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SPECIAL ISSUE
MUSIC AND MIGRATION
Edited by Maria de São José Côrte-Real

OBSERVATÓRIO DA IMIGRAÇÃO, ACIDI I.P.



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High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue

Music is one of the most universal languages used by human beings. Over time, musical expression has accompanied the migration of humanity across the planet, being present in all societies.

Resulting from -individual or collective- creative processes, music reveals elements that characterise specific cultural identities of its creators, at the same time establishing itself as a new identity element of the community that appropriates it.

In this dynamic process of cultural enrichment, musical language is one of the most contagious ones and, therefore, constitutes a precious contribution to the consolidation of interculturality in contemporary societies.

In this respect, the Gala «Together in Diversity», held by ACIDI in December 2008, was an example of participation of different musical expressions of various immigrant communities in Portugal in the construction of a new cultural reality that the country currently offers.

The present issue of the Migrações Journal, dedicated to the topic of Music and Migration, presents us with a set of articles that clarify the importance of music in the context of migratory communities, both as an identifier and as an element of communication and dialogue.

We therefore express our gratitude to the authors that collaborated in it and especially to Maria de São José Côrte-Real, that has ensured its scientific coordination.

Roberto Carneiro

Immigration Observatory Coordinator

The Migrações Journal is proud to present a “succulent” number 7, dedicated to the topic of Music and Migration.

This issue, wisely coordinated by Maria de São José Côrte-Real, displays an amazing musical rhapsody.

In fact, there is no lack of pleasant surprises and stunning diversity in this edition of the Journal. Featuring a remarkable number of researchers from ethno-anthropo-musicology, the volume firstly offers us a true mosaic of research articles: from the Indo-Pakistani diaspora to Luso-identities in the USA, from colonial and postcolonial identities in Goan diaspora to Cape Verdean *batuque*, from Afghan music in Australia and Kurdish music in Berlin to music scenes in Vienna, Barcelona and Lisbon, from music as an indicator of social integration in Melbourne to Afro-American music in neighborhoods of the Bronx to music of political intervention in the American presidential elections of 2008.

Secondly, respecting the common guideline of the Journal, the present thematic issue offers nine articles regarding good practices in which valuable associative, foundational and communal initiatives stand out.

Finally, again following the Journal's normal and established structure, the coordinator presents us with a set of nine opinion articles with a strong lusophone accent and celebrating its multiple expressivities in Portugal and in the African Continent.

Music is undoubtedly a remarkable language of universal communication. In other words, it is an aesthetic communicator of particular cultures emphasizing genuinely universal elements.

Without musical expressiveness, population movements and identity encounters would find themselves impoverished in revealing their authenticities and in the creation of musical “hybrids” that constitute one of the most portentous emergences in the meeting of peoples and cultures. Should there be any doubt, there is fado, tango, samba or jazz to fully prove it.

The issue Music and Migration thus is a remarkable tribute to the creative human genius that, tireless and irrepressible, fulfills the mandate of co-creator that it has been carrying since the extraordinary rise of the *Homo Sapiens Sapiens* in the upward chain of the mysterious work of creation.

Migration and migrants are vehicles of spiritual nobility that are inherent to the human condition and subject to the inviolability expressed in the sacred dignity of each and every human being, be they moving or sedentary.

This issue of the Migrações Journal translates that with a unique communicational strength.

Its coordinator, Maria de São José Côrte-Real, captures the essence of the topic in an exceptional way, and for that let us express our profound gratitude and recognition to her.

Music and migration turn out to be two connected and inseparable sides of the unique human pilgrimage through outer and inner worlds of existence.

Let us celebrate these two sides, integrally and with the veneration they deserve, at a time in which the supreme materiality of selfish interest seems to want to make us forget the essential wisdom of the universe and its most timeless laws.

Maria de São José Côrte-Real*

Editor of the Special Issue on Music and Migration

Introduction: citizenship, music and migration

Music and migration matter

Human, as earth behaviour deserves respect and careful attention. Science already understood, policy will understand.¹ The texts presented, from researchers of different schools, musicians, cultural agents, teachers, graduate students, project leaders, interested listeners and travellers call the attention for questions of citizenship from interpretations of fieldwork and action experiences from different parts of the world. They contribute towards the link between the constructed findings of the social sciences, political decisions and societal needs providing sustainability for life on earth.

Proposed by the Portuguese Immigration Observatory (OI) to the Institute for Ethnomusicology (INET) of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa (UNL) this special issue answers our call to work together with the Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural (ACIDI) (High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue) during the European Year of Creativity and Innovation. We mention transnational processes involving music and migration in urban areas such as New York, Berlin, Melbourne, Sydney, Vienna, Stockholm, Addis Abeba, Barcelona, Las Palmas and Lisbon. The analysis of the creative mediation of music, in the culture identity, migrant existence and intercultural experience in Portugal and abroad reveals that mobility promotes the challenge of notions such as citizenship and national tradition, meaningful for the work of science and policy for social benefit.

The study of music phenomena observing aesthetic, social, conceptual and performing questions that influence and reveal strategies of inclusion, integration, adaptation and socially justified acceptance of population movements produces enlightening insights for understanding processes and products of human organization in development. We relate identity and citizenship questioning national values and ways of life, believing that new opportunities and better governance may arise from the revision of the relationship among population groups.

The contributors invited expressed ideas about cultural, social, economic and educational impacts, describing, interpreting and signaling measures and strategies for academic, social and political consideration of the musical and migrant phenomena. We contribute towards advocating the sustained promotion of musical creativity and the exchange of academic, social and artistic knowledge in enhancing the relationships between ideas, researchers/authors and institutions.

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In Portugal, musical production in categories such as world music, popular, art and even folk music has benefitted from the arrival of foreign musicians. In the two last decades, we witnessed a substantial increase in the numbers of foreign musicians that boosted the number of orchestras, and music groups performing throughout the country, and improved their musical quality. Education gained also from this increase in migrant musicians, especially of South American and Eastern European provenance. Although there are some studies, there is still very little literature on the field. *Licença para Criar: imigrantes nas artes em Portugal*, published by the OI (Nico et al., 2007) represents its awareness towards this context. The recently published *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX* (Castelo-Branco, 2010) by the INET, mentions migrant music and musicians in Portugal. Further documentation and studies, specialized and generalist, are however needed to contribute towards the quality of governance able to nurture culture based on economic development.

The music and migration are challenging concepts, rich and dynamic as few others. They both provide the grounds for studying the junction of the two and a deeper understanding of each individually, as products and processes of human activity. The publication by OI, a governmental institution working with the problems of migrant people and policy, is meaningful. Beyond the usual academic readers, these texts may reach producers and receptors of the decisions. It was rewarding to work with Salwa Castelo-Branco, my first professor of Ethnomusicology, very supportive in crucial moments from the invitation of authors to the definition of the structure of this issue. The valuable participation of all authors, and in particular John Baily and Dieter Christensen, a former professor and the continuous academic advisor at Columbia University in New York respectively, was most meaningful. The research team of INET was especially collaborative. The production of this bi-lingual special issue with texts including specialized terminology in different non-western languages, of Arabic, Hindu, Swaili and Fang origin among others, represented a complex process, demanding successive revisions and contacts with authors. To Bart Vanspauwen, Pedro Roxo, Gonçalo Antunes, Hugo Silva and Kevin Rose go my thanks for the careful translation, revision, formatting, and proofreading collaborative work. I warmly thank Dieter Christensen for his insightful comments and polishing of the English version of my texts.

I would request your tolerance, dear reader, for any errors that may have remained. I stress that we present personal interpretations characterized by the open and constructive perspectives. Finally, regarding the spelling choices in the different texts in Portuguese, we respected the author's options as regards adopting the orthography of pre or post Spelling Agreement.

Ethnomusicology and the state of the art

In 1934, Percy Grainger, the notable Australian pianist, composer and conductor, son of British migrants – his father was an architect of French academic formation – in Melbourne, drew attention towards the openness needed to listen to world music in order to understand, through personal experience, whether or not it carries any

kind of spiritual message for us as individuals² (in Blacking, 1987). Ethnomusicology, Migration Studies and the governmental concerns with the relationship between music and multicultural society were still far from systematically conceptualized in any country. Four and a half decades later, Adelaida Reyes, a young professor at Columbia University, doctorate under the academic guidance of Dieter Christensen, would produce the article *Ethnic Music, the Urban Area and Ethnomusicology* (Reyes-Schramm, 1979). The state of the art demonstrates the influence of this text in the emergence of Urban Ethnomusicology, concerned over the decades with musical production by migrant and refugee populations. Studies involving music and survival strategies in multi-staged journeys, adaptation circumstances, social structuring, retained models, the vanishing and revivification of memories, plays of identity, and frequently hard efforts towards new citizenship conditions have been developed by the aforementioned author (1986 and 2007 among others) and by successive researchers not only, but significantly, linked with that school. Among others, some studies about music and Portuguese speaking migrant communities have been carried out at Columbia University (Carvalho, 1990; Carvalho, 1991) and at Universidade Nova de Lisboa, where a branch of that school was established by Salwa Castelo-Branco in the early 1980s (Sardo, 1995, 2004; Ribeiro, 2004, 2008; Cidra, 2008, 2008a). The 6th Colloquium of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) "Portugal and the World – Cross-Cultural Processes in Music: The Role of Portugal in the World's Musics since the XVth Century", organized by ICTM, the Department of Music Sciences of the UNL and the Music Department of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, held at the Foundation in Lisbon in December 1986 was a landmark in this area of studies. As Dieter Christensen pointed out, the colloquium and the resulting publication became parts of a cross-cultural process initiating a pertinent dialogue. The cooperation between scholars, from different fields and scholarly traditions, from Portugal, Brazil, the United States, Canada, Australia, and other European countries (in Castelo-Branco, 1997:33) was in itself of major significance. Regarding historical references to migrant music, Castelo-Branco stresses the analysis of the landmark in Portuguese literature *Peregrinação*, written by Fernão Mendes Pinto (around 1505-83), presented by Côte-Real (1997:184-200). The ethnomusicological dimension was explored in discussions regarding references including sounds produced during wars, local performances of vocal and instrumental music at receptions, religious and profane festivities including processions and the masses celebrated with exuberant vocal and instrumental polyphony for the funeral ceremonies of the notable Jesuit father Francisco Xavier in Malaca and Goa in 1554 (1997:191) and simple musically accompanied leisure moments in the so called Oriental regions of the world. From 1995 onwards, INET, then also named the Centre for Studies on Music and Dance, founded by Salwa Castelo-Branco and the group of former students then returning from Columbia University at the FCSH, took on this pioneering mission of promoting the study of migration related musical phenomena in Portugal and in Portuguese speaking countries and communities abroad. Among INET's initial projects devoted to this pioneering domain, two of considerable range were designed and developed with state funding awarded by the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia. One studied identity building through music in migrant communities in Lisbon (Castelo-Branco, Carvalho and Côte-Real, 1995) the other initiated the systematic work on the conceptualization and categorization of music in Portugal

during the 20th century (Castelo-Branco, Carvalho and Côrte-Real, 1997). The 12 CD collection of phonograms entitled *Viagens dos Sons*, of Portuguese influenced music from around the world, including Goa, Sri Lanka, Daman, Diu, Cochin and Korlai, Malacca, Sumatra, Macau, Timor, Mozambique, São Tomé and Cape Verde (Sardo, 1998), published for the occasion of the 1998 World Exhibition, Expo '98, held in Lisbon is especially meaningful. More recently, themes proposed for the 23rd Meeting of the European Seminar in Ethnomusicology chaired by Castelo-Branco, held at the Rectory of the UNL in October of 2007, were devoted to the subject: Music and Dance in Diasporic Communities in Europe; and Music and Dance in Post-Colonial Portugal and Spain. The *Enciclopédia da Música em Portugal no Século XX* (Castelo Branco, 2010), a comprehensive work in 4 volumes recently launched by INET, is particularly attentive to migration (Cidra, 2010), migrant music and musicians, presenting around 30 entries, words/names related in their majority with population movements among Portuguese speaking countries.

As product and process of enormous mobility and consumption, music – in a basic characterization, a social out/input – represents a privileged means for the negotiation of identity. This meaningful concept is deployed here mainly as a condition pertaining to belongingness, especially for the experience of intercultural dialogue and the practice of multicultural acquaintanceship. It has been studied not only in ambiances that vary from the firmest purposes of retention of tradition through to the most challenging ones in terms of creative and innovative experiences; but also in those characterized by precise professional aims, economic strategies or means of socialization and/or construction and representation of image in new cultural networks. Music in the migrant context has been systematically studied within international Ethnomusicology and other academic fields, with special focus on its urban dimension since the end of the 1970s.

A meaningful recent landmark in this area of studies is the special issue on Music and Migration edited by Baily and Collyer (2006) in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. The editors provide an historical overview of the English literature on the relationship between music, “one of the widest spread and most easily created forms of cultural production” (2006:167), and migration. It lists a typology of study, including type of migration, spatial and cultural proximity, music and identity, transformations of migrant music, audiences for migrant music-making, cohesive and divisive outcomes and therapeutic possibilities. It then introduces seven papers “initially presented at a workshop on music and migration held at and funded by the Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex, on 14 June 2001” (2006:168).

The new century/millennium seems indeed to represent a timeframe for a more generalized acknowledgement of the study of music flux through space. Kay Kaufman Shelemay's 2001 *Soundscapes: Exploring Music in a Changing World* devotes a chapter to music and migration. Interested in the reconfiguration of spaces in Germany, Philip Bohlman reveals his concerns with the “movement and migration in the revival of pilgrimage as a healing force in the New Europe since 1989” (2002:5). Recognizing that migration has been normative rather than exceptional, he mentions the concept of sounding multiple worlds, after all, an old idea he traces back to Herder's

Volkslied in the 18th century (2002:18). Among more recent literature on the subject also stands out the issue on *Ethnomusicology Forum* by Ramnarine: *Musical Performance in the Diaspora* (2007). In July 2009, the School of Oriental and African Studies, of the University of London, organized the conference *Migrating Music: Media, Politics and Style*. Ending the decade, the conference *Musics and Knowledge in Transit* stresses the idea of music and people's action in flux throughout space. Chaired by Castelo-Branco and Moreno, it takes place at the Rectory of the UNL, in October 2010. Finally, in this non-exhaustive list of initiatives and writings, Bruno Nettl's recent *Elephant: On the History of Ethnomusicology*, mentions the subject in a chapter called “A Stranger Here? Free Associations around Kurt Weill”. The invitation made by *Kurt Weill Newsletter's* editor gave Nettl the inspiration to think about “several kinds of strangeness” (2010:204). Among his points, he stresses that current concerns with cultural hybridism find nice roots in past intellectual works such as Kurt Weill's *Lost in the Stars* in the late 1940s. The United States, Canada and other nations significantly shaped by large-scale movements and dispersals of populations and cultures he says (2010:206) have provided for the acceptance of strangeness, turned into a “kind of leitmotiv for life since 1950, the era of modern diasporas” (2010: 206) that today characterizes American and European Ethnomusicology scholarship.

Current concerns

In written sources and in academic and social practices, the conceptualization and practice on the binomial music and migration contain reasonable complexity. Accordingly, a number of current concerns emerge in discussions and in particular in the collection of texts here presented:

Unmasking boundaries

Mostly artificially made to dominate people and exert power over place, boundaries have been among the basic fundamentals for identity building, both individually and collectively. Migration, implying its crossing at many levels, has continuously challenged the sense, and to some extent the authority, of boundaries. Human behaviour and especially music, due to its fluid and congregational character, has conspicuously showed this, somewhat, inopportune political tendency. Studies mentioning ethnicity and identity through music have discussed retention of tradition and innovation at metropolitan peripheries (Reyes-Schramm, 1986; Carvalho, 1990; Carvalho, 1991), social zones ascribed to it (Ronström, 1992), construction of place (Stokes, 1994), flows between centre and diaspora periphery (Baily, 2005, 2007), creativity resulting from and inducing political measures and action (Côrte-Real, 1996, 2000, 2002), construction and propaganda of national identity (Côrte-Real, 2000, 2002) questioning national citizenship constructs and the implications of destroyed nations on freeing identity (Côrte-Real, 2000; Lundberg, 2009). All these issues deal, to some extent, with unveiling boundary relations. The in-boundary cultures, resulting from political models of governance, have long interested ethnomusicologists. The intercultural trend in recent studies however reveals an increasing interest in their crossover. Chapters such as *Music Across Boundaries* (O'Connell and Castelo-Branco, 2010)

illustrate this. The sea change image, as Nettl coined it (2005: 434; 2010: 206), in the attitude of music studies' emphases, may now, in turn, influence politicians over the new governance strategies society seems to have been demanding for a while.

Nurturing participation

Current urban societies demand, and digital technologies encourage, growing participation in economic development. Musical performance by migrant groups helping to order developing urban life in large metropolitan areas such as Maputo in Mozambique (Carvalho, 1997) shows the power of music as a congregational and organizing phenomenon. An interesting case of concern over nurturing participation through music is that which studies its direct influence on electoral campaigns. In this issue, La Fleur and Martiniello analyse this in relation to the meaningful case of Obama's election in 2008. Urban social problems such as those connected with different kinds of social adjustment have in some way been helped by music practices that have attracted the attention of researchers who have interpreted how migrant music has been used as a strategy for organizing people's participation in urbanization (Carvalho, 1997, Naison in this issue). The production of an encyclopedic work including music of all kinds (Castelo-Branco, 2010) represents an indiscriminate call for widespread and inclusive participation, to an extent unprecedented in Portugal as well as in general academic music production. Education, and lately Intercultural Education forums as well as social service programs and festivals at large have applied music to foster pacification and literally give voice to the "other" (Côrte-Real, 2008; among others). This is a focus that the most recent edition of the United Nations Human Development Report (UNDP, 2010), celebrating its 20th anniversary, continues to highlight.

Pacifying emotions

The therapeutic properties of music have been part of human civilizations since time immemorial. Ethnomusicology experienced recently the emergence of a new field called Medical Ethnomusicology. It is inscribed as a study group in the Society for Ethnomusicology, since at least 2005 and was the object of *The Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology*, edited by Koen in 2008. Although not directly connected with this branch of studies, music and Portuguese migration studies have placed a spotlight on the conciliatory role of music in post-colonial situations (Sardo, 2004; Ribeiro in this issue). The emotional effect of promoting cultural retention as a matter of pride among migrant populations, especially visible in their musical activities, was pointed out for rural as well as urban Portuguese music traditions around New York in the early 1990s (Carvalho, 1990; Carvalho, 1991). Furthermore, in her *Epilogue: Ethnomusicologists as Advocates*, Castelo-Branco proposes a framework for action for ethnomusicologists in international conflict in the recently co-edited book, *Music and Conflict* (2010a).

Challenging categories

Current perspectives refine positions on categories in general and music and migration related ones in particular. They are challenging them along with their meanings

in testing them out in relation to their own interpretations of the field: across its theoretical and practical domains. In a recent public discussion of an international report on migration, a renowned member of the audience asked the table about how did they distinguish between their usage of the concepts of nationality and citizenship. Apparently surprised, the speaker answered that he used them interchangeably. The idea that remains is that challenged categories request reflexion and eventually, re-definition. We may interpret, from this episode, how civil society interacts with those responsible for political decision and how categories, once heard without discussion, are now challenged in the public arena. An unusual CD featuring different interpretations of the famous song *Coimbra*, first transformed by Amália Rodrigues – in the realm of the American Marshall Plan initiative for the European recovery in the wake of World War II – and then used as Estado Novo propaganda as *April in Portugal/Abril au Portugal/Abril em Portugal* (Côrte-Real, 2004), illustrates through sound the challenge of musical categorization. The album features interpretations of the same song in a varied range of stylistic categories from fado to mambo, through dixie, swing, cha-cha-cha, calypso, chanson française and many more. Louis Armstrong, Caetano Veloso, Bing Crosby, Vic Damone, Amália Rodrigues, Eartha Kitt, Yvette Giraud, the orchestras of Bert Kaempfert and Xavier Cugat, the solos of Chet Atkins and Liberace on the guitar and the piano respectively, the legendary bells of the Mafra Carrillion, the young Lambeth Community Youth Steel Orchestra and the mature Coro dos Antigos Orfeonistas de Coimbra among others illustrate the elasticity of the sound material expressing the stylistic categorization of music. The study of music categorization, moving emotional, political and financial influences has been growing (Fabbri, 1999; Côrte-Real, 2000, 2005 and Castelo-Branco, 2008 among others).

Renewing references

Music and musicians have kept on renewing references since time began. Since the 19th century, historical musicologists have made this notion very clear in their analytical writings. Migrants, by the force of circumstances in which they engage from the very moment they decide to travel, also renew their references, even when trying to maintain their "own ones" as strongly as possible. One of Sílvia Martínez's informants took a step further when acknowledging that: "if nobody knows me, I can reinvent myself" (in this issue). This opinion, as though renewing or reinventing oneself was something only acceptable if no one knew you, may be, most probably, in the minds of many people throughout the world, whether or not migrants. I would dare to say that even if others know me, I can reinvent myself. Why not?! This current concern is raising not only individual attention but also group and even national attention. International relations do rely on national references and it is not surprising that popular participation is delaying complex processes such as acceptance of the European Constitution, based on the multiple implications that renewing references have awakened in the experiences of many. The production of decisions, out of the need for constant knowledge on new references, in this subject as in others, needs collaborative reflection; academic research and political decision making thoroughly require the joint exercise of interpretations. The ease of digital communication, bringing public participation to the forefront, drives the urgency of this undertaking.

The Orquestra Sons da Rua (Orchestra Street Sounds), an initiative of the Casa da Música in Oporto is planning a concert for January 2011 at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, proposing a new point of reference. Homeless players performing music instruments mostly made of recycled materials will be heard in one of the main Portuguese concert halls. Some may be migrants and some may not be Portuguese citizens even though living in Oporto but will perform culture, fado and other items in one of the main venues in the capital.

Texts in the collection

Following the format of the journal, the texts, in three parts, testify musical experience in different representations, from elementary school practices to music festivals and resident chamber music, mentioning categories accepted in the Portuguese society, among others, referring to the popular, folk/world and art music.

Dan Lundberg, from the Stockholms Universitet, opens the collection with music as a marker of identity among Turkish, former Yugoslavian and Irish musicians. He stresses the multiple identities available individually and collectively; the unifying powers, destruction of a nation, and how identities are formed around music concepts and practices. Sílvia Martínez, from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, discusses Bollywood and the musical habits of Indo-Pakistani migrants in Barcelona and Las Palmas; she characterizes the modern cities as incubators of mixture in which Indo-Pakistani migrants use anonymity to reinvent identity. Susana Sardo, from the Universidade de Aveiro, discusses memories of colonial and post-colonial identities of Goans, as a case of development of identity and experience of conciliation. Maria de São José Côrte-Real, from the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, questions plays of identity in the representation of Portuguese citizenship, in fado performances among Portuguese migrants around New York. Remnants of the old "national conscience" of the dictatorial "policy of the spirit" were still noted on the expression of options. Jorge Castro Ribeiro, from the Universidade de Aveiro, discusses women's Cape-Verdian batuque practices in Portugal as expressing the longing for home in a process of conciliation between times, spaces and people. Ursula Hemetek, from the Universität Wien, presents unexpected musical worlds of Vienna, giving historical data on migration and pointing to the need for revision of the concepts of ethnicity and identity. Jorge de La Barre, from the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, explores musical scenes in Lisbon, signalling urban rituals dominated by multinational companies such as the Red Bull Music Academy, where the customer service invades the sphere of cultural creation. John Baily, Emeritus Professor at the University of London, proposes the concept of music as information flowing in his discussion of Afghan music in Australia, mainly in the urban environments of Melbourne and Sydney, between centre and diaspora periphery and art and popular music cultures. He provides comprehensive references on the history of Afghan migration to Australia and lists Afghan music recordings there, reporting on the processes involved. Baily points out insightful aspects of multicultural policy and life in Australia, from the times of assimilation through those of integration, to the current ones of multiculturalism in which he says "tolerance" seems to be the keyword. Marcello Sorce-Keller, from the

Università ta' Malta and honorary research associate at Monash University, relying mainly on fieldwork experience among Swiss, Maltese, Italian, Turkish and Armenian communities, reflects on participation through patterns of social adjustment among migrant populations in Melbourne to conclude that music culture is not known until we see how it reacts to migration. Dieter Christensen, Emeritus Professor at Columbia University in the City of New York, relies on current fieldwork among Kurds in Berlin and 1958/1965 in rural Eastern Anatolia to question music transformation and loss in long migration processes. Discusses changes in musical practices from small ceremonies in rural Kurdistan villages in the Far East of the Turkish Republic to recent migrant community events at central Berlin venues in a time span that encompasses the last five decades. The role of music in the representation of complex multi-referential identity of de-territorialized populations is at issue. Mark Naison, from the Fordham University in New York, discusses migration and African-American music in Bronx. Reporting on neighbourhoods where he lived, studied and engaged in socio-political activities, he stresses how music creativity induces political measures and action, from influence over the liberalizing of immigration laws to the construction of affordable housing. Reports on how informal gatherings of *congueros* and urban harmonic singers in hallways, schoolyards, in parks and on the roofs of buildings, promoted new musical identities in ways that defied traditional measures of ethnic identification. Jean-Michel Lafleur from the Université de Liège and Marco Martiniello, director of the Centre d'Études de l'Ethnicité et des Migration - CEDEM - at the same school, analyse the political involvement of musicians and "migrated" music targeting the Latino vote in the 2008 US presidential election. The aim is to study mechanisms of participation in mobilizing migrant origin populations and the role of music and musicians in electoral campaigns.

In the second part, Godelieve Meersschaert, vice-president of the Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude, provides historical references of the Association founded in 1987 to help the struggle for social and economic rights of residents and of the community in the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura, paying especial attention to the music initiatives meanwhile developed. Miguel Magalhães, from Gulbenkian Foundation, characterizes the *Próximo Futuro* (Next Future) program dedicated to contemporary artistic creation and to theoretical production on what he calls an axis that includes Africa, South America and the Caribbean, and Europe in the Foundation. Júlio Leitão, a New York based Angolan dancer who studied both at the Lisbon Conservatory and at the Dance Theater of Harlem since 1985, presents Batoto Yetu's (Swahili for "Our Children") arts organization, dedicated to fostering self-esteem and cultural awareness in children through the preservation and expression of African arts in New York, Lisbon and Luanda. Alexei Eremine, the pianist in the Moscow Piano Quartet, describes the history of his international ensemble, mentioning challenges and life details of a resident quartet in Cascais. Carla Soares Barbosa, dean of the Academia de Música de Viana do Castelo, presents a project aiming to develop training for youth and child publics through regular and structured performing activities in conjunction with educational communities. Carlos Martins, from the Associação Sons da Lusofonia, details the *Festival Lisboa Mistura* that opened doors to people from non-lusophone cultures migrating to Portugal and the *Oficina Portátil de Artes*- OPA (Portable Arts Workshop) that has provided learning and performance

opportunities to youth communities in the centre of Lisbon. Ana Fernandes Ngom, a socio-cultural activist of Cape-Verdean origin, refers to the project *Putos qui ata Cria* (Children that are Growing Up) focused on the figure of the Master of Ceremonies as a social educator promoting cohesion and respect for cultural diversity. Ana Fernandes Ngom and Lídia Fernandes, MA student at Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, present *MigraSons*, a program by Rádio Zero de Lisboa on migratory movements, interculturality and cultural diversity, made by people of different origins, promoted by Solidariedade Imigrante (SOLIM) (Association for the Defence of Immigrant Rights). João Jorge, aeronautical engineer, MBA Thunderbird, AZ, ends this section, characterizing the pedagogical action of OriAzul, the musical band including musicians from Cape Verde, Senegal, Gabon and Congo, who work with international schools in several African countries, to integrate students into the music environment.

The last part wishes us a good new decade by Jorge Murteira, anthropologist and documentary filmmaker, who presents the New Creoles by the voice of Danae. Mafalda Silva Rego, from Escola Profissional de Música de Viana do Castelo (Professional Music School of Viana do Castelo), tells us how teachers and students from Angola, Brazil, Byelorussia, Cuba, France, Iran, Italy, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Ukraine and the United States of America actually do interact at that excellent music school. Maria da Luz Costa from Escola EB1 n° 4 de S. João da Talha, and Maria de São José Côrte-Real, from UNL, mention MUSSI Project (FCT/SONAE), that studied in-class performing practices involving music, dance and drama at school. Paula Nascimento, cultural manager and director of Africa Festival, reports on its last editions in Lisbon generating average audiences of 10,000 per day. J. A. Fernandes Dias, from the Universidade de Lisboa, explains the evolution of the Africa. cont program/project, emerging from the political will to respond to the absence of a platform that fosters an understanding of contemporary African cultural creation in Portugal. Gustavo Roriz, a professional musician of Brazilian origin, reports on citizenship experiences to conclude that music was a rather good passport in his case. Isabel Elvas, from the EB 2,3 Miguel Torga in Amadora, mentions her MA research on the implementation of the Orquestra Geração supported by the FCG and ACIDI, in a local school. Luisiane Ramalho, music teacher in Fortaleza, Brazil, reports on her research studying children's representation of musical learning processes in different cultural niches in Carregado, a small and heavily multicultural town near Lisbon. The issue closes with a text by Bart Vanspauwen, PhD student at UNL and special collaborator in this volume, reporting on his MA research on the Lusophone musics in Lisbon.

Founded on the peripheral remnants of ancient successive civilizations around the Mediterranean, the musically effulgent Al-Andalus among them, Portugal has dealt, since medieval times, with remarkable diversity to build its cultural identity. Although emigration may be considered prevalent for five centuries until the 1970s – the era of exploration and the consequent colonial age included –, the last decades have been marked by post-colonial return and immigration at large. Eventually still immature in its new host experience, Portugal has however proven to be interested in developing a modern, up-to-date and satisfactory policy of migration, already testified to as such by international standards (MIPEX, *Migrant Integration Policy Index*, 2005-07,

among others). The texts in this issue, discussing current concerns follow research, educational, emotional, political, economical, social and other purposes, giving voice to music and its agents.

Failures of different sorts in writing as in human behaviour happen when so many and different cultures interact in the process. In the incompleteness we remind Foucault's words stressing the open dimension of language (1966) gaining meaning only when the flow is maintained, and when interpretation prevails over demonstration. We hope that this volume contributes towards the knowledge and relationship of ideas, persons and institutions in Portugal and in the world, stimulating dialogue in and between the academic, social, political and artistic means on the use of music and migrant experiences for the integrated development of citizenship in the contemporary world.

Notes

¹ The concluding comment by the British Ambassador to Portugal, Alexander Ellis, on the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen, made in an interview during the evening news broadcast by a Portuguese national TV station on 18.12. 2009.

² In a series of twelve lectures entitled *A Common Sense View of all Music* given in Melbourne in 1934, broadcast by various national radio stations and published in a printed format by the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

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I. RESEARCH

■ **Music as identity marker:
individual vs. collective**
Dan Lundberg*

Abstract In today's society, music plays a key role as an indicator of and a tool for change. Many typical tendencies can be observed and investigated in the study of music. This article investigates in which arenas and in what situations music can function as marker of identity. I have tried to focus on the tensions that can occur between the individual and the collective. Persons in key positions in different fields of this arena have been studied and interviewed.

Keywords Music, identity marker, change, individual, collective, folk music

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■ Music as identity marker: individual vs. collective

Dan Lundberg

Our music – whose musicians?

At the end of the 1980s, the audiocassette *Govenda me* was recorded by the culture organisation *Hünerkom* in Düsseldorf, West Germany (released in 1990). *Hünerkom* is a cultural organisation with political ambitions and a more or less outspoken connection to PKK (the Kurdish Labour Party). *Hünerkom* acts on an international level with a focus on 'the Kurdish issue'. The organisation promotes and distributes Kurdish literature and music and is an important arranger of events such as festivals and meetings.

The cassette *Govenda me* has a distinct ethnic or national appearance, not least the title which means 'our dances'. The cassette lacks information in any other language than Kurdish and is obviously directed towards an exclusively Kurdish audience. The cover depicts five armed Kurdish soldiers marching in a field in front of a large mountain range. Some of the rocks in the background have the form of human faces. The first tune on the cassette starts with the rattle from machine guns accompanied by the ululation of some women – *zilgitar*.¹ The volley is mixed with shouting, and after a few moments this is succeeded by a fiery and furious *zurna*² and intensive drumming on a *davul*.³ For anyone initiated in 'the Kurdish issue', the hidden meaning of the arrangement cannot be missed: both the music and the dance form part of the battle against the Turkish oppressors. The music is used to create and strengthen the Kurdish community – to unite the people. By claiming the music on the cassette as 'ours', the publishers have not only indicated the origin of the dances but also given themselves identity as a group. 'We are Kurds, and we have our own music, our own language and our own culture, and from this follows that we have the right to be a people – a nation'. The fact that a *zurna* is the lead instrument on the first tune is also of great symbolic value. The shrill, penetrating and aggressive sound of the instrument is not only associated with folk music but also with combats and war, not least because of its use in the Ottoman military ensemble – the Janissary. But the *zurna* has also become a symbol for Turkish folk culture in general. An interesting paradox, considering the fact that *zurna* players in Turkey are normally of non-Turkish origin. At Turkish weddings, the *zurna* players are often of Kurdish or Roma descent (Lundberg, 1994:45,132). In light of this, the title "our dances" becomes a way of pointing out that the music and the instruments actually belong to the Kurdish people and not to the Turks. All the recordings on the cassette represent traditional dance music from Anatolia. The melodies are performed on traditional wind instruments used in the folk music of that area: *zurna*, *mey* and *bilor*.⁴ The accompaniments are performed on traditional drums and string instruments.

Ziya Aytakin, a Turkish musician who has lived in Sweden since 1979, plays all the wind instruments. So we have here a Turkish musician playing for Kurds – is that possible, or more important – is it permissible? Supposedly, a Kurdish audience would not accept that an 'enemy', a Turk, plays their dances. And for the same reason, a

Turkish musician would find it problematic playing Kurdish music, not least considering PKK policy.

Figure 1 – Ziya Aytekin and Edip Akinci with friends playing at a wedding party in Stockholm.



Illustration: Ann Ahlbom Sundqvist

The question becomes even more complicated as it turns out that the Turkish musician has, on his own initiative, reissued the cassette in Sweden with a new title, *Oyunlarimiz*, which is Turkish for 'our dances'. So, who can claim ownership of the dances, and further, who are the 'we' that 'our dances' refers to? Are Turks and Kurds part of a mutual folk music tradition? If this is the case, it might be possible to talk about a collective 'we' that includes the entire population of Asia Minor. PKK would hardly agree to that description, and neither would Turkish nationalists. Both groups would probably state the opposite, that the Kurdish tradition is completely different from the Turkish and vice versa.

Naturally, several dances can be, and are, used by both groups, dances that have obviously been claimed by the 'others'. Issues regarding the origin of cultural expressions are often hot topics in political controversies. Ethnic or national rights deal to a large extent with the right to one's 'own' culture, to be allowed to speak one's own language, and so on. And for expressing a specific ethnic uniqueness, music, dance and other cultural forms have important functions as markers of group identity.

An important characteristic for a symbol is its potential of carrying multiple meanings. The condition for this ambiguity is in fact that the symbol's relationship to what it symbolises is not based on resemblance, which is why flags and emblems and cultural expressions in the form of clothes, music, dance and even food can function as symbols or membership markers. The relationship between the symbol and the

expression/event/ sentiment being symbolised rests on the intersubjective interpretation of its meaning. But this ambiguity is also the reason for controversy.

As we can see, a constant game is being played in the arena of social life, a kind of power struggle between different groups and organisations. Membership markers are distinctive features of this game. The most obvious examples are uniforms: armies and football teams display their affiliation through their clothes. Equally, folk costumes and hip-hop fashion display the same kind of group belonging.

In Bosnia in former Yugoslavia, we have witnessed the struggle with people openly fighting for the right to specific symbols. What makes a Croat, a Serb or a Bosniac – a Catholic, a Serbian-Orthodox or a Muslim? The ethnic and religious mixture of Bosnia has gone from being a scene of exciting cultural diversity to a horrendous war zone in which peaceful neighbours become enemies.

The multicultural context constitutes an arena in which many different groups fight for recognition. Mark Slobin talks about 'cultural brand-naming' – an attempt to claim musical expression as the property of a group. In the same way that a flag, an emblem or a uniform can symbolise a certain organisation or group, thereby also symbolising its ideology and values, music – and musical instruments in particular – can be infused with symbolic functions as identity emblems. *Bouzouki* music symbolises a Greek identity, the bagpipes symbolise a Scottish identity, the *nyckelharpa* (keyed fiddle) symbolises a Swedish identity, despite the fact that it is known that the bouzouki belongs to a family of long-necked lutes common to most nations around the eastern Mediterranean, and that bagpipes are one of the oldest European folk instruments and part of a Eurasian cultural heritage with roots in the Middle Ages.

In the multicultural arena, the musicians – and other expressive specialists – have an important status as qualified bearers and interpreters of their groups' cultural identities. If something is to be made visible, it must be given shape; it must be expressed and dramatised, and this requires access to skills of expression. The right kind of skills is necessary but not sufficient in itself to visualise identity. For this, context is needed, in other words, visibility emerges through access to situations, arenas and conditions in which it is both possible and relevant to display cultural differences.

Figure 2 – The Nyckelharpa – a symbol for Sweden, here on the Swedish 50 kronor note.



A primary function of group symbols is their potential as ethnic markers. Thus, music can indicate belonging and community. 'Ownership' entails keeping a careful watch on the symbols that are used. There is an ongoing struggle for ethnic symbols in which cultural brand-naming functions as a kind of claim to available expressive forms. In such contexts, a great deal of effort is often focused on proving historic links between one's group and the origins of a musical instrument or a musical genre. And while a symbol indicates belonging, it also marks dissociation. By signalling 'us', we single out 'the others'. Or, in the case of the Kurds, we are Kurds but at the same time, and equally important, we are not Arabs, Turks, Swedes, Christians, etc.

However, there is an important difference between various types of organised affinity. Group membership displays differing degrees of compatibility, even in cases where membership is marked by the use of similar symbols. As Ronström (1996) states, pensioners' clubs display the same type of attributes for group identity as ethnic groups: special music, dance, clothes, etc. But at the same time, in another context or situation, a pensioner can claim a completely different identity that represents his or her nationality, religion, gender, etc. Simply put, our actions are based on the fact that we possess and have at our disposal a number of identities that can be used in different occasions and different contexts. But not all group identities are compatible.

The example of *Govenda me* illustrates the symbolic potential of the music. Depending on how the music is perceived, it can be either Kurdish or Turkish. The same music can symbolise two different identities and, in this case, the music also represents two political opponents in present-day Turkey. The reason why we experience this as a paradox, has partly to do with the fact that folk music has been ascribed a very strong connection to ethnicity and origin. If Ziya Aytekin had been a musician in the fields of popular music or art music, the existence of the two cassettes would have given rise to other objections, such as issues of copyright legislation.

Musical chameleons

Who is the musician behind the ambiguous music on *Govenda me*? How is it that a musician can choose to perform as a Turk in one instance and as a Kurd in another without being accused as a traitor by either group? In this particular case, there are many co-operating factors that can explain how one and the same individual is able to perform in two such different and ethnically specific contexts. First, it is common in Asia Minor, as in many other places in the world, to 'bring in' musicians from neighbouring ethnic groups. Traditionally, both ethnic Turks and Arabs have left much of the instrumental music making to Roma musicians [here, the term Roma is used to denote other folk groups, not just 'ethnic' Roma]. In addition, the Islamic religion has an ambivalent attitude towards music and music making, since both can be considered a sin according to some interpretations of the religion.

In Turkey, the instruments zurna and davul are associated with Roma musicians, though this practice varies in different parts of the country. In the eastern parts of Anatolia, zurna music is often performed by the Abdal, a group of people that from an ethnic point of view is often regarded as Turkish, but who often label themselves as Gypsies (Lundberg, 1994:133). A negative attitude towards profane music making can also be found among the Christians in this area. Although a zurna player needs to necessarily be regarded as a sinner, musicians in the folk music sphere are associated with the *zutoye*, the lowest class of people in Assyrian/Syrian society (Lundberg, 2009). In other parts of Middle Eastern music life, the musicians are of Greek, Albanian, Armenian or Jewish heritage and they are not chosen for their ethnic origins but for their skills. Of further importance is the fact that immigrant communities in northern Europe often have difficulty finding competent musicians within their own groups and that they therefore have to spend a lot of money on bringing in musicians from the home country instead of choosing somebody from a different ethnic group. Weddings are particularly interesting in that the demand for quality music is so high that it can be extremely tricky finding 'group' musicians who can master the skills needed.⁵

The example of 'our dances' (*Govenda me*) also illustrates another complex field of ethnomusicology: the function of music as a uniting symbol and the role of musicians as representatives and mediators of tradition, ethnicity and, in extension, identity. Again, who is the musician behind this ambiguous music? Considering the marketing of the cassette, surely the musician is a cold-hearted calculating music-machine selling his music to the highest bidder? Or maybe he is a musical chameleon who has no moral concerns whatsoever? Actually, Ziya Aytekin is neither a cold-hearted music-machine nor an amoral chameleon, but he does help illustrate the fact that there are no indisputable or universal answers to how individual musicians think or function in terms of 'belonging'. And from the perspective of the musicians, it turns out that the double or multi-ethnic situation is often not a problem:

"Yes, I am Turkish, but at the same time you can say that music has no nationality and no borders. If you have the skills required you can play any music. When you play, it doesn't matter if the music is of Arabic, Syrian, Turkish or Kurdish origin. When you are in to the

music you just play and it all comes together. Of course you can listen and say: 'oh yes, this is Arabic, and that is Armenian and that is Turkish'. You can distinguish between different kinds of music. But when I play it... Then it's just MUSIC and I can truly say that the music I am playing knows no boundaries." (Aytekin, Ziya, personal interview, 12.02.1996).⁶

From Ziya Aytekin's point of view music has no boundaries. But at the same time it is obvious that music, more than ever before, constitutes an important boundary marker between different groups in society. It has become more and more common to use ethnic labels to describe music, and folk music in particular. This tune is Swedish, that one is Norwegian or Russian, Korean, Indian, Jewish, etc., or in an even more subtle way to discriminate between regional styles and genres. But there are deeper dimensions to the symbolic meaning of music of a more individual or personal character. When we hear Turkish folk music, memories of Turkey surface in our minds. For Swedes who have been on vacation in Turkey, the memories are filled with images of the sun, beaches, swimming, taverns and people they met. The music symbolises a link to specific experiences. The music will also evoke images of Turkey for a Turk, but these will be other images, such as remembrances of the home village, childhood experiences and friends or enemies. When Ziya Aytekin plays the same piece of music to Kurds and Turks here in Sweden, it evokes feelings of recognition or nostalgia. But we can be pretty certain that their experiences differ.

Music, identity and politics

When people move to a new place they bring their music with them. Often the meaning of the music changes. Sometimes it is used for other purposes; for instance it can become a tool for bringing people together. Many immigrants testify that if it were not for the music, they would never have met in the new country.

"So we began to organise parties in Motala, in Linköping and in Gothenburg where the Assyrians lived. The simple fact is that the music got things going. So you can say that organising parties brought people together? Well, that's how we attracted people. And people began to like each other. And they began to form stronger ties, relationships, and to feel less isolated. Their 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." (Malki, Joseph, personal interview, 03.03.1997).⁷

Music can also be used to convey national ideas, or as a pedagogic tool in language tuition, for example. Maybe 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. Without music, many of Sweden's immigrant organisations and clubs would never have been established, and different cultures, in other words, ways of living, thinking, speaking, etc., would not have found a way of surviving and prospering. Thanks to the unifying powers of music, preconditions for other activities are created, a fact that many immigrants emphasise.

The accordion player Ismet Lolic was born in Tuzla in Bosnia in 1964. When he was five, his family emigrated to Södertälje, about 30 km south of Stockholm in Sweden. In his teens, he started to think about ethnic heritage — nationality and culture. Lots of his family's everyday Yugoslavian characteristics became visible in contrast to the Swedish culture surrounding him. Ismet identified himself as a Sweden-based Yugoslav. The fact that he was of Bosnian or Muslim origin was not important to him. He shared this view of national identity with many other young 'Swedish' Yugoslavs who came from different parts of the old country. Ismet was born into a musical family. His father Hazim worked as a professional accordionist before moving to Sweden. His main occupation was for the national radio station in Tuzla. When Ismet started to play the accordion, his interest lay in folk music and he dreamt about becoming a dance musician. Already as a teenager, he formed a band called YUS, with which he toured among the Yugoslav groups in Sweden playing *zabava* music – party music. The band consisted of young musicians from different parts of Yugoslavia and the birthplaces of the various musicians were of no consequence. Skills were what mattered. The band aimed to sound like other orchestras in Yugoslavia, and this actually meant that at times the ethnical diversity of the band could be considered an advantage.

When the modern Yugoslavia was created under Tito, the government and the communist party played on the unifying powers of culture. The diversity in cultural expressions was merged into a collage supporting the national unity. It became popular to create and link dance and music suites representing all the different provinces and many of the minorities of the country at dance and music events and concerts. In the same spirit, Ismet's orchestra, like most other Yugoslavian bands, had a repertoire consisting of music from almost all parts of the country.

The Serbian-controlled army attacked the secessionist provinces Croatia and Slovenia in July 1991. This led to an immediate crisis for the Yugoslavian groups in Sweden, as well as elsewhere of course. The main task for the groups in Sweden had been to organise meetings and parties and to administer cultural activities and sports events. All these efforts ceased more or less at once for most of the groups. The immediate effect of the Yugoslav conflict was that most of Ismet's job opportunities disappeared in one go. The conflict was extended when Bosnia and Herzegovina declared their independence in March 1992 and civil war once again broke out in the country. For Ismet personally, this was a catastrophe that led to an acute identity crises. It was not possible to be a Yugoslav any more. The homogeneous Yugoslav community in Sweden dispersed and was almost overnight transformed into isolated ethnic groups. The Yugoslavs became Macedonians, Montenegrins, Serbs, Croatians, etc. The already mixed population of Bosnia was broken down into three groups that were identified by way of their religion: Islam, Serbian Orthodox (practised by the Serbs), and Roman Catholicism (practised by the Croats).⁸

Before the conflict, Ismet, like Ziya Aytakin, had felt no boundaries to his music. He divided his repertoire into four categories:

- Western music that he played for everyone (pop music - dance music);
- Modern Yugoslavian dance music that he played for all Yugoslavs;

- A 'local' repertoire comprising specially chosen tunes from different parts of Yugoslavia;
- A specialised local repertoire for folklore groups meant to be performed on stage.

He could use and play whatever music he liked and he had been happy to play what people asked for – Macedonian music for Macedonians, Serbian music for Serbs, etc. Like Ziya, he often emphasised that he was a musical omnivore and that whatever music he played and liked was 'his' music. The origin of the music was of minor importance. But for Ismet, in contrast to Ziya, the symbolic meaning of the music suddenly, almost overnight, became tangible. The genesis of the music became charged with meaning and with this a complicated set of rules stating what was appropriate and inappropriate in almost all situations.

So Ismet stopped playing all together. Like many other Bosnians, Ismet is the child of an ethnically and religiously mixed marriage – in his case his father is a Bosniac (Muslim) and his mother is a Bosnian Croat (Catholic). Before the conflict none of his friends identified him as the child of a mixed marriage. After all, the fact that his roots were in different ethnic Yugoslav groups was one of the things that made him a typical Bosnian (this was something of Bosnia's hallmark). But once the conflict flared up, the situation for Ismet and others of a mixed background became almost unbearable. Who was he if it was no longer possible to be a Yugoslav? And what music was he to play if Yugoslav music was equally impossible as a concept?

After a long period of silence he started to find his way back to the music again. At first, he followed the nationalist prescription and stuck to playing Bosnian music. After four to five years in what he has describes as a 'musical straitjacket', he embarked on a fight to recapture his old Yugoslav repertoire. From a musical perspective, the tunes were still the same, but as symbols, in other words, representatives of identity, they had been claimed as otherwise. Yugoslav music no longer existed, instead the tunes were Serbian, or Macedonian, or Bosnian, and so forth. But this made Ismet even more persistent in his efforts to 'take them back'. He now had both a personal and a political reason behind his choice of repertoire – to regain control, to make the music 'his music' again and to rescue what was left of the music from the war.

Reels and Guinness

Let us pay a visit to the Irish pub *The Loft* in Stockholm. Inside it has the true smell and taste of a traditional pub. The lights are dim – a long wooden bar, high bar-chairs and small tables are spread out in the rooms. And all kinds of beer brands are on offer. Some thick and sluggish, some foaming and sparkling, dark, light, bitter, sweet, the pub serves everything a beer lover can ask for. But beer and atmosphere alone do not make an Irish pub. Music is needed too. Every Sunday night there is a session in the back room of *The Loft*. Different musicians participate from time to time. They arrive equipped with instruments of various kinds, sit down with a pint of beer and join the spontaneous orchestra that is formed around the long table.

Ireland, the green island, whose people like no other have emigrated to all the corners of the globe. During the second half of the 19th century, more than half the population of Ireland, nearly 4.5 million people, left to get away from hunger and misery. But the Irish who move to Sweden today come here for other reasons. About 100 Irish employees are at any given time employed by the Ericsson Telephone Company in Stockholm. They are sent over in groups from the company's subsidiary in Dublin. Often they come for a period of three months before returning home.

The difference between Irish and Swedish culture is not as marked as for other immigrant groups in Sweden, but roots are roots, and so is the need to meet other countrymen. It is obvious that the pub plays an important role for most of the Irish who live in Stockholm, and it is probably of more importance than a Swede can imagine. When I asked the fiddler and Ericsson employee Kevin Finucan if there was any other place than the pub in which Irish people could meet, he did not even understand the question.

The Irish are seldom the majority nationality among the guests. On a normal evening, the guests roughly comprise 60% Swedes and 40% Irishmen and Englishmen. It is not really possible to compare the pub to other ethnic meeting places like the Kurdish, Turkish or Yugoslav societies and clubs, something the Irish guests at The Loft also stress. The pub is more of a public meeting place, as indeed the name indicates. And this is what the guests want it to be. The reasons for going to the pub differ from guest to guest. To many of the inhabitants of Stockholm, places like The Loft are exotic features in the flora of public meeting places, a place where you can experience an Irish atmosphere, drink good beer and listen to live Irish music on 'home turf'. To the Irish and British guests, the language is probably of most importance. To be able to speak one's mother tongue together with fellow countrymen makes one feel 'at home' in a foreign country.

The music played during sessions at The Loft does not differ from the music you hear in most pubs in Dublin. It is typical modern-style Irish folk music performed on fiddle, tin whistle, flute, guitar, concertina, bodhran, etc. But the musicians differ from their Dublin colleagues in one important respect; at The Loft, they are mainly Swedes.

Figure 3 – CD cover from the Swedish Irish group Blackthorn.



How do the guests at the pub feel about this? Well, for the Swedish guests this can sometimes be a problem. Many want the pub to be as genuine as possible. Authenticity is the key word here. Authentic (old) Irish music played by real Irish musicians and real Irish beer – imported Guinness, not the stuff that is brewed on license by Swedish breweries. But for the Irish guests this does not seem to be a problem at all. If the musicians possess the necessary skills and if the beer tastes as it should, the origin of the beer or the musicians matters less.

It would not be fair to say that Irish music in Stockholm does not relate to Ireland and to Irish culture at all. On the contrary, it is a very important part of the pub's Irish identity. But at the same time, the music has become disengaged from its ethnic origin. Irish music has become a music genre comparable to jazz, hip-hop or salsa, and it is played with very good results by musicians all over Europe and North America who have no Irish blood whatsoever flowing in their veins.

However, in contrast to the Yugoslav situation, this is not a problem, and musicians, in similarity to Ziya Aytakin, have no problem playing music that might not be theirs by 'birth right'. Neither do the Irish feel a need to 'claim' the music as theirs or, as Tom Sommers, a bartender at The Loft, puts it when discussing Swedish musicians playing Irish music:

"I was amazed when I first heard them. I couldn't believe they weren't Irish. They are fantastic musicians. But playing music is one thing. Actually, anyone can become an Irish musician if he is talented enough and interested enough. But it's not as easy to become an Irish bartender, for example. You see, you can't learn how to get an Irish personality. You can't pretend to be Irish." (Tom Sommers, personal interview, 14.01.1996)

Some Discussion Topics

Experienced and ascribed identity

The closer we get to the musicians and their music, the easier it is to see that the issue of identity is related more to concepts and ideas *about* the relationship between music and musicians than to the relationship in itself. When Tom Sommers tells us that it is one thing to play Irish music and something completely different to be Irish, he touches upon a central issue concerning the relationship between music and identity. What does it actually mean to be Irish, Swedish, Kurdish or Turkish? First of all, we need to distinguish between two major aspects of identity, the idea an individual has of what he or she is, and the individual's collective identity, which is dependent on a social context. If we were to ask the musicians at The Loft if they were Irish or Swedish, naturally none of them would call themselves Irish. At the same time, in some respects they certainly can be called Irish. In the social context, it is easy to talk about ethnically defined characteristics as 'Irish' or 'Swedish', but it is very difficult to define what such labelling actually comprises. What is an 'Irish personality' or an 'Irish musicality'? Are the Irish characteristics to be found in the melodies, the repertoire, the musical dialect, clothes and similar items, or can it only be ascribed to

that which is verbally communicated in the presentation of a tune or a performance? When we observe and interpret the world around us from an ethnical perspective, we have to remember that the interpretation is in the hands of the observer. We have to face the fact that expressive specialists – musicians, authors and other artists – are given roles in an ethnic play. They are ascribed an ethnic belonging through the work they convey whether they want it or not.

The Swedish mosaic

The ethnic heritage of people has become an increasingly important factor in today's multicultural societies. We can see how the categorisation of people in Sweden has gradually changed from the 1970s to today. The social categorisation, in which class constitutes the most important ground for the political division in Sweden, is gradually being replaced by a categorisation that departs from the idea of groups based on ethnicity, interest, etc. (Aronson, 1976; Ronström, 1996; Lundberg, 1997). The multicultural Sweden of today is often metaphorically described as a mosaic. The Swedish society constitutes a framework in which different ethnic groups form a pattern, much like the stones in a mosaic. But the mosaic requires or implies difference – to be entitled to be a piece in the mosaic, every single one of the stones has to differ in a distinct way. The stones have to be different but adaptable. Every single group of people in the mosaic is required to manifest its own distinct characteristics within a strictly defined framework of cultural expressions (Lundberg and Ternhag, 1996: 132). This brings us back to the expressive forms of culture once again – food, dance, music, clothes. Through these means of expression, particularly music and dance, different groups in society can expose their specific cultural nature. Music and dance can represent the different groups and mark them out in relation to each other. To be able to take part – to form part of the mosaic – you have to be visible.

The cultural symbols of representation become most obvious and visible at official manifestations where cultural diversity is the theme. Such activities include events such as 'immigrants' day', international culture festivals and parades. During such events, the mosaic metaphor is almost overstated. Take a typical form of event in Sweden, a multicultural festival in a small Swedish town, where each separate culture is represented by a booth or a book table. The booths or tables are placed around the central square in the middle of the town and visitors can purchase food, records, cassettes, literature and clothes from them. In a compatible format one can enjoy cultures from all corners of the globe – Peruvian, Iranian, Finnish or Turkish, side by side, presented in the same form of wrapping. The key word for such a multicultural manifestation is representation. Woe! The poor immigrant group that lacks something notable and specific to present! From the idea of representation follows the focus on the group. The individuals are reduced to representatives of their respective cultures. In many articles in major Swedish newspapers, the Swedish/Turkish debater and festival arranger Ozan Sunar has pointed out the problems that ethnic classifications of people give rise to. Generalisations create and enforce differences and tend to place people in restrictive categories: "*There is something seductive about grandiose words. How often do we not hear phrases as now we are going to tear down the walls and build bridges between the cultures? It is easy to imagine cultures as*

immovable stone rocks, separated by almost insuperable depths. A simple meeting between people is suddenly turned into gigantic building schemes to be engineered and administrated by the carpenters of culture." (Sunar, 1997).⁹

So what is so special about cultures then? Can we distinguish between 'cultural behaviour' and other behaviour? Owe Ronström (1992) has described how Yugoslavs in Sweden experience a 'Yugoslav' identity as being ascribed to a particular social zone: 'the close outer world', a zone between the more intimate zones ('the bedroom zone' and 'the living room zone') and the official zone ('the citizen zone'). In the intimate zones an individual is first and foremost a woman, a man, a friend, a relative, and so on. In the citizen zone a person is primarily a citizen like everybody else, irrespective of descent. 'Yugoslav' is an identity that you take on under very special circumstances. When Ozan Sunar criticises the common classification of immigrants and minorities in Swedish society, he touches upon the tendency to join together all immigrant groups in huge mass of people who supposedly have the same needs and qualifications. But he is also discussing the fact that there is an inclination to impose 'cultural behaviour' on situations where it has no relevance. A Turk is expected to behave in a 'Turkish' way in all situations, a Frenchman in a 'French' manner, and so on, without anyone really knowing what this means.

Individuality and group membership

Music is an important part of our identity and its symbolic potential lies in the fact that it can be used to express and maintain both differences and similarities. In the multicultural context, music is used as a marker of group boundaries for the own group. But it is also used outwards, marking boundaries against other groups and individuals. Internally, the group can use its 'own' music to strengthen the feeling of belonging, and the same process can be used to mark a difference between 'others' and 'us'. This use is by no means limited to ethnical categories in society. People forming identities around music concept such as hip-hop, jazz, old time folk music and heavy metal also use markers to a similar extent.

Expected representation

What these examples really show us – the Kurdish/Turkish dances, the confused Bosnian accordion player and the Swedish-Irish musicians – is whether it is necessary for there to be a connection between an expressive specialist and the culture that he or she is expressing. This discussion has more to do with the fundamental problem one faces when attempting to analyse a process that claims to liberate the creative powers of individuals in order to link those powers to grandiose words like history, culture, tradition, in other words, words that form the basis of our socially constructed and collectively experienced world. The same problems are dealt with in sociology when analysing the possibilities of statements such as '*the world is created by human beings – and the world has an objective existence – humans are created by the world*'. Every day, we take for granted that ethnic identity and other types of belonging are objective or hereditary characteristics of human beings, even though we realise, on an analytical level, that they are the results of choice.

Music, and folk music in particular, constitutes a special case as an identity marker. Especially since it, together with other forms of expression, moulds our perception of what collective human identity actually is. Despite our best intentions, we have not put behind us the old notion of folk music as created by the 'folk' (its own users) in one mighty collective creative process. Folk music has been and created by itself in the soul of the people – a true parthenogenesis. This strong connection to a collective identity has for many centuries formed the ideology and rhetoric of folk music. Many people have benefited from this notion of folk music, whereas others have experienced it as an obstacle. It may be that in recognition of this fact, many folk musicians have been motivated to work within musical spheres that primarily honour the individual, spheres such as jazz, art music and pop music. This is probably also one of the reasons why Swedish folk musicians of today often refer to themselves as folk musicians and not 'spelman' or folk fiddlers.

Cultural expressive forms are constantly recreated in a synthesis between tradition, available media, technical resources and individual practitioners. It is easy to forget this, not least in the field of ethnomusicology where we actually have a tradition of regarding music as collective and inherited and the musicians that play the music as conveyors of that 'belonging'.

Notes

¹ Zilgit (plural zilgitar) is the Turkish name for the high, shrill hollers that women use to express excitement and joy, but also to contribute to the intensity of the dance. The English equivalent is ululation – 'cry of joy'.

² Zurna is the Turkish name for shawm. Instruments of this type are very common and important in folk music, not only in Anatolia and the Middle East, but also throughout Eurasia.

³ Davul is a big two-skinned drum.

⁴ Mey is the Turkish name for a family of wind instruments that is used from the east of Japan (*Hichiriki*) to Caucasus and eastern Turkey in the west. The mey is a short cylindrical wind instrument with a huge double reed as its source of sound (Lundberg 1994:135) The rim blown flute bilor is known as *çoban kavali* (shepherds flute) in Turkish. The bilor is also part of a larger family of flutes used in the areas around the south and east coasts of the Mediterranean and throughout Asia

⁵ One example is the Assyrian group in Sweden. For the 'Swedish' Assyrians, who to a large extent originate from Tur'abdin in south-east Turkey, the zurna is an almost indispensable part of the wedding celebration. At the same time, there are no zurna players of Assyrian descent living in Sweden. Sometimes the problem can be solved by replacing the zurna with a synthesiser equipped with a sampled zurna sound. But to make a wedding 'genuine' a real zurna and davul is needed (Lundberg, 1994 and 2009).

⁶ Translated by Dan Lundberg

⁷ Translated by Dan Lundberg

⁸ The ethnic names used for these groups are Bosniacs, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats.

⁹ Translated by Dan Lundberg

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■ From South to South: Indo-Pakistani diaspora and recent cultural practices in Spain

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Abstract Until the 1970s, Spaniards emigrated in successive waves, looking for a job and a better life. Scarcely 30 years later, now fully integrated in the EU, Spain has become a receiver of immigrants from Latin America, Africa and Asia. This process has not been as progressive as in the UK, Netherlands or France. It was abrupt and parallel to a more general globalization movement. This situation provides new, interesting fields to observe phenomena related to music and immigration in Southern Europe. This study focuses on the changes that new citizens, especially those from Southern Asian countries, stimulate within Spain's musical market and cultural policies, taking as the main subject popular music and cinema from Bollywood. Through the comparison of two extremely different cities as a paradigm of models of cohabitation, we can see how the diverse orientation of specific cultural and musical practices in this case, those within the Bollywood 'microcosm', can alter the intercultural scene and paint different perceptions of the immigrant communities.

Keywords Diaspora, music, Spain, Bollywood

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■ From South to South: Indo-Pakistani diaspora and recent cultural practices in Spain

Sílvia Martínez

Watching bollywood far from home

The most widespread Indian popular cinema, known as Bollywood productions, has enjoyed an unprecedented boom in the West in recent years. It is a cinema - with associated musical products (video clips, music, dance, etc.) - that has a long-established consumer base within Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi diasporic communities now long settled in the USA, the UK, and Australia, among other countries. However a twist can be observed in recent times, when these audiovisual products and experiences have been involved in a progressive crossover that promotes their acceptance by collectives far removed from their origins. This analysis - the first part of a work in progress started some years ago - stems from observation of this crossover within some diasporic communities, specifically in the Indo-Pakistani colonies settled in Spain.

We must remember that although Bollywood films are fundamentally made for internal consumption across the 13,000 film theatres in India (where an estimated 15 million spectators gather daily), the industry does not ignore the more than 20 million ex-pats from Southern Asia. With one eye also on this faraway and international audience, a more forward-looking Indian cinema - with many stories set in foreign capitals - complements the range of classical character references with situations that reveal the dilemma between tradition and modernity that frequently confronts second-generation immigrants (Gokulsing and Dissanayake, 2004).

For individuals of the diaspora, the films and music surrounding them allow for management of nostalgia and continuity with the cultural habits of their origins. This means that the youth need not renounce modernity. If immigration and relocation to Spanish cities are essentially family-based, so too is Bollywood. These films offer the family nucleus the preservation of their language (Hindi/Urdu) within an entertaining context - recreating traditional aesthetics, festivals, traditions, rituals, and a framework for social and ethical values, both the more traditional and relatively modern products, although these are not exactly comparable to those of the Western model.

Beyond individual pleasure and the possibility of family leisure, Bollywood films bring ad hoc reference points to the different ethnic communities consuming them: for the Indians, they form part of the representation (absolutely unreal and idealized) of an immense, diverse, and fragmented country that needs to be portrayed as a unified nation project. Removed from this identification, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (like many Indians) perceive a route to modernity without the loss of their roots, one which seems to get all the tastes of the diaspora in one cultural product belonging to present, something seen as genuine and belonging to all of them. This does not, however, prevent the appearance of contradictions that are hard to explain. For example,

it is surprising that the political message in many Bollywood productions does not upset a large number of the Pakistani viewers. Some stories occasionally offer a tremendously simplistic and naive vision of political policies aimed at maintaining national cohesion, greater social justice, or inter-religious understanding in what is such a fragmented and diverse part of the world. And while much of this cinema tends to carry conciliatory interregional and Indo-Pakistani viewpoints, there are also an equal number of clearly anti-Pakistani stories, and openly xenophobic propaganda. How could there be such avid consumption of a cinema in which they (young male Pakistanis) are so unflatteringly portrayed (as idiots, ugly, perverse)? Obviously Bollywood productions are not seen as an entire whole but as single pictures, some better appreciated than others. Nevertheless, one of the most common answers, provided by the young people interviewed, is to swerve round political aspects of the story and characterisations by highlighting others, namely that 'the girls are gorgeous' and 'the music is great'. In this case, images of ethnic representation here are less important than the romantic story or the action or the special effects and, above all, they have less value than the musical numbers that make up the true attraction of the film. Furthermore, the youngest viewers identify themselves more with the young male character resident in New York or London (who are modern but who have not abandoned their roots) than with the hero born and bred in Bombay or Lahore.

Finally with the interest in cultural and musical consumption habits, we must not overlook the fact that consumer habits today amongst the young allow for a product fragmentation that was previously unthinkable, one that often renders the narrative and characters irrelevant. Despite the fact that films are still on the long side (an average of two to three hours), current technology for reproducing and copying (including DVD 'burners' and Internet, the core of the piracy industry) mean easy extraction of the music (as video-clips) from the context of the narrative, to be distributed in a re-packaged form (DVD that contain only the musical routines are very popular). This is one consumer tendency that easily deactivates the political, ethical, and romantic drive of stories, isolating the musical, erotic, and festive elements.

Different cities, different communities: two opposite settlements in Spain

In Barcelona, a city with a large Pakistani immigrant population, a few years ago we began to see the huge rise and success of everything related to Bollywood (films, thematic restaurants, dance courses, etc). It therefore occurred to us to think that if this happened here, in another Spanish city such as Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, with a very large, well-settled Indian community, the situation would be similar or even more visible. We therefore started a comparative ethnographical fieldwork to document a multiple and heterogeneous musical experience which will allow us to explore intercultural situations and processes occurring in two different cities. So, for this paper, we must understand how such very different scenes grow from one single production, and what appropriation strategies the main players have used.

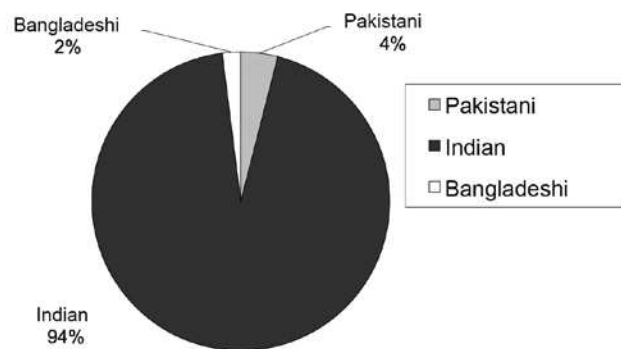
Any social group, whether or not it is immigrant, is never homogenous: we cannot expect each community to be an integrated whole, to speak with one voice and to sha-

re common experiences. Nor can we expect the people making up each community to have the same views and expectations of their new homes, or the same attitude towards forming associations, and so on. Bearing this in mind, we can sketch a minimum sociological profile based on the statistical data available to us.

In Spain, the immigrant population is estimated to be around 10-12% of the whole (6.3% are legal residents), though their arrival is concentrated on recent times and contrasts with the historical emigration flow of the Spanish population, a key demographic feature of the post Civil War period (1939 onwards) until the onset of democracy (1976). The largest proportion of immigrants comes from the various countries of Latin America and from Morocco (whose immigrants, for historical and cultural reasons, do regard Spain as a priority destination). Immigrants from Asia (primarily Chinese, Philippines, and Pakistanis) make up no more than 7% of total foreign residents in Spain, so this is really a minority presence within the whole. The oldest significant Asian settlers in Spain are the Indians who settled in the Canary Islands, arriving after Indian colonial independence (1947), pioneers from Hyderabad (in Sindh, now in Pakistan), Ahmadabad (Gujarat), and Bombay. They set up businesses in import-export, tailoring, photography, retail/wholesale stores, jewelry, high-class furniture, textiles, and others, forming the most important Asiatic collective in Spain in 1975 (Beltrán and Sáiz, 2002: 18). About 25% (five years ago it was more than 45%) of Indian residents in Spain (now some 16,000 people) live on the islands, mainly Gran Canaria and Tenerife.

This is nowadays the largest colony after that in Catalonia, but they have been in the Canary Islands for a long time, and some of their families for several generations in Spain. These include a balanced proportion of ages and sexes, and they have long-standing institutions representing them (such as the 'Club Indostánico', founded in the 1970s).

Figure 1 - Diaspora Indo-Pakistanis in Canary Islands



Source: Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración (2007)

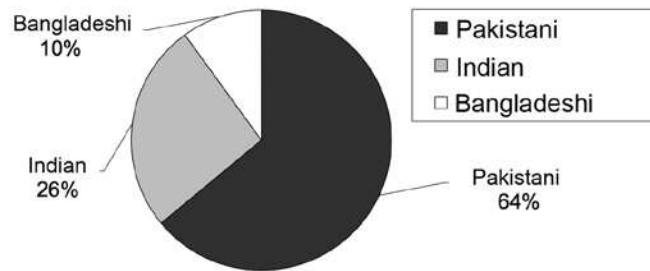
Fieldwork in Las Palmas shows that consumption of Bollywood films is one of the key cultural practices in a large part of this Indo-Canary community. The films are obtained by downloading from Internet, bought on trips to India, sent by relatives and friends, or they are watched on satellite TV (mostly on Zee TV). The latest cinema and the musical products extracted from these form part of the daily private soundscape. I would underline 'private' because there is scarce cultural exchange between the Indian colony and the rest of the Canary Islanders. This perception that they 'live in their own world' does not come from any lack of sociality (a large part of the colony runs or works in the many shops and businesses open to the public in cities) but rather the distance from which they are perceived and from the lack of opportunities to promote exchanges.

Bollywood cinema and music in its entirety is here a private, unshared activity: there are hardly any shops where one can buy films or CDs, nor leisure venues for listening or dancing to a regular menu of *bhangra* or bollywood sounds. In search of an answer to this isolation, it seems that no member of the Indian diaspora understands the potential attraction that this music, with its mix of exoticism and modernity, exerts on people in other places in Spain.

In stark contrast to the Canary Islands situation is the one in Catalonia, the Spanish region with the highest number of registered immigrants (ahead of Madrid) most of whom live in the capital, Barcelona. However, we are still only speaking of a proportion of around 15% of the central city's population (1.5 million inhabitants). Barcelona became one of the favorite destinations of the Indian diaspora that chose to leave the Canary Islands for mainland Spain from the seventies onwards (other settling points were Madrid, Valencia, and Malaga, in smaller proportions), and their demographic pattern was repeated there. To this we must add a sizeable Sikh community that arrived halfway through the 1980s as political refugees from the conflictive situation in India. The Indians living in Barcelona, besides Gujaratis and Sindhis as in the Canaries, are mainly Punjabis: middle and upper class people, owners of businesses controlling the clothing industry coming from Kashmir. What really stands out in Barcelona is the huge Pakistani community of more than 15,000 people (almost 60% of all the Pakistanis resident in Spain).

Pakistanis began to arrive at the end of the 1970s, coinciding with the toughening of entry into the UK but the diaspora has grown rapidly over the last decade, aided by networks set up by the first residents to settle there. Like the Bangladeshi community, far smaller in Spain with hardly 5,000 people, but also very concentrated in Barcelona, the Pakistani community is male-dominated (80% are young men) and it is focused in the Ciutat Vella district. The main part of this neighbourhood is no longer a marginal one but one whose high immigrant concentration makes it 'ill thought of'. This is a reflection of a recent immigration pattern (men arrive before their families) made up of small business owners, traders and unskilled workers.

Figure 2 - Diaspora Indo-Pakistani in Barcelona



Source: Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración (2007)

With its high proportion of youth, the usual nucleus of the community is a unit consisting of a single father with young sons. Therefore, it is a masculine universe, youthful, concentrated in the city centre, and with enough spending power to lead to greater use of public space and a growth in demand for leisure away from the home. We think that this is one of the keys to the visibility of its principal cultural and leisure product: Bollywood cinema.

In Barcelona, private and *petit comité* consumption of Bollywood cinema (just as we have seen in the Canary Islands and other cities) has turned these films and their musical extracts into a recent source of many other activities: from big star bollywood and lollywood concerts to screenings in cinemas (unheard of in the rest of Spain). The soundtracks and video clips from the films make their way to dance floors, forming a key element in secular party activities for a part of the Indo-Pakistani community and recently Spaniards are also joining in.

Pakistani diaspora in Barcelona: If nobody knows me, I can reinvent myself

Some of main characteristic of the Indo-Pakistani diaspora in Spain is shared with other cases in which an immigrant group remains established in non-priority countries (as might be the UK or USA in this case). New citizens in these situations do not share a common idiom with old ones, nor even a colonial past, and they count frequently with relatives and friends living in other countries with an important and rooted diaspora. As with all diasporas, immigrant communities of specific nationalities settled in one country keep their close ties with compatriots making up communities in other countries (Beltrán and Sáiz, 2002:13). This is particularly significant in this case: although part of a family may live in Spain, its emotional and socio-economic dependence is centered in the multipolar transnational network it belongs to, where the specific place of origin plays a major role the city, the region, etc. As a frame of reference for our observation, we can turn to the theoretical paradigm of transnationalism, which encompasses immigration in the new framework of worldwide

exchange of people, capital, goods, technologies, ideology, and cultures. Classical categories of citizenship, race, ethnicity, class, gender, and identity still serve for analyses of present-day societies, but they are molded to take in research into immigration within the contemporary phase of the growing globalization of capitalism, offering us clues as to how to define, describe, and explain the rise of transnational bonds in diverse migratory communities. All that allows this recent Asian diaspora in Spain to develop cultural practices with a twofold reference: firstly, the cultural context of their origin (in all its diversity and complexity), and secondly, according to the habits and values prevalent in those referenced immigrant communities which provide them with clues and models for their development in the new cultural context (different from the environment in which the diasporas arrived to priority-destination countries develop). Despite settling in unfamiliar territories, these diasporas enjoy the advantage brought by the multiplication of reference points and strategies for negotiating their establishment, as well as less visibility as an immigrant community. This generally leads to less hostility from the host society (it is well understood that if immigrants are not great in number, our tolerance of them is greater) and to fewer pre-established clichés, allowing them to explore alternatives in their representative role as a new collective.

We also know that music is a powerful vehicle within the migratory experience, both for laying roots in the new territory and, potentially, for intercultural exchange. Immigration is accompanied by types of music which, when heard far from home, undergo a change of perception and meaning. There are other kinds of music that are found and adopted by immigrants (Bohlman, 2002:115). Others are created in the intercultural space, which like modern cities, are perfect for incubating the mix. If immigration is basically an urban phenomenon, we cannot ignore the way in which relations take place between musical experiences (in this case cinematic-musical), ethnicity, and the urban experience.

One of the hypotheses of this work is that the success of Bollywood music and the leisure activities it generates is due, in part to its bringing an alternative sound image to the long-held cliché of the region of India and Pakistan. Basically represented by classical (Hindustani and Carnatic) and religious (Qawwali) music, the main stereotypes exploited by the world music sector, Bollywood music means immigrants from South Asia project an image of themselves that is just as exotic as the former but with an interesting added value. This is a cultural manifestation and 'para-folkloric' music that takes over from the fossilized clichés of nineteenth century folklore, bringing in an orientalist exoticism combined with the experience of urbanity and modernity (could we call it 'neo-folklore'?). For the Indo-Pakistani population residing in Spain, Bollywood is definitely creating new forms to display ethnicity, but in ways that are more in tune with the 21st century and the metropolitan and urban contexts in which we move. If folklore, as García Canclini notes, is a '*mechanism of selection, and even invention, projected towards the past to legitimize the present*' (1989: 204), it seems clear that these diasporas select their materials largely from among the images and sounds of Bollywood. Behind this is surely the fact of a shorter time settling in, as well as widespread ignorance on the part of the host society, which lessens the effect of pre-established clichés. If cultural and musical practices provide situations for nego-

tiating concepts like 'modern', 'traditional', 'own', 'authentic', etc., young Pakistanis living in Barcelona, as opposed to those long-settled communities in the Anglo-Saxon countries, have a broader margin to explore alternatives in their representative role as a new collective.

That might explain their frequent presence as 'insiders' in the discotheques and clubs where Bollywood parties are run, their activity teaching Bollywood dances everywhere, or playing in Bhangra bands, and even their business as Bollywood-blockbuster sellers. This happens in the informal and private market that has been growing and disseminating through neighbourhoods where a clear majority of immigrant population comes from these countries. A discreet and non-legal distribution net of video-clips, films and music nests in telephone calling centers, food stores, hairdressing saloons, and all kinds of stores managed by Pakistanis and targeting not just Asian immigrants.

Figures 3, 4 –Bollywood party at Sweet Café (Barcelona) September 2006



Trying to explain the Bollywood success beyond the diaspora

Beyond the small, private screen, the appetite for Bollywood in Barcelona has been satiated for years through semi-clandestine screenings in the city's cinemas. Since 2001, Pakistani businessmen have run 'secret' screenings in some of the city's central picture houses, screened at the end of normal sessions (mostly after midnight). The latest releases were imported from the UK (preferably the same week in which the new film hits the Indian cinemas), and they were projected in a single session that was discreetly advertised within the community (posters in Urdu/Hindi in Ciutat Vella, ads in newspapers targeting immigrants, etc). They were enormously successful but offer little profit due to the cost of hiring the cinema, and because distributors asked a minimum four-week rental price for the films, making it very difficult to break even from a single screening. In 2007 two businessmen in the city (one Indian and one Pakistani) turned round the ruinous cinema-renting formula to set up a film theatre with permanent programming, called 'Maldà Bollywood'. It seems evident that

to allow this kind of activities, it is vital to use the transnational networks mentioned before, which offer infrastructures and personal relationships to develop these projects. In the Cinema Maldà the screenings, which have English subtitles, were attended by young Pakistanis and a very few Spaniards who found out about them through friends or neighbours. The initiative, after ambitious remodeling of the film theatre, did not start well. The two partners, the hotel owner Shankar Kishnani (investment partner) and Zulfiqar Ali Shah, the owner of a video club and film distributor (who was to take care of the programming), broke up their company agreement shortly before the launch. Unfortunately, the bad programming (instead of first showings, they put on old second-rate films, with much cheaper copies) and the discrepancies between the project's partners led the cinema to be closed a few months later.

Beyond the Maldà experience, more popular oriented, there is an 'upscale circuit' going round Barcelona: the occasional screenings dedicated to Bollywood by the Barcelona Asian Film Festival, screenings at Casa Asia (an institutional initiative for the promotion of business and cultural projects with the Asia-Pacific region), or cineforums for cinephiles organized, amongst others, by the Club Masala (a privately funded project founded in 2002 by Sheri Ahmed, a young British Pakistani active in promoting Bollywood related activities in Barcelona). In these cases, those frequently attending include Spanish or European Community citizens and the events have a far more intellectual tone (and sometimes a touch of snobbery) in which the exotic and kitsch aspects of the productions are highly valued.

However, these small cinema experiences can not explain alone why Barcelona is now full of schools that teach Bollywood dances, of the success of the restaurants or parties with Bollywood shows, or why Sharuk Khan's (one of the greatest stars of that cinema) tours have included Barcelona since 2004.

Why a huge success? Obviously because he has also managed to catch the attention of the local population, not directly related to the Indo-Pakistani diaspora. What is the perception of local consumers, who have no historical or emotional links to South Asia, when they come across their films and music, accepting Bollywood aesthetics rapidly and progressively? Without a doubt, one of the keys is that they are presented with a new and alternative dance music, in other words, not Latin, not Anglo-Saxon. On one hand, some people relate it to the exotic component of belly dancing, which has been so successful for years in Spain. On the other hand, the ease with which rhythms are assimilated, which are catchy despite often being complex, are appreciated because of their relatively sophisticated composition and sound production. We think that the best Bollywood music productions very cleverly combine some of the resources used in various genres distributed on the 'World Music' label, especially those more closed to popular music. That is, the use of typical local sounds (sitar, tabla, typical high female voices) and melodies (patterns close to some ragas) over westernized harmonic patterns, which makes listening and accessibility easier, and this could be one of the clues to their success.

But it is not only the sound factor that pulls in the listener (in this case the enormous differences between the Barcelona scene and that of other Spanish cities would not

be justified). Undoubtedly, another of the key factors is the infrastructure the city's immigrants have been able to create. The interest they have in generating intercultural spaces, generally with an economic-business background, has been noticeable in recent years.

The sensation is that of a truly enterprising community (far from the import-export possibilities offered by an open port such as that of the Canary Islands) that sees that there is money to be made in culture. It is evident that the practices that enabled cultural exchange work much better when they are designed by the immigrant community, itself (and even better if the specific drive comes from diasporas long-settled in other Western countries) and if they are open to a local public. As opposed to initiatives set up by local authorities and institutions, with their excessive weight of unreal, celebratory diversity (see 'multicultural parties'), immigrant initiatives, as long as they are taken within a context of a minimum economic welfare and social acceptance, seem to get more to the heart of urban leisure needs.

Another question, which we must leave for future papers, is to establish whether this music will ever blend with other kinds of music in the city, and if we are to have new sounds as has occurred with salsa, rai, cumbia, and other rhythms that have found their way into the city's musical productions. Nowadays some popular bands as Ojos de Brujo, the emblem of the so-called 'Raval Sound' uncomplicatedly mix the local rumba rhythm with bhangra and rap, overlapping flamenco guitar and palmas with tabla or violins very 'Bollywood style'. Only time will tell if the Bollywood scene dies out as a mere passing fad or if it manages to establish itself and grow in other Spanish cities and probably other Southern European countries in which the Indo-Pakistani community constitutes a small diaspora.

Figure 5 - CD *Techarí* by Ojos de Brujo (2006)



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■ ***Proud to be a Goan: colonial memories,
post-colonial identities and music***

Susana Sardo*

Abstract During 451 years of colonial history, catholic Goans used music as a mediator of identity negotiation. In a political context repressing musical sonority of Indian flavour, in which Portuguese was the official language, catholic Goans created their own music, sung in Konkani and performed according to Portuguese models. *Mandó* among other hybrid and ambivalent musical genres, comprehensible for colonial rulers and Goans but with different significance for both, acquired an emblematic status. After 1961 Goa becomes an Indian territory, and the Goan diaspora, into Europe, America and Africa, increased. With it, the homeland myth created the necessity to isolate some cultural ingredients in order to maintain their cultural ties within an alien territory. Musical genres developed in Goa were recreated not for their colonial memory but because they allowed Goans to prove their difference. This paper tries to inscribe Goans as a paradigmatic case of diasporic communities where music acquires central status in the process of post-colonial identification and as an instrument of conciliation.

Keywords Music, Goa, diaspora, postcolonial theory, identity

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■ **Proud to be a Goan: colonial memories, post-colonial identities and music**

Susana Sardo

Introduction

During the process of Portuguese colonisation, music constituted one of the most effective instruments in mediating communication. In some contexts, such as in the case of Goa (India), Western classical music was imposed by the colonial power during the first two centuries of colonisation, being the only allowed form of musical expression. Because the process of colonisation was strongly influenced by a fervent strategy of Christianisation, Western classical music was used as a vehicle for the transmission of the Christian doctrine and, in the converts' case, replaced the music associated with the practices of Hinduism considered heretical by the colonizer. During the colonial period, that extended itself from 1510 to 1961, the social fabric gradually created an hybrid, and in some cases, mimetic local elite (Bhabha, 1994), very close to the colonial power structure. Sharing a common musical repertoire of classical and traditional music with the Portuguese, this elite, predominantly made up of Catholics of the Brâmane and Chardó¹ caste, developed local musical genres, sung in Konkani, being the result of the combination of two great musical traditions: the Western and Indian, the latter being of Hindustani affiliation. It is this repertoire to which I from now on refer myself when using the term 'Goan music' because it is in this manner that the musical genres are enunciated by Goans themselves when referring to 'their music'.

Although it is one of the most obvious testimonies of the colonial past, Goan music, in the post-colonial past,² has acquired a central place in the cohesive process of the Goan community, both in Goa and in the diaspora. Furthermore, it today constitutes the biggest guarantee for preservation of the Konkani language, which gives it a kind of paradoxical status, making it both a mirror of colonialism and a testimony of resistance.

This article, framed by the theoretical legacy of postcolonial theory (Homi Bhabha, Leela Gandhi, Walter Dignolo, Gaiatry Spivak, Veit Erlman, Featherstone), wants to show how a repertoire that we nowadays call 'Goan music' came about, the importance that it has acquired in Goa's post-colonial period, and the central position that it occupies in creating and maintaining a Goan community. This is to be understood primarily as an 'emotional community' (Gordon, 1989; Mafesolli, 1988), diasporic in nature and, therefore, increasingly located in an area without physical place although ideologically conceived. Music, in this context, perhaps retakes the leading role that the past has bestowed on it and becomes above all an element of conciliation, now surpassing the limits of space and the absences of place in the same way as it, in the past, has also surpassed the boundaries of religion, language and power relations.

First meeting – the Konkani incident

In June 2007, the First Convention of Goans in the Diaspora took place in Lisbon. This meeting, in the form of a congress, took place for three days and was organized by Casa de Goa, the first association of Goans established in Lisbon in 1987, the year in which Goa acquired the status of State of India and Konkani became the official State language. For this meeting, I was invited to lead a panel on music, and in my introductory speech I mentioned that after 46 years of integration of Goa into India and a long history of struggle for the recognition of Konkani as an official language of India, it is losing its status as most important language of Goa, in favor of English.

In the context of the new generations of Goans, for which formal education happens in English, the language of communication now increasingly is the one of India's colonizer. With regard to Goan diasporic communities, that show a marked tendency to adopt the language of the host country as language of communication, Konkani has virtually ceased to be spoken. And the fact that the official languages of the Lisbon Convention were Portuguese and English further strengthens this argument. Music is, indeed, the only means by which Goans need to communicate in Konkani, be it in Goa or in the diaspora, because the music, in order to be *Goan*, must be sung in Konkani.

During the coffee break, one of the participants, clearly offended by my argument, came looking for me, trying to explain to me that he did not recognize itself in it, given that he always speaks Konkani, whether he is in Goa or out of Goa among Goans. He asked me if I had tried to learn Konkani during my research work. I explained to him that I did and told him that when I arrived in Goa, in 1987, one of my first concerns was to learn Konkani with help from the writer Dilip Borkar, but that the results were initially little productive because the Konkani that he taught me was quite different from the one commonly spoken by the people. *"That is because you were learning Konkani from an Hindu!"* – he concluded. Obviously, my interlocutor was a Goan Catholic.

This episode is quite enlightening regarding the situation of the Konkani language in Goa. As the matter a fact, the language's particularities change in accordance with religious affiliation, social status (caste), geographical origin and the type of formal education. In the diaspora, this discontinuity increases because Konkani incorporates different diasporic memories. By this reason, the adoption of the host language also contributes to the blurring of social differences carried from Goa, which the collective memory does not allowed to conceal. How can a diasporic community survive as such (a whole) when the language, one of the stronger ingredients for a collective identity of the group, seems to be the weakest link? What kind of strategies are used by the Goans in the diaspora to ensure the vitality and reproduction of the community? This is where music takes on a central and unifying role.

Music in Goa: schizophrenic sounds

The relation of Goa with India was partially interrupted during 451 years of Portuguese colonisation (1510-1961). This period was long enough to generate a hybrid

culture, especially in the Catholic context, clearly represented by a relationship of complicity generated between coloniser and colonised (Bhabha, 1994). The Catholic religion was one of the most powerful instruments in the process of colonisation carried out by the Portuguese in Goa, as well as in other areas of India and the Orient. The conversions to Catholicism ensured political allies that inevitably led to the creation of culturally close interlocutors of the coloniser, thus facilitating the understanding between the two parties [coloniser and colonised]. With the consolidation of political power in Goa, culture seems to have complied with a partition of a religious order: on the one hand Hindus and Muslims - which the Portuguese called *gentios* and *mouros*, respectively - and, on the other, *converts* attracted by irresistible offers such as the allocation of land or permission to marry men and women, in the latter case especially sent from the Kingdom for this purpose (Costa, 1940). Simultaneously, a robust system of formal education was also implemented with the primary objective of preventing Goans converted to Catholicism to continue to attend traditional Hindu schools. Parochial schools, founded in Goa in 1545 and only destined to male students, acquired a central place not only in the process of evangelisation but also in the creation of a paradigm of basic education of Goans, teaching mathematics and music in addition to writing and reading. In the case of music, the teaching program included solfejo (*solfas*), singing and learning to play an instrument, in most cases the violin. Through this colonial strategy, Western music was entirely transplanted to Goa, initially with the sole purpose of supporting the establishment of new religious practices associated with Catholicism (Sardo and Simões, 1989).

For Goans, western music defined a 'strange' sound universe, especially by its polyphonic character. Unlike the secular monodic practice of classical Indian tradition, Goans were now invited to listen to other music marked by the performance of several simultaneous voices singing different melodic paths, or even the use of instrumental accompaniment with melodic material different from the one performed vocally. One can say that for the Indians western music represented an 'exotic' universe because it was different in relation to the known musical ambient because it somehow provided a sense of fascination, especially emphasised by the presence of large instrumental ensembles. The description of musical events recorded throughout archival documentation, in particular in the field of epistolography, show us that the Portuguese quickly took advantage of this exotism using music as a way to attract either Hindus or Catholic converts. These 'schizophonic' sounds, a concept described by Steven Feld (2000) based on the proposal of Murray Shaffer to refer to the process of musical relocation, were great allies of the colonists and were gradually adopted by Goans, especially Catholics, providing a genesis of a new musical universe.

Initially, according to archival documentation, particularly legislation of a religious nature, the Portuguese introduced a rigid system of musical negotiation that only allowed Goans to play the music transplanted from the West, invariably associated with the Catholic faith. Gradually, and after the eighteenth century and the eradication of the Inquisition in 1836, it is possible to see an emergence of some signs of musical emancipation with the emergence of hybrid and ambivalent genres, developed mostly within the rural elite consisting of landowners (*gãocars*). Music occupied a central position in the consolidation of this elite, as I will describe below.

Within the rural elite, consolidated after the decline of the city of Old Goa, which led to the formation of the city of New Goa (actual Panjim), and to the return of landlords to their villages of origin, the difference between Portuguese and Goans became very tenuous. It was in this very particular situation that music emerged as a central ingredient to legitimise difference and as a guarantee for the maintenance of 'goanity'. The Goan Catholics had a huge success in the field of literature, poetry, painting or even performance or composition of Western music. However, a creation of new artistic genres or even stylistic emancipation never happened, merely restricting oneself to reproduce the models imported from or through Portugal with excellence (Devi and Seabra 1971). Only music seems to have offered to Goans the possibility of creating something new, something where they could show the difference between the models received by the Portuguese and those newly created by the Goans. And it was in this context that a number of new genres developed and consolidated themselves that have increasingly defined what Goans today call 'Goan music', reclaiming the exclusivity of its performance. Some of these musical genres are categorised as 'art forms' by the Goans themselves. Mandó is the most paradigmatic case of this categorisation. This 'new music', although based on Western polyphony, is sung in Konkani and safeguards a set of local polysemous ingredients that allow us to diagnose different, apparently exclusive, narratives of goanity, thus identifying its historical, social and performative universe (Earlman 1998). The association of these genres to playfulness allowed them to survive colonial oppression, and this condition of apparent entertainment transformed music in a behaviour that did *not endanger* the objectives of the coloniser for whom the sound of this music was intelligible, and even pleasant, although it sheltered other stories only understood by Goans and shared by them.

These musical genres, and especially mandó, were created through two historical processes described below:

1. The appropriation of stylistic patterns and musical vocabulary of western music imposed by the Portuguese;
2. The reaction to colonial power that produced, in the framework of a 'second power' of mimetic nature and based in the rural context, a different music that, although consolidated within the same paradigms of western music, was sufficiently different of it. Only Goans had access to its multiple meanings. This music was neither Indian nor Portuguese but included ingredients from both traditions. Because it was sung in Konkani, it allowed Goans to use their own language through an apparently innocuous behaviour. This particular feature bestowed on Goan Catholic music the ambivalent status that later on would confer a central position as a political instrument of differentiation and autonomisation.

The way in which Goans have taken advantage of this ambivalence reveals an interesting process of dealing with the emotional domain. Secular music was, for the colonisers, a seemingly harmless cultural ingredient, aesthetically attractive but totally incomprehensible. The meaning of Konkani and the different narratives printed in song, literature and dance, could only be decoded by the proper Goans that recognised themselves in them. This peculiarity allowed Goan to hide in music, and through it, some important aspects of their identity, which they refused to abdicate.

Konkani was, evidently, one of them but also history, the social dimension and, of course, performance. One can say that music was perhaps the most effective way of conciliation between colonisers and colonised, building bridges of dialogue but, for each of them, the intrinsic meanings were inevitably different.

When, in 1963, the Goans organized the Opinion Poll that in 1967 was to decide on the state autonomy of the territory as an alternative to its inclusion within the neighbouring state of Maharashtra, music, and Mandó in particular, constituted one of the most powerful instruments of claiming and exhibiting Goa as a 'different' place in the context of the other Indian territories. Mandó represented the most evident testimony of language resistance, one of the features that were politically central to the state autonomy of Indian territories, and a mirror of Goan identity that is, for Goans, the strongest sign of their unity. The Mandó Festival was thus founded as a flag for independence and quickly became a initiative welcomed by different institutions giving way today to a state event that is multiplied over the years in different events. As Konkani nowadays seems to lose importance in Goa in favor of English, the Mandó Festival has resumed its leading role in the state's social and cultural scene. And the music sung in Konkani, which includes *tiatr*, popular music and traditional music, is now supported by a booming industry that entails various forms of music publishing, a variety of network shows and even various forms of dissemination through media of mass communication.

The 'second Goa'

Thanks to Goa's privileged position between two great cultural vicinities – India through its geographic proximity and Portugal through its political hegemony and 451 years of colonisation – Goa capitalised a particular experience of intercultural dialogue, particularly with regard to labor relationships. The benefits for Catholic Goans were evident. Being experts of the Indian reality, religious conversion gave them access to a set of opportunities that were apparently forbidden to Hindus: they could travel by sea, they did not have any food-related restrictions, they learned at least one European language (Portuguese) that allowed them to understand Western literature and music, and they had learned to sing and sometimes play a musical instrument. In this framework, Goan Catholics acquired unique opportunities to travel, be it in India be it by means of the ocean, thus expanding a long history of emigration to the West, first to the former Portuguese colonies in Africa and, from there on, to Portugal, Brazil, the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States of America, Germany and Australia to list only some of the most important reception contexts of the Goan diaspora. There are at least 61 countries where Goans have organised themselves as migrant groups. As the matter a fact, speaking about Goans necessarily implies an awareness of a multiple reality common to an evident partition: Goans in Goa and Goans abroad in the Diaspora.

Despite some important studies such as the work of Baptista (1956) on Goan clubs based in Mumbai and, in particular, the work of Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes on female emigration of Goans, the history of Goan emigration is still to be studied. And here I refer to an analysis of the trajectories and numbers, but also, and in particular, to the

anthropological look at how Goans negotiated the inevitable emotional costs that the emigrant condition always comprises.

Although there are isolated cases of establishment of associations of Goans in the first half of the twentieth century, it is especially from 1987 onwards that a proliferation of an associative movement in the proper sense can be noted. It is likely that the autonomous status of the state of Goa has contributed to this increase of associations, mainly because for the first time Goans were recognised by a formal symbol of auto-identification: Konkani was indeed the official language of Goa and the most obvious reason for its autonomy as Indian state. But what kind of Konkani Goans could use to communicate with each other? How could they speak a language that only they had learned orally and which written version they did not know? How could they speak a language that changes depending on religion, social status or geographical origin of its speakers? How could Goa and language return an unifying sense of identity to Goans in the diaspora?

Spread over multiple places, countries and cultures throughout the five continents, the majority of Goans in the diaspora is part of a double migrant condition: they left Goa before its political integration in India and when they try to reconcile themselves with the image of the place they left the latter is inevitably altered in relation to their memories by the new political condition that the territory of Goa meanwhile acquired. Forty-nine years after the integration of Goa into the Indian Union, some Goans and Goan groups living in Goa or in the diaspora have shown a great need to rediscover themselves culturally. They want to understand their place in the world and life by looking for relational ties in the past, that help them to reconstruct and to re-found their cultural autonomy.

It is within this process that I name 'post-colonial reconstruction' and that Leela Gandhi calls 'post-colonial convalescence', that music seems to acquire a double significance: on the one hand, it is differentiated by its uniqueness when confronted with Goan cultural vicinities, but on the other hand, it is reconstructive as it travels through generations and permits to reconstruct the present as a projection of the past, although the latter, the past, only exists in the imagination of its interpreters and, therefore, is inevitably personal and discontinuous.

In addition, music in a diasporic context acquires a unique role in maintaining strong bonds of group cohesion and seems to be the only vehicle, once again, in preserving Konkani as a living language, and especially in the transmission of Goanity to younger generations. Goanity is transmitