between professed and practiced approaches. While throughout the 1980s and 1990s there was an explosive growth of cultural policies that explicitly recognised cultural diversity and meetings, the organisational structures of most institutions supposed to implement them – be it concert organisations, schools, or institutions for higher music education – have remained essentially unchanged. While their rhetoric welcomed diversity, their ethos stayed almost exclusively white middle class in approach and outlook, in the manner of Bourdieu's ideas of a European bourgeois culture that creates

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inequality supported by "an educational system offering (very unequally) the possibility of learning by institutionalised stages in accordance with standardised levels and syllabuses" (Bourdieu 1984: 328).

In the same vein, Elliott, one of the leading philosophers of music education, criticises western education as "based on modernity's scientific-industrial concepts, including standardised curricula, standardised achievement tests, teacher-centred methods, restricted instructional time, and age-segregated and ability-segregated classes" (Elliott 2002: 86).

While the rhetoric has changed, the remnants of these characteristics are still evident in educational practices across many European countries. Banks highlights how bringing in cultural diversity can bring change, as

> it challenges Enlightenment, positivist assumptions about the relationship between human values, knowledge, and action. Positivists, who are the heirs of enlightenment, believe that it is possible to structure knowledge that is objective and beyond human values and interests. Multicultural theorists maintain that knowledge is positional, that it relates to the knower's values and experiences … (Banks 2002: 6)

LEARNER-TEACHER INTERACTION

To complicate things further, cultural diversity in music education implies different approaches not only to learning and teaching, but also to the entire interaction between the learner and the source of what is to be learned. The latter can be performed, recorded, or notated, used independently (as in learning pop music from the radio), or in combination with an embodiment of musical skills or knowledge: A master, teacher, facilitator, or just an example that can be emulated. The interpersonal interaction is crucial in the transmission of many musics, from western classical music to *gamelan* or the music of the Turkish *bağlama saz*, but it varies in nature from culture to culture.

This variation is not specific to music: One of the clearest insights into the possible fields of tensions comes from a study of corporate headquarters across cultures, in which Dutch researcher Hofstede identified five dimensions of values and attitudes: a) small power distance versus large power distance; b) individualism versus collectivism; c) masculinity versus femininity; d) avoiding uncertainty versus tolerating uncertainty; and e) long-term orientation versus short-term orientation (Hofstede 1998: 25). Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars developed a similar model, distinguishing a) universalism versus particularism; b) individualism

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versus communitarianism, c) neutral versus emotional; d) specific versus diffused, e) achievement versus ascription; adding f) attitudes to time; and g) attitudes to the environment (Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars 1998).

For those working with cultural diversity in contemporary European settings, such binaries resonate with their experiences with Indian gurus and Brazilian samba musicians, who do not always follow the mitigated master-disciple model of western classical music, the more egalitarian relationships in jazz, or the peer learning experiences common in popular music (Green 2002). They also help to explain the challenges of many Asian students torn between the respect for authority they have acquired from an early age, and the independence of opinion expected when they enter European higher education. Talented young people from even more divergent cultures of learning, such as sub-Saharan Africa or outback Australia, often do not get past the first year of degree courses due to expectations foreign to their skills, however finely attuned they are to their own cultural and musical background.

VALUES AND ATTITUDES

There are additional challenges at a next level of depth. Every music has a complex (and rarely explicit) underlying system of values and attitudes relating to what is considered beautiful, intellectual or spiritual; desirable, acceptable or objectionable. For instance, in western classical music, the canon of acknowledged masterworks remains a principal frame of reference, an anchor for tradition. This canon is like a 'musical museum' (Cook 1998: 30): It stays essentially the same, allowing only subtle variations in its (re) interpretation. In North Indian classical music, the ragas are largely handed down from generation to generation, but their interpretation is expected to be distinctive from one performance to the next, even by the same artist. In much popular music, the songs have to be different every time, although the basic frame of reference stays the same. Looking at the wealth of musical styles and genres that inhabit Europe today, there is a range from static to living traditions, ones that focus on preservation and ones where the principal concern is creation.

Related to this, is the concept of authenticity. We have inherited a concept of authenticity that idealises the original: *of time* for what is now called 'historically informed' practice, and *of place* for much world music. In contrast to this authenticity of 'trying to be as close as possible to an original' is the idea of authenticity as 'being an expression of the self', which suggests not trying to emulate any model or example. While the former

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definition often claims a kind of moral superiority, the latter can lead – and has indeed led – to vibrant new musical scenes, such as *bhangra* as a powerful expression of the spirit of UK based Indian youth (not to mention its fusion with Brazilian samba into *sambhangra* – how inauthentic can you get in terms of 'pure ethnic music'?).

Recontextualisation is of particular relevance for Europe in what is now often called 'world music'. While ethnomusicology from the 1960s has advocated that music can only be understood in context (suggesting an 'authentic' context), changes in musical practices and tastes over the same period have demonstrated that much music travels remarkably well over space and time (Merriam 1964; Slobin 1993). This goes as much for medieval Italian sacred music played in pagan 21st century Copenhagen, as it does for African ceremonial drumming performed at festivals in France, or Javanese court gamelan in a school in the UK. Most music is recontextualised, often more than once: From churches or temples to courts to concert halls to records on the web, or from village squares to brothels to rock festivals. These are the fascinating dynamics of most musics we deal with, both in Europe and their cultures of origin; they represent complex but powerful realities.

40 YEARS OF PRACTICE

In the face of the dense enumeration of obstacles and complications on the previous pages, it would be logical to assume that the music of minorities has little chance of flourishing in European countries. As it turnes out, that is not the case. Since the 1960s, but particularly since the 1980s, numerous initiatives featuring 'migrant music', 'minority music', or 'world music' have seen the light, many by individual musicians or communities, but also in institutional contexts. In what I consider the first decade of recent world music history, the 1980s, projects in institutions were often naïve or opportunistic: Naïve because the possible cultural tensions had not been thought through or discussed and opportunistic because they were often triggered by the promise of additional funding. Many of the projects from this period failed because of incompatible expectations from the organisations involved, the teachers hired in (often without training or qualifications to work in these settings), and the learners, who oscillated between their cultures of origin and that of mainstream Europe.

There are many reports of such confrontations (e.g. VKV 1992), where a lack of awareness regarding the kinds of issues discussed above led to disappointment, conflict, and discontinuation of projects that may well have been viable.

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In the late 1980s, the situation changed. Firstly, the 1987 'world music campaign' that emanated from the UK positioned 'world music' as an attractive listening option for 'indigenous' Europeans, creating a more knowledgeable and more diverse market for the music of (at least some) minorities. Secondly, those who had been involved in 'teaching world music' started finding each other at the conferences of educational organisations such as ISME, EMU, AEC and MENC, at ethnomusicological gatherings of ICTM, ESEM, and SEM, and targeted networks such as *Cultural Diversity in Music Education* (CDIME), which held its first seven international symposia in Europe between 1992 and 2003 (www.cdime-network.com). Discussions started to address different ways of organising learning and teaching, with a number of examples at public music school level (Malmö, Berlin, Lyon, Amsterdam), and at tertiary level (Dartington, Basel, London, and Rotterdam) providing practical models for shaping world music education with sense and sensitivity.

While some programmes in schools kept using outdated volumes with 'songs from many lands' robbed of their beauty by squeezing them into western staff notation and accompanying them with a few chords on the piano, allowing little room for subtle rhythm, intonation or timbre, many others began to work from authoritative recordings, or even with musicians from the countries themselves, often framed within a larger project of learning about another culture.

While some music schools kept pretending that learning the *saz* or *djembe* is essentially the same as learning the recorder or *viola da gamba*, others worked with teachers to arrange groups, pedagogies and a learning environment that made sense from the point of view of the music and its (inevitably new) contexts. Rehearsals may have taken longer and been interspersed with sipping tea, smoking *kreteks,* or eating *baklava*, but they have also yielded engagement, enjoyment, and rapidly improving musicianship.

While some conservatoires insisted that only western art music had a place at a conservatoire, others (particularly those with strong education, composition, jazz, or percussion programmes) embraced the opportunity to import new strands of inspiration, in many cases leaving some leeway for out-of-the-ordinary elements in the curriculum, honouring aural transmission and electives focusing on skills such as accompanying dance, clapping Indian *talas*, or exploring Turkish poetry. In 2001–2002, over 50 European conservatoires were identified as having at least some courses in world music on offer (Kors, Saraber and Schippers 2003).

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PRESENT AND FUTURE

Turning to the present, the beginning of the third millennium has witnessed two opposing developments. The rise in racism and mistrust of other cultures post-September 11, 2001 has led to subtle but dubious de-funding of culturally-diverse projects in some countries. It is becoming less politically incorrect to dislike blacks or Muslims; consequently, however unfairly, the support for music associated with these 'others' is suffering. At the same time, a number of projects and networks have come to maturity after ten to 20 years of experience: There are highly evolved policies and practices for world music in schools; many public music schools have included djembe ensembles, 'world choirs' and the music of the minorities directly surrounding them in their offerings. Other community projects abound. At the level of professional training, a number of European institutions now deliver credible musicians in *flamenco*, gamelan, *tango* or djembe. At university level, world music ensembles are still not as common as in the United States (Solis 2004), but research into learning and teaching world music is on the increase.

The greatest potential strength of the 'world music education sector' for the next decades perhaps lies in bringing together these layers of the music education infrastructure and combining them with performance, breaking through institutional divisions that do not necessarily make sense for the musics of minorities in Europe. The largest experiment of this kind to date is the recently opened *World Music & Dance Centre* (WMDC) in Rotterdam, which works across the gamut from schools and communities to elite performance and research. Using both local heroes and international stars (such as Paco Peña and Hariprasad Chaurasia), and concentrating its activities into a custom-designed building in the multicultural suburb of Delfshaven, the WMDC has the chance to create a musical ecosphere that nurtures music lovers and enthusiasts from the first contact through to trial workshops, amateur courses, and professional training and research for the few who choose to aim for a professional career (Schippers 2007).

The musics of minorities in contemporary Europe have begun to fulfil their potential as a major force in the life of towns and cities. They blur cultural stereotypes as some use music to confirm their socially or individually constructed identities, and others embody an ever-loosening link between ethnic background and musical activities or tastes. Where these have fully connected to communities and individuals, where they have naturally gravitated towards striving for the best possible quality, they have become an integral presence in the soundscape of their environment. In other places, there is still ample room for growth, in line with the summary recommendations of the EU-funded project *Sound links* (see appendix

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overleaf). Continued curiosity, respect, dialogue and well-considered action without fear can carry this European cultural treasure to its next incarnations. The necessary shifts in awareness and practice have already been made; the next ten years will hopefully see wider discrimination, well attuned to the continuing shifts in approaches to learning and teaching, technological developments, and the ever-changing realities of musical diversity in Europe.

APPENDIX

Emergency guidelines in case of world music

In the summary of the final report of *Sound Links*, a project investigating cultural diversity in higher music education funded by the European Commission, some of the key findings were communicated as a variation of the fire warnings encountered in every hotel room around the world to highlight both the urgency of the topic and the possibility of a commonsense approach.

What to do in case cultural diversity enters your institution

1. Open all doors and windows: receive the new influences in the same spirit of *curiosity and receptiveness* that have been at the core of most major developments in the history of music across the globe.
2. Set realistic, tangible *aims and targets* for pilot projects or long-term initiatives, and relate them to the key motivation for including these activities in terms of artistic, personal and organisational outcomes.
3. Be aware that cultural diversity does not only refer to many musical sounds and structures, but also to a wealth of approaches to *teaching and learning* that can benefit the entire institution.
4. Quality criteria are complicated within traditional conservatoire subjects; activities in cultural diversity call for an even more *flexible set of criteria*, with fitness for purpose and relevance to context.
5. The success of cultural diversity in higher music education also depends on its *position in the structure*, ranging from optional workshops to credited parts of the core curriculum.
6. Cultural diversity has been high on the cultural and political agenda for some time. Placing it carefully in the *political and funding climate* will benefit the activities and the institution at large.
7. As a new area of development, cultural diversity lends itself very well for *making connections*: in the community surrounding the institute, the national arts world, and international networks.

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8. Experience shows that successful initiatives in cultural diversity centre on inspired people, well supported in the hierarchy. This has implications for *leadership, organisation and management.*
9. Cultural diversity may lead to the formation of isolated islands within the institution. Constantly involving *staff and students* in planning, process and results will help to avert this danger.
10. It is relatively easy to realise a single, successful initiative. The greater challenge lies in ensuring *sustainability* by creating a climate that will contribute to an open and inspiring learning environment. (Kors, Saraber and Schippers 2003)

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Aspects of Formal and Informal Transmission of Music in the Immigrant Communities from Turkey

The two articles about formal and informal transmission of music from Turkey in the Diaspora by Dorit Klebe and Hande Sağlam show very clearly the differences in the two neighbouring countries Germany and Austria which have to do with politics of course. Whereas in Germany, Dorit Klebe can look back on an ongoing integration process in which she herself is one of the protagonists on behalf of the dominant group as a music pedagogue, the Austrian situation is viewed by a scholar from Turkey living in Austria, with no primary pedagogical ambitions. The viewpoints are obviously very different, and so are the results. Hande Sağlam is very critical about the few and only initial attempts to integrate music from Turkey into the Austrian educational systems, and concentrates on activities by immigrants themselves. While Dorit Klebe has been part of a longstanding process in Germany and appreciates that at least some of the goals have been reached due to her engagement. We thought that it was necessary to present these two somehow contradictory views in order to stimulate discussion and to revisit the ethnomusicological methodological model of integrating 'insider' and 'outsider' views. Dorit Klebe is an insider in many respects, as an expert in Turkish music and as a music pedagogue. However, she is not a member of the communities she studies. Hande Sağlam has longstanding experience of being an immigrant from Turkey in Austrian dominant society and she is an expert in Turkish music. However, as an ethnomusicologist she is not familiar with the music pedagogy system in Austria. These two articles enable the reader to learn not only about facts in two different countries but also about different scholarly approaches that are part of the wide spectrum of ethnomusicology.

(Ursula Hemetek)

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Dorit Klebe

MUSIC IN THE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES FROM TURKEY IN GERMANY

Aspects of Formal and Informal Transmission

INTRODUCTION

The terms 'formal' and 'informal', as attributes of transmission in the title of this chapter, have gained importance in international discourse, particularly in the English language. Originally relating to 'education' and being complemented by the term 'non-formal', the term 'learning', being more comprehensive, later partly replaced the term 'education'. Its definitions, however, are diverse and not always clear in their delimitations; the debate still takes place mostly in a national surrounding and is less internationally orientated[1].

The terms applied in the following text follow, on the one hand, the classification laid down by the European Commission (Europäische Kommission 2001: 10, 57, 58). On the other hand, they rely on publications in and outside the context of UNESCO (see The Faure Report/Faure 1972; see also Overwien 2001: 359–360 and 2007). Additional definitions may follow in special cases, as divergences and overlapping in the application of the reference systems of two different culture areas are inevitable.

In my explanations, the various forms of transmission of music will be classified as follows:

1 Adequate terms in Germany would be 'formell', 'nicht-formell' and 'informell', however with connotations partly differing from the terms of the English-speaking areas.

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- The term 'formal' refers to organised, structured, certified forms of transmission, based on professional structures, at state-recognised institutions for education. The reference systems 'education' and 'science'[2] of the German Federal Republic are concerned, though the criteria of evaluation are not unified because of the federal structure of Germany.
- The term 'non-formal' refers to organised, structured forms of transmission, based partly on professional, semi-professional, or autodidactic structures. Reference systems of various origins can be found in this context, depending on the ethnic affiliation of the respective group in the society.
- The term 'informal' refers to non-organised, self-reliant, self-managed, irregular forms of transmission in areas of everyday life: The family circle, the work-place, or leisure, etc. This sphere is characterised by autodidactic structures of transmission.

The contemplations on the various types of the formalised transmission of music do not for instance contain opinions on the quality of music being transmitted, on the value of music for the individual himself, or on which sphere of emotions and tensions the transmission takes place. These questions can be taken into consideration only marginally.

Moreover, my paper will ask such questions as to how the Turkish community itself understands transmission in the German diaspora; to what extent German society has undertaken the task of musical transmission; how the Turkish community and the German majority have tried to cooperate on projects (also including groups of other ethnicities). This paper will also explore which music genres are transmitted, who transmits music and what method is used, as well as the intended audience, and at which educational institutions and in which surroundings Turkish music is transmitted. The centre of the research is the city of Berlin[3].

2 Serving as a basis for the recommendations of the KMK – Kultusministerkonferenz [Conference of the Minister of education and the arts].

3 Towns such as Berlin and Cologne have the a special position of being the fore-runners for other towns, urban centres, states of the Federal Republic of Germany.

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1. THE TURKISH IMMIGRANT POPULATION AND THEIR CULTURE OF MUSIC

Citizens from Turkey in Berlin form the largest Turkish community living in a big urban structure outside Turkey. Today in Berlin[4], there are about 200 000 citizens, and in Germany as a whole, there are about two and a half million people of Turkish descent (about one fifth of German citizenry)[5]. The minority population that immigrated from Turkey to Germany also includes several ethnic groups such as Kurds, Zaza, Tcherkess, and Laz[6]. There is no unified expression for the population with a Turkish immigrant background, neither among themselves nor among the German majority. Officially, they are called citizens with an immigrant background from Turkey. In the past few years, the term *Deutsch-Türken* [German Turks] is more and more in use, applied to citizens who have both a Turkish and a German passport.

Among the Turkish community, a cultural life influenced by Turkish elements has gradually established itself. An increasingly parallel music world has developed since the mid-1970s. It took place mostly unknown to, overlooked by, and independent of the music world of German hegemonic society, with some regional exceptions. To what extent these phenomena can be considered as subcultural structures or developments comparable to a partial culture is currently under discussion (Klebe 2001a, 188). In connection with the parallel world, a rather independent adjacent world of internal media, concerts, performances, and other music-related cultural events and places with appropriate strategies for transmission has arisen.

Cultural life encompassed an extremely active musical life[7], playing an important role for immigrants from the very beginning. In the diaspora, they developed a desire to maintain the musical traditions from their former homeland, thus keeping a connection with their roots and origins.

4 Statistisches Landesamt, Berliner Statistik, SB_L11_110_5_Melde_Auslaender_2006H01.pdf, p. 9.

5 Statistics on the immigrant population with a German passport do not consider this fact.

6 A survey of different ethnic groups living in Turkey is given by Peter A. Andrews who mapped forty-seven of them (Andrews 1989: 47). Statistics in Germany do not distinguish between the single ethnic origin. Consequently, other minorities from Turkey are also included.

7 Further details in Greve 2003.

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Various genres of Turkish music and areas are of concern: Different forms of electronic media, TV, video, DVD, and CDs, live performances in concert halls, music restaurants, wedding parties, or in welfare and cultural associations. Furthermore, the formal and non-formal transmission of music at state or private schools of general education, and the informal, private, familiar sphere play a significant part in integrating the adolescent German-Turkish generation into processes of transmission and productions of music in the future.

After the reunification of the 'two Germanys' in 1990, under the pressure of social, political, economic and ethnic change, the musical life of the Turkish community – especially in Berlin – underwent a short period of decline. From the mid-1990s onwards, a new epoch started with rapid increase: private music conservatories and academies were founded, teaching traditional Turkish music in a professional manner more and more, to mainly adolescent German-Turks.

Private music schools spread like mushrooms, focusing on training lessons for the *bağlama* in particular, a specific type of the long-necked lute from the *saz* family[8]. The renaissance of Alevism[9] in the 1990s, having extended from Turkey to the diaspora, also played a large role in this development. The last decade has been shaped by new musical genres created by Turkish-German pop singers and Turkish-German-multi-ethnic rap-groups. The development is generally characterised by new tendencies such as exchange and interaction between Turkish and Turkish-German musicians, cooperating globally to remove boundaries. This intermixing has produced new genres and styles.

2. TRANSMISSION OF TURKISH MUSIC

2.1 History and origin in Germany and especially in Berlin

Within the Turkish community, efforts to transmit their culture to the following generations[10] increased from the mid-1970s onwards. There are

8 Details of the family of these instruments, see Picken 1975: 210.

9 The Alevî are a religious group in Turkey, shaped by the Shiitic Islam, pre-Islamic beliefs, other great religions as well as local religious streams, see Dressler 2003. The bağlama is a regular component of the Alevitic worshipping ceremony and is regarded as a 'holy' instrument.

10 Generation in this context is not to be understood in the sense of degrees of relationship, see also Klebe 2001a: 190–192.

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several reasons for the changes that have taken place since then. In 1972, the German government permitted families to reunite. As some immigrants adapted to their adopted country, they lost their native language and contact with their mother country.

The lives of the second generation of immigrants took place in an age of tension marked by dissonances, though their expectations were more realistic than those of their parents. The German-Turkish hip-hop singer Aziza-A touches on this feeling when she sings: "The daily life is German; the warmth, the longing, the temperament are Turkish."[11]

Through single initiatives within the Turkish community, private associations arose with the aim of cultivating and disseminating Turkish culture and folklore[12]. After the German government had allowed families to reunite, the proportion of pupils with an immigrant background from Turkey shot up to 80–90 % in certain regions of Germany and especially in certain districts of Berlin. Consequently, German-Turkish teachers were employed to teach German-Turkish pupils in so-called *Ausländerregelklassen* [regular classes for foreigners] in the Turkish language, including the transmission of Turkish music. On the other hand, the German majority reacted to these changes. Music pedagogy in Germany started to take into account the new situation and prepared itself to consider the musical culture from the former homelands of foreign pupils (although to a rather modest extent) in a so-called *Ausländerpädagogik* [pedagogy for foreigners]. It was the beginning of *interkulturelle Erziehung*, in particular, *Musikerziehung* [intercultural education/music education], though the term *interkulturell* [intercultural] did not come into use until 1979. This educational form, however, had a hesitant start. In a second stage of *Interkulturelle Musikerziehung* from the 1980s on, music pedagogy and musicology/ethnomusicology opened itself to the music culture of Turkey. Even today, *Interkulturelle Musikerziehung* is an ongoing process, still in discussion and in need of being re-thought.

Within the framework of my studies dealing with specific areas of the music of Turkey, I included, in the sense of 'Urban Ethnomusicology', the development in Berlin since the late 1970s, partly concentrating my field research on recording not only music performances of Turkish music in the Berlin diaspora but especially focussing on the transmission of Turkish music in its various forms and situations. Some of the results of my studies as well as of my co-operation with German-Turkish scholars, musicians, and teachers have become part of scholarly ethnomusicological publications

11 In an interview given to the author on 14th October 1996.

12 E.g. Tüfoyat – Vereinigung zur Pflege und Verbreitung türkischer Folklore [Association to cultivate and disseminate Turkish folklore].

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and have also been integrated into curricula and a series of publications of teaching materials. In a report on Interkulturelle Musikerziehung, Irmgard Merkt[13] evaluated my first publication as follows: "Eine erste fachlich kompetente Beschreibung der Musik der Türkei für den Gebrauch in Schulen stammt von Dorit Klebe aus dem Jahr 1983, veröffentlicht durch das Pädagogische Zentrum in Berlin" (see Klebe 1983).[14]

Musicians, teachers, and scholars of the Turkish community also started to publish as a new musical culture arose.

2.2 Which music genres were and are transmitted?[15]

During the first two decades after the start of the immigration in the early 1960s, the genres of Turkish music that were part of the musical culture of the mother country were mainly practised, although with different emphases. Musical life at that time was still dominated by traditional music genres. A main characteristic of these genres was their heterophonic[16] performance practice. Mixed forms, however, already existed or had just begun to develop in Turkey, the motherland, being fusions of elements of 'westernised' Turkish and Oriental music in its broader sense. Orientated towards their origins and roots, people in the Turkish diaspora in Germany had no preference for these mixed genres. They favoured this kind of music because it largely came from the regions of their origin, the rural areas of Anatolia. The Turkish community at that time concentrated predominantly on the genres of the traditional *türk halk müziği*, [traditional Turkish folk music and dance], that also partly comprises genres of religious ceremonies[17] as well.

13 Professor for social pedagogy at the university of Dortmund, with a focus on children from Turkey, see Merkt 1984.

14 Merkt 1993: 5. Translation into English: The first professionally competent description by Dorit Klebe of the music from Turkey to be used at schools dates back to 1983, and was published by the Pedagogical Centre in Berlin (see Klebe 1983).

15 For an overview of the genres of Turkish music, see Klebe 2005a and 2008a. Short definitions, however, are inserted into the current text of this paper.

16 The same melody can be realised with individual modifications by single performers, using variants and ornamentations, partly also improvising insertions; see also Reinhard 1984 II: 49.

17 The context of Alevism has already been mentioned. For fear of repression at that time, however, it took place in the hidden sphere.

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Another area of traditional music which developed from the Ottoman heritage, the *klâsik türk müziği/türk sanat müziği* [Turkish art music/popular Turkish art music], played no dominant role in the first two decades of immigration. Later on, this genre developed a certain favour among middle-class immigrants; several choirs were founded, giving their members the occasion (besides a fundamental education in music and singing) to perform at regular intervals in front of a large audience.

Fusion and mixed music have several forms of appearance. In a selection, I would like to name the *çağdaş türk sanat müziği* [contemporary Turkish art music], which started in Turkey in the 1930s.[18] There was a short and sudden boom of concerts in the late 1980s among academic circles of the Turkish minority and the German majority in Berlin. The principle of combining Turkish elements –mainly the melodies, melodic and rhythmic structures – with occidental techniques of composition is (in Turkey as well) also applied by professional musicians of and composers for the bağlama in Berlin, such as Adil Arslan (http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adil_Arslan), Sıddık Doğan (www.musikschulen.de/medien/doks/mk01/referat_ag17.pdf), Taner Akyol (www.tanerakyol.com). This instrument, the bağlama, plays a dominant role in their polyphonic compositions, thus giving traditional Turkish folk music a new dimension. The artists are quite well represented on CDs edited by small German and Turkish labels.

Moreover, in the diaspora some genres became expressions of life abroad, such as *özgün müziği* [the music of political singers and songwriters]. Other genres were modified, such as the so-called *gurbetçi*, songs of/for foreign parts, away from home, having a long tradition in Turkey.

The Turkish pop music boom, *pop müziği*, started in Turkey in the 1990s. At that time, it was also possible for 'German Turks' to make their career in the Bosporus. Whereas in this case they integrated themselves into an existing musical trend, the launch of a hip-hop and Türk rap movement in the mid-1990s in Turkey would not have been possible without the influence of young German-Turkish rappers[19]. Moreover, some of them, partly in cooperation with multiethnic musicians, created new styles containing, among other things, Turkish/Oriental elements, such as Oriental hip-hop. Furthermore, new creations emerged in Cologne and Berlin: Mixed styles with elements taken from Rhythm'n'Blues, and *arabesk müziği*, called *R'n'Besk*, a combination of styles including elements taken from Turkish pop music, Rhythm'n'Blues, and rap, called Oriental pop-rap. The activities in youth centres and study groups at schools of general education played a large

18 Further details, see Klebe 2005b: 45–47.

19 They even influenced the emergence of a German rap movement.

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part in the emergence of these aforementioned genres. But they also arose as a leisure activity, in situations of informal learning. At private Turkish music schools, in associations and societies, this complex of genres is very seldom transmitted.

2.3 In which educational institutes and in which surroundings Turkish music has been and still is transmitted?

a) Formal transmission

Turkish music was a regular component of music lessons in the so-called Ausländerregelklassen at schools for general education. Though these forms of classes were abandoned in the late 1980s, the high percentage of pupils with a Turkish immigrant background remained in many schools of certain Berlin districts. Outside these regular music lessons there existed and still exists study groups practising folk music and dance in choirs and ensembles.[20]

In the 1990s, new models of schools were established: the *Staatliche Europa-Schule Berlin* [State Europe-School Berlin], with a concept of bilingual education in nine different two-language combinations, among them the German-Turkish model, starting from the primary classes up to the school-leaving exams. German and German-Turkish teachers teach in their native language classes consisting half of German and half of German-Turkish pupils. Consequently, in music lessons given by teachers with a Turkish immigrant background, Turkish music is transmitted to the German pupils as well.

A further model experiment with an intercultural image was developed for a type of a secondary school in Berlin-Kreuzberg (www.ferdinand-freiligrath-schule.de). The project is based on a creative cooperation between pupils, teachers, and artists. Special programmes focusing on hip-hop and rap training unify, for instance, pupils with Turkish and Arabian immigration backgrounds. One of the more famous German-Turkish rappers in Germany, Kool Savaş (www.ksavas.de), went to this school.

The Berlin Institute for Further Education and Training of Teachers integrated courses on the transmission of Turkish music into their programme from the 1980s onwards. They were mainly conducted by the author of this paper. In addition, specific model experiments were established: A seminar for further training focusing on Turkish culture – including Turkish music culture – in the beginning of the 1980s for example. The participants were half from the German majority, while half had a Turkish background. The

20 In this context, f.i. the Gerhart-Hauptmann-Oberschule in Berlin-Kreuzberg was famous for its activities.

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second model experiment started in the mid-1980s and was directed towards a diploma for teachers with a Turkish background and other ethnic groups so they could teach in regular classes made up of all nationalities.[21]

In the area of university studies, transmission of Turkish music had a marginal position in seminars on *Interkulturelle Erziehung* at the Berlin Free University in the 1980s. Special courses at the Berlin University of the Arts started in the year 2000 and will be explained in detail in chapter 3.

b) Non-formal transmission

Comparable to study groups at school, courses with similar contents are held at state music schools, complemented by training lessons for single types of music instruments, predominantly those of the saz family initially, but later, also instruments of Turkish art music genres. State music schools also served as places for acquiring information on Turkish music in general. In this context, an early joint project with Turkish musicians was offered in 1980 by the state music school of Berlin-Kreuzberg[22], under the leadership of the author. Among the German-Turkish multiethnic audience, there were scholars and students of musicology, ethnomusicology, music pedagogy, and teachers.

Among further joint projects in the 1990s, the Kardeş ensemble (www.musikschulen.de/medien/doks/mk01/referat_ag17.pdf)[23] shall be mentioned here, a cooperation of German and German-Turkish musicians and composers at the state music school of Berlin-Wedding[24].

The tradition of the *halk evleri* [folk houses], a movement that started in the 1930s in Turkey, has also been taken up by the Turkish community in Berlin. The halk evleri offered an education for amateurs, especially semi-professional saz players, among others. According to tradition, instruments of the saz family were played mainly as solo instruments, or ensembles with chamber-like instrumentation. Beginning at the time of the halk evleri, the saz was played in ensembles and orchestras, and these forms of performance are still in use.

With reference to the tradition of the halk evleri, the *Türk Evi* of the Turkish consulate in Berlin can be seen as a facility for the community.

21 In the course of this model experiment, the author trained about 200 music teachers with a Turkish immigrant background.

22 Kreuzberg is a Berlin district with a high percentage of immigrants from Turkey.

23 For more details see Klebe 2006g: 174–175.

24 Wedding is, like Kreuzberg, a Berlin district with a high percentage of immigrants from Turkey.

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Cultural activities concentrate on representing traditional Turkish music genres in concerts, performing art music, or popular art music, folk music, and religious music, as well as contemporary Turkish art music and its recent developments in the Turkish diaspora in Germany, such as polyphonic compositions for bağlama. Performers are invited in part from Turkey, while others represent the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Less often, the Türk Evi offers training courses, such as those in folk dance.

Courses in training Turkish music have also become cultural objectives for associations originally established for political, social, and religious reasons, for instance by the Bahadin Sozialverein [Bahadin Social association][25]. In religious-related centres of the *Alevî*, instruction in bağlama can be seen as an important pillar for transmission and practise of their belief, for example, the *Anadolu Alevileri Kültür Merkezi* [Cultural Centre of Anatolian Alevi][26].

In this context, religiously related genres of the *Alevitic* worshipping ceremony are transmitted to young believers, the *deyiş*[27] and *semah*[28].

German society has integrated activities for youths with a Turkish background, and their music has been incorporated into the intercultural programmes of youth centres, promoting self-organised youth activities. Two centres may serve as representatives for many others. One is the international *JugendKunst- und Kulturzentrum Schlesische 27* (www.schlesische27.de)[29] [Center for Youth Art and Culture] in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Another centre, the *Naunynritze* (www.naunynritze.de)[30], a *Kinder-, Jugend- & Kulturzentrum in Kreuzberg* [Centre for Children, Youth and Culture in Kreuzberg], has become a centre for hip-hop and rap music. The group of three German-Turkish rappers, *BerlinHipHopFraktion* (www.berlinhiphopfraktion.de, see also Klebe 2007: 148–149), had its roots there.

25 For more details see Klebe 2008b: 174.

26 For more details see Klebe 2008b: 174.

27 *deyiş* (= derived from the verb *demek* = to say) is a hymn with religious tales and mystical messages and a regular component of the Alevitic worshipping ceremony.

28 *semah* is a hymn for a round dance and a regular component of the Alevitic worshipping ceremony. The term probably derived from the Arabic samā' = to listen to, mostly in connection with an object, here to listen to words and music, see EI² VIII (1995): 1018.

29 The name "Schlesische 27" indicates the street and number of the location. Further details in Gabriele Berlin 2001: 179–187.

30 Named after the location of the youth centre.

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Last but not least, the occasional activities of representatives of churches should be mentioned.

c) Informal transmission

Generally, there is little knowledge and research into the informal sphere of transmission in the Turkish community. What people do in their free time[31] in the private sphere is often hidden from sight, especially from those who do not belong to the same culture group. Private life is a sphere that may be characterised by hermetic zones, taboo zones, archaisms, and religious feeling.

Regarding the transformation of music, in the first years of immigration to Germany had started, sound carriers were very often the only means of transmitting Turkish music to those who wanted to learn and transmit to themselves the music of their former homeland (see also 2.5).

The transmission of Turkish music through a PC or e-learning has, to my knowledge, not yet been explored but will be of more significance in the future.

2.4 Who transmits music? On which basis of systems of education and methods do they transmit?

The transmitters of music are musicians, musicologists, and teachers from the Turkish minority and the German majority. Not only do two different reference systems of education and instructing methods coincide, but also two forms of tradition, the oral and the written.

Most of the music teachers from Turkey immigrated to Germany as *Gastarbeiter* [guestworkers] originally, and started work in factories. They were educated and partly also worked as teachers in Turkey. (It should be pointed out that their exams were accepted by the German government, but not always without problems.) In the above mentioned model experiment for further music training for teachers from Turkey, the parallelism of the two different reference systems was always present and obvious. An important component for me as the leader of the music section was the integration of the different education of the teachers from Turkey into the German educational system.

The transmission of Turkish music within the non-formal and informal sphere was taken over mostly by semi-professional musicians of the first generation of immigrants who had learned in an autodidactic way what they were to teach afterwards. Freelance professional musicians were rarely

31 No examinations of blanket coverage available, only of single regions such as North-Rhine Westfalia.

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met during the first two decades after the start of the immigration, such as those who flew in for special concerts. The situation became better from the 1980s onwards, when professional musicians increasingly came to settle in Germany. Because freelance musicians, professional or semi-professional, needed a diploma to work at state music schools, music courses were carried out mostly by the same people who already taught at state schools of general education.

At the beginning, German teachers, who made the transmission of Turkish music their task, had to rely predominantly on personal responsibility, initiatives, and studies. Although the governmental guidelines for music lessons postulated to mediate 'foreign' music, university curricula did not contain these subjects. Later on, publishing houses for music schoolbooks and specific courses at institutes for further teacher training offered help in orientation.[32] A specific study of the music of minorities living in Berlin is still not a continuous part of the university curricula, not even in the recently established bachelor or master studies. Since 2000, however, there have been continual courses on transmission of Turkish music at the Berlin University of the Arts (see chapter 3).

The applied methods of instruction are characterised by a parallelism of the two different reference systems. German teachers transmit Turkish music to Turkish, German and multinational pupils following the subject-specific instruction methods as applied in the German music education system. On the other hand, colleagues with a Turkish background apply, under the circumstances working at the same school, for subject-specific instruction methods of the Turkish music education system, which will be briefly outlined in the following paragraphs.

In the course of my research, I could observe that German-Turkish music teachers and training musicians base the transmission of Turkish music both on the oral tradition, a long tradition that is still practised today, and on the written tradition.[33] The introduction of musical notation into music education on the basis of European staff notation had began already in the Ottoman Empire in the middle of the 19th century[34], and

32 The author has transmitted theoretical and practical fundamental principles of Turkish music in courses and papers in cooperation with musicians and teachers with a Turkish immigrant background since 1980 at state schools, state music schools, at institutes for further teacher training for publishing houses such as Klett and Schott and since 2000 at the Berlin University of the Arts.

33 See Klebe 1999: 34–41.

34 The introduction stood in the context of establishing a military band following a European model by the Italian Giuseppe Donizetti.

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was intensified from the period of the Turkish Republic on[35]. During the 1930s, institutions for educating musicians and music teachers introduced a system for curricula that were directly connected to those of the Berlin University for Music (at that time, known as the *Hochschule für Musik*). The lecturer and composer Paul Hindemith, banned from his profession by the National Socialists, emigrated to Turkey[36]. His *Vorschläge für den Aufbau eines türkischen Musiklebens* (1935/36) [Proposals for constructing a musical life in Turkey] became a basis for the curricula in Turkey and are still used, of course with modifications, today. The so-called *Solfège*-method[37] became compulsory for musical education (Hindemith 1935/36: 42).

Nearly all German-Turkish teachers were educated according to this method in Turkey. That way, a method of instruction which was once part of music education in Germany, returned to be – diachronically – applied in Germany again, thus standing in a certain contradiction to the current system of instructing methods at German universities.

Besides these academic forms of tradition that developed and deepened in the course of the 20th century in Turkey, the transmission in form of oral tradition applied for hundreds of years is still practised by certain singing poets. Various forms of modifications, of intermixing with written tradition in Turkey as well as in the Turkish diaspora in Germany shall be shown in the following case study.

2.5 Case study: The phenomenon of the *usta-çırak* [master-apprentice] system, a comparison between Turkey and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in relation to *âşık* and bağlama teachers

General explanations

This complex and highly professional training system in oral tradition comprises, besides specific instructing methods and techniques (especially religious, ethical, social and emotional components), part of a special relationship between the master and the apprentice. In Turkey, this is known as *usta-çırak ilişkisi* [master-apprentice relationship]. In Eastern

35 At the sultan's court there had existed various forms of written notation of music in previous centuries, which, however, were only partly successful.

36 Turkey was at that time a country of immigration for a series of scholars and artists who had to flee Germany because of political reasons.

37 Partly also used as synonym for the technically more generic term solmisation, that are melodic-rhythmic exercises for voice and/or instruments on tonic syllables do-re-mi etc. of the diatonic seven-tone scale, including sight-singing and aural training.

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as well as Western Asia, the master-apprentice system is a widespread phenomenon in various forms. In Asia Minor, where several Turkish tribes settled after emigrating from Central Asia, the usta-çırak system can be directly connected with the long tradition of wandering poet-minstrels, the âşık[38]. These are song creators accompanying themselves on string instruments mostly from the saz family. Their repertoire included and still includes religious and erotic songs, elegies and heroic narratives. Their songs may contain social criticism and political content, and they sing for and about those who live in foreign countries, (see EI I 1960: 697). The title âşık is given only to those who are the creators of the lyrics and the melodies.

In addition, the âşık who are affiliated to the Alevî may perform specific songs and tunes within the *Cem* that is a ceremony of worship among the Alevî. The âşık usually integrates his name into the lyrics, mostly in the first line of the last stanza, thus ensuring the survival of the original creator of lyrics and melodies over long periods without textual transmission. Today, you can still find this type of usta-çırak system among the âşık in Turkey, especially in Eastern Anatolia.

In Turkey: From the master to the apprentice – forms of transmission in oral tradition are used by Âşık Şeref Taşlıova and Âşık Murat Çobanoğlu

The masters Âşık Şeref Taşlıova and Âşık Murat Çobanoğlu described their forms of oral transmission, which I summarise in the following abridged version (full version see Reinhard and Pinto 1989: 48):

- The apprentice must watch the master very carefully "with his eyes and ears" to find out what would be useful for himself.
- The apprentice learns by imitating the master. He has to repeat it until he knows it well.
- After having learnt it by heart, he may write down the lyrics and melodies – if he knows how to read and write.
- The master himself does not use musical notation; in his opinion, these notations are not able to convey basic melody models or patterns, called *ses*, nor the sound.
- Furthermore, in writing it down, the value of the âşık tunes is lost.

38 The word is derived from the Arabic عشق (*'ašq*, = love, passion) in the sense of an ardent lover, frequently in a mystical sense, ecstatic love of Allah, including also the one of the prophet Muhammed and Ali = Ali bin Ebutalip, cousin and son-in-law of the prophet Mohamed. Ali became the fourth Caliph (= successor of Mohammed); under his reign the later called Shiites separated from the orthodox Sunni Muslims.

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These statements will be compared with the practise of the usta-çırak system in the course of the following section on transmission forms in the Turkish diaspora in Germany.

IN THE TURKISH DIASPORA IN GERMANY

1. From generation to generation – forms of transmission in oral and written tradition, used by Âşık Şahturna and her husband Ozan Şiar

Only a very few âşık came to live in Berlin, mainly with the first generation of immigrants. In the middle of the 1970s, Âşık Kemteri, born in 1953,[39] and a female âşık, Şahturna Dumlupınar, born in 1953, arrived in Germany. The blind female singer-poet Şahturna was born in Eastern Anatolia. In 1975, at the age of 22, she went to Berlin. Âşık Şahturna had been educated in Turkey by her father, who was also an âşık. She was also trained by other âşık-lar during her stay in Istanbul. She had to leave Turkey in 1975 for political reasons. Âşık Şahturna (www.sahturna.com) has written and composed more than 200 songs. Most of them are political songs, some of them are about the problems of the immigrant workers and their life in Germany.[40]

Fig. 1 – Ozan Şiar, daughter Şirin, Âşık Şahturna, daughter Şafak (from left to right), May 2002.

Photo: archive Dorit Klebe

39 Further details on both *âşık*, see Ursula Reinhard and Pinto 1989.

40 For example of one of her songs on immigrant workers, see Klebe 2004: 16–17.

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Often families build a line of âşık. This is the way that singing and bağlama training often begin, in childhood, when parents, relatives or friends of the family are poet-minstrels. Here in Germany, Âşık Şahturna keeps alive the tradition by transmitting her skills to her daughters, now 14 and 17 years old, who already began to perform in public four years ago. While Âşık Şahturna teaches the vocal parts, her husband Ozan Şiar[41] takes care of their education in bağlama playing (Fig. 1).

The training methods used for their daughters are rooted in both oral and written tradition. In addition, Şahturna and her husband have founded a centre for culture and art, the *Şah Turna Kültür ve Sanat Evi*. Her school programme focuses on the training of the instruments bağlama and *tar*[42], and includes training in musical notation on the basis of *solfej* (Turkish version of *solfège*) as well.

Generally, however, the profession of the âşık-lar is dying out in Berlin and in Germany generally. They seldom perform in public, sing only occasionally for friends, and living in seclusion. They partly commit themselves in Alevitic societies, where lessons in bağlama are included. It is rare to see a new generation of âşık-lar among the succeeding migrant generations. There will be little continuity necessary for maintaining this tradition in Berlin, and in Germany as a whole.

2. The principle of the 'second' father – the bağlama teacher Halit Çelik

Whereas Şahturna and her husband were educated in their countries of origin, in the diaspora, there arose a new migrant generation which started its music training outside of Turkey, in their new homeland of Germany. Because of the lack of professional teachers, they had to teach themselves. The situation changed in the late 1970s and 80s, when professional master singers and players settled in Berlin and built up a continuity of master-apprentice training in singing, and especially in playing the bağlama.

The teacher Halit Çelik was born in Eastern Anatolia in 1966. At the age of three, he came with his parents to Berlin. At the age of 18, he started to practise the bağlama. He partly taught himself with of books and music cassettes; he also took lessons with one of the first professional master teachers to come to live in Berlin, Adil Arslan. He also had periods

41 The term *ozan* (= poet singer) goes back to ancient traditions, to Central Asian origins. Delimitation and interpretation of the terms âşık and ozan are not used in an unified manner.

42 Long-necked lute.

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of intensive learning when highly-reputed masters came from Turkey for a teaching visit to Germany. Halit Çelik earns his living as a car mechanic. Since 1998, he has also worked as a semi-professional bağlama player and teacher in state music schools, as well as in private music schools run by German Turks, and in the *SazEvi* (www.berlinsazevi.de). This music store sells instruments from the saz family, and has developed into a centre for bağlama playing. In his lessons, Halit Çelik applies the instruction method of the solfej. In his teacher-pupil relationship, he aims to realise the traditional usta-çırak ilişkisi, though he regards himself to be far away from being called an *usta*.

In 2006, I conducted an interview[43] with him about the usta-çırak ilişkisi. An abridged version of his description outlines the main points:

- The usta-çırak ilişkisi is a very valuable relationship, not only in a musical sense. There is a relation between two people, as one becomes the companion of the other and they respect each other. The apprentice learns how to behave in life.
- The master becomes like a father, a second father. In his opinion, human beings who have such a relationship develop a more emotional side, which is also important for singing and playing.
- The usta takes it for granted that he must answer every question. He always knows which apprentice values what he has taught them. Halit always said to himself: All my knowledge I owe to my master, thus I must, I am obliged to give it to my pupils; nothing shall remain with me.
- The çırak develops moral duties, cultivates social contacts, calls the masters on holidays, even in between holidays, and when someone is ill. The usta expects the apprentices to take care of him.
- Halit does not regard himself as an usta, because he has not yet reached his goal; he still has a lot to learn. For him, *türk halk müziği* is like a *derya*, a huge ocean, and he wants to become a drop in it.

A short comparison

The master-apprentice training system in its oral tradition is still practised in specific centres for âşık in Anatolian Turkey. Though the masters refuse to use the written tradition, they allow their apprentices to do so for the purpose of memorisation, after having learnt the lyrics and melodies by heart

43 17th May 2006.

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through oral tradition. In the Turkish diaspora in Germany, a pure oral tradition is hard to find. Some impediments to this form of transmission include the decline of the tradition of the âşık, with very few exceptions such as Âşık Şahturna. Some of the songs of the âşık partly survive through the repertoire of bağlama teachers who have taken their place. However, as lyrical poets setting their poems to music, the bağlama teachers more often reproduce the collection of songs rather than creating new ones. Therefore, the maintaining of the usta-çırak ilişkisi is of great importance. A phenomenon that prepares the ground for prospering lessons, because it contains, besides the formal technical training, further dimensions of learning including social, religious, and emotional components.

3. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1990

3.1 Establishing a professional education among the Turkish community

At the end of the 1990s, two institutes fulfilled the desire for an education leading to a profession: the *Berliner Orient-Musikschule* [Berlin Orient-Music school], later named *Deutsch-türkische Musikakademie* [German-Turkish music academy], and the *Nuri Karademirli Sanat Merkezi* [Nuri Karademirli Art Center], later named *Berlin Türk Musikisi Konservatuarı* [Berlin conservatoire for Turkish music]. Both schools were renamed a short time after their opening, as 'conservatoire' brings into the fore the claim for a professional academic education.

Both schools use the curricula applied at music conservatoires in Turkey. It means that, in addition to education in Turkish music, the study of 'western' music in theory and practise is compulsory, following the 'Hindemith-Modell'. Included are lessons in the western instruments such as the piano, violin, and guitar. The lessons are taught in Turkish with some German; exceptions are those lessons given by non-Turkish teachers, from countries such as Russia, who are very often employed for the teaching of the western instruments. The students are of the German-Turkish adolescent generation. Very few members are of German origin, or belong to other ethnic groups.

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3.1.1 Deutsch-türkische Musikakademie[44]

The founder, Adil Arslan (born in 1962), is one of the first important representatives of professional bağlama players in Germany. He came to Berlin with his parents in 1979, at the age of 17. In Turkey, he was already trained by the highly-reputed usta Âşık Ali Ekber Çiçek who had developed a specific personal style, a very highly elevated technique for playing the bağlama. In addition, Adil Arslan took lessons at the state conservatoire in Istanbul to gain theoretical and practical knowledge. His academy focuses on the bağlama play. The training programme of the academy includes a folk music choir, a folk music dance group, and a choir and instrumental ensemble for *türk sanat müziği* [popular Turkish art music]. In this context, training lessons for the instruments of the ensemble, like the *ûd*[45], and the *kanûn*[46] are integrated. 'Western' music is also part of the programme, in the form of aural training and piano, violin, and guitar playing lessons.

3.1.2 Berlin Türk Musikisi Konservatuarı[47]

The founder Nuri Karademirli was born in 1950 and worked as an ûd-player at the radio station of Izmir/Turkey, up to 1969. In 1970, he came to settle in Berlin. Since the beginning of the 1980s, he has conducted a choir for *türk sanat müziği*.

His school offers lessons in five special fields. The following is an excerpt of the programme[48]:

1. *Klassische türkische Musik (Instrument)* [Classical Turkish music (instrument), such as bağlama, ûd, tanbûr[49], kanûn]
2. *Türkische Volksmusik (Instrument)* [Turkish folk music (instrument)]
3. *Gesang (Klassische türkische Musik und türkische Volksmusik)* [Voice (classical Turkish music and Turkish folk music)]

44 http//:www.d-t-musikakademie.de

45 Short-necked lute, an instrument belonging to the former Ottoman-Turkish art music and popular Turkish art music of the higher entertainment sphere, containing genres of traditional Turkish folk music as well.

46 Zither in trapezi form; used in the same context like the ûd.

47 http://www.btmk.de

48 In brackets are translation and explanations in English by the author.

49 Longnecked lute, belonging to the former traditional Ottoman-Turkish art music.

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4. *Volkstanz, türkische Folklore (neu)* [Folk dance (new)]
5. *Instrumentenbau (neu)* [Construction of instruments (new)]

All courses of study last for a period of five years. In addition to acquiring a qualified education in traditional Turkish instruments such as the bağlama, ûd, tanbûr, and kanûn, the training also includes traditional European instruments such as the piano, guitar, and violin. An examination decides on one's admission to the school.

Both institutes may serve as models for the formal transmission of Turkish music. However, applications for official recognition have not yet been granted by the German ministry of education – with the exception of the seminar on constructing musical instruments for apprentices –, only Turkey accepts the diplomas, thus revealing the difficulty of being part of the formal transmission of Turkish music in Berlin, Germany.

3.2 Transmission of Turkish music at Berlin universities or other institutes

3.2.1 Scholarly institutions in Berlin

Since the mid-1950s, the exploration of Turkish music has been a focus at the institute for Comparative Musicology/Ethnomusicology of the *Freie Universität Berlin* [Berlin Free University], thanks to Prof. Dr. Kurt Reinhard and his comprehensive studies and research in this field. A series of publications by the head of the institute and his students on various topics have contributed to the transmission of Turkish music from the Ottoman Empire and Turkey to Germany. In the 1980s, on the initiative of a few German-Turkish students, a small choir of students of mostly German background was briefly established. Its repertoire consisted mainly of traditional urban and rural folk music.

The *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv* [Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv] contains a comprehensive collection of instruments and recordings from Turkey. Some of its material is prepared for didactic purposes and presented to classes or groups of pupils in special courses and workshops. The music of the German Turks living in the Turkish diaspora in German is not included in the collections of the *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv*, which argues that only non-European music cultures should be part of the collections. Following their opinion, the *Museum für Europäische Kulturen* [Museum for European Cultures] should take responsibility for this part of culture in Germany.

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Fig. 2 – Nuri Karademirli, ûd, instructing a Turkish song to students. Universität der Künste Berlin, 1st February 2001.
Photo by Dorit Klebe

3.2.2 Universität der Künste Berlin [Berlin University of the Arts]

1. In 2000, courses on Turkish music started to become a regular component at the department of music[50]. An introductory seminar on Turkish music as it is performed in Turkey was conducted by scholars and musicians[51], and visited by students of various courses of studies. The students were mostly of German origin because those with a Turkish immigrant background are still very rare among at the Berlin University of the Arts. In the course of the seminar, the students formed an ensemble, consisting of a choir and accompanying instruments such as the violin, violoncello, guitar, and recorder[52] (Fig. 2).

2. A second seminar has been established by the author under the title *Von der* ney *bis zum Turk Rap* [From the *ney* to Turk rap] focusing, on the one hand, on the traditional and recent Turkish music genres, and on the other hand, on genres which have been developed in the Turkish diaspora in Germany. Apart from a theoretical introduction into Turkish music culture, different practices of instruction came into the fore. These last-named objectives have become an important part of the seminar: Highly-qualified people have been integrated into the programme of the seminar. Professional and semi-professional experts, musicians,

50 But not of the curricula.

51 Martin Greve (musicologist), Nuri Karademirli (musician), Ursula Reinhard (ethnomusicologist), Dorit Klebe (music pedagogue and ethnomusicologist).

52 Report on the universitary courses, see Klebe 2001b: 2–21 and Greve 2002: 17–20.

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and dancers of the Turkish community have acquainted students with information and training methods in its initial points. This model of cooperation had already been started in 1980 by the author at the music school of Berlin-Kreuzberg and was continued in model experiments of further teacher training. It has been applied at the Berlin University of the Arts since 2000. In addition to performances in university seminar rooms, the students had the chance to visit institutions in order to explore the objects face to face.[53]

A survey of the activities for the students (selected topics) will be given in the following.

- The semi-professional bağlama player Hasan Kuzu[54] performs specific songs of the so-called *Gastarbeiter* [guest workers], demonstrates his

Fig. 3 – Hasan Kuzu, bağlama, at the Universität der Künste Berlin, 16th January 2004.

Fig. 4 – Ayhan Kaplan, bağlama, Staatliche Europa-Schule Berlin, 25th May 2004.
Photos by Dorit Klebe

53 I would like to express my warmest gratefulness to all the people who performed for the students. They did it for the sake of music and without payment. The university unfortunately has no funds for such activities.

54 He works as a social worker.

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instrument bağlama and gives initial instructions bağlama playing instruction to the students (Fig. 3).

- Sitting in on a music lesson at the *Staatliche Europa-Schule Berlin*. The music teacher Ayhan Kaplan[55] instructs a traditional Turkish folk song with the *aksak*[56] rhythms, accompanying himself with the bağlama. The language of the lesson is Turkish. All the students attending the lessons are always very impressed by the ability of German pupils to follow the music lessons in the Turkish language, to carry out the specific Turkish rhythmic structures, to sing the songs with the right intonation, and to explain the content of the lyrics in German (Fig. 4).
- Sitting in on seminars for instrumental practise at the *Berlin Türk Musikisi Konservatuarı*. Students could watch lessons in instrumental training and practice some of the instruments, like the ûd and tanbûr, in a first attempt (Fig. 5).
- Sitting in on a choir rehearsal of classical Turkish music (*Berlin Klasik Türk Müziği Derneği – Berliner Ensemble für klassische türkische Musik e.V.*). These choirs are always accompanied by an instrumental ensemble. After the rehearsal, some of the instrumentalists demonstrated the playing techniques of their instruments, the kanûn, ney, and ûd, in front of the students (Fig. 6).The experiences made at the rehearsal by the students could be deepened at the choir's concert.

Fig. 5 – Students of the Universität der Künste Berlin at the Berlin Türk Musikisi Konservatuarı, 14th June 2002.
Photos by Dorit Klebe

Fig. 6 – Kenan Tosun, kanûn, demonstrating the playing techniques to students, at the Zentrum der Arbeiterwohlfahrt [workers' welfare association], 3rd June 2005.

55 Ayhan Kaplan was one of my pupils in the 1980s.

56 Rhythmic structures, mostly in odd measures.

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FINAL REMARKS

The transmission of music is generally well and successfully organised by the Turkish community in Germany, apart from the fact that single music areas are represented differently. There are also good attempts to engage in fruitful interchange with the culture of the German majority, and that of other ethnic groups. Among the young German-Turkish generation especially, a wealth of creative potential can be observed in the rise of new genres, and it is necessary to present these developments to a greater audience.

Three requirements, however, seem to be important for the future:

1. In order to bring the endeavour of a professional transmission to a successful conclusion, an appropriate commission should be established to find operable terms to render the two different reference systems compatible at university level. This would be a first step on the long and difficult path for state recognition of professional education at private Turkish music academies and conservatories in Germany.

2. To intensify the interchange of the transmission of Turkish music in its various forms to a German audience, and also to counteract against parallel developments[57], universities, as a place for the education of mediators for the future, should take on more responsibility and open up their curricula. On the one hand, the model of cooperation, the integration of the highly creative potentials of the Turkish community into seminar programmes should be continued. On the other hand, in addition to fundamental information about Turkish music culture with all its genres and including recent developments, students should have the possibility to learn to play characteristic musical instruments such as the bağlama and the ûd, within instructions from professional teachers from the Turkish community. In this way, German-Turkish adolescents would hopefully tread new paths as music students at the universities.

3. A sound archive containing compilations of the musical culture of the Turkish community as well as of all other minorities living in the Turkish diaspora in Germany should be established. In the case the *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv* does not take responsibility, an appropriate institute should be separately established.

57 The music cultures of the other minorities living in Germany should be integrated into this programme, too.

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All of these activities would be a further step towards mutual understanding between the cultures and music of those living together in the societies in the future.

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Hande Sağlam

TRANSMISSION OF MUSIC IN THE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES FROM TURKEY IN VIENNA, AUSTRIA

STATISTICS AND NUMBERS

Austria has the fourth-largest Turkish population in Europe after Germany (where approximately 60 % of the Turkish immigrants in Europe live), France and Holland. The first guest workers came from Turkey and former Yugoslavia to Austria at the beginning of the 60s. Shortly thereafter, due to social and economic reasons, their families arrived and built up a new community in the diaspora. Today, the second and even third generation is growing up.

If we look at the census of 2001, we find that Vienna has 1 550 123 inhabitants. More than 400 000 are from immigrant backgrounds, and 248 264 have foreign citizenship (http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/pdf/vz2001staatsang.pdf). Approximately 70 000 come from Turkey, meaning that about 4,2 % of the Viennese population has a Turkish background, while 39 119 people in Vienna have Turkish citizenship.

SOCIO-POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS

Integration means becoming a part of a society, enjoying equal rights and respecting their values and norms. The integration process should include at least two partners that should cooperate with each other.

> Integration ist also ein Prozess wechselseitiger Anpassung und Veränderung zwischen einer aufnehmenden und einer aufzunehmenden Gruppe [Integration is thus a process of reciprocal adjustment between an already existing group and a settling group]. (Bauböck 2001: 14)

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The 40-year-old migration history of communities from Turkey in Austria (as well as from former Yugoslavia) is considered by the majority as a problem of disintegration. A large part of the Austrian community defines integration mostly as assimilation. Integration policies demand the cultural change of immigrants rather than cultural exchange between the different communities in the country.

Although Austrian public opinion and the government do not consider the country as one of immigrants, it is one de facto. Xenophobia, racism, and hostility on the part of the Austrian majority, are proven through numerous studies and publications (Bauböck 1995; Bauböck 2001; Fassmann and Münz 1995; Fassmann 2007; Perchinig 2008 etc.). Strict legal frameworks regarding foreigners, discrimination in the job market and in lodging are daily problems for immigrants in Austria. In the education system, the language problems of immigrant children are considered the fault of the children and their families and therefore not solved through alternative education methods. Many pupils with migration backgrounds are usually sent to *Sonderschulen* [special schools for disabled children] because of their difficulties with the German language. Austria performs rather poorly with regard to the first stages of the education track and largely fails to exploit the academic potential of the Turkish second generation. In Austria and Germany, the second generation of Turks obviously is predestined by the education system to form the working class and is largely withheld access to white collar professions (Perchinig 2008). These conditions are far from an ideal basis for interaction and cultural transmission between the minority and majority communities in Vienna.

TRANSMISSION = COMMUNICATION?

Cultural transmission includes both the passing on of tradition from one generation to the next and the passing on of tradition to other communities that do not belong to a culture. It can create an important communication platform between communities living next to each other without knowing each other's mentalities. The best way to observe the process of cultural transmission is to analyse the influences and interactions between the immigrant communities and the native citizens in a country. Not only can it show us the willingness and cooperativeness of both sides for integration, but also the communication and interaction between these communities.

In our case, we analyse the musical transmission possibilities of immigrants in Vienna, which are – or could be – an important issue for the integration debate in Austria.

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POSSIBILITIES OF MUSICAL TRANSMISSION

a) Internal transmission (Musical transmission within the community)

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. Informal musical transmissions pass on the musical identities through traditional ceremonies such as religious rituals, weddings, and concerts that are mainly for and by the community members. The informal transmissions are the educational activities of the cultural organisations of Turkish immigrants.

Music lessons, especially *saz* courses, are one of the most important ways of passing on traditional music to the immigrants from Turkey in Vienna, and there are numerous cultural associations of immigrants from Turkey that offer Turkish folk music lessons, all of which have saz/*bağlama*[1] courses. These courses offer not only saz but also folk dance lessons, or lessons of ritual dance of the Alevi[2], the *semah.* In addition, some of them offer *mey*[3] and several other Anatolian wind instruments as well as guitar, sight singing and music theory courses. Some of the most well-known and active associations for those kinds of activities are the following:

ATIB [Austrian-Turkish Islam Union], *KIB* [Kurdish Association], *Saz-Verein* [Saz Association], *Eurasya* (Association for the Integration of Young Immigrants in Vienna), and *Kulturverein der Aleviten* [Alevi Culture Centre]: In these associations of Turkish immigrants in Vienna, education is considered one of the most important issues for the next generation. I conducted several interviews with representatives of these associations mentioned above. All of the teachers said that they would like to pass on their knowledge of their musical culture not only to the new generations but also to the Austrian majority as well. Unfortunately, only *Saz-Verein* has Austrian students in its saz classes; the other courses only address the community members. Many of these courses do not intend to be integrative because in reality, the target group is composed of insiders, and lessons take place inside the community; that is why I call the activities of these associations 'internal transmission'.

1 Saz (or bağlama) is a long necked fretted lute. It is the most common musical instrument of Anatolia.

2 The Alevis constitute the second largest Islamic group (after Sunnis) in Turkey. Today, in Vienna there are around 20 000 Alevis from Turkey.

3 The mey is a cylindrical double reed instrument in the oboe family.

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ATIB is the largest and most important Islamic-Turkish association in Austria. Funding for its activities comes from the donations of community members. As the Islamic religious community of the Turkish immigrants in Vienna grows, so too does the association. Until 2006/2007 it had a small centre where it could offer only Quran classes. In 2007, it bought a new building in the tenth district, which has the largest Turkish population. Now it is able to offer numerous courses: Apart from additional instruction (mostly German for the pupils) and Quran classes, it offers lessons in guitar, saz, *ud, ney,* flute and *kudüm*.[4] The headmaster of the cultural department of the association, Mr. Orhan Çakmak, told me that in November 2007, they had introduced music lessons and already had around 90 students. The centre is open to students who do not have a Turkish background. But unfortunately there has not been any demand for it. Therefore, they hold the lessons in Turkish, which is very helpful for the second generation with a Turkish background who speak German better than their parents' mother tongue. They have the opportunity to learn musical instruments from their mother country at the same time as improving their mother tongue. Education has not been conceived in a systematic way: The goal is not artistic ability, but the passing on of tradition and the musical identity of the country of origin. It is possible to get information on the Internet from *ATIB* webpage (www.atib.at), but unfortunately it is only in Turkish. Word of mouth is the main advertisement strategy for the courses.

Eurasya is an association for migrant youths. Almost all the employees of this association are from Turkey and their main target group are Turkish immigrants and their children. The association offers social and legal advice, cultural and sport activities. The only music lessons are saz classes. The homepage is in German, English, and Turkish. *Eurasya* advertises with flyers and posters that are distributed only in Turkish localities, mostly in the tenth and eleventh districts where the association is located. The Turkish community is the main target group.

In the Kurdish association *KIB* [*Kurdish Information Bureau*], there are several folk dance and folk music lessons for different age groups. These ensembles often perform in Kurdish events such as *newroz*, the spring festival of the Kurds. The classes take place mostly on weekends. It is only possible to know about the activities of this association through acquaintances. *KIB* usually does not advertise publicly or on the Web. After several talks I found out that it sometimes receives Austrian students.

4 The ud, ney, and kudüm are classical Turkish music instruments.

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The *Alevi Culture Centre* offers music lessons as well as extra instruction for Turkish children to solve their educational problems which they have in the school. The music lessons aim to pass on their religious identity, philosophy, and values to the second and third generations. Almost all the students in this association are Alevis and they also do not advertise publicly or on the web. The goals and methods of all of these associations' initiatives differ widely; nevertheless they have one thing in common: To transmit their culture to the next generation through music lessons.

b) External transmission (Musical transmission to 'other' communities)

Saz-Verein [Saz Association]

Among all these courses, the Mansur Bildik saz lessons have an additional function on top of passing on traditional music: To make Turkish music accessible for the Austrian community. At the beginning of his career, Mr. Bildik played music at Turkish festivities (such as weddings, henna nights etc.) and at Turkish restaurants and bars with live music. Soon afterwards he started teaching, from 1984 at the Franz-Schubert conservatoire (a private conservatorium in Vienna) until 1994. He then gave lessons in saz playing at an adult education centre (Polycollege) for some years. His students were not only children and adults with Turkish background but also Austrians. An important step on the way was the founding of the Saz Association 15 years ago, in 1993. The association organises saz lessons, workshops, and concerts. The lessons and periodic student concerts take place in a central district of Vienna, which is not the case for the other courses. 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 at their disposal. Especially before concerts, students can practise with Mr. Bildik until late in the night (see: Bildik and Fuchs 2008).

The two most important goals of the association are the transmission of the saz, and making this Anatolian musical instrument known beyond the Turkish community. Mansur Bildik, within the framework of his Saz Association gives saz lessons, regularly performs with his students at concerts, and organises concerts with famous saz virtuosos and other musicians as well as workshops for Anatolian music. After reaching a certain level, some students have the opportunity to perform with famous musicians from Turkey on the stages of Austria and Turkey. Apart from the Turkish tradition, there is an interest in opening new musical ways for saz. The association has an interest in increasing cultural contact between the West and the East and to help reduce prejudice. The association has members-students from different countries such as Austria, Turkey, France,

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Israel, and Germany among others. Professor Dr. Karl Grill, a teacher at the technical university in Vienna, is the chairman of the association. His deputy is Dr. Bernhard Fuchs, who teaches at the Institute for European Ethnology. Mansur Bildik is a proponent of the association and the artistic director (www.mansur-bildik.com).

Mansur Bildik and the members of the association not only offer saz classes, but also promote Austrian and international events with other migrants and with Austrians; that is the way to create a cultural exchange in which Turkish culture is presented.

Mansur Bildik is a Kurdish-Alevi musician from Turkey. Nevertheless, he does not want to define himself solely as a Kurdish-Alevi musician; he considers himself a musician from Anatolia who lives in Vienna and makes "his own music, which is based on Anatolian music" (personal communication).

That might be the secret of the success of his saz lessons. My field research showed that all the other saz courses were more or less ethnic or religious ghettos. The reasons lie in two main conflicts: One between Alevi and Sunni, and the second between the nationalistic Kurdish and Turkish associations. They do not separate these themes from their teaching. But Mansur Bildik tries to make his saz lessons as multicultural as possible and "to build a bridge between the cultures through the saz, and to internationalise the saz" (from a private talk). These are the reasons why the lessons as well as the concerts are so important for him.

Interviews with his students

Mr. Bildik has an average of 15 to 30 students. He also has two students who perform at almost all his concerts, Marianne (Nanne), and Nikolaus (Niki).

Nanne met Mr. Bildik 18 years ago at an integration festivity. That was the first time she had heard and seen a saz and she began to have lessons with him at the adult education centre (Polycollege). She now plays at almost all of his concerts and helps organise them. The Saz Association was founded by Mr. Bildik, Nanne and Karl Grill. Nanne says that she has a deep esteem for the association and regrets that the association does not get essential funds. She thinks that Mr. Bildik plays a major part in integration work within the association and with his lessons.

> He doesn't only want to show his own culture to others, but he wants to get to know other cultures and wants to fuse them with his music,

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Fig. 1 – Nanne, student concert in Amerlinghaus 6th December 2005.
Photos by Hande Sağlam, 2005, IVE Vienna

Fig. 2 – Niki, student concert in Amerlinghaus 6th December 2005.

> compare them or mix them with individual motives, and everything with virtuosity, that's his extraordinary ability.[5]

Niki (Nikolaus Grill): Mr. Bildik defines him as his assistant. Niki has been taking lessons with Mr. Bildik for seven years.

The interest comes from his family: His father Prof. Dr. Karl Grill was also a student of Bildik's and is the chairman of the Saz Association. For his *Maturaarbeit* [A-levels exam] he wrote a paper on the saz and Turkish folk music.

> This work was very interesting for me as well as for my teachers at high school. My teachers were a bit sceptical at the beginning because they didn't know anything about Turkish music, but after the exam they got to know a lot about the music style. They would probably never have gotten this kind of opportunity if I had not visited Mr. Bildik's courses.[6]

Mr. Bildik and his lessons changed Niki's life a lot. Meanwhile Niki can not only play saz perfectly but also can speak Turkish fluently and is studying Turcology in Istanbul. He wants to build his career around Turkish culture and music.

5 From an interview with Nanne on 27th December 2005, Archived at IVE, Signature: EMW 158.

6 From an Interview with Niki on 27th December 2005. Archived at IVE, Signature: EMW 158.

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I attended Mr. Bildik's lessons, and in my opinion he has a lot of teaching experience. He also has knowledge about different perceptions due to cultural differences. Bars such as 5/8, 7/8, and 9/8 are especially difficult for Austrians because they did not grow up in musical environments with those kinds of rhythmic patterns. I observed how he taught an Austrian those uneven bars. His method works in a very short time and the Austrian students were soon able to play a 5/8 bar easily. After my interviews with some of his students, I could appreciate that he is acclaimed by his students not only because of his pedagogical abilities but also because of his liberal perspective of the world, his tolerance towards other cultures and his rich knowledge of Turkish music and its history.

He and the association have three goals:

1. Transmission of traditional music;
2. Young people with Turkish background should about learn their traditional cultural heritage;
3. Austrians should get to know and understand the values of Turkish culture, but it also should work the other way around.

If we define the term 'cultural transmission' as 'the process of passing on culturally relevant knowledge, mentalities and values from person to person', we can definitely say that Mr. Bildik's courses are successful. He loves his job, but he has the feeling that other people do not appreciate his work. He says:

"Just because I don't have an ideal infrastructure I'm not going to stop doing my work. This work is my life and I intend to open a real music school in which Turkish music will be taught" (personal communication). He always emphasises that he needs funding from the state to develop his work.

Mr. Bildik had the honour of receiving an unexpected recognition when the provincial government of Vienna decided in January 2008 to confer to

Fig. 3 – Mansur Bildik, enfranchisement.
Photo by Hande Sağlam, 2008, Vienna

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him the *Goldenes Verdienstzeichen des Landes Wien* [Golden Distinguished Service Decoration of the City and Federal Province Vienna] in recognition of his services (Fuchs and Bildik 2008), even though he does not have an official job. He teaches at the *Saz-Verein* but he is not employed and does not have a regular salary. He goes monthly to the *Sozialamt* [social administrative] to get his *Sozialhilfe* [social help]. It is difficult to understand why, despite his success as a teacher and musician, Mr. Bildik doesn't get any aid to continue and develop his integrative musical transmission that he has achieved through his lessons

Makamhane

Makamhane is an association that promotes and transmits classical Turkish music (so called Ottoman Court music), and as well as *Tassavuf Müziği*, mystical and religious Turkish music.

The main goals of this association are instrumental lessons (the ud, ney, *rebab*, kudüm, *kanun*), and to promote workshops, concerts, and lectures. It would be important for them to get the opportunity to cooperate with several universities, thus giving them the opportunity to transmit this musical culture more easily and professionally. Apart from this, the association also wants to be an information centre and a meeting point. It offers regular courses and has several workshops every year with professional musicians from Turkey, such as Ömer Erdoğdular (ney), Necati Çelik (ud), Oruç Güvenç (rebab/knieviolin), Habib Samandi (*darbuka*), Sadiye Erimli (singer of classical Turkish music) and Mustafa Buyurgan (*dombra*).

Makamhane was established in 2004 by two Austrians who have a relatively good knowledge of Turkish music and culture. Mr. Denis Mete, the founder of the association, is half-Austrian and half-Turkish. He only began to find out about his Turkish background only at the age of 20 when he started learning about the Turkish culture and language. Now he can play several Turkish instruments. Ms. Sonja Siegert, the other founder, speaks Turkish very well, and plays the ney. She has a large interest in Turkish music and knows the mentality very well. Both of them want to promote Turkish art and music in Austria. Their motto is *encounter through music* [Begegnung durch Musik]. They want to bring together people of different origins, religions, and languages who love and want to learn *makam* music[7]. They did an interesting experiment in 2006: they organised a concert in a Catholic church in Ottakring (a district where lots of working-class Austrians, former Yugoslavians and Turks live) with the music and poetry

7 Makam is the principal structural and melodic concept in Middle Eastern musical style (see also: Singell 1977).

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Fig. 4 – Semazens in the church.

Fig. 5 – Two Austrian women at the event.

Photos by Makamhane 2006

of Mevlâna Celâleddîn-î Rûmi.[8] The concert was called *encounter between Christians and Muslims* [Begegnung zwischen Christen und Muslimen], a very well-organised multicultural evening. The following comment can give us a better idea of the evening: "A ney concert, whirling dancing in our Catholic church (…) Christians and Muslims, Austrians Turks and Greeks, different languages, cultures and religions, people of good will. (…) And so it was a nice evening with interesting encounters and conversations." (http://www.neuottakring.at/Aktuelles/neykonzert06.htm, 18th May 2007).

The association *Makamhane* wants to promote the contact of the cultures, and they were very successful in organising that concert, but probably because both founders are Austrians and have better contact with the Austrian majority.

When I first contacted the association in 2005, I expected that they could reach a wider public, but when I visited them in 2008 I realised that although they are still working they have reached a dead end because their conditions have not changed since then. It is obvious that an education centre can only survive with support from the government. When I interviewed Denis Mete in 2005, he told me that the education system in Austria did not offer educational programmes in the music of the minorities, and that is why it is almost impossible to work with high schools or universities continuously.

To introduce the music of the minorities in public schools would be a very important step towards integration and better communication between

8 Mevlâna Celâleddîn-î Rûmi was a 13th century poet and theologian. He lived in central Anatolian city of Konya. He was the founder of a new Islamic perception and philosophy called *Sufism*.

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cultures. It would be a sign of progress to pull the Turkish musical tradition out of the internal spaces of the Turkish community, and to present and integrate it into Viennese culture. The two chairpersons of the associations agreed that immigrant musical culture should be integrated into the school system from primary school, to avoid discrimination and prejudice due to lack of knowledge. The culture of the immigrants should not be presented as 'others' as 'not from here' but as a part of the diversity of the city. That is why the *Saz-Verein* and *Makamhane* would like to work with universities to set up workshops on Turkish music for students. If the students (especially the students of music education at the music universities), who are the future teachers, could visit workshops about the music culture of Turkish immigrants, then they could transmit that knowledge to the majority, and improve communication.

TRANSMISSION POSSIBILITIES IN THE MAINSTREAM INSTITUTIONS

In Vienna, there are no official and regular possibilities in primary school to receive musical education in Turkish music.

I had to search for a long time before I could find only one *Gymnasium* [high school] where the music of immigrants from Turkey was taught, and unfortunately it was not part of the official teaching programme but an optional activity.[9] The description they give in their webpage is follows:

> The *Ud* and her relatives: Turkish music live and in the classroom: One of the most important subjects in music lessons for the fifth grade is the study of the different musical instruments of the world. (…) This year in October students had the opportunity to experience some of the plucked instruments from Turkey. Mr. Sağlam, the father of one of our students came twice to the school and played for the students the *ud* – the Arabian *lute* –, the *saz* – an instrument for dance music and the *Djümbüs* – very similar to the American banjo and even an instrument built by him. The students could clap and dance with the music. Our director attended one lesson and he also clapped and danced enthusiastically. (http://www.grg23-alterlaa.ac.at/musik/musik_kreativ.html)

9 There could be some other offers which I could not find during my research. It is difficult to get information because they are all optional activities and most of them are offered only a few times.

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It is obvious that the initiative of the high school in the 23rd district was quite superficial. Not even the description of the instruments on the webpage was correct.

Surely they meant well, but this activity had too little background information. The school did not take the advice from experts, and if the students come together by clapping in accompaniment, then that was multicultural enough. And this is not a single case. While I was studying, I had several invitations for such 'intercultural projects', which were always single events. Every time they wanted me to teach the children a Turkish folk song and every time the teachers found the Turkish language too difficult and always wanted me to show them a nursery rhyme. Learning a Turkish song under the direction of a musician 'with immigrant background' is too little for so-called 'multicultural projects', whose purpose is to create interaction, understanding, and transmission between children with different backgrounds growing up together in Vienna.

Such extraordinary lessons are pedagogically very questionable. They only accentuate the 'differences' of the immigrants with this approach. There is no interaction, only momentary observation and participation in what 'the others' do. Under the best of circumstances, Austrian children think it is nice and funny, but they do not think its part of 'their society', although this has been the case for the past 40 years.

PUNKITITITI – DOCUMENTATION OF A MUSICAL EXCHANGE PROJECT

> One of the highlights of Vienna's 2006 Mozart Year achieved a bridge between experiencing music and expressing the self through music (Drechsel-Bukhard and Simma 2006: 7).
> The project gave children a direct approach to Mozart as a person and his work. This happened during an intensive workshop in five primary schools, with music, theatre, concerts and dance performances. During performances and workshops children could get to know Mozart's music. They put an emphasis on different listening experiences. An important part of the project was the openness Mozart had toward other cultures which was a mirror of the enlightened soul of the time. (Marte et al. 2006: 13–14)[10]

10 Translated by the author.

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To work on that theme they cooperated with Mr. Bildik and as part of a project they created a stage production called *Mozart alla turca* (Director: Dietmar Flosdorf), The scenario (written by Eva Steinhauser) of this production was as follows:

> Ali Mehmed Osman, a fairy tale narrator from the Orient, flies in 1790 with his 'turbo carpet' from Istanbul to Vienna and back. During the trip he gets to know the different musical cultures: Turkish saz and dance music, the music of Mozart as well as military music from the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. (…) After that trip he feels like listening to both music cultures in one place, and his wish comes true. A music piece starts to play in which both cultural styles blend together ... (Marte et al. 2006)

It was a co-production between the University of Music and the *Saz-Verein* (Mr. Bildik and his students) with the collaboration of several primary schools of Vienna. The students of the University of Music showed the children musical instruments, music styles, musical culture, the world of Mozart, the world of the Turkish music and the influence of the Turkish music in the life and work of Mozart.

Mr Bildik and his saz ensemble played arrangements of Mozarts *Alla Turca* and *The Abduction from the Seraglio* on the stage. There was an encounter between two cultures on a musical level which gave knowledge about the historical and cultural life in Vienna to the children.

They did not emphasise the differences or being different, but the similarities. They put an emphasis on the things Austria has adopted from the Ottoman and Turkish culture. The cooperation of the professional

Fig. 6 – Mozart alla turca, the stage production of Punkitititi.
Photo by Hande Sağlam 2006, Vienna

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institutions, advice from professionals (Mr. Bildik about music from Turkey and the students of the University of Music about general knowledge of music) and the pedagogical approach made it possible for the children to get a better and more objective picture of cultural diversity.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that musical transmission is one of the most important paths for integration. If we want to make integration possible, we must include it in the education system of primary schools and high schools.

Studies show that traditional music is a significant part of identity, and it is essential to pass it on to the next generation to ensure the continuity of the cultural tradition within the community, and to avoid assimilation and social exclusion. Music can have a completely different function for immigrants: It can manifest their own nationality, or serve as confession of their own ethnic or religious identity. Another fact is that passing on the cultural tradition to the younger generations as well as to young majority generations influences consciousness, and supports the integration process.

Traditional music can also be used as a means of communication with the majority, whether in cultural events or in the school system (Hemetek, Sağlam and Bajrektarević 2006).

Immigration is a transculturation process and transculturation does not only mean the modification and development of the minority culture through new environments, possibilities and infrastructure in a dominant culture, but also the modification and development of the dominant culture through this new capital. With knowledge, there is no room for 'assuming' or 'believing' in prejudices. In Vienna, we find hardly any musical interaction between people of different cultural backgrounds with the purpose of being together, especially at school. This is a big gap in a city which is known to be the 'city of music', due to the variety of the creative potential, and it mirrors what the government thinks about integration.

Vienna is very appealing for musicians from all over the world and also from Turkey, due to its fame as the city of music. This and over 40 years of immigration culture in Vienna is a great potential for musical interaction between communities. Internal and external musical transmission takes place in some teaching situations (such as the *Saz-Verein* or *Makamhane*). But the area of intercultural musical communication mirrors the socio-political situation. The offers come mostly from the immigrants with few exceptions (*Makamhane* or *Punkitititi Mozart für Kinder*, Mai 2006). This is a good example of cooperation between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' with the

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support of the state. Through these kinds of activities, musical transmission can take place within the Austrian community, with or without immigrant background.

There are two options if the government does not support musical transmission in the school system: To forget or to give up cultural identities, or to keep their cultural identities through in individual ways (private lessons and concerts within the community). The first option is an assimilation process that has not worked over the last 40 years. The second option could create a ghetto, which has lots of disadvantages such as lack of integration, transmission and cultural exchange.

The precondition for integration is equality in life's opportunities, and if the government does not grant them, then the immigrants have to find their own way to take care of their cultural traditions.

More than 25 % of the Viennese population has an immigrant background.

To promote and support the transmission of immigrant culture would improve integration and also cultural interaction between the different ethnic groups, religions, and individuals.

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MODEL PROJECTS

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Christina Foramitti

INTERCULTURAL LEARNING IN DIALOGUE WITH MUSIC

Everybody is Special – Nigerian Music Project at an Austrian Kindergarten

Musical Inspiration: Yorùbá Lullabies
Translated by Anne Thomas

"Be blessed when you grow up" – this heart's desire from the Yorùbá lullaby *Omo* provided the inspiration for the *Everybody is special* kindergarten project. This desire became the whole project's central point. The project then served as the basis for the MA dissertation (Foramitti 2007) that I wrote as part of my singing studies. The idea was to prove that the music of another culture (in this case the music of the Yorùbá) could touch and move others (children in Austria) in a particular way, and that the building of bridges between cultures can be facilitated by combining the aims of intercultural learning with that of music. The most important person and source of inspiration for me was Babátólá Alóba, both for the project and the ensuing MA thesis and analysis.

Babátólá was born in 1948 in Àkúré, Nigeria. He was educated at King's College in Lagos, Nigeria. In Vienna, he received technical training from the *Höhere Technische Bundeslehranstalt HTL* [upper secondary school for technology] in Vienna and later trained to be a teacher at the University of Ìlorin in Nigeria. From 1971 to 1977, Babátólá Alóba lived with his family in Vienna. He then returned to Nigeria where he wanted to bring up his children. Until 1986, he was employed as a technical lecturer, later becoming assistant lecturer at various polytechnics and institutes of higher education. Since 1988, he has been back in Vienna where he works for the city's public transport system *Wiener Linien*. At the same time, he holds regular dance and drum workshops. He has also written about his culture, the Yorùbá. I first personally met Babátólá at one of his workshops at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna, quickly learning to value his

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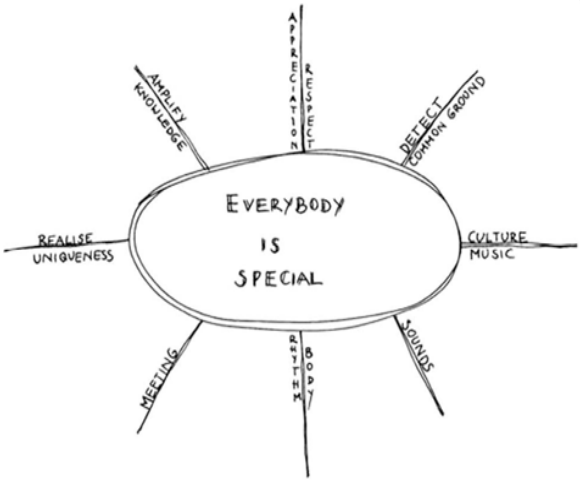

Fig. 1 – Diagram of the project's pillars.

personality and work. The book *Children's Songs*, which he compiled with Eva Steinhauser (Alóba and Steinhauser 1999), provided the musical basis of my MA thesis. The music of the Yorùbá and in particular the children songs inspired the kindergarten project.

The project involved taking certain cognitive and social elements of intercultural education literature and applying them to a concrete situation. The academic notion of 'diversity' – the idea that variety should be seen as a potential – links both applied ethnomusicology and intercultural learning to each other as well as to the topics of kindergarten education. "Diversity refers to all the imaginable differences and commonalities that bring people together in particular work or life contexts" (Kobelt-Neuhaus 2006: 4). This definition made it clear to me that the scope of applied ethnomusicology, the academic notion of 'diversity', and the aims of intercultural education had to be the pillars of the kindergarten project *Everybody is special*. Fig. 1 illustrates this idea.

Thanks to the social-pedagogical and capable work of the pedagogue Monika Matern at a kindergarten in Pöggstall in northern Austria, I realised that children aged between four and six are extremely thirsty for knowledge and very capable of learning. This realisation confirmed my theory that the building of bridges between cultures had to start with children. The basis for developing a positive approach to other cultures has to be laid in kindergarten; children have to be told about other cultures in order to prevent prejudices, which usually stem from a lack of knowledge, and they must learn to put such prejudice into context. I devised 13 different notions,

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which had mainly to do with Africa, with the comparison of Austria and Nigeria, with Yorùbá music and culture, as well as with the music and rituals of Austrian culture. Between 18th September 2006 and 27th January 2007, I was able to put these ideas to the test at the Pöggstall kindergarten in northern Austria. During this time, I worked with a group of children, putting into practice the aims of intercultural learning on the basis of my devised notions.

The main question behind this project is whether music can help children of kindergarten age to come closer to an alien culture, to dispel fears about the other without developing any prejudices. What is felt to be 'other' is disconcertingly 'other' only if one does not have any engagement with it. It is rare that discomfort, or alienation, is not accompanied by fear. But in general, children have a tendency to be naturally free of prejudice. I wanted the children to engage with foreign objects and people before judging them. Each of the 13 notions has this key aim. In each unit, we engaged with music in one form or other. We sang, clapped, danced, and drummed. We also listened to music and watched music videos from Nigeria. There were also different rituals, each having a fixed place in the respective units. For example, at the beginning of each unit, the children received a letter from Kasimir the Mouse. In each letter, Kasimir talked about the experiences he had had during his trip to Nigeria – the experiences were of course connected to the unit's particular theme.

The following 13 points give a brief explanation of each notion:

1. Africa – the continent
The aim of this unit was to give the children an initial insight. This unit was for the children to find out, see and in part also taste what this continent has to offer. It was supposed to awaken their curiosity for and interest in Africa.

2. Nigeria – Austria – common ground and differences
In this unit, the children learnt how to get to know their own country better whilst at the same time learning about another unknown country. They looked at pictures of animals, food and raw materials, sorting them according to the two countries. They were thus able to identify the rough differences between the countries. The unit's aim was to awaken the children's curiosity for and interest in a foreign country and its culture.

3. Children in Nigeria
In this unit, the children played games that children of their age in Nigeria like to play. Through playing, the aim was that they should realise that

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Fig. 2 – Children listening to letter from Kasimir.
All photos by Christina Foramitti

these games could also be fun. This realisation was supposed to lead them to the thought that they are similar to the children in Nigeria and there is a link between them. The songs of the games awakened and developed their feeling for rhythm. This unit was also intended to trigger a positive group dynamic.

4. Everybody is special
Here, the aim was to make the children aware of how important and good it is to resemble others in certain senses but to be allowed to be different, special and unique in others. On balance, the conclusion was as follows: If it is true for every child in the group then it is true for everyone on earth, that whatever one's nose or ears look like, whatever one's hair or skin colour is and wherever one is from, *Everybody is special*.

5. Dancing and movement
This unit was for the children to get to know music from different cultures and also for them to express themselves through movement. The unit was about promoting the fun that music brings and the unavoidable movements it inspires. It was important that the children experienced different styles of music and realised that they all had equal value. This unit was about experiencing in practice that being different does not mean being better or worse!

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Fig. 3 – Children thinking about how they can help others.

6. Slavery and poverty

In this unit, the children learnt about Nigeria's colonial past, as well as about the Yorùbá. The main 'lesson' of this unit was that there should be an equal balance between give and take. The children also made suggestions about how they could help other children who were not as privileged as they are.

7. Go to sleep, my little one – lullabies

Music brought the children to a place of trust in this unit. They found out what lullabies are and learnt different German-language lullabies as well as Yorùbá lullabies. They also talked about their own bed-time habits and rituals. They found out about their friends' habits and I told them about the differences and similarities there were with those of another culture, namely Yorùbá.

8. Rhythm is everywhere – a workshop with Benno Sterzer, musician and music therapist

The aim of this unit was for the children to experience, feel, and acquire rhythm in all its force and variety. They also got to know the basic techniques of different rhythmic instruments. New ideas and objects thus helped the children find out about life on a different continent.

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Fig. 4 – Children playing the djembe.

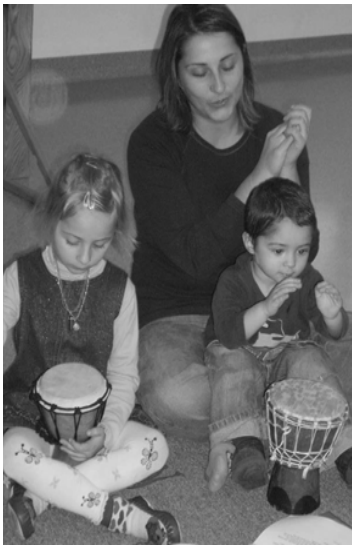

Fig. 5 – Christina Foramitti and children working on Báyi làwá sowópò [This way we reach out our hands to each other].

Fig. 6 – Daddy Frog, Sun, Kasimir and Birdmum.

Fig. 7 – Monika Matern and Babátólá.

9. A story-game

In this unit, the children were called upon to concentrate in order to awaken their imagination. The central piece of information transmitted was that everyone is special and lovable. During the second reading of the story, the children acted out roles and became active participants. They each took responsibility for a particular part and thus contributed to the success of the whole. The feeling of togetherness was once again of the utmost importance.

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Fig. 8 – Children doing batik.

Fig. 9 – Children painting to music.

10. A story of sound

As in the previous unit, here the intention was that the children would, with gentle persuasion, take responsibility. The goal was to create a small piece of art together. It was imperative that there be a feeling of community, extreme concentration and attention for the theatre performance to be a success.

11. Workshop with Babátólá Alóba

Here, the children were able to actually 'touch' somebody from Nigeria. They were able to talk to him and ask him about things that they had found out about in the stories. They were fascinated by him physically. They touched his dark hands when they greeted him and observed his dark eyes, his clothes, and his hair. They saw that he was a lovable person. It was surely a very memorable experience for the children to meet Babátólá.

12. Tie-dyeing tunics [Batik]

On this morning, each child made his or her own tunic using a Yorùbá dyeing technique. Thus they had the chance to come into close contact with a Yorùbá art form. They discovered the beauty of this 'simple' dying technique – at least 'simple' in the way we practised it.

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13. Painting to Nigerian and Austrian music
The children once again engaged with the different musical styles of two cultures and expressed these differences by painting intuitively. It was an important experience for the children to let themselves go free without speaking to a piece of Austrian music and Yorùbá music respectively.

The special way of planning, preparing, and implementing the *Everybody is Special* project was based on ten academic ideas developed by Wolfgang Nieke (Nieke 1993: 55f). Building on ideas developed by the education expert Manfred Hohmann, the German university professor for general pedagogy devised the following system for dividing intercultural education into ten different learning aims (Böhle 1996: 117f).

1. The recognition of one's own unavoidable ethnocentrism
To recognise what is one's own has to do with researching one's own everyday life and environment. Nieke's idea of ethnocentrism seems correct and very important in this context because if children are not aware of their own roots, values and culture they cannot be open to and curious about something new. The children need to be able to relate to facts that seem logical to them; they need points of association, emotional and cognitive, as well as logically explainable connections between their own experiences and new information about alien habits in other cultures (Böhle 1996: 116). This aim was one of the project's most important aspects, both in its conception and its implementation. In each unit, it was important that the children be able to make a connection with something they had already experienced and were familiar with.

2. Dealing with disconcertment/alienation
Here, Nieke claims that other impressions always carry something mysterious and thus interesting. But if one has never learnt to be open to all people and all kinds of encounters, then the other can also be experienced as disconcerting and alienating, thus leading to fear and rejection. In such cases, it depends on the individual and the way one has learnt to deal with fear, and whether he or she will be able to transform this strong feeling into a positive one. Here, intercultural education works on emotional experiences and communication potential.

3. The foundations of tolerance
In my opinion, the word tolerance in conjunction with intercultural learning is poorly chosen. Tolerance stems from the Latin word *tolerare*, which means to bear, to endure, or to support. I prefer to speak of respect. The establishment of respect for people who live in another culture is a very

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important part of intercultural learning. To this aim it has to be made very clear that it is a question of establishing mutual respect. In my work with the children and my analysis of the project, openness and mutual respect were of great significance.

4. Acceptance of ethnicity

The word 'acceptance' also stems from the Latin word *accipere,* and among other things it means to accept something. But unfortunately this implies that there exists a certain hierarchical order. So here too respect or the respect of ethnicities is a better choice of word for promoting the equality of cultures. By acceptance of ethnicity Nieke means engaging positively with the 'differentness' of another culture. Visual differences, as well as the way of preparing food or the different rituals or festivals of various faiths, as well as different language all fall into this category (Böhle 1996: 117).

5. Addressing the subject of racism

Racism depends on a rigid regard for the habitual idea or image of society. This particular aim was purposely not integrated into the project because I intended for the subject to be approached in a positive manner in the sense that *Everybody is special*. The subject of racism was only supposed to be addressed if the children made comments that might be considered racist. But this was never the case throughout the duration of the five-month project.

6. Emphasizing commonalities

It became very clear through the work with the children why intercultural learning is so important. The children have to be able to find points of association with their own prior knowledge and feelings. In order to open up to another culture one has to recognise commonalities, allow for them and also rejoice in them.

7. Encouraging solidarity

'Solidarity' also stems from the Latin and means "a feeling of belonging and the willingness to stand up for one another". But in this definition of Nieke's the encouragement of mutual solidarity, which is of utmost importance, is missing. Even those who belong to 'minorities', as Nieke describes them, can and have to strive for solidarity within the whole. Only then can we talk of the equality of cultures. What is important regarding work with children and the encouragement of solidarity is that it has to be made clear to the children that every person has the right to be different (Böhle 1996: 118).

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Fig. 10 – Babátólá Alóba opens the presentation by performing a drum session.

8. Practising forms of reasonable conflict resolution – dealing with cultural conflict and cultural relativism

Resolving conflict plays a great role in the everyday lives of children. Children have to learn how to deal with conflict and how to resolve it. They have to have an understanding of the notions of respect, for which they must have a generally positive attitude towards the other. This pedagogical work begins at home, in one's own culture, in one's own family, and one's own environment; then it has to be integrated into kindergarten educational science daily so that it can exert a positive influence if a conflict between cultures does arise (interview with Monika Matern, 16th March 2007).

9. Identifying possibilities of mutual cultural enrichment

Here too the question is of a balanced give-and-take relationship between two or more cultures. The aim is to raise the awareness that everybody can learn from the other. Only then can a dialogue develop that enables mutual cultural enrichment. Becoming aware of mutual cultural enrichment and allowing it forms the beginning of social and cultural opening and is a prerequisite for peaceful co-existence. It is the task of intercultural education to stimulate and promote this idea of mutual give-and-take through didactic methods.

10. The lifting of the 'us' barrier in global responsibility

This aim of intercultural education has to be regarded as a particular concern not only from a socio-cultural angle but also in terms of the near and distant future with regard to the current debate about global warming, and especially climate change. From the point of view of intercultural education,

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the 'us' barrier has to be newly defined so that 'we' as people can face up to our global responsibility. In this sense 'we' or 'us' are people: When it comes to global responsibility, everybody counts and matters (Böhle 1996: 119). The project focused in particular on recognising one's own uniqueness, emphasising commonalities and promoting mutual cultural enrichment. Becoming aware of one's own roots and the feeling of security that thus arose made it possible within my project for participants to behave openly towards other cultures. By knowing themselves, commonalities that were of extreme importance for the children could be highlighted. The recognition of similarities and the creation of a direct relationship with the 'other' enabled certain fears to be dispelled. The encounter with Babátólá Alóba was very important for the children in this respect. The joint public presentation of the project as part of the *Kasimir discovers Nigeria* sound theatre play was important in terms of public relations, especially with the children's parents.

The message that *Everybody is special* was able to reach a wide audience thanks to the presentation and articles about it. The whole project allowed the children to open another window to the world (interview with Monika Matern, 16th March 2007). In the hope that the desire from the song *Omo* will be fulfilled every day I make efforts to carry the thought *Everybody is Special* in me, although the project is over. Be blessed when you grow up!

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Albinca Pesek

WAR ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIAN TERRITORY

Integration of Refugee Children into the School System and Musical Activities as an Important Factor for Overcoming War Trauma

YEAR 1991: BEGINNING OF WAR ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIAN TERRITORY

In 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence from the former common state of Yugoslavia because their tendency towards decentralisation and democratisation within the federation had been disregarded. The conflict resulted in a war which started in Slovenia but did not have serious consequences there. The results in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, however, were disastrous. Huge refugee waves towards many countries of the world followed.

Slovenia became a shelter for a large number of refugees, mainly coming from neighbouring Croatia in 1991, and who did not manage to get refugee status because of the belief that "war has not spread throughout the entire Croatian territory and, therefore, the status of a refugee is not legitimate" (Đonlić and Črnivec 2003: 16). Another refugee wave from Bosnia-Herzegovina followed in 1992. There were an estimated 70 000 refugees and more than half of them were children (Mikuš Kos 1999a: 127). They were given special attention from the very start, as many of them stayed for longer periods of time, even up to several years.

The Ministry of Defence was the first to deal with political refugees, and was later joined by the Office for Immigration and Refugees, the Ministry of Education and Sports, as well as the Ministry of Health; the Slovenian Red Cross also played a significant role.

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Article 22 of the Convention on Refugee Status of 1951, which states that "regarding elementary education, contracting parties will provide equal treatment for refugees as for their own citizens", triggered more or less successful efforts for organising the educational process for refugee children, who were staying with their relatives or at refugee centres.

KINDERGARTENS

Kindergartens emerged spontaneously in several refugee centres. Education was carried out by the refugee girls and wives without sufficient experience in working with children. Therefore, they were trained by the Counselling Centre for Children, Adolescents and Parents, and the Slovene Foundation – Centre for Psychosocial Help to Refugees who organised seminars every three months. It proved that children attending pre-school education were more successful at school afterwards (Mikuš Kos 1999a: 142).

October 1992 brought organised kindergarten educational activities in two groups: The first one included children aged three to four and the second group children aged five to seven. Education was carried out in six subject fields, namely mother tongue, elementary mathematics, nature studies, music, gym and art (Grošičar 2002: 57–72).

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

According to estimates, there are 20 million refugees around the world and half of them are children. Engaging children and adolescents in school activities is one of the most important methods for providing a balanced psychosocial education in the host country (Mikuš Kos 1994: 14).

In the second half of 1992, 64 collection centres were established for refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, where they were provided with refugee status, accommodation, meals, and in some centres, also schooling and a small financial aid (Grošičar 2002: 58–59). Besides medical and social assistance, activities in the recently established kindergartens, schools and youth clubs were also of great significance in normalising children's psychosocial development. Activities in the form of different courses in art, music, dance, sports, etc. were run by a voluntary service.

The Ministry of Education and Sport organised an elementary school for refugee children in collaboration with the representative of the Education Institute of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In autumn 1992 there were 52 such schools with over 9 000 children tutored by approximately 450 refugee teachers from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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Half of the teachers from Bosnia-Herzegovina had not received pedagogical training and had worked as engineers, doctors or economists before the war; some had even been studying or still attending high school. They began working as volunteers with no pedagogical background and without receiving any financial reward. Thereafter, the Ministry of Education and Sport organised financial support with the help of foreign sponsors in order to compensate the teachers with a modest sum for their efforts.

The work motivation of most teachers was high, because they were the only adult refugees with a daily job that matched or nearly matched their education. Their work was socially beneficial because they helped many children. This was reflected in the children's successful learning, the children's attachment to them and to school, but also in the recognition from their Slovenian colleagues.

Educational programmes for refugee school teachers, organised by the Counselling Centre for Children, Adolescents and Parents in Ljubljana, have greatly contributed to the energy at work and to the quality of refugee teachers' pedagogical efforts. The aim of the teaching seminars was to teach them how to help children in overcoming psychosocial and psychological problems and how to increase their efficiency in the classroom during the educational process.

In addition to the usual learning issues that emerged in class, there were also other, war-related difficulties in getting the learning material. Learning problems were shown as memory disturbances, especially recalling disabilities. Many children could not manage to recall the name of the school or teacher. They also had problems concentrating because their thoughts were often directed to their homes in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Mikuš Kos 1994: 15).

The establishment of schools went together with the designing of textbooks. Besides teaching methods, authors mainly focused on selecting contents that could not be associated to war or hostile atmospheres in any way. Literature, music and art education excluded all ideology and included artistic contents by authors of various nationalities, who lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Topić 1993a: 34).

Preparing children to live together after the war was also one of the important tasks of the education provided. School symbolised normality, permanence and durability in times of war.

For three years, the Bosnian school in Slovenia was attended by approximately 2 000 elementary level refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their achievements were not far behind the average results of Slovenian children, even after entering Slovenian schools. Refugee children overcame all obstacles and continued living in their host country with success, in spite of traumas, losses, lack of knowledge and the relatively poor education of

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their parents. The Bosnian school was not part of the Republic of Slovenia's education system; it served only as a parallel system that would enable children to integrate into the schools after returning to their home country (Mikuš Kos 1999c: 33).

HIGH SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

The integration of adolescents into high schools was more difficult than that of children into elementary schools. The main reasons were the lack of documentation about education in their home country, overcrowded Slovenian high schools and different high school education programmes. If refugee students were lucky enough to be granted admission, they were given a status of occasional students and a certificate on the performed duties (Mikuš Kos 1999c: 69).

In 1994, 140 students from Bosnia-Herzegovina were enrolled at two Slovenian universities. Financial aid was provided to the students of the Medical Faculty and the Faculty of Economics, while the rest were exempted from tuition fees (Đonlić 2003: 26).

TWO CASES OF EXTRACURRICULAR ART ACTIVITIES: CHILDREN'S PROJECTS *KULTURNI VIKEND*[1] AND *PREGNANCI*[2] IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

A group of educators and artists from Sarajevo organised activities helping refugee children in their spiritual, physical and intellectual growth. One of them was the Slovenian music educator Vekoslav Andrée, who spent almost half his life in Ilidža, near Sarajevo, where he and other Sarajevian educators established a music school. Then there was the music teacher Marija Andrée, the poet Josip Osti, the painter Ismar Mujezinović, and many others. They were greatly supported by *Vodnikova domačija* [Vodnik Homestead], the birth place of the first Slovenian poet Valentin Vodnik.

Financial aid was steadily provided by the organisation Open Society Fund Slovenia; instruments and equipment were lent by Causes Communes, Belgium. 180 refugees from Ljubljana, aged five to 20, attended music and art workshops every weekend. Every Saturday was perfectly scheduled: workshop activities from 10:00 to 12:00, concerts from 12:00 to 13:00,

1 'Cultural Week-end'. Translated by the author.

2 'Expellees'. Translated by the author.

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after which they went on with their work. At that time, Vodnik Homestead was a unique cultural point.

Members of the literary section were engaged in publishing activities. After several months of work, they published *Kulturni vikend almanac*, as well as EGZIL-abc that was supposed to present current literature from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The video workshop was in charge of documenting all the cultural activities.

Among other musical activities, the vocal-instrumental band *Vali* and the children's choir *Bonbončiči* played a significant role. They toured numerous Slovenian areas as well as bordering places. Even after the war, *Vali* continued their mission. They fought against prejudices about minorities and different types of music with their diversified repertoire. They performed native songs from Bosnia-Herzegovina (*Sva bol svijeta,* [Help Bosnia now]) and national songs (*Ne klepeći nanulama*, *S one strane Plive*), legendary tunes from former Yugoslavia (*U svemu naj*, *Good bye teenage years*), universally known songs (*Stand by me*, *Help*) and Slovenian songs (*Zarjavele trobente*, *Dan ljubezni*) (Đonlić in Črnivec 2003: 43). One year after their last large-scale performance in Portorož in 2004, Vali's leader, Hazemina Đonlić, set up the band *Sabahbluz* that performed successfully until she left to study in Russia.

The initiators of *Kulturni vikend* endeavoured to spread their artistic activities to other areas of Slovenia. Therefore similar centres opened in Piran, Novo mesto, Črnomelj, Kranj and Ilirska Bistrica. Children were frequently visited by well known artists from Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina; parents also shared their artistic experiences with their children.

The project *Pregnanci* took place in the rooms of the Culture and Art Association KUD France Prešeren in Ljubljana, and was mainly designed for young people and children. Its goal was to present the Slovenian culture and support the preservation of the refugee culture. Its members attended events under the association's patronage and also prepared their own events. The project *Pregnanci* was launched in Finland in 1994 in the framework of a TV promotion of the international campaign against racism and xenophobia, where it received an award from the Council of Europe. Besides numerous awards for Slovenia, there was a remarkable performance by the Orff Orchestra *Mašta Može Svašta* with conductor Etbin Stefančič, who performed at the final event of the campaign *All Different, All Equal* in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 1995. There was also a performance by the eminent violin player Yehudi Menuhin and his orchestra (Đonlić in Črnivec 2003: 39).

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THE PROJECT *OTROCI, MATERE IN GLASBA V PREGNANSTVU*[3]

The guidelines for the project *Otroci, matere in glasba v pregnanstvu* were based on the psycho-physical condition analysis of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina in Slovenia. Its aim was to improve their current situation through musical activities by achieving four principal goals:

1. To overcome the psycho-social problems of refugee children and their mothers,
2. To strengthen emotional ties between them,
3. To preserve their national identity, and
4. To integrate the refugees into the cultural reality of Slovenia.

The project was initiated in 1994 as part of a seminar in music education methods at the University of Maribor's Education Faculty.

Musical activities referred to listening to and performing music; special attention was given to musical creativity. The aim was not to achieve artistic perfection, but to allow children to feel free and be willing to build up self-confidence and trust in their environment. The musical content was mainly based on the musical tradition of Bosnia-Herzegovina (approximately 70 %), Slovenian music (20 %) and European music and music worldwide (10 %). Whenever possible, songs were sung in both languages, Bosnian and Slovenian. Vocal and instrumental compositions related to the home towns of the refugees proved to be the most appropriate for listening. Some songs and dances of non-European nations were introduced with a view to developing openness towards various types of music and cultures.

The project was carried out in three refugee centres: Maribor, Celje and Postojna. Six students (Barbara Arlič, Anamarija Krvišek, Mateja Kuharič, Maita Milutinović, Mojca Širca and Maja Vodenik) led musical activities in 1994–95 that involved refugee children and their mothers and tried to achieve goals that had been set. The project encompassed 46 children aged from three to twelve. Approximately half of them were accompanied by their mothers. Three groups of schoolchildren were formed in Maribor, but the teaching students could not persuade their mothers to attend the sessions as well. The mothers stayed in their rooms, were busy doing their work and did not express any desire to participate. The children were thereby given the role of adults, especially the boys. This was probably a consequence of the specific life situation in refugee centres because of the absence of the

3 "Children, Mothers and Music in Exile". Translated by the author.

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fathers, but it was also partly rooted in the culture of the refugees' native environment. The situation was different in two other centres, where the mothers, who felt more attached to their children, attended musical sessions together with them.

The musical activities took place once a week. The rooms in which the activities were carried out could hardly be called classrooms. In Maribor it was a wooden cottage without heating, in Postojna a big hall also without heating; only in Celje did the place seem quite welcoming.

When the project started, the children and their mothers were quite distrustful of the student's efforts. Only one of them, who was a refugee from Bosnia-Herzegovina (Zenica) herself, managed to establish immediate contact. Before each music lesson, the students devoted some time to informal conversations with the participants to establish an atmosphere of trust. They discussed news from the home country, school adventures and also music. The refugees' initial refusal to engage in music was a consequence of them being sorry for their country and their dead and wounded relatives, and expressing concern about their husbands and fathers. In groups, where mothers cooperated with their children, there was also a problem: The children and their mothers were not used to working together apart from their daily activities.

After a few sessions, remarkable changes occurred. The children's natural desire to play music and pleasure at participating in musical activities was transferred to their mothers. Singing and listening to music became a part of their lives again and they said that they had started singing together with their children at home and managed to escape the issues of their current situation for at least a few moments.

In two of the groups, one consisting exclusively of children and the other one including children and mothers, it became evident that the most appreciated musical activities were the ones connected to movement. It is known that dance includes non-verbal expression of emotions and encourages an authentic mutual communication. Pre-school children favoured dances that helped them to express the contents of a song, while older children preferred energetic dances, which offered them relaxation and pleasure.

The results of the survey on these musical activities were obtained on the basis of prepared observation techniques and conversations with parents. The surveyed categories were: The pleasure of attending musical lessons, the pleasure of listening to music, the pleasure of singing, the pleasure of playing small instruments, the pleasure of moving to the music, the pleasure of creating music and creating while listening to music, and the pleasure of making music together with their mothers. Children and mothers could choose among the following options: "I like it very much", "I like it", "I like it to some degree", "I do not really like it", "I dislike it". Individual

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alternatives were evaluated with grades from five – "I like it very much" to one – "I dislike it".

According to the observations and surveys, the estimated goals were achieved. Moments spent with music have had a positive impact on children and their mothers: children enjoyed making music, which made their mothers happy as well. The joy in their mother's eyes encouraged the children to perform musical activities. Bosnian, Slovenian and global musical contents were accepted by the children and their mothers without any reluctance or disrespect.

The students themselves also felt enriched by working with refugees. Besides learning many Bosnian songs and dances from them, a strong emotional bond was established between them and the refugees. One of the students wrote in her diary: "One of the most beautiful days in the refugee centre was when a child, who was showing reluctance at the beginning, finally expressed his appreciation." (Pesek: 1996).

CASE STUDY: MINKA ĐONIĆ

Minka, 17 years old, came to Slovenia in April 1992 with her five-year-old younger brother Suad. She was encouraged to visit her aunt in Postojna by her mother, who anticipated the approaching war. Minka settled in a one-and-a-half-roomed apartment at her aunt's, a single mother with two children. She first lived in the expectation of leaving to go back home, where she could finish the third grade of music high school, but she soon realised that this was unlikely to happen until the next academic year. In the autumn, she was granted the status of occasional student in the fourth grade of music high school in Ljubljana, but could not finish because of numerous complications, such as failing exams in Russian, which was her second foreign language back in Tuzla.

She spent the entire following year in the hope of returning home as soon as possible, but towards the end of the school year realised again that it was not going to happen. She managed to finish her high school education and pass the final examination three years after her arrival in Slovenia. She wished to enrol at the Music Academy of Ljubljana, but unfortunately she belonged to the high school generation of students who could not pursue university studies because of the incomplete Slovenian legislation in relation to the possibilities of university enrolment.

The Matura examination was set up, but high schools did not prepare their students for it at the time. So the only choice she was left with was a four-year study at a College for Social Work, where merely the final high school examination was required instead of the Matura. She finished her

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studies in 2003 with a college diploma entitled *Deset let samote* [Ten Years of Solitude].

Because she had been prevented from studying in the field of music, she started parallel studies in musicology and passed the entrance examination in 2001. But because the legislation on possible enrolment at a Slovenian university was still not enforced for the generation, which had graduated from school in 1994, she had to postpone her enrolment till 2004, when she was allowed to apply as a graduate for another faculty. She successfully finished a three-year degree in 2007.

Minka has been very active as a musician throughout her time in Slovenia – as a singer and accordion player. She was also the organiser and carrier of numerous projects for refugee help; her current projects are concerts for marginal groups of people such as the 'erased' and members of other ethnic communities. She participates in recordings of motion picture soundtracks, documentaries and theatre performances, and she has also performed at the international ethno-festival in Saint Petersburg. She is considered one of the five best accordion players in Slovenia.

Encounters with refugee students show that war and exile problems on the one hand, and a fairly rigid education legislation on the other hand, prevented half these students from enrolling at various faculties of their choice.

Minka is a great example of persistence, because she managed to overcome many troubles to pursue her way to education. She is now about to finish successfully a second study programme while offering help to other people in search of a better life outside their home country.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The outbreak of war in former Yugoslavia in 1991 triggered a wave of refugees towards Slovenia, first from the Republic of Croatia, and a year later from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Most refugees stayed in Slovenia for many years, some of them still live there today. At first, only the Ministry of Defence was engaged in refugee policies. But according to Article 22 of the Convention on Refugee Status from 1951, it soon gained the support of concerned institutions, and more or less successful efforts were made to organise the education process of refugee children staying with relatives and in refugee centres.

Research carried out by the Slovenian Ministry of Education and Sports shows successful results among refugee children in elementary school, who attended special elementary schools for temporary refugee children form Bosnia-Herzegovina. After entering Slovenian schools in the school year

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1994/95, the percentage of children with positive evaluation was 87 %, and even 95 % in the following year. Good results were brought about by an additional learning support, mostly organised for mathematics and Slovene as a foreign language (Hočevar 2002: 103–105).

The quality of the learning assistance was also demonstrated by the fact that children learned the elements of the language of their host country in a very short time. Global research indicates that the daily usage of a second language helps a child learn this language in three to five years' time and reach a level where communication no longer hampers gaining knowledge at school. But if children only use their second language at school, they need five to seven years to graduate (Knaflič 1995).

There is no doubt that several factors contribute to the successful integration of children into the education system of a host country. In addition to learning assistance, there was also a very efficient psycho-social help, the organisation of additional cultural and sporting activities, as well as communication with the parents of refugee children.

The significance of the projects *Kulturni vikend* for children from Bosnia-Herzegovina and *Pregnanci* can also be considered as successful from the psychological, educational and social viewpoint, because they certainly contributed to achieving essential educational goals such as, for instance, greater self-confidence, tolerance towards others and the development of creative working habits. Artistic activities connected Serbian, Croatian, Muslim and Slovenian children, and helped them to preserve their own cultural identities without nationalist and ideological prejudices.

The observation and survey results also indicate that the aims of the project *Otroci, matere in glasba v pregnanstvu* were achieved. Moments of musical activity had a positive impact on the children as well as their mothers: Children enjoyed playing instruments, which also made their mothers happy. Musical content, such as Bosnian, Slovenian and world music, was accepted by children and mothers willingly and respectfully. Singing and listening to music brought them back to life and kept them from pondering on their problematic situation. It became obvious that the most popular musical activities were the ones connected to movement.

Pre-school children favoured dances, which helped them to express the song's message, while older ones preferred energetic dances offering them relaxation and joy. The students themselves also felt enriched by working with refugees. In addition to learning many Bosnian songs and dances from them, a strong emotional bond was established between them and the refugees.

The psychological burden of war, exile problems and a fairly rigid school legislation has also had a bad impact on the refugees: Half of the students enrolled at different faculties have failed.

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It would be worth considering, in the future, systematically training teachers working with children, who arrive in Slovenia as refugees, asylum-seekers or children of parents looking for a temporary or permanent settlement in this European country. At a time of globalisation and increased migrations, working with children speaking foreign languages will require the development of special teaching methods.

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Lance D'Souza

WORLD MUSIC CENTER

The World Music Initiative in Aarhus, Denmark: Thoughts on its Approach, Rationale and Operations

The World Music[1] *Center Denmark* (WMC) is an autonomous department under the wings of the Aarhus Music School. The WMC tries to build bridges between people from different cultural backgrounds, by creating positive cultural meetings using music and dance as cultural icebreakers. The centre, which has existed since 1999, is the only one of its kind in the Nordic countries (possibly in Europe) and it employs professional musicians and dancers who teach school children in municipal schools and at the music school.

To date, approximately 6 500 children and adolescents have been taught by the centre's eight teachers. WMC has a close cooperation with municipal schools in Aarhus, the Aarhus Music School and The Royal Academy of Music. It was necessary to break the ice on these levels to help create WMC as we now know it. The centre is funded by the municipality of Aarhus, with a yearly budget of 200 000 euros.

The centre's musicians and dancers teach two lessons (1 ½ hrs) a week over a period of five months (four classes at each of the four schools each semester). The lessons are an integral part of the normal school curriculum and the relevant groups here are pupils from the fourth to sixth grades. After the sixth grade, music is no longer part of the compulsory school syllabus.

1 Definition of World Music:
We choose to define the term World Music geographically and by splitting it up into categories.
- It is mainly music that has its roots in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, South America, Greenland and the Caribbean Islands, in short not 'the industrial western countries'.
- World Music is split up into categories: Classical music, folk music, popular music and fusion. (This also includes the music that is created in meetings between people from different cultural backgrounds.)

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Fig. 1 – Girls dancing Flamenco dance at a concert.
Photo by WMC

Kindergarten pupils and schoolchildren up to third grade are taught by WMC musicians after school. At municipal schools, WMC teachers teach in pairs and the municipal school music teachers are important partners. The latter receive a competence boost as they are provided courses in the different music and dance forms before and during the teaching period. This enables schoolteachers to be active participants during lessons and not just passive policemen whose only role is to keep discipline. There is a constant exchange of knowledge between both groups of teachers after each class and an evaluation at the end of the teaching period. Parents are informed about the teaching modules and about the new teachers from the beginning. The semester ends with a concert at each school for the other school children as well as a concert involving all four schools (around 400 pupils) at the concert hall in Aarhus. As the schools involved are from all areas of the town, the audience also comprises of people who come to the concert hall for the very first time in their lives and proudly enjoy the fruits of the pupils' hard work.

Here are some reflections from a Danish music teacher from Kragelundskolen where the pupils were taught for five months by Jimmy Mhukayesango (Zimbabwe) and Sasidevi Chandrabalan (Sri Lanka).

> With Jimmy, we worked with rhythms, so they were more precise. He has a fantastic charisma. With Sasi, we danced a lot. She even motivated the boys to dance really beautifully. The rhythms were the foundation. We worked really hard with our bodies, listened with our bodies – or generally took a physical approach to music and dance. For the music teachers we realise that rhythms are very important

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and we should build on them. The pupils developed a better feeling for rhythm, also with their bodies. They met other pupils from other schools and those pupils had different cultural backgrounds. The parents feel that this is very exciting and we received a very positive response at our concert.[2] (Christoffersen and Lyhne 2007)

TEACHER RECRUITMENT

When we first advertised for teachers in November 1999, the response was overwhelming. We needed four teachers for a period of two months with only four weekly hours of teaching. We received over 50 applications. We chose 15 and invited them to play and to talk to us. We were looking for very good professional dancers and musicians, and equally important was the ability to pass on their knowledge to the pupils. At the end of the day we were confirmed in our belief that there really are many good musicians, more than we could use.

We decided at the onset that we would cut them loose into the classrooms (after a short course) and observe, and guide them only if this was necessary. This was based on the fact that many teaching methods are closely knitted to the music forms and we hoped to gain some knowledge from this. The pupils found out very quickly how good these musicians were; that they were also very friendly and 'cool' and thus were given respect.

The musicians are role models. They make the pupils play and dance an hour at a time repeating the same steps and drum rhythms until they

Fig. 2 – Isaac Laryea from Ghana playing djembe at a concert with fifth grade pupils.
Photo by WMC

2 Translated by the author.

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are satisfied. They increase the pupils' social competence as the pupils have to work closely together in playing complex percussive rhythms and using dance steps. They build bridges. As an example, Sasi, the Indian dance teacher, uses Western pop music as a background for Indian dance. They tell them about their way of living, their food, clothing, religion, and also show videos from home and extend the teaching to encompass a broader cultural context. The musicians in turn learn about the education system and about the schools in Denmark. With intensive training, most of the pupils achieve a ground pulse and their playing and dancing reach an unexpectedly high level compared to the short time they have for this.

This is one of the few times where musicians without a 'Danish' education are allowed to teach at municipal schools and they are part of the school staff for the duration. Some of these musicians are autodidacts and have learned to play their instruments from their family. Unfortunately, there is no formal education yet that gives these musicians and dancers the tools they require, and no final certificate that allows them to teach. This is something the newly-established Centre for World Music Studies wishes to accomplish.

The goals of the *World Music Center* are:

- To find and use the resources in the immigrant community;
- To create an environment, where children and young people experience and work actively with other cultures' musical traditions by using world music;
- To create positive cultural meetings between the 'old' and the 'new' Danes using music and dance as cultural icebreakers;
- To develop pedagogical methods for teaching music from different cultures, through the exchange of teaching experiences and methods on local, national and international levels with the goal to develop new pedagogical methods for teaching music in a multicultural society, and
- To work at instigating and developing educational initiatives in relation to the area – World Music, teaching and cultural meetings.

INTERSCHOOL MEETING (IM)

In autumn 2005, the WMC began an additional module to the existing one called the *Interschool meeting* (IM). During the normal teaching module, cultural meetings were created between WMC musicians who taught the music and the pupils who received lessons. In the IM the aim is to expand the cultural meeting to also include pupils from different schools, as schools

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with a large number of pupils with immigrant backgrounds and pupils from schools that are ethnically Danish live isolated from each other. We wish to create the circumstances for positive cultural encounters that will give the pupils positive common experiences, and will create a fundament for openness and friendship. Personal contact here is very important and this is the ground pillar in the *Interschool Meeting*. Music and dance become the tools for the cultural encounters. The goal is to create an encounter between pupils with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, but in the meeting itself it is not the pupils' background that is in focus, but music and dance.

Pupils from the parallel classes will first write to each other and send photographs, establish contact and make penfriends. This takes place in Danish classes. Then the pupils visit each other's schools. This visit has two aspects: First, to learn a simple dance that will be presented at a final concert, for which the WMC musicians are responsible. The other element is that they do some activities together, which the class teacher from the host school is responsible for organising.

There were certain events that we did not anticipate. For example, one encounter occurred during the period of Ramadan, when the children of the host school (fifth grades) were fasting. The visiting 'Danish' pupils showed their solidarity by deciding to take part in the fast.

One of the teachers from the host school wrote after the meeting:

> "It was a very good meeting and the pupils were very glad and relieved over how well everything went. I feel that there was a big development in relation to the other school. They became more open and positive. They thought that the other pupils were more handsome."

The pupils' answers to some of the questions asked at an evaluation were: What was it like to meet the other pupils?

> "I thought that they would look different – nicer. One actually had pimples."
>
> "I thought Sarah was taller, but I found out that she is shorter than me."
>
> "I thought that they would have smart and expensive clothes, but they did not at all."

Was it easy to talk to the pupils from the other school?

> "Yes, because they were happy. They were happier than I had expected. It was easier than I thought it would be. They were great fun and sweet."
> (Quotes from the evaluation report of the Interschool Module 2005/06 by Helene M. Pedersen)

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Fig. 3 – Girls from Vejlby Skole dancing African dance in 1999.
Photo by WMC

THE GLOBALISED WORLD

Global development and increasing immigration has had an effect on our societies. During the past 20 years, the amount of music production in the world has increased immensely, and again it has become a lot easier to gain access to this production via the media and the Internet, to which a lot of children and adolescents have access.

At the same time, many people have immigrated to Europe, bringing new music forms, music cultures, music practices and teaching methods related to these forms from other parts of the world. This means that the Nordic countries in particular and Europe generally, have received a substantial amount of musical knowledge and musical resources that deserve to be recognised and to be used.

The musical landscape has changed locally and globally and this creates challenges for music teaching, whether this occurs in the class-room, of a music school or in other institutions. The questions that arise are:

- How does music teaching relate to the changes that are happening in society and in the music sphere?

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- What types of music teachers do we need in a multicultural society?
- Which pedagogical and didactical challenges do we face?

MUSIC TEACHING

In the first verse of *Hist, hvor vejen slår en bugt* [Here, Where the Road Bends][3] , the famous Danish author Hans Christian Andersen in his description of Denmark ends by simply saying "solen synker – og så videre" [the sun sets – and so on][4]. He tells us here that we have already formed an image of a certain understanding of the Danish ideal. However, contemporary Danes do not have the same type of image of the Danish ideal, while both Hans Christian Andersen and Danish national romantics knew that this was a postulate.

In spite of the fact that the music teaching system built up in the Nordic countries has goals such as 'equal access', 'equal rights to participate in' and 'cultural democracy', the subject matter in music teaching is still based primarily on western classical music and commercial musical styles. As of 1995, the guidelines for music schools in Denmark has its origin in a monocultural perspective as it builds on the teaching of western music forms. This is a problem as approximatly 7,5 % of the Danish population comes from other countries.

Music teaching does not reflect the demographic constellation of cultural groups or the musical diversity that exists in our societies. This means that some of the cultural groups' musical traditions are never heard in the public arena, and the musical horizon of children and young people is never expanded but is cemented in the music horizon they already possess. One can build on this observation by postulating that children and young people with an immigrant background are not a common sight in music education institutions.

It is interesting to note that apart from a few small pilot projects, no other municipality other than Aarhus or other music schools in Denmark have taken steps to use the good results from Aarhus. Union Scene in Drammen in Norway has been inspired by us and has started a mini-WMC with financial help from the Norwegian Arts Council. We are planning to strengthen the network between the musicians by arranging exchange visits. In 2007, the Municipality of Aarhus was given the *Best Municipality Award* from the Danish Association of Music Schools (DAMUSA) for supporting the WMC and its goals. The Councillor for Culture accepted on behalf of the municipality a painting by Mr. Malangatana, a well-known artist from Mozambique.

3 Translated by the author.

4 Translated by the author.

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MUSIC, DANCE AND INTEGRATION

Music and dance create fellowship, openness, and intuitive understanding between people and these are exceptional tools when working with cultural meetings, cultural understanding and integration. Music has a special property, and Mr. Jørgen Carlsen, philosopher and leader of the *Free Academy*, Denmark, expresses it in this way:

> Music transcends over time and place, and is most certainly the most transgressive of all art forms. It is universal in the way that it does not need any special language skills or prior knowledge to relate to it, but music calls on the openness of the mind, attentiveness and awareness. (Carlsen 2001)

In today's world it is necessary to promote a mutual understanding of different cultural backgrounds and resources, on an international and local level. Multicultural music teaching needs to involve the musician in teaching and hence create a basis for a real cultural encounters between people. Experience shows that music and dance as a common activity play a very unique role when dealing with positive cultural encounters.

HOPES FOR THE FUTURE: ESTABLISHING A CENTRE FOR WORLD MUSIC STUDIES

In 2008, the Danish Arts Council as part of the Ministry of Culture gave a little funding to kick-start a Centre for World Music Studies.

We wish to:

- Create a meeting place for musicians, music pedagogues and culture workers;
- Collect, work on, and pass on knowledge about world music, and to start and to help promote relevant research and new initiatives. The focus areas here would be teaching World music forms and practices, and cultural meetings through music and dance:
- Create educational initiatives to help develop diversity in music teaching and education at schools and relevant education institutions, as well as create educational opportunities for World Music musicians, and
- Disseminate knowledge and experience nationally, regionally (EU and Nordic) and internationally.

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Fig. 4 – The grand finale at a WMC concert at Aarhus Concert Hall in 2007 with 320 school children.
Photos by WMC

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Eva Fock

EXPERIENCES FROM A HIGH SCHOOL PROJECT IN COPENHAGEN

Reflections on Cultural Diversity in Music Education

A SHORT INTRODUCTION

How we see the world and its many musical expressions is all a matter of perspective: Do we primarily or exclusively look at our own tradition, and occasionally add direct inspirations from the world around? Do we look at historical or more recent diversity in our own region? Do we look at cultural exchanges, relations between regions and traditions? Or do we look at the world from a distance, as if from a space shuttle, whereby the attention to specific local traditions is replaced by an attention to patterns and lines?

CROSS SECTIONS IN MUSIC – A PROJECT

This is a story about a specific project[1] – *Cross sections in music* – whose goal was to develop a culturally diverse learning space for music classes, which was culturally inclusive, which could embrace and include all students regardless of their cultural background, which was equally relevant to all from a broad learning perspective based on musicological professionalism and diversity.

1 The project, which was originally named *Music across – a world in music*, ran in four high school music classes in Copenhagen, from autumn 2005 to summer 2007. It was financed by the *Egmont Foundation*. The experiences from the project and the musical and pedagogical material will be published in a textbook during 2008/09.

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It was important in the development of the project that the presence of immigrants, whether first, second or third-generation ones, did not play any direct role in the choice of subjects, and that ethnic representation was not part of the project's explicit argumentation. The 'ethnic' aspect was neither supposed to be exotic (in the form of food/music/belly dance events) nor demonising (through an ongoing connection to the problematic discussions about immigrants in the media). Music from around the world was to be included on a par with western music.

The project was formed as a co-operation between the ethnomusicologist and a group of music teachers. The teachers, experienced as they were in teaching and with a large knowledge about especially western music history and theory, were introduced to the basic idea and to non-European material, and received coaching around the ethnomusicological material.

This study refers exclusively to the Danish situation, but it is possible to draw parallels especially to other Scandinavian countries (Skyllstad 1993; Knudsen 2007; Thorsén 2002, 2003; Sæther 2008; Fock 2007).

Before discussing the idea further, let us take a look at three of the specific courses.

Example one: Court music

The four groups of students in *Frederiksberg Gymnasium*, one of the four high schools involved, were sweating over hard-core analysis and unfamiliar sounds: One with *gagaku* from Japan, one with the Central-Javanese *gamelan*, one with a piece by Haydn from Vienna and one with a *nouba*[2] from the ancient Andalusian tradition.

Prior to the group work, the students had received a general introduction to five musical traditions that were part of the court music course from their teacher (the Persian *radif* was the fifth tradition presented). Occasionally, visiting musicians and practical lessons gave the students 'hands-on'-experiences. All in all, they tried to understand and analyse the music, combining the basic information originating from both the general introduction and a compendium, including some kind of notation or form skeleton, with the other presentations and with the music itself. The method of 'intense listening' designed by Erik Christensen (Christensen 2005) was used in this part of the process. To focus their analysis they were asked to work with only one of four specific elements: Form, instrumentation, rhythm, and melody.

The group analyses were presented in the classroom. In this way, the students were constantly exposed to a diversity of traditions and elements,

2 Nouba is a suite form within the classical Andalusian music tradition.

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not just to the one they had worked with themselves but also to those of the other groups. Recognition went hand-in-hand with frustration, when both local and more general terminology was used to capture the different phenomena. For their final exam, they had to analyse unknown but similar pieces from two of these traditions, comparing the elements they had worked with.

In this way, the students learned about other elements from the same tradition and about the same elements within other traditions. Thereby a broad, basic knowledge about form, instrumentation, rhythm and melody was created, without going too much into depth in each tradition.

In addition, a short history course about courts was included in the project. The central parameters used for this analysis were religion, ethnicity, relation to the surrounding world, and power.

Example two: Physics in music – music in physics

The physics students at *Frederiksberg Gymnasium* ran in the corridors, building instruments, trying out sounds, and recording the sounds for further analysis. This course was about the relation between sound from a physicist's perspective, instruments as practical workmanship and as organology, and function or aesthetics – a triangle where the one influences the other. But what are the characteristics of this relationship?

After being introduced to the four basic instrumental categories within Sachs-Hornbostel's organology-system (Sachs 1949), and the basic physics of sound, volume, duration and tuning, groups of students were asked to develop instruments according to one of the categories. Through working within one category, it became possible to have students not only develop one instrument but also afterwards to modify it. The challenge might be to change the sound, the volume, the tuning (ambitus) or the duration in a specific direction. The discussion could also be a change of function or context because the sound of indoor instruments is different from the sound of outdoor instrument, or because music for few is different from music for many, and so on. For this, they had to use their knowledge of physics. It was also great fun.

Example three: The wedding as ritual, narrative, and aesthetic event

At *Copenhagen Open Gymnasium* in Valby, all students of the first year, approximately 100 in total, were involved in a one-week project about the wedding, analysing, listening to lectures, watching movies and finally arranging a huge wedding party where they presented their works as theatre, concert, painting, PowerPoint-presentation, or whatever form was accepted. Only a few students actually attended a music class, while others had drama,

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arts or film as their creative/aesthetic discipline, though they could all look at the wedding from their perspective and relate it to social science.

Through analysis of weddings from around the world, it is possible to take a closer look at those parts of the ritual that involve music, to look at the function of the music in the different parts and to hear different sounds. In this way, students become aware of how music is used in and around a ritual, they see that some elements stay while others change, and they can see how, for example, a transitional ritual as the wedding integrates other functions, as a pact, an aesthetic event, or a narrative with a storyboard.

As in most cases we do not have complete wedding scores or other strict musical storyboards, the analyses are different from the analyses of court music. Here we have to rely on our ears. One way is to listen to the soundscape of a wedding, note the differences and patterns, understand the different roles or functions, and find out what characterises the music in each case. Furthermore, it is possible to read or hear about added symbolic meanings.

Another approach to the subject is to analyse a wedding as a narrative with scenes and acts, expressing different feelings. From there, it is possible to work with composition, letting students compose a suite that reproduce the feelings of a wedding, and the changing meanings.

As many of the students from this school had a minority background, there was no clear common wedding reference (apart from what they might have seen in American movies). For their own analysis, some chose to analyse a wedding they knew from home (whether Danish or Arabic), while others chose to compare different traditions or to look into something unknown.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE CLASSROOM

One might ask whether we can defend this relatively superficial approach to the great traditions of the world. I would like to turn the question around and ask about the alternative.

"What music do you like, Faiza?"

This question is well-known to many youngsters with immigrant backgrounds. Zadie Smith presents a very colourful description of the situation in her novel *White Teeth* (Smith 2000: 135). Here the teacher shows her disappointment when Millat, an Indian boy, answers first Bruce Springsteen, then Michael Jackson, to her question about his musical preferences. Clearly children with immigrant backgrounds are not supposed to answer this question with either 'Mozart' or 'Michael Jackson', even if

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this is what they like. Often teachers have special 'ethnic' expectations concerning the musical taste of these pupils, and consider their presentations as a way to bring exotic music into the classroom, more than a way for them to present their favourite music.

No one can object to situations where students bring material from home into the classroom, nor can one object to students bringing the music they like and identify with. But unfortunately, here the music lesson apparently gets interwoven with ethnic representation, which is problematic. In 1997, 42 % of the students at two large high schools in Copenhagen answered that they had been introduced to non-western music in the classroom, mostly in the form of African and Latin-American folk and popular music. Only 10 % had been introduced to music from the immigrant cultures, always on the initiative of a student from that specific area, not on the initiative of a teacher (Fock 1997).

One important problem here has to do with this element of representation. The students run a risk of becoming cultural hostages, if they alone carry the responsibility of presenting music from these parts of the world in the classroom. Whereas western music is generally considered 'real and serious' music and as such is included in the main programme of music lessons with music analysis and theory, music from other parts of the world is generally only presented by students, and only as a personal identifier.

Then why include 'ethnic music' in school programmes? And what music should be chosen? As professional cultural and political evaluator, I have over the years experienced how easily the central goals of a project are forgotten or never really formulated (Fock 2003, 2004). In this way, projects become unfocused, and consequently the goal-method-result relationship is blurred. For example, we find a tendency to present African music in the classroom of Danish music classes when attempting to include and engage youngsters with immigrant backgrounds in musical activities. This is interesting because almost none of the immigrants in Denmark come from Sub-Saharan Africa. They originate from the Middle East, where many consider those parts of African culture primitive. Consequently, many of the youngsters feel uneasy with the rather extrovert body culture found around African music (Fock 2007). Another example of this misinterpretation is the expectation that youngsters with an immigrant background prefer their parents' music, while the general expectation to most youngsters is the opposite.

It is necessary during the planning of any musical course to decide what the students should learn. In the same way, it is necessary to realise why cultural and musical diversity should be introduced in the classroom.

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MOTIVES FOR DIVERSITY

There are a variety of motives for teaching cultural diversity as part of the school programme. Some have to do with national identity, cultural heritage, and cultural education, others with pedagogical tradition.

When talking about cultural diversity and the inclusion of non-western music in the classrooms, some formulations seem to pop up again and again, though some important borderlines can be observed between the old colonial powers, the old colonies, the white, Anglo-Saxon dominated nations outside Europe, the more recent receivers of immigrants from other parts of the world (e.g. the Middle East) and nations providing Europe with immigrants.

From one perspective, motives have to do with a series of considerations that in different ways promote qualities such as self-esteem, tolerance and better understanding in all groups through both musical activity and knowledge. They are often presented in positive terms, but might include a risk: Youngsters with a minority background should know their 'roots' in order to feel good but one should not be caught in this 'root' notion. The majority population should know about the culture of the minorities – and vice versa.

There is a need to provide certain populations with a musical voice, especially those absent in music education and in the music scene in general (like youngsters with immigrant background in Denmark) for a variety of reasons. We could call it a way to gain respect in society, a way to express oneself, a matter of new inspiration to the music scene or just a democratic necessity. At the same time, there is a need to educate future musicians and audiences, so-called (New) Audience Development (Boerskov 2003).

If we look at diversity from the perspective of a more general humanistic and responsible world view, music education might be considered part of a larger humanitarian project related to solidarity with the poor, and also a wish to share wealth on the cultural arena (Mannergren 2000: 100–102).

From a pedagogical perspective, diversity might represent a new inspiration. The image of ethnic music as 'bodily and expressive' makes it interesting for music teachers, and the image that some musical traditions are pedagogically and musically inspiring puts diversity on the agenda.

But diversity as such, just the experiences with different sounds, instruments, ways of making music, could also be a goal in itself, a necessary fundament for musical creation. In this way, diversity becomes a matter of widening the horizon of the students. One could call it part of general education, or just because it sounds great – both reasons have more to do with music than with demographics or history.

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CREATING WORLD VIEWS

If we want to understand which of these different motives are actually used, it is necessary to look beyond music itself and instead take a look at the dominating rationales in cultural politics in general. The concept of rationale has been used by Terese Volk, an American music-education researcher. She differentiates between, first, a rationale based on changing demographics; second, one that focuses on world-mindedness, third a global rationale, and fourth, an aesthetic rationale (Volk 1998: 9). A similar rationale is also used by the Norwegian musicologist Jan-Sverre Knudsen (Knudsen 2007). The Danish cultural sociologist Dorte Skot-Hansen uses the concept in a broader cultural political context, talking about enlightenment, empowerment, entertainment, economic impact, and experience as driving forces behind cultural politics (Skot-Hansen 2005: 33). Her model has been adapted to music education with slight changes, differentiating between enlightening, socialising, empowering and entertaining (Fock 2007: 354). From New Zealand, John Drummond talks about 'justifications' instead, but with a similar meaning: "We Live in a Culturally Plural World", "Removal of Disadvantages" and "The Majority Can Learn from the Minority" (Drummond 2005: 2).

Whatever of the underlying reasons, rationales or justifications, teaching always influences our world-view, consciously or unconsciously. It does not matter if in our teaching we focus on the communication of knowledge in the traditional sense, if we focus on practical musical skills (we could talk about tools), if we focus on the creative processes or on the artistic experience. Unavoidably our world view will be influenced, both through what is included in educational programmes and what is excluded. Which world view do we want to communicate? Where is 'the world' in the curriculum? Is it on the programme at all, and if yes, in which form and in which relation to the West?

CROSS SECTIONS IN MUSIC – A MODEL

'Cross sections in music' is a model for cultural diversity in the classroom, a way of re-thinking music education rather than a course or a series of single courses that later might be repeated by teachers.

From pillars to levels

Music courses in Danish high schools are traditionally organised in themes – like separate pillars: A genre, an individual (artist or composer), a historic period or maybe a culture (fig. 1). Typical themes in high school music

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classes could be: 'Mozart', 'the baroque era', 'rap music', 'reggae', 'rock music' or '*the Beatles*'. If a cultural pillar is in use, subjects like 'Jamaican music' or 'Turkish Music' could be on the programme. In this way, the material is presented through what we could call coherent systems, where the way of thinking, for example rhythm, melody, texture, or form is interwoven and self-explanatory. Furthermore, they are mostly based on western thinking, including a tonal basis, functional harmony, and metre.

This 'pillar' way of organising the material is the result of both the teacher training programmes and the material available on the market. The way of thinking becomes more or less self-supporting, as the curriculum is formed in a way that stimulates and mirrors this structure. Unintentionally this pillar thinking supports exclusion, as it becomes quite difficult to include other cultures of the world on an equal level.

One way of challenging this 'pillar' way of organising music courses is through finding out what characterises music across genre, artist, or period. Through making cross sections instead of separate pillars, it is possible to work towards a learning space that has inclusion, diversity, and professionalism as the key words. At the same time, it creates a new and logical way through the many musics of the world: 'routes instead of roots' – if we take an old expression from the British cultural researcher Ian Chambers (Chambers 1990: 75).

Absolute and universal definitions of music are rare, as they generally depend on context. The British ethnomusicologist John Blacking talked about 'humanly organised sound' (Blacking 1973: xiii). His 'definition' inspired this specific project, leading to a tripartite definition useful in this specific pedagogical context: Music as structured sound, music as organised by humans, and music as an expression that carries a meaning (fig. 1). These three levels became the guideline for the whole project, made it a model for organising multiple ideas and music, and still kept the focus.

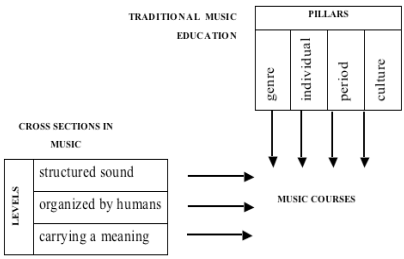

Fig. 1 – Two ways of organising music courses: The traditional way of thinking in separate pillars and the new way, with three levels that structure the cross sections.
Diagram by Eva Fock

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The first level: Music as structured sound

Music as structured sound comprises a meeting place between music and natural science. At this level, we deal with the elements of sound more than its culturally defined shape:

- Sound – what is it and how is it formed, based on both the physical rules about sound, frequencies, volume, duration and practical construction experiences?
- Pulse as a fundamental rhythmic phenomenon, related to nature and body, a basis for rhythm and metre.
- How some theoretical tuning systems (the intervals) relate to natural science, not to culture – we hear and understand different notes, pitches and intervals, but what is the mathematics behind and what are the dilemmas that come with it?

The second level: Music is organised by humans

All over the world, humans organise the elements like sound, pulse, and pitch in different culturally defined systems. Sounding instruments become orchestras, they refer to different ways of organising the different musical layers and the melody (phenomena like homophony, polyphony, heterophony and interlocking). Pulse becomes rhythm and metrical patterns based on nature, human movement, language, and poetry. Notes and intervals are organised into scales, tonalities, and modalities. It is all organised into melodies, harmonies, ornaments, compositions and combined forms, such as suites.

This is the level where the traditional elements of musical analysis flourish, but in a new way. The big challenge is to formulate the questions and develop a terminology that might include fundamentally different musical traditions in such a way that we do not limit ourselves in advance, without becoming vague or unimportant.

For teachers with limited ethnomusicological knowledge, it is necessary to listen with an open mind before analysing according to a specific cultural system, and to dare include and translate different theoretical ways of thinking in order to avoid a limiting western thinking on the analysis.

The third level: Music is an expression that carries a meaning

This is one of the most interdisciplinary ways of looking at music, as meaning will always relate to something outside sound itself: Meaning as symbol, aesthetic, culture, power, religion, philosophy or function.

The sounds used in real music are mostly chosen for some practical reason, such as materials or function. But they might also have an additional symbolic meaning, related either to philosophy or religion. In much the same way, the defined scales might be explained through additional physical, mathematical, or symbolic reasoning.

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The three levels

This three-level definition made it possible to find routes through the many musics of the world, across cultures, and yet establish a coherent frame, a kind of logic in both the project as a whole and the different courses, without losing the sharp focus on the music. In this way, diversity was not the project in itself, but an underlying principle – an important distinction.

The levels are not completely isolated from each other; the idea of differentiating between them is merely a way of sharpening the focus on specific elements, to make the specific routes through the material clear. They furthermore represent a notion of progression that supports the inner logic of the model. As an extra bonus, this model makes it more natural to include different dimensions of the music as a discipline (for example knowledge, practical tools, arts experience and creativity) in the courses.

EXPERIENCES AND REFLECTIONS

All three courses, and the other courses that ran within the project[3], challenged the traditional way of working of all involved teachers. The music teachers in the different classes as well as the physics teacher and the many teachers involved in the wedding course had to revise their way of presenting music if the projects were to succeed.

The court music course described earlier dealt with genres representing some of the world's great court traditions, all theoretically complex but with a theoretical frame that was thoroughly described. Here theoretical systems from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East were put together, challenging a traditional, mono-cultural way of thinking. The idea behind the subject was not to turn the students into specialists of the different traditions, but to make them familiar with unknown and unfamiliar soundscapes and thereby aesthetics, and at the same time confront them with a variety of cultures and historic periods. Furthermore, the course trained their analytical abilities in general, so that they would be able, through listening, analysis, and discussion, to understand the overall principles of the music. Finally, it was the intention to show the students that not only western classical music is theoretically complex.

But is it possible to do all this? It depends on the level of ambition. At a specialised level it is of course impossible, but at least the students left the classroom in Frederiksberg with broader minds than when they entered. It

3 The other subjects were: 'ornament in sound and image', 'the human voice' and 'rhythm – from body and language'. Courses about the subjects: 'organisation in music', 'music and censorship' and 'film music' were planned but not realised in the classroom.

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is certainly both a musical and pedagogical challenge to work in this way, but it has to be done radically, introducing aspects of different traditions at the same time, if we want to avoid to be trapped by tradition.

The course about 'physics in music – music in physics' in much the same way challenged the traditional way of working with both music and physics in the classroom. Jumping between three different perspectives – physics, organology/workmanship and aesthetics/function – was a difficult balance: to avoid music as 'just' an entertaining note in the physics class, that physics is brought in as a way to legitimise a creative discipline, and to ensure that dealing with workmanship could be both structured and professionally relevant to both disciplines.

It is obvious that the students had fun when they tried to build instruments. Inventive students had a chance to step into the foreground. But at the same time both the introduction to organology and the practical part made the students reflect about both music and physics in ways they had never done before. The biggest challenge was to keep the project sufficiently tight and to clearly formulate questions to the students so that they obtained the desired systematic thinking.

Within the wedding course one of the first challenges was the encounter between disciplines. But more importantly the course offered a musicological challenge: how do we work in a strictly musicological way with this unnotated primarily functional music? At the same time, this is an interesting part of the project, as we hereby have to look for analytical methods that leave the scores behind and force us to listen and relate the music to the context in a new way.

CAN IT BE DONE?

Can we defend this relatively superficial approach to all these great traditions and big subjects? It is and will always be the art of limitation and compromise. The teachers probably do not know all the different traditions as well as western music. The question, then, is whether they must. If they do, if they need that knowledge, we will never be able to change the pattern and create cultural diversity. From the experiences here, the most important condition, next to an openness for listening and reading about the music, is to find clear routes through the material, routes that provide a logic for the involved teachers, and that contain the necessary musicological professionalism.

Some might want to ask if it worked. Three keywords characterised the project: Diversity, inclusion, and (musicological) professionalism. It is easy to say something about diversity and professionalism, for musical diversity was certainly obtained during the course of the project. A great deal of

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musical traditions and cultures were part of the project, including the great classical traditions, traditional folk music and popular music, with both western traditions and other parts of the world on an equal level. But it is questionable whether this diversity is the standard in the long term. Apparently, only very few of the involved teachers continued the work after the project finished. Turning things upside down is easier with a coach at hand than when you are on your own.

The professionalism was harder to secure. In some cases it came easily, but when the projects became interdisciplinary it proved to be quite a challenge. There is no doubt, though, that it is possible but it definitely does take more than a single course to develop a new tradition for interdisciplinary cooperation in schools. This is a structural challenge, as is the whole idea of turning everything upside down and teach cross-culturally instead of pillars, and one where some teachers need a lot of time.

Did the project succeed in creating inclusion? This is more difficult to answer, but we do have some experiences: some students with immigrant backgrounds engaged enthusiastically in activities where the music came from other parts of the world, because their musical (or language) knowledge suddenly seemed relevant. In these cases, the music was included in larger musically (not culturally) defined example packages about for example 'the human voice' or 'rhythm'. We also had examples of students with immigrant background that were 'disarmed' in their protests. Some of these youngsters might have reacted negatively to what teachers introduce, referring to some kind of Eurocentrism or Orientalism. In these courses they could not find any arguments for that kind of discussion.

While the final knowledge level concerning the different musical traditions would vary from student to student, they all left the project richer in experience – they had all been exposed to new sound impressions, new and 'strange' kinds of music, different ways of making and understanding music. Although multicultural in spirit, this project did not deal with multicultural music education, but with music education.

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This article was co-authored by Henri Tournier and Ninja Kors. Ninja Kors provides a general outline about world music (teaching) in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Henri Tournier goes deeper into the issues involved in teaching Indian music in an institutional setting in Europe, notably the Rotterdam Conservatoire at Codarts.

Ninja Kors

WORLD MUSIC IN ROTTERDAM

Rotterdam is a city of world music. It has a highly multicultural population with over 160 nationalities but that in itself is not very different from other cities in western Europe. A lively cultural life that includes many musical (sub)cultures is part of that package as well. Music-wise, however, it has a few unique features. For many years now, the Rotterdam Conservatoire has been the only conservatoire to offer degree programmes (notable Bachelor degrees) at tertiary level. As of last year, a Master's programme was added that accommodates a large research element. The world music focus and expertise of Codarts was the foundation for the development of the *World Music & Dance Centre*, a joint effort between the conservatoire and local music school that has culminated in an independent centre for performance, education and research into the areas of world music and dance. The *World Music & Dance Centre* (WMDC) functions as a kind of research and development facility as well as a world music stage. The WMDC works both with high-level professional musicians and upcoming talents in the local community. This article casts some light on how world music is positioned in Rotterdam, with conservatoire teaching of Hindustani music in an institutional framework at conservatoire level providing an example of how cultures come together in practice.

THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS WORLD MUSIC

World music as a term was coined by an ethnomusicologist, notably Robert E. Brown, in the 1960s but really came into its own in the 1980s as a

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marketing term. As such, there really is no such thing as world music; it would include every kind of music, depending on where you are standing. David Byrne expressed his distaste for the grouping of all kinds of music under one heading in an article appropriately named *I Hate World Music* (1999). Oscar van der Pluijm argued for an annihilation of the term in policy and funding in his article *World Music does not Exist* (2003). Van der Pluijm then went on to become the first director of the *World Music & Dance Centre*. This is no coincidence; the *World Music & Dance Centre* was founded on the notion that the country of origin of the music is far less relevant than its intrinsic qualities and potential, and its relevance to its local context.

In the case of the WMDC this context is particularly many-faceted. The stage programme shows professional groups from around the world but also from the rich world music scene of Rotterdam and the rest of the Netherlands, high-quality musicians who quite often get just as much if not even more recognition across the borders. But the programme also includes productions that work in close collaboration with local community groups where community celebration is just as important as artistic quality. Many productions at the WMDC are on the very edges of changing music (and dance) practice. These are productions that often cross-over between cultures and traditions and experiment with musical idiom and instrumentation. They are often the result of facilitating and stimulating something that was already in the air somehow, be it young dance talents that successfully cross over between urban dance and other styles such as modern dance, or students from the Indian and Brazilian departments who organise concerts where virtually every musical style within the WMDC comes together on stage. The only requirement for all content in WMDC is that it deals with music and dance that is very much alive and relevant, as well as strongly embedded in its urban surroundings.

Many of the activities in the WMDC take place in close collaboration with partner organisations. The WMDC was originally founded by Codarts, the mother organisation of the Rotterdam Conservatoire, and SKVR, the municipal music school. Both institutions have housed their world music departments in the WMDC building. Other organisations have joined them, such as the producer of the World Children Festival (*Planet Jr. Productions*), a municipal organisation to stimulate music participation in Rotterdam (*Music Matters*) and a talent development organisation for young musicians, dancers and media talents (*Roots & Routes*). The proximity of partners within the same building offers numerous opportunities for collaboration. The most visible may be the high-scale master classes on the WMDC stage: musical giants such as James Carter, Trilok Gurtu and Arturo Sandoval have shared their expertise with young upcoming talents

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in the intimate setting of the WMDC, while resident masters such as Paco Peña, Gustavo Beytelmann and Hariprasad Chaurasia of *Codarts* consider the WMDC their home stage in Europe.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

On an international scale, Rotterdam has become something of a forerunner when it comes to world music education. The history goes back 25 years to when flamenco and Indian music were first included in the curriculum of the conservatoire. The first music school in the Netherlands to include world music in its programmes was in Amsterdam (see further) but founder Joep Bor also stood at the cradle of the world music department of the conservatoire. The height of the world music 'movement' in music education in the Netherlands was reached in the 1990s when cultural diversity was high on the political agenda – and consequently in the list of funding criteria. As Kors commented in the article *Networks and Islands* (2007), this meant that many initiatives in the 1990s were conducted with good intent but too often in a non-critical way as regards to (artistic) quality. Social motives were perhaps too easily confused with cultural or artistic aims.

Some of the current activities in Rotterdam, and in other places too, show that these aims can go hand in hand. Music is used as a means to express and, in some cases, reinforce cultural identity. Projects with *kaseko* and *kawina* music show the great interest of younger generations of people from Surinam for the music of their elders, but also the controversy it brings when the younger generation makes this music its own by adapting it to their own (life)styles. These movements happen without the interference of schools or teachers, but sometimes these institutions can be helpful in lifting musical practice to another plane. The Brass School in Rotterdam, a joint of WMDC project with Music Matters and the conservatoire, draws many young immigrants from the Antilles and Surinam to lessons and coaching sessions and the level of brass bands in Rotterdam and the rest of the Netherlands is slowly but surely rising. The principle behind the Brass School and its success is simple, as is often the case with good concepts: Brass bands improve their skills and repertoire under the guidance of teachers from the conservatoire, while the conservatoire gains an insight into the musical idiom and particularly into methodological practices in this social context. The question for improvement originally came from the brass bands. Meanwhile, brass band leaders are coached to improve their pedagogical skills. While it was never the object of the project, some brass players from the Brass School have entered the conservatoire now to professionalise their career in music making, teaching and leading.

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WORLD MUSIC ACADEMY: INDIAN MUSIC DEPARTMENT

Supporting and nourishing talented musicians and other artists is an important aspect of musical life in Rotterdam. The outlook is decidedly international: Not only because of the many immigrant cultures surrounding the institutions but also because many students from all over the world come to Rotterdam to study. Currently the World Music Academy of *Codarts* Conservatoire of Rotterdam has five programmes: Turkish music, Argentine tango, flamenco, Latin music (Brazil and Cuba) and Indian music. Still a unique initiative in Europe, this academy has created a special place for the encounter of different cultures, both in their musical practices as well as their specific teaching methods. This will be demonstrated in this paper by means of an illustration of the development of the Indian music department of the World Music Academy. This example raises many of the issues concerned with intercultural music education. The author, Henri Tournier, is a teacher of *bansuri* flute and improvisation and the assistant of the renowned Pandit Hariprasad Chaurasia, artistic director of the department.

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Henri Tournier

THE TEACHING OF INDIAN MUSIC IN AN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK IN EUROPE

CREATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN MUSIC

A first generation of young western musicians became passionate about Indian music during the 1960s. Experienced as being a genuinely initiatory path, at the time this meant living in India for a number of years, immersing oneself in society while adopting the traditional oral teaching methods. This initiation into Indian music depended on a close relationship between master and student, as well as an almost ascetic practice of the instrument.

After returning to the Netherlands, a group of musicians from this generation decided to create their own association in order to continue to experience and share a culture that had become their own. These included the *sarangi* player Joep Bor and vocalist Wim van der Meer, both of whom collaborated in 1984/85 in the *Society for Traditional Arts Research* (ISTAR), based in New Delhi. The group settled in Holland along with Huib Schippers, Jane Harvey and Toss Levy, students of the *sitar* player Jamaluddin Bhartiya. Their project took shape in the form of a school for Indian music and dance: In 1986, they founded ISTAR Netherlands on the site of an abandoned school in which a group of alternative artists had squatted. Aware of changing musical tastes and pedagogical needs in an increasingly multicultural society, the Ministry of Culture and the Amsterdam Arts Council lent their support to the school.

ISTAR Netherlands enjoyed a rapid success as it attracted more and more students, a number of them from the Indian communities in Holland whose families were originally from Surinam. Artists such as Ram Narayan, Latif Ahmed Khan, Zia Mohiuddin Dagar and Arvin Parikh were invited for conferences and master classes. The school organised festivals with striking names such as *Mirrors of the East* in 1987, *A Musical Journey* in 1988, and *Young Masters of Raga* in 1991. The work of their predecessors paid off: The

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ministry of culture and the Amsterdam Arts Council proposed that this school be integrated into the existing conservatory structure. The Rotterdam Conservatory made a proposal offering the possibility of including Indian music in a programme of professional instruction.

This integration was realised in the autumn of 1987, with the unusual advantage of offering students a fully-formed department from the onset.

TEACHING CLASSICAL NORTHERN INDIAN MUSIC IN THE ROTTERDAM CONSERVATOIRE

The change of location brought with it new risks and challenges, and insights continue to develop to this day. For example, how do we integrate traditional oral instruction into an institutional environment? Can we alter the exclusive master-disciple relationship particular to India? Can it co-exist with a western university approach where the student studies with several teachers and must follow a number of courses on different subjects? How far can we take this adaptation before risking the loss of that which constitutes the strength and uniqueness of this teaching? Is professional instruction of Indian classical music possible in a period of five to seven years?

The recognition of these challenges is part and parcel of an original and courageous pedagogical project. Both the operation of the department as well as the success in the professional world of numerous former students suggests a positive response to this questioning.

Having grown under the direction of Joep Bor, the department of Indian music concentrates on the study of classical northern Indian music. One of the more successful ideas put in place by Joep Bor was to invite well-known Indian concert artists such as Hariprasad Chaurasia, Budhaditya Mukherjee and Faiyaz Khan to teach in annual residence. *Codarts* has also invited western or Indian musicians living in Europe to share their teaching methods. In addition to its practical effectiveness, this partnership approaches music from different but complimentary perspectives.

Incorporation into the Rotterdam Conservatoire has altered the profile of students, with significant consequences for the curriculum. Apart from Indian students or western students with an Indian studies background, the project has drawn musicians from Rotterdam or other conservatories studying classical, baroque, and jazz. A new generation of students has emerged in this double formation in response to an increasing openness to world music.

In addition to the main courses in vocal *dhrupad*, vocal *khayal*, bansuri, sarangi, sitar and *tabla,* the department has also proposed a musical ensemble class, music courses in applied theory, Indian and western music theory,

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music appreciation, the discovery and recognition of the *ragas*, collective practice of *talas*, rhythmic cycles, and history of Indian culture.

The conservatoire also lends support to student projects such as concerts, intercultural encounters, and indispensible travel study to India.

ADAPTATION OF TRADITIONAL ORAL TEACHING IN AN INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

The instruction of classical Indian music is based on an oral tradition in which improvisation and memorisation play a crucial role. Alongside technical apprenticeship, the master improvises line by line for his students. The students repeat what they hear in increasing detail over the years as they become infused with the musicality, structure and aesthetic of these improvisations. Instead of memorising a raga fixed image, such as is the case with notation/score or recording, they familiarise themselves with an ever-moving image. The apprenticeship evolves progressively through the stages of this mimetic approach, beginning with the students following the teacher's transmitted improvisation until they begin to experiment with their own ideas.

The conservatory offers the possibility to complete the fundamentals through a mix of courses both on theory and in practice. Leading musicians on tour in Europe are frequently invited to give master classes, concerts, and conferences.

In addition, a research department has been created in order to produce publications designed for students and the general public. What is more, *Codarts* has a close relationship with the Sangeet Research Academy, which gathers musicians and musicologists from all over India. Each year a number of teachers participate in day-long conferences in Mumbai, focusing on larger topics relating to Indian music.

PROGRAMME OF STUDY

Because our students typically have untraditional educational backgrounds, study at the conservatory begins with a preparatory year, in which we test their quality of motivation and aptitude in adapting to the ensuing educational system. The preparatory year is then followed by the 'first phase', which lasts four years.

During the five years completing their main courses, the students attend various classes in: Musical ensemble known as *Sangat* class; an instrumental side subject such as voice and/or tabla; Indian music theory; Western music

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theory; rhythmic collective practice (*tala* class); aural training; World Music; education/transmission; career orientation; art and cultural policy; teaching methodology; music pedagogy. In their final years, students can take courses in studio production, raga analysis, and specific internships. For the past two years, the Conservatory has also offered a Master's degree. In the Master's programme, much emphasis is placed on artistic research.

In the academic year of 2006–07, *Codarts* started to institute a minor course of study in order to entice students to open themselves to other forms of music. These include departments for Western classical music, jazz, pop, and World Music from India, Turkey, Latin America, Argentine Tango, and Flamenco. These offer a range of courses and workshops uniting students from different departments, such as a minor course of study in different approaches of improvisation including workshops on contemporary, minimalist and modal improvisation with Henri Bok, bass clarinettist, Willem Tanke, organist and pianist and Henri Tournier, flutist.

THE PARTICULAR CHALLENGES OF TEACHING INDIAN MUSIC TO WESTERNERS

Due to their cultural environment, western students pursuing Indian music must pass through a less intuitive and more analytical apprenticeship than their Indian counterparts. Western teachers who themselves have been confronted with this difficulty serve as mediators and translators, or 'filters', and adapt their pedagogy accordingly.

These are several points that are particular to this great musical tradition, which seem to be central in the teaching practice:

- Seeking a heightened awareness of precision through working with a drone;
- Continual recourse to memory;
- Concentrate on note playing, on a single note rather than systematically on melody (particularly essential in the art of the prelude);
- Making much with little: taking some material, explore the possibilities of a few notes by playing with rhythm, tone, tension, and the different ways of approaching the note;
- Elaborating melodies based on a fixed rhythmic formula;
- Work in cycle in a hypnotic way;
- Discovering a supple and free way of rhythmic playing;
- Intensive exposure to many different interpretations, recordings of great masters past and present, and different musical genres and styles;
- Regularly practising improvisation;

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- Constant strengthening of the oral memory;
- Favouring recordings over the use of musical scores, using the latter only as prompts or analytical tools, so that the student may either repeat the recording faithfully or use a certain pre-recorded line as the basis for an improvisation;
- Use visual memory, such as the graphic representation of ornamentation and melismatic playing, visualising rhythmic cycles and the use of proportional writing;
- Using the voice and developing an inner voice – an inner awareness of improvisation.

HOW LEARNING A FEW RULES CAN HELP ONE TO FOLLOW THE TECHNIQUE OF IMPROVISATION IN CLASSICAL INDIAN MUSIC

In addition to the work underway in Rotterdam, teaching internships as well as adapting Indian music for various teaching purposes in different French institutional contexts have also been experienced in the past few years. This has provided us with more insight in how Indian music can also be instrumented in a broader music education.

For example, work in the global area of improvisation through exposure to Indian music based on a course of workshops on *Indian and contemporary improvisation* to third-cycle students from all disciplines, coming to weekly classes to learn improvisation during two years. The same methodology has been developed in a briefer cycle to diverse groups of musicians and teachers in the context of professional development trainings proposed by the ARIAM Île-de-France and the CEFEDEM in Rueil-Malmaison.

This is a brief summary of a few methodological tools used. The melodic part, or raga, is transmitted orally, a group of students repeating and memorising the improvised phrases, step-by-step. This is followed by a prelude outside of the beat (*alap*) and its rhythmic development, known as *jod*. The teacher's role is to give an example of improvisation for each step, presenting a clear structure of elaboration, and to re-play each role in a sort of relay game.

For the rhythmic portion, or *tala*, the unique peculiar Indian system of teaching rhythm is presented in which each beat of the finger on the tabla is linked to an onomatopy, where dialogue is built with the help of melodic rhythm, and mathematical rhythms play a special role. Students learn a rhythmic cycle, or tala, and its rhythmic melody, or *theka*, then a short melodic composition, or *gat*, in two parts, the *sthayi* and *antara*. Little by little, the same task of semi-improvisational relay is built.

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It is exciting for teachers in this environment to observe after a brief period the moment when a student gains a different perspective or perception of this music. This happens after assimilating certain techniques and trying, through improvisation, to understand its inner role.

CONCLUSION

By Ninja Kors and Henri Tournier

With all its strengths and weaknesses, the experience at the Rotterdam *Codarts* Conservatoire offers material for an ongoing reflection on a number of questions about teaching music outside of its original context. What are the deeper risks addressed in this context? What places, what multiple forms exist or are invented, what are the goals to be achieved? What range of professional gateways can be envisaged for students in a multicultural environment? What artistic and pedagogical exchanges can arise, and what is the impact on music pedagogy in general?

The case of the inclusion of Indian music in the curriculum of the Rotterdam Conservatoire demonstrates some issues that we come across in many of the intercultural music education practices in our multicultural cities. Everyday practice at the WMDC, where conservatoire students and music school pupils and amateur groups and school classes meet constantly, means that decisions about these issues are quite often made on the spot, in practice, on the work floor so to speak. By making them explicit and thus taking world musics seriously within our music education practice, we work on building a more inclusive music practice for all our audiences in Rotterdam.

Resources

For more information about the World Music Academy at *Codarts*, and the Indian music department in particular, as well as the activities of the *World Music & Dance Centre*, the following websites can be consulted:
www.codarts.nl
www.wmdc.nl
www.cdime-network.com

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Alessandro Di Liegro

JAMILA AND THE OTHERS ...

The EU promoted the Year of Intercultural Dialogue as an instrument to assist European citizens, and all those living in the European Union, acquire the knowledge and aptitudes to enable them to deal with a more complex environment. At the same time, the term 'Intercultural Dialogue' was constantly used to increase the awareness of all those living in the European Union, that it is important to develop an active European citizenship that is open to the world, respectful of cultural diversity and based on common values.

Cultural Diversity is more than a 'buzz word' in Italy. At the beginning of the school year in autumn 2007, there were more than 400 000 foreign children in primary and junior schools testifying to the growing presence of children born to immigrant families living and working in Italy. A recent White Paper published by the Ministry for Education, University Studies and Research (MIUR) demonstrates that a new model of education is gradually developing in small towns and villages as well as in major cities and urban areas.

The presence of different ethnic groups and nationalities is a relatively new phenomenon in Italy and one for which the education system was very much unprepared. In the scholastic year 2007–08 non-Italian students represented 6,4 % of the entire scholastic population, equal to 547 133 units. Primary and junior schools teach 8 % of the entire school population and statistics show that in the last year alone, the number of immigrant children born in Italy, and therefore considered 'second-generation immigrants' represent 72,2 % of all children in kindergarten or infant schools and 41,1 % of those in primary schools. The largest group is from Romania, accounting for 16,15 % of all foreign children in primary and junior schools, followed by Albania, accounting for 14,84 % and Morocco, accounting for 13,28 %. These are all Mediterranean communities and in fact, most immigrants arrive in the southern part of Italy and travel towards the north. Unfortunately, official statistics also show that the majority of immigrant children have learning difficulties due to linguistic problems and social integration into Italian society.

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Until recently, many teachers tried to 'integrate' foreign pupils into their classes and the traditional Italian teaching system without paying attention to their individual backgrounds. At the time of writing, reports from the Ministry of Education underlined that teachers were trying to exalt the origins of each child so that they realise that they are heirs to an important culture and history. An education for all children whereby the cultural diversity of everyone is respected and valued is clearly essential for society as a whole. Unfortunately, the Italian school system is still not fully prepared for this monumental change brought about by the increasing number of children from other parts of the Mediterranean, who must learn about European culture and history but will not have access to that of their families of origin.

In line with current Italian governmental policies, the *Fondazione Adkins Chiti: Donne in Musica* contends that all immigrant children have a right to learn about their own heritage and culture and not just that of their acquired country. Obviously, without new school texts this is an arduous task for all teachers, even for those particularly interested in intercultural exchange and dialogue.

THE PROJECT

Jamila and the others is a junior school textbook in three languages: Italian, English and Arabic[1] (Editore Colombo, Roma 2008), and it is the first of a series of volumes being prepared by the Fondazione centred upon the history and role of women making music in the Mediterranean[2]. The book describes those who, according to UNESCO and the UN, are the transmitters of all tangible and intangible culture and reflects the ongoing mission of the Foundation to obtain recognition for women's achievements in culture.

The *Jamila* research and editorial project began in 2004, in collaboration with musicologists, ethnomusicologists and researchers (men and women) from the countries, which historically and geographically constitute the Mediterranean: France, Spain, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, Albania, Italy.

1 In Italy, this includes schoolchildren aged ten to 14. However, in some private schools there are children who enter 'Middle School' at the age of eleven.

2 The *Jamila* Project includes studies and contributions from 17 different countries. The publication of a volume from this immense undertaking was originally planned for 2009 but will now take place in 2010. Many different international organisations and universities including the *Arab Academy* back the research project.

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This project also received input from the network of the Foundation, *Arab Academy,* the *International Music Council*, and from many Ministries of Culture and universities.

Before the *Jamila* project was started, no music organisation (public or private) had undertaken similar research and certainly not about the presence and history of women musicians. The project is continuing and a volume of scholarly studies with contributions from 30 specialists will be published in mid 2010. Music is an adventure created by men and women and the sound of music goes wherever it will; it knows no frontiers.

Jamila, therefore, identifies a musical heritage common to all Mediterranean peoples while underlining the contributions made by women as creative musicians. It intends to raise the awareness of teachers and university professors, given their importance as facilitators, and underlines that without carefully researched, scholarly and musicological texts the transmission of culture is impossible.

THE SCHOOL BOOK

Although music is a part of Italian primary and junior school curricula[3] it tends to be oriented towards European classical music and this means that children born to Moroccan, Albanian or Turkish parents learn more about Rossini, Verdi and Mozart than about their own music. Few schools have facilities for the study of musical instruments, so children learn about these through illustrations in outdated Italian music history books. This is why *Jamila and the others* was written in three languages: Italian (the language spoken at school), English (the language that all children now study, of the Internet and the European Community) and Arabic (the language that many 'second-generation immigrants' only speak at home and within their communities). Each musical instrument is shown with its name in three languages. The book is beautifully illustrated with original drawings and is donated to the children with a special presentation (sometimes a concert, sometimes through PowerPoint illustrations) and naturally, they take the gift

3 Each region has a number of 'junior schools' that are specialised in music training and education. Regular musical tuition is not part of the normal state school curricula. With the exception of the music history teachers in the aforementioned junior schools, all other staff members are hired on a yearly contract basis. Until recently, a conservatoire diploma was the only academic title requested: All teachers now have to complete a teacher training course (at their own expense) which provides them with a professional 'patent' for the teaching of music in state schools.

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home. This should encourage Italian parents to broaden their music knowledge and encourage immigrant families to learn more about their own history. It is to be hoped that immigrant children will take pride in their own roots and that young Italians will understand how much they have in common with all the other peoples living around the Mediterranean.

The Department for Public Education, University and Professional Training of the Lazio region financially sustained this first part of the *Jamila* project. Copies of the book are distributed through this department to the 'junior schools' in the region and it is hoped that others will be distributed throughout Italy in the course of the 2008–09 school year.

THE CONTENTS

Djamila or Jamila[4], the composer, musician and music director whose name has been used as the title of the entire project, also known as the 'Queen of the Quainat', was born in Medina, where she died in 725. Unlike other *quainat* (singing women and itinerant musicians in pre-Islamic times), she was born a free woman into the Banu Bahz tribe. After marriage, her home became a centre for all the musicians in Medina. She gave performances of her own music, taught singing, trained younger singers and instrumentalists and her pilgrimage to Mecca with 50 singing women was one of the great musical events of the Umayyad period. All the principal musicians, male and female, took part in this pilgrimage together with poets and music lovers. A series of musical festivities celebrated their arrival in Mecca and on their return home; Jamila was acclaimed the artistic sovereign of all musicians in Arabia.

The first professional musicians in the Mediterranean were women who worked as priestesses in the city of Ur, directors of music ensembles in Asia Minor and as sacred songstresses in Egypt. The sound of their voices accompanied the harvesting of grain, the arrival of the new moon and welcomed the men home from hunting. Women left prayers inscribed in cuneiform characters on stone tablets and on papyrus rolls, and all of this over 3 000 years ago …

Although the Egyptians have remained famous for their architecture, the pyramids and the tombs of the Pharaohs, music was also very important in daily life and considered a gift of the Gods to such an extent that many deities are depicted holding musical instruments. Music was essential for rituals in the temples, for festivities in honour of the kings, and the cutting of grain. After one of the longest periods of drought in the ancient world in the 13th century

4 There are many different ways in which the name Jamila can be rendered in Italian and English: Djamilah, Djamileh, Gamila', Gamilah. The Foundation chose to use the name Jamila in order to avoid confusion.

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before Christ, many Sumerian people emigrated to Egypt taking with them women musicians, singers and dancers. These had little difficulty in finding work in the temples.

Within the Roman Empire, singing and instrumental music were part of the rituals in the temples where one could hear the *lyre* and the *tibia*. As we can see from numerous bas-reliefs and frescoes, women participated actively in musical life. The historian Titus Livius recorded: "The Pontificate arranged for three choirs each with nine girl singers to take part in the celebrations in honour of the goddess Juno" (Guidobaldi 1992). Gaius Sallustius Crispus (34–86 BC) thus described one Roman matron: "She plays the cetra and dances even more elegantly than that which should be normal for an honest woman. I eventually had to scold Sempronia not because she did not know how to dance, but because she danced too well."(Lugd. Batav. et Roterod 1665)

In all earlier Mediterranean religions, women held responsibility as priestesses or vestals for rituals and ceremonies. In Christianity, the ecclesiastical hierarchy excluded women. An epistle from Saint Paul to the Corinthians states quite clearly that, in Church, women should remain silent: "[T]he women should keep silent in the churches. For they are not permitted to speak, but should be in submission, as the Law also says" (1st Corinthians 14: 34).

During the first centuries of Christianity, women sang in church and were musical directors, but could not enter the presbytery during liturgical celebrations. They did, however, participate in the performance of sacred music in places other than churches.

We have little information about music and its practice in the pre-Islamic period but know that it was considered a woman's profession and that the style of the music was similar to that which was popular in Mesopotamia, Syria and Persia. Sixth-century poets described the dances of Virgins around the *Kaaba*, who were accompanied by hand clapping and percussion instruments. The seventh-century poet and musician Yunus Ben Sulaimān al-Kātib wrote books on music theory and history (the first in the Arab world) including one about girl singers *kitab al-qiyān.* The great Arab music tradition was born shortly before the arrival of Islam, and at the time of Muhammad, the *qainat* played an important role in society. Music probably reached its finest moment under Abbasid rule (750–909). The most famous singing schools were those of Mecca and Medina. The Arab tradition of women's orchestras arrived in Spain (Andalusia) and influenced the performance of music in the Muslim and Christian courts.

Music schools for women were common in the Mediterranean. The Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs and Spaniards all believed that it was useful for their female slaves to have a good musical education so that they could have background music for feasts and dinners. However, it would be incorrect to assume that only slave girls received a good musical education.

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During the research for *Jamila*, much material referring to the education of nobles and well-born women was found and will be presented in a forthcoming scholarly edition. During the Arab invasion of Spain there were many well-known musicians (some born into the wealthiest families) representing the three religious communities: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim. In El-Andalus, every palace had an orchestra, and while Christian orchestras consisted of men and women, those in the Muslim courts were women only, in Arabic *sitāra al-mugannyyat*.

The characteristics that made Arab-Andalusian poetry and music so popular, especially in the courts of Cordoba and Granada, can be found in a poetic form that flourished in southern France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in the region known as Provence, and remembered as one of the most important artistic movements in medieval Europe: That of the *trobadors* and *trobairitz* (female troubadours).

From the 13th century, Italy had an expanding number of women composers, singers and instrumentalists who were daughters of professional musicians. The courts of Florence, Mantua, Milan, Ferrara and Urbino became important cultural centres and here all the children born and living in the courts (nobles, courtiers, and servants) took part in music making. The courts often employed famous composers and musicians to train their own performers and give lessons to the women of the courts. Since the men were often away for political reasons, or at war, the wives and daughters left at home took over the organisation of festivities, entertainment and the organisation and performance of music.

THE WOMEN WHO CREATED MUSIC

Jamila and the others begins with a description of music making in Sumerian temples and moves on (with the biblical migration of Abraham from the city of Ur) to Egypt, and then around the Mediterranean, describing the music of women in Roman times, Byzantium, the growth and development of Arab music up until the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, and the blossoming of courtly music in Provence and medieval Italy. The authors describe the common music history of the Mediterranean, a history that exalts modal music (even today) and has seen the birth and development of many important musical instruments (harps, flutes, cymbals, *oud*, violins), not to forget the women (princesses or nobles, as well as many talented slave girls) who also 'created' music. For the first time, many women musicians are finally 'visible' in a school textbook where they are presented by name and with information about their musical activities.

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The short paragraphs below are taken from the book itself (Adkins Chiti and Carboni 2008)[5]:

> **Enheduanna,** 2285 approx. to 2250 BC, is the first composer and poetess in history. *Enheduanna* means high priestess of the goddess Inanna. Her official home was the *giparu,* a series of buildings in the centre of the city of Ur, in a temple dedicated to Inanna. Enheduanna's hymns to Inanna represent the first human description of a deity described as the "*most powerful amongst the Gods because She renders their decisions active*." She left three very long poetic hymns and forty-two sacred hymns for use in temple liturgies.
>
> Egyptian paintings and sculptures show women dancing and playing musical instruments: professionals (often foreigners) and talented aristocratic amateurs. They worked in the courts of the Pharaohs as performers and directors of musical bands and in the temples as *sacred songstresses* or *songstresses of Amon,* the god who protected the city of Thebes. **Iti**, born during the fifth dynasty in the reign of Neferefre, also a sacred songstress, was one of the most celebrated music directors in Egyptian history. Famous in life, after death merited an important tomb in a cemetery for nobles, near Gizeh. Iti is shown with a hand over one ear as if she wanted to be sure that she was singing the right note, while beating time with the other hand for the famous harpist, **Henkenu** (2563–2423 BC), accompanying her.
>
> **Miriam,** sister of Aaron and Moses, born 1200 years before Christ, has been described as a singer and a dancer who played a tambourine – *Miriam Toph* – and was the Bible's first female choir director. When Moses led his people towards the Promised Land, he had to cross the Red Sea. Miraculously this opened to allow fleeing families to cross and safe on the other side Miriam picked up her tambourine and, with all the other women, intoned: *"Sing to the Lord because he has triumphed; horses and chariots have been drowned in the sea".*
>
> Among the many Roman matrons who wrote poetry, composed music and danced, the foremost was probably **Calpurnia** (born in Como in 86 AD), the daughter of Calpurnus Fabatus. She married the famous lawyer and writer Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus (61/62 AD–113 AD), who left documents and letters describing

5 This abstract is taken directly from the children's book *Jamila and the others …* and there are no footnotes or bibliographic references in this volume.

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private and public life in Rome during the first century, and in which he made frequent reference to the music composed by his wife and which she performed on a *pandura* (double flute).

Polygnota, was the daughter of the Theban harpist Socrates who, in 186 BC, travelled to Delphi to participate in the opening ceremony of the Pythian Games. The opening was delayed and a competition for the best musician took its place. Polygnota won first prize playing the *chelys* and earned 500 drachmas. She and her descendants were granted Delphic citizenship, the right to consult the Oracle, to speak first in a lawsuit, to live tax-free, to own a private house and to have a seat in the front row for the games.

Kasia, Ikasia or Cassia (810, Constantinople, to 843 or 867 AD) was a noble courtier who did not marry Emperor Theophilos (because she had too strong a character), and preferred to become a nun. Kassia wrote 261 secular verses in the forms of *epigrams*, *gnomic verses*, and *moral sentences.* She is the only woman featured in a *Triodion,* a Lenten liturgical service book printed in Venice in 1601, containing portraits of leading hymnographers. In 843 she founded her own monastery, on the Xerolophos, the seventh hill of Constantinople, where she lived for the rest of her life composing music for religious ceremonies and writing liturgical and secular verses.

Badhl was a slave, a *qainat,* born in 820 AD, in Medina and educated in Basra by Ibrahim al-Mosuli*,* the most eminent musician of the period. She was owned first by Ja'far Ibn al-Hadi and then by Mohammed al-Amin. She had a repertoire of over 30 000 songs and compiled a collection of 12 000 pieces of music for Ali, Sheik of Hishām*,* for which the latter paid 10 000 silver coins. Badhl accompanied her singing with the *oud,* and in a competition with Prince Ibrahīm ibn al-Mahdī*,* sang 100 original songs. She was killed during a concert when a guest from the Tabanistan hit her on the head with his *oud.*

Andalusia was already important during the Roman domination when it was known by its Latin name *Baetica,* and the women singers and dancers from this region were justly famous. During the long Arab conquest, some performers were so outstanding that their names travelled far beyond Andalusia. They were intelligent and well-versed in music as well as arithmetic, poetry, painting and the Koran. Emir Abd al-Rahmān II (822–852) founded a school, as remarkable as

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that of Medina, and employed many women musicians in his court including **Qalam**, who was not Arab but Basque. She originally studied music in Medina and was applauded as a writer, poetess and historian. Many splendid musicians worked with her including two slaves who had belonged to the Caliph of Baghdad: **Fal** and **Ilm**. These musicians came to be known as 'the Medina Three'.

Among the large number of historically recorded troubadours, the names of only twenty-one women have been found. One is **Countess Beatrice of Diaz**, who lived between Provence and Lombardy (Italy) in the second half of the eleventh century. The only complete work of hers with words and music is a song (*canso*) *A chantar.* **Maria of France,** a contemporary of Beatrice of Diaz, was famous for her collection of *Twelve Lays* celebrating magic and love and is considered the first woman writer in the French language. Another *trobairitz*, **Azalaïs de Porcairagues,** (Portiragnes 1140–1177) is recorded as being: *"kind and gentle a woman who knew how to be a troubadour and write beautiful songs".*

Antonia Pulci (1452–1501) was the daughter of a Florentine banker and the wife of the poet Bernardo Pulci. She composed sacred dramas or miracle plays and lauds produced by Religious Confraternities and Convents. Of the three remaining *"miracle plays"* for which Antonia wrote both text and the music, we only have a date for *Santa Domitilla*, 1483. She also wrote *San Francesco, Santa Guglielma, La Rappresentazione del figliuol prodigo, Sant' Antonio Abate,Festa di Rosanna,* and *Santa Teodora.* After her husband's death, Antonia retired to the convent she had built, and lived there for the rest of her life with a group of Augustinian laywomen.

CONCLUSIONS

Jamila and the others was first presented during the Ministry of Culture's opening ceremony for the Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Successively it was well advertised in the national press, on radio and television and through many websites (including those for women's studies, intercultural dialogue and music history) and was also distributed to junior schools in the Lazio region. It was also the central and starting point for a number of symposiums and meetings where teachers, psychologists and intercultural workers discussed, evaluated and commented on the contents and usefulness for their own syllabi. The volume also inspired a large number of public

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concerts from November 2007,[6] which included those given in Rome in December 2008 by the Canadian ethnomusicologist Judith Cohen.[7]

8 000 copies of the book were distributed free of charge to middle school children in the Lazio region and a further 1 000 copies were sent to music academies and conservatoires in Europe, the Middle East and in North America.

Feedback arriving at the Foundation confirms that there are, unfortunately, no other junior music schoolbooks covering the same period, no multilingual music textbooks in Italy – and we assume that the same is true elsewhere in Europe and lastly, there are no school books mentioning women as musicians and creators of music.

Italian school music textbooks are extremely old-fashioned in content, layout and quality; they feature traditional illustrations (usually photographs from museums) and have been written without reference to the music traditions of the Mediterranean.

Some very simple research in the libraries of ten junior schools in the Lazio region (with good reputations for the quality of the music education offered), shows that current music history texts begin with polyphony and end with the operas of Puccini and Mascagni. From what was seen we assume that junior schoolchildren receive the same information as that given to their grandparents. When the book is presented in schools,[8] children are encouraged to ask questions or make comments and it is interesting to note that all learn to play

6 The first concert planned as a sort of 'anticipation of the book project' was that presented in November 2007, as part of the ExTra Project, in the Historic Library of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in Rome, to celebrate the visit to Italy of the Director General of UNESCO, Koïchiro Matsuura. Medieval and Renaissance Music from the Persian and Arab worlds was programmed alongside the music composed by early Renaissance Italian women musicians. The same concert (together with an *anteprima* of the book) was repeated in schools in the Lazio Region and for the *Centro delle Donne*, in Rome.

7 Judith Cohen, an internationally-renowned ethnomusicologist, consultant and contributor to the *Jamila* project is on the faculty of York University, Toronto (Music Dept) and General Editor, Spanish Recordings, of the Alan Lomax Collection. She presented women's music from the Sephardic tradition from all the countries around the Mediterranean using hand percussion (derbukka, pandero, adufe); oud and viela. When her concert was repeated in a Roman 'junior school' the children were enthusiastic because, finally, they could see the instruments presented in the book, and hear them played.

8 The presentation of the book in schools, universities, teachers training colleges, training forums for intercultural workers etc, is ongoing. A large number of presentations will be made in 2009, and it is highly possible that the book will be reprinted for distribution to other Italian regions.

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western classical music. Many of the children from immigrant backgrounds say they have music lessons or learn an instrument because "their parents want them to"[9] but that it would be "good to know something about their own music". North African children, in particular, have reacted in a very positive way to the book – many 'second-generation immigrants' were excited to see that "their countries" are part of history and that the book is in Arabic, "their language".[10] When the book is presented in schools with a high ratio of different ethnic groups, the questions and reactions of the children, and their comments, are even more interesting.[11] One of the frequently asked questions regards the development of musical instruments; another is "how do you play that one?" Teachers have subsequently commented that the illustrations in the book, combined with instruments belonging to the schools (guitar, small percussion instruments, recorders), have helped them to underline that, in the Mediterranean at least, there is a history which is common to all peoples. In one school, there was a long conversation between the musicians and the children, who wanted to know why catgut was still used. Other frequently asked questions were about the women themselves: When did they make music, where did they sing and play, which instruments did they play, who wrote the words, how was the music transmitted, how did it get from one country to another?[12] Interestingly too, the questions were asked by boys as well as girls.

There is obviously much that could be done along this path and it is to be hoped that *Jamila and the others* will be translated into other languages and travel around Europe.[13]

9 The remarks made by the children interviewed in the framework of the research have been placed in quotation marks.

10 During one of Judith Cohen's concerts, in a large junior school in central Rome, her daughter, Tamara, sang a Sephardic wedding song from Morocco and 'ululated'; she then quickly found herself with an 'ululating chorus' as children from Maghreb joined in.

11 In one school in central Rome with 47 different ethnic groups present, children from Latin and South America and from Asia wanted to know when the Foundation would be writing a book about 'their music and traditions'.

12 Teachers noted that this kind of question had never been made in class before, even though children were introduced to many male composers and musicians.

13 The copyright for the book belongs to the *Fondazione Adkins Chiti: Donne in Musica*, but the Foundation would be very happy to consider publishing the book in different languages.

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Gilles Delebarre

TEACHING TRADITIONAL MUSIC

The Experience of the Cité de la musique in Paris

INTRODUCTION

Intercultural dialogue does exist throughout the world and is not purely the vision of institutions issuing a politically correct discourse. In the field of music, the Cité de la musique's educational approach as well as my own experience as a musician and explorer of the world's musical traditions have convinced me of a deep evolution since the 1980s: The West's way of considering traditional repertoires, from being condescending at first, has become admiring and the average knowledge about these musical traditions has increased considerably. Though these musical styles are indeed no longer that 'far-off', it would be naive to think that every human being were/would be likely to understand and practise without difficulty the diverse musical languages of the world. For example, one can see how quickly experiences of musical fusion based on short encounters reach their limits.

With this brief paper, I will show how the Cité de la musique's approach is meant to participate in this general dynamic of enhanced involvement in intercultural exchanges. I will also show how the Cité has built up a programme of initiation to musical diversity based on a constant awareness of what is at stake it on a regional, national, and international level.

The educational programme of the Cité de la musique has been designed for a very large audience, from children and families (often with no basic knowledge of music) to music students, teachers, and professional musicians – some 30 000 people take advantage of it each year. This opening up of musicians' ears and mind to the richness of the world's traditional repertoires is an important complement to musical education. And indeed, measuring its impact is essential because these young people are the ones who will lead tomorrow's musical life in our country, as performers or as teachers.

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FOUNDING PRINCIPLES OF THE CITÉ DE LA MUSIQUE'S EDUCATIONAL APPROACH

The acceleration of interaction and interpenetration between the diverse cultures of the world is an objective phenomenon. If this global movement applies differently according to countries, France, which is historically a territory of immigration, can today be considered as a multicultural society. Official statistics show that, in 2004, 8,1 % of France's population (about five million people) was composed of immigrants, that is to say, for that year, the country counted five million foreign people born outside France. Furthermore, Michèle Tribalat (National Institute for Demography) considers that, in France, one person out of four has at least one parent or grandparent of immigrant origin. Considering that immigration, as we define it today, has been developing in France for over one century, it would probably be very easy for any French person to find family links abroad.

Immigration is such a structural phenomenon that it should be viewed as an essential characteristic of French identity (which, by the way, would probably help avoiding certain tensions within the country). Immigrant populations have brought along customs, languages and, of course, artistic practices that are now fully part of France's cultural landscape. The Cité de la musique pays particular attention to the musical styles that immigration has helped to disseminate across the French territory.

However, beyond any socio-historical dimension, the Cité de la musique means to address cultural diversity in general and music as an expression of human civilisation as a whole; consequently, the Cité also includes into its educational programmes the introduction to musical practices that have no link whatsoever with today's French multicultural society; for instance, the teaching of Javanese *gamelan* in Paris (where Javanese immigration is insignificant) allows a discovery of otherness and cultural diversity on an abstract level.

The Cité focuses on musical diversity because it is a mark of human diversity in general, a diversity of expression based on universal principles inherent to mankind; this implies, from an educational viewpoint, a constant movement back and forth between the universal (the essentially human) and the cultural, that is to say particular expressions of universal principles.

This anthropological perspective rests on concepts defined by ethnomusicology; when describing musical instruments, one first focuses on universal models: An Indian sitar, a guitar, a *xalam* or *tidinit* lute from West Africa are variations of an abstract object composed of a sound box prolonged by a handle with parallel strings. If one considers the syllables used for rhythms in learning how to play the Indian *tabla* or Javanese

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ciblon drum, one will easily establish a link with the western sol-fa, which, consequently, becomes one form of sol-fa among others.

Another founding principle of the Cité de la musique's educational approach is the systematic valorisation of the music styles it chooses to teach and, more generally, of the cultural contexts to which they are attached. The Cité focuses on highly *refined* music styles, but with a notion of refinement that invites one to go beyond the Western acceptance of the term. For instance, doubtlessly a bow from Central Africa is a less elaborate object than a violin designed by a skilled instrument maker; however, for the peoples who use it, the bow carries in itself a highly symbolic value: It is capable of transcending language and, as such, should be viewed as a highly important part of humanity's artistic heritage. In the same way, classical Ottoman music is a genre that ignores harmony; however, it offers talented musicians an infinity of possibilities in terms of improvisation and creativity.

If the Cité de la musique's educational programme is inspired by traditional models, it cannot and, in any case, does not wish to duplicate them exactly. In that respect, observers often allude to the problem of transmission out of context: On the contrary, I think it advisable to address this issue as transmission in a new context. Indeed, within this new notional framework, it is possible to reinvent the notion of authenticity: remaining true to a tradition while adapting to a new context of execution. It is out of the question for us to ignore our own cultural context, to go against our own moral values: For instance, even though playing the xylophone is forbidden to women in West Africa, clearly the Cité de la musique will not reproduce this separation between genders in the workshops it organises. But we also think it is essential to be aware of such facts, to inform the participants as well as consider the possible impact of such an approach on the context of origin. Thus, following the same example, we know that some musical practices have become accessible to women in traditional societies because Western women had access to them in the first place.

Because they are essentially transmitted orally (with a fundamental role played by cultural imprinting), traditional repertoires are often said to be structurally unsuitable for being taught in the West. How can a student memorise both the repertoire and playing techniques with one weekly lesson when, in the context of origin, pupils are supposed to live with their master day and night so as to understand the essence of music? Western musicians who wish to play traditional music at a high standard must be conscious of that fact and will have to adapt to modes of learning likely to help them achieve that goal; but this does not lessen the value of non traditional approaches: They just do not serve the same purpose.

A young musician from a conservatoire who had the opportunity to follow a one-week course in Transylvanian Gypsy music at the Cité and

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learnt a melody in a global way (rather than repeating it phrase after phrase) did experience hands-on – or should I say 'bow-on' in this case – some kind of cultural imprinting. This gave him a chance to explore new opportunities in terms of his professional project while it gave the Gypsy master an occasion to meet a musician able to play his traditional repertoire – perhaps imperfectly – even though he had not been steeped in Gypsy tradition since infancy. Through such courses, masters and students are in a situation of intercultural dialogue and one in which the desire to meet the other plays an essential part: One volunteered to teach away from his village while the other made an effort to enter a universe foreign to what he had been learning for years. In this artistic and human encounter, the Cité de la musique's role is to implement all the necessary conditions to allow real exchange between different beings and different cultures.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE APPROACH

The application of the principles expounded above is defined by the choice of 'material' (cultural area, style, and repertoire) and by teaching policy. The teacher's role is essential and the coherence of the project depends on their adhering to the whole approach and particularity by paying attentions to intercultural mechanisms.

WHAT CAN BE TRANSMITTED?

The Cité's programme of activities covers the planet's great cultural areas, covering music from Southeast Asia, West and Central Africa, the Arab world, Europe, etc. The inclusion of a new repertoire to the programme depends on its faculty of adaptation to the Cité's educational project, bearing in mind that some are not compatible with the objective of rapid learning. Japanese court music for instance (fascinating as it is) is not easily accessible to a beginner, whatever his musical standard.

I have already alluded to the privileged place given by the Cité to music styles attached to cultural groups of extra European origin, in particular those from France's former colonies. Indeed, this process is most natural in the framework of a project meant to enhance intercultural dialogue. Repertoires from the Arab world, West and Central Africa are therefore very well represented in the Cité's activities. Other repertoires have been selected because their very nature encourages the collective practice of music; the Javanese gamelan or the Trinidadian steel-drums meet exactly this criterion. Furthermore, since there is hardly any immigration from

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Java and Trinidad in France, the teaching of those two countries' musical traditions allows the Cité to address the issues of diversity and otherness on a neutral, abstract level. Musical traditions from the French regions are also represented: Their vitality being largely ignored, their presence in the programme was essential.

For each tradition, it is necessary to select musical pieces adapted to beginners according to two essential criteria: Accessibility, so as to nurture immediate musical pleasure, and exemplarity, to illustrate the chosen musical genre in an appropriate manner. Thus, just by learning one piece, the participants will be able to identify certain features and principles of the repertoire. As far as Arab rhythms are concerned, for instance, one will have to understand that a variation is valid in reference to a cycle and not as a separate musical phrase to be memorised in its linearity. In the same way, the place of the gong in gamelan music must not be perceived as initial or final – though this would be only natural for a Western musician: The gong opens and closes a musical cycle and, somehow, it enfolds the music played by the gamelan.

It is also indispensable for students to be able to place music in its cultural context; learning musical forms without reference to languages, customs, modes of teaching, would simply be meaningless.

WHO CAN TRANSMIT?

Of course, choosing the musicians in charge of the Cité's workshops is a crucial matter: If their standard of competence in a given repertoire is the first criterion, their educational skills are at least as important and often need to be used in a context very different to the one in which they themselves learnt. Workshop leaders might well be musicians who have lived their whole life in a traditional cultural context or may be Western musicians who have studied traditional repertoires during long stays in the relevant country. Both categories have something in common, to different degrees: They belong to two different cultures, which makes them mediators for whom intercultural dialogue has become a 'second nature' and who are prepared to lead inexperienced novices on their chosen path. Some of these musicians have a diploma officially recognised in France and enabling them to teach in conservatoires and others have only their experience as a qualification. We sometimes take on musicians who have very little experience of teaching outside their own culture; in that case, a middle person is needed to solve linguistic problems, to help the pupils to get to know a new cultural universe and help the master to understand the reactions and the difficulties of this new type of students.

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A CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF THE CITÉ'S ACTIONS: THE SUMMER ACADEMY FOR YOUNG MUSICIANS TRAINED IN EUROPEAN CONSERVATOIRES

In July 2007, within the framework of the European project *ExTra!* the Cité organised a one-week-academy on orally transmitted music for young musicians trained in conservatoires. Four musical domains were represented: Classical Ottoman music, Arabo-Andalusian music from Morocco, *sabar* drums from Senegal and traditional Gypsy string music from Transylvania. The teachers were all renowned masters of their tradition: Kudsi Erguner for classical Ottoman music, Taoufik Himmiche for Moroccan Andalusian music, Doudou and Tapha N'Diaye Rose for the sabar drums, Csányi Sándor 'Cilika' and Francisc Mezei 'Csángáló' for Gypsy music from Transylvania.

Students attended one workshop over the course of the week and, except for the sabar drums, they worked on their own instruments. The five days of musical practice were supported by ethnomusicology lectures that had to be attended by all 50 students, whichever tradition they had chosen to study. At the end of the week, a final concert given by both masters and students was held in the Cité de la musique's amphitheatre.

In all four workshops, students had access to certain fundamental notions, acquired some specific instrumental techniques and learnt pieces from the chosen traditional repertoire. Each time, the objectives were the same: Familiarising European students with a musical culture foreign to them, widening their approach to music and enabling them to appreciate differences and likenesses between diverse artistic practices. If, for each workshop, these three main objectives had equally been achieved, the educational methods used by the teachers were specific to the particular requirements of each repertoire. All masters used tradition as a basis for their teaching but each one had to adapt it in their own way so that, in a short time, students could have a satisfying global vision of the repertoire as well as experience pleasure in learning. Thus, Kudsi Erguner did not choose to rely solely on oral transmission: He thought the students had to understand the mechanisms of improvisation scheme within the *makam*'s modal system. So he gave scores to his students to spare them the memorisation effort, to allow them to concentrate on timbre, untempered intervals and the notion of variation. Taoufik Himmiche chose to explore different musical suites, the *nouba*, selecting for both measured and non-measured pieces so as to give his pupils an overview of Andalusian music. According to custom, he based his teaching on the repetition, memorisation, and addition of musical fragments, but he decided to shorten the time devoted to the learning of rhythms and their interaction with melodies. As for Doudou and Tapha

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N'Diaye Rose, they chose to shed light on the physical involvement of sabar players and so the two masters picked up pieces from various rhythmic repertoires. Csányi and Csángáló were probably the ones whose teaching technique was closest to tradition; they preferred an imprinting method, rather than fragmenting musical phrases. The students had to pick up what they could from the three-minute piece that the teachers kept repeating until it was memorised. They made only one concession: It was played at a slower tempo than usual.

Before, during, and after the project, we always worked in coordination with the musicians to specify and compare our respective aims. Musical matters were at the core of our exchanges, of course, but the question of intercultural dialogue also occupied an essential place in our discussions. Most teachers obviously expected the Cité to put this objective forward; as musicians who are part of the contemporary scene, they all think that it is necessary to work towards a better mutual understanding. Kudsi Erguner said that this kind of intercultural project should not remain exceptional, that all sorts of institutions should promote them and that they should be part of musicians' everyday experience. The students also expressed their desire to go beyond the purely technical, musical aspect; thus, for all, the Summer Academy was more than a mere workshop to acquire new playing techniques. The technical work was intense, and, in fact, the high standard of competence of both masters and pupils became a tool to go deeper into a system of references rich in cultural values. It was a sort of dialogue between peers in which each participant had to give of his best. Although the Cité had not meant to establish any competition whatsoever between the invited teachers, after the final concert, Csányi and Csángáló said they felt they had 'won': They thought they had led their pupils further into their tradition than the other teachers. They expressed the same idea again, comparing the Academy students to the pupils they usually teach in Rumania (who most likely exercise less than students from European conservatoires or music high schools).

The most intense moment in this Academy was probably the final concert: This cohabitation of different styles of music visited by European students taught in classical Western music, the teachers' charisma, the truly multicultural audience (some of whom came from those cultures represented by the musicians), all gave that moment some kind of ecumenical character. If this type of event has globally positive consequences within voluntary intercultural initiatives, it also has a beneficial influence on the image that the nations of origin have of their own culture. Thus, Taoufik Himmiche insisted on the fact that an invitation to play in Europe is a way of enhancing Arabo-Andalusian music in Morocco and can help local institutions to launch new projects in this domain.

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MUSIC: A META-LANGUAGE WORKING FOR AN INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE?

The educational approach of the Cité de la musique is indeed intercultural, the term bearing in itself an idea of movement without which no exchange is possible. However positive it may be, this movement needs to be controlled, and the actions we undertake must be the fact of a voluntary intercultural dialogue and must be backed by adapted tools of analysis. For instance, if the Cité organised workshops on African drums simply because the French population counts many members of African origin and recruited a black teacher – chosen for the colour of their skin as a mark of authenticity –, our intercultural approach would be a voluntary one indeed, but would cruelly lack intellectual depth. Thus, when the Cité starts a new workshop on African drums, its first aim is to present the cultural context in which these instruments are inscribed, insisting on basic theoretical elements such as the presentation of Africa as a rich, complex and culturally diversified continent and not as a national unity (which many people in France tend to ignore). Indeed, we fight any prejudice that participants might have, making an effort to avoid 'musical tourism'. We recruit a teacher because he/she is identified as a competent musician by renown in his/her own tradition or because he/she has the required degree; his/her competence as a teacher is also assessed, as well as the ability to blend into our institution's global project.

It is true cultural diversity and the human richness of its musicians and teachers that make the Cité de la musique's educational project what it is today; indeed, none of them feels he or she belongs to only one cultural sphere, all are products of multiple influences: Whether born in France of Maghrebi immigrant parents with a degree in Cuban percussion, born in Indonesia and with a French degree in ethnomusicology, born in Senegal, touring throughout the world and teaching in France two months a year, or born in Portugal, with a degree in composition from the Paris Conservatoire National Supérieur but specialising in jazz music and Javanese gamelan.

And in fact, reflection on intercultural dialogue should take into account the individual dimension: It has now become difficult to identify homogeneous cultures made up of members who have lived through similar experiences. Systematic studies about interactions should reassure those who fear a shock of cultures.

To conclude, we must pay tribute to music that, if it is neither a universal language nor a sure means of soothing tensions, has nevertheless always been identified as a particular kind of power by most human cultures of the world. Its abstract character as well as its proximity to language turns it into a sort of meta-language able to transcend human behaviour. It is no doubt true to say that the sounds produced by a *ney* flute or by a gong *ageng*

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in gamelan music will affect any human being's sensibility; it is also true that, through music, one can communicate beyond linguistic barriers, and true as well that one may be moved by the music produced by this other human being who at first seemed most hostile, and thus one's outlook might begin to change.

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Patricia Adkins Chiti, musician and musicologist. Resident in Italy, she has served on Italian state commissions for equal opportunities, for musicology and for the performing arts, and is a consultant to universities and institutions. She created *Donne in Musica* in 1978 and the *Fondazione Adkins Chiti: Donne in Musica* in 1996, building an expanding network of women composers, musicians, educators and musicologists in 110 countries to promote women's contribution to music in all times, genres and communities. She commissions new works, produces festivals, undertakes musicological research, superintends a library and archives of music by women, encourages and sustains women in music organisations in Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa, and supplies music materials to schools and conservatories. She has written books and numerous scholarly articles about women in music. In 2004, the President of Italy honoured her with the title *Cavaliere Ufficiale* of the Italian Republic.

Etienne Balibar was born in Avallon (France) in 1942. He graduated from the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* and the *Sorbonne* in Paris, later took his PhD from the University of Nijmegen (Netherlands) and has a habilitation from Université Paris I. He has taught at the universities of Algiers, Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne), Leiden, Nanterre (Paris X). He is now Emeritus Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy at the University of Paris X Nanterre and Distinguished Professor of Humanities at the University of California, Irvine (USA). He also teaches seminars at the *Centro Franco-Argentino de Altos Estudios de la Universidad de Buenos-Aires* (Argentina) and the Center for Comparative Literature and Society at Columbia University in New York.

Alenka Barber-Kersovan studied piano, musicology, psychology and aesthetics at the universities in Ljubljana, Vienna and Hamburg. She acquired her PhD with a thesis on the contribution of the Slovenian punk to the destruction of the socialistic value system. After positions as a scientific officer and lecturer at the Hamburg Academy of Music, the Institute for Music Education in Hamburg and the Musicological Department of the University of Hamburg, she is currently the managing director of the *Arbeitskreis Studium Populärer Musik*. Research interests: popular music and politics; aesthetics of popular culture; multimedia; popular music and education; creative industries; music and urban studies.

The university lecturer **Wolfgang Bender**, born in 1946, did his PhD thesis in ethnology on *Colonialism and awareness of the Yoruba in Nigeria* in 1978. From 1980 to 1985, he was an assistant of Ulli Beier at the University of Bayreuth, with whom he set up the *Iwalewa House*, a department of the

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Institute of African Studies. From 1986 he worked in Mainz on a project on popular culture in Africa funded by the German Research Foundation, DFG. In 1991, he became head of the African Music Archive which he had founded earlier. In 1989, he did his habilitation in Vienna on popular culture in West Africa, with a focus on Nigerian highlife. Since October 2008, he has served as founding director of the Centre for World Music at the Hildesheim University Foundation. He has written numerous works on popular culture in Africa, such as *Sweet Mother – moderne afrikanische Musik*. Wolfgang Bender is the producer of a CD series for the label *African Music* and the Internet journal NTAMA.

Philip V. Bohlman is the Mary Werkman Distinguished Service Professor of the Humanities and Music at the University of Chicago, and Honorary Professor at the *Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover*. A pianist, he is also the Artistic Director of the Jewish Cabaret, New Budapest Orpheum Society. His most recent books include *The Music of European Nationalism* (2004), *Jüdische Volksmusik – eine Mitteleuropäische Geistesgeschichte* (2005), and *Jewish Music and Modernity* (2008). He served as President of the *Society for Ethnomusicology* from 2005 to 2007, and is the recipient of the *Edward Dent Medal* from the *Royal Music Association* (1997), the *Berlin Prize* from the *American Academy* in Berlin (2003), and the *Derek Allen Prize* from the *British Academy* (2007).

Bernd Clausen studied ethnomusicology and sinology in Göttingen from 1988 to 1991 and music education at the University of Music Hanover where he graduated in 1996. From 1998 to 2003, he worked in Muroran, Japan as a teacher and graduated in *Tozan shakuhachi* and *shamisen*. In 2003, he completed his PhD with a study on the reception of Chinese music in 18th century Germany and its possible implications for transcultural music education. From 2003 to 2008, he worked as an assistant professor *(Juniorprofessor)* at the University of Bielefeld and published various articles on transcultural music education. In 2008, he passed his habilitation (postdoctoral studies) with a three years survey on Japanese music in Japanese music education (*Der Hase im Mond*, Münster 2009). Since 2008, he has been Professor for music education at the *University of Music* in Würzburg.

Lance D´Souza, a musician and music teacher, was born in Iran in 1951. He grew up in Tanzania, and went to a boarding school in England before studying accountancy there. He then settled in Denmark in 1976, where he graduated from the Royal Academy of Music in 1983. He was appointed Vice Director of Aarhus Music School in 1989, Director of the *World Music*

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Center (Aarhus Music School) in 1999 and has been Director of the *Institute for World Music Studies* since 2008. He has also was a member of the *Advisory Board for Rhythmical Music* in Aarhus from 1992 to 1995, and a member of the Board of Directors of *Klüvers Big Band* from 1994 to 2002.

Gilles Delebarre. After obtaining a Masters degree in 1980, he worked for one year as an activity leader at the French cultural centre in Nouakchott (Mauritania). Then, until 1998, he was manager of the *Centre national de Recherche pédagogique* at the *Galerie Sonore* in Angers, where he developed an educational and cultural project aimed at a wide audience of adults and children and designed to introduce them to world music. He also did research work on Mauritanian Moorish music for a degree in ethnomusicology. In 1998, he became manager of the *Folie musique* at the Cité de la musique, where he leads a large programme of introductory workshops in music. This programme is aimed at an audience of school groups as well as individuals. He also teaches Indonesian gamelan.

Annunziata Dellisanti studied piano, percussion and composition at the *Benedetto Marcello* Conservatoire of Venice. Timpanist of the *Treviso Philharmonic Orchestra* from 1984 to 1991, she has been a percussion teacher at the Venice Conservatoire since 1991. Alongside her performing activities, she is active as a musicologist, and especially interested in the history of percussion instruments and female composers. In 2006, she wrote the musical items of the *Guide of Venice for Women* edited by the *Venetian Council of Women*. In the same year, she wrote *Maestre, Virtuose, Compositrici: Una panoramica storica sulle musiciste veneziane al tempo di Mozart.* [Maestros, Virtuosos, Composers: a historical overview on Venetian female musicians at the time of Mozart], Colombo Editions, Rome.

Alessandro Di Liegro was born in Cava de' Tirreni (Salerno) in 1981 and studied Communication Sciences at the University of Salerno, where he graduated in 2007 with a thesis entitled *Communication and the Presidency in Italy*. He worked for music festivals and advertising agencies before joining the *Fondazione Adkins Chiti: Donne in Musica* as Press Officer.

The ***European Music Council*** (EMC) is a non-governmental network of music organisations. It is the regional group for Europe of the *International Music Council* that was founded in 1949 upon request of UNESCO. The *European Music Council* advocates for musical and cultural rights on a European level and hence plays a key role in supporting the European communities that want to celebrate their music. It is currently running the EU funded project *ExTra! Exchange Traditions* which is aiming at enhancing

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exchange and dialogue of musical traditions of migrant and minority cultures in Europe. This publication is part of the project.

Eva Fock works at *VMK – Academy of Music and Music Communication* as a freelance ethnomusicologist/music researcher. For years, she has been involved in questions related to music and immigrants in Denmark, especially from the Muslim world, carrying out extensive fieldwork in the region. She works as a researcher on subject-related musical identity and identification, as an evaluator and cultural advisor in relation to cultural policies, and as a teacher and writer regarding cultural diversity in music education. Furthermore, she has worked on music history, musical heritage and music education in Iceland and the Faroe Islands.

Christina Foramitti was born in Melk, Lower Austria, in 1978. She graduated from high school in 1997 and studied vocal music education at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna. She earned her MA in 2007 with the thesis *Interkulturelles Lernen im Dialog mit Musik (Wiegenlieder der Yorùbá). Didaktische Analyse des Kindergartenprojektes 'Jeder ist besonders'*. Since 2003, the soprano singer has taught singing, piano playing and elementary music education at the music school association of Yspertal in the Southern Waldviertel region of Lower Austria. She is a yodelling and vocal teacher and presents workshops together with Babátólá Alóba on the topic *Intercultural Learning in dialogue with music* within nursery schools settings.

Martin Greve is currently the manager of the Turkish music study programme at the Rotterdam Conservatoire, and an advisor to the *Berlin Philharmonic* for the concert programme *Alla Turca*. He studied musicology, ethnomusicology and sinology, and then taught at several universities and music academies in Germany and Switzerland (ethnomusicology, cross-cultural training, and Turkish music). For the municipal integration office of Berlin, he has written information booklets on Turkish life in Berlin. He lives in Istanbul.

Ursula Hemetek is currently an Associate Professor at the *Institute of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology* at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna. She did a PhD in musicology in 1987 and passed the habilitation (post-doc) in ethnomusicology in 2001. Her research focuses mainly on the music of minorities in Austria; she has published works in the field of ethnomusicology, and music and minorities (focus on Roma, Burgenland Croats and recent immigrant groups). She now chairs the ICTM Study Group *Music and Minorities*. Among her most recent works are the

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publications *Cultural Diversity in the Urban Area: Explorations in Urban Ethnomusicology* together with Adelaida Reyes in 2007, and *Music from Turkey in the Diaspora* together with Hande Sağlam in 2008.

Dorit M. Klebe studied musicology, ethnomusicology, music pedagogy and turcology. Her research interests and projects relate to the religious, classical court music, folk, urban and pop music of Turkey, past and present, as well as to the music culture of the Turkish and other minorities in the German diaspora. She is one of the chairs of the recently established ICTM Study Group on *Music of the Turkish-speaking World*. She is the President of the ICTM national committee of Germany, and works as an Assistant Professor at the Department of Music at the Berlin University of the Arts.

Jan Sverre Knudsen is Professor at the Faculty of Education and International Studies, Oslo University College, as well as lecturer in world music at the Department of Musicology, Oslo University. His research and publications focus on the role of musical practices in immigrant communities and on issues related to multicultural music education. Knudsen's PhD thesis *Those that fly without wings* (2004) is an ethnomusicological study based on field research among Chilean immigrants in Norway. His recent study on a multiethnic hip-hop group in Oslo is part of the strategic research programme CULCOM (cultural complexity) at Oslo University.

Ninja Kors (MA) studied ethnomusicology at the University of Amsterdam. Her interest in how music travels from one person to the next led her to take a job with Huib Schippers in the field of cultural education. She has worked for Rotterdam Conservatoire, where she carried out research into cultural diversity in higher music education in Europe. She worked as an independent researcher and project coordinator for music schools and conservatoires in the Netherlands, performance venues and festivals, and the European Association of Conservatoires, Académies de Musique and Musikhochschulen (AEC). Ninja Kors was involved in the development of the World Music & Dance Centre in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, where she currently works as project co-ordinator and researcher. She is part of the research group of the lectorate Lifelong Learning in Music of the Prince Claus Conservatoire (Groningen) and the Royal Conservatoire (The Hague).

Laura Leante is Research Fellow in Music at the Open University (Milton Keynes, UK). She studied ethnomusicology at the University of Rome *La Sapienza*, where she was awarded both her first degree (1999) and her PhD (2004). Her doctoral research focused on the issues of meaning and

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cross-cultural reception of music in British-Asian repertories. Her research interests range over Indian classical and folk music, music of the South Asian diaspora, music and globalisation, popular music, and music semiotics.

Dan Lundberg is the Director of Svenskt visarkiv (Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research) and a Professor in music and cultural diversity. Lundberg's key publications include several books and articles on Swedish and European folk music, and music and identity. Between 1996 and 2000, he participated in the large Swedish ethnomusicology project *Music, Media, Multiculture* at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music. Dan Lundberg's career has also been characterised by a balance between theory and practice. He has been an active musician on the Swedish world music circuit, specialising on Eastern European folk music. Lundberg's main musical focus has been on his band, the Orient Express (*Orientexpressen*).

Albinca Pesek is an Associate Professor of Music Education at the University of Maribor, Slovenia. She prepared her Master's degree in Germany (Weimar) and her PhD in the USA (Storrs, Connecticut). She is the initiator of curricular reforms aimed at strengthening multicultural educational opportunities, and the author of a series of new interethnic music textbooks and audiovisual materials for elementary schools. She also published the first monography in the field of music education and psychology in Slovenia (*Otroci v svetu glasbe – Children in the World of Music*). Her research interests are music education, development of musical abilities, psychology of music, music therapy and integral education. Recently, she has been researching, linking and applying the achievements of Western (European) and Eastern (Indian) education.

Svanibor Pettan is a Professor and chair of the Ethnomusicology Programme at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. His past professional posts include media (Croatian Radio), research (Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research) and teaching (universities of Illinois, Maribor, Maryland, Oslo, Pula, Washington, and Zagreb). His studies are based on fieldwork in parts of Africa, Australia, Europe and North America, and focus on music in contexts of politics and war, interaction and creativity, ethnomusicology of central and southeastern Europe, the music of minorities, and applied ethnomusicology. His forthcoming DVD/book features Romani musicians from Kosovo.

Adelaida Reyes is Professor Emerita at New Jersey University. She is the author of *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free. Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience* (1999, Temple University Press), which won the Book of

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the Year award from the American branch of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music, Music in America (2005, Oxford University Press), and numerous articles. She has pioneered ethnomusicological work on urban musical phenomena and has done fieldwork in the Philippines, in Uganda, and in US American cities on the East and West Coasts. She has taught at Columbia University, New York University and The Juilliard School of Music.

Eva Sæther is a senior lecturer and postdoctoral research fellow in Music Education Research at Lund University, Malmö Academy of Music, Sweden. Her musical background and point of departure is Swedish folk music, which has served as a platform for a wide range of activities: Development of new courses and projects to serve an intercultural music teacher training, and academic studies. In 2003, she defended her doctoral thesis *The Oral University. Attitudes to music teaching and learning in the Gambia.* Her study of meaningful engagement and social inclusion in music education was the focus of four years of collaborative research with an international team of researchers. This project resulted in a series of refereed journal publications in 2008, for example "When minorities are the majority. Voices from a teacher/researcher project in a multicultural school in Sweden", *Special issue of Research Studies in Music Education, RSME.* Her current research includes a project on music and identity: "Playing yourself Persian or Swedish", and "jam2jam", an international research project on creative engagement in collaborative online music systems.

Hande Sağlam was born in Istanbul, Turkey. After receiving her diploma in composition and music theory from Bilkent University, she got her Master's degree in music theory from the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna in 2003. Since 2003, she has been working on her PhD at the same university in the *Institute of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology* with Prof. Ursula Hemetek on the Âşık tradition in Sivas. From 2007 to 2009 she worked on a research project entitled *Bi-Musikalität und Interkultureller Dialog* at the same Institute.

Huib Schippers has a long, diverse and profound history of engagement with music, education and training in various cultures. Trained as a professional sitar player, he proceeded with (partially overlapping) careers in performance, teaching, research, journalism, the record trade, arts policy, and project management. He founded the World Music School in Amsterdam (1990-1996), worked in and with conservatoires in Amsterdam and Rotterdam (1998-2003), and was the driving force behind the recently opened World Music & Dance Centre in Rotterdam (2001-2006). Currently, he is Director

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of the innovative Queensland Conservatorium Research Centre at Griffith University in Brisbane, from where he leads a three-million euro project *Sustainable futures for music cultures: towards an ecology of musical diversity*. His monograph on learning and teaching music across cultures, *Facing the music: Shaping music education from a global perspective* will be published by Oxford University Press in summer 2009.

Henri Tournier is one of the rare musicians active both in research in contemporary Western music and in classical Indian music. He has followed the teaching of Pandit Hariprasad Chaurasia, and has been assisting him at the Rotterdam Conservatoire as an invited guest teacher for about fifteen years. Henri Tournier has succeeded in introducing the *bansuri* to the contemporary repertoire and keeps making new musical experiments. At present he plays with *BACO* by K. Chémirani, *Millénarium* (medieval music), *Mahwash* (Afghan music), P. Edouard, P. Hardy & G. Roy, or Linling Yu. Henri Tournier holds the *Certificat d'Aptitude* (a French teacher training certificate) in traditional music and is a member of the French Society of Ethnomusicology – SFE.

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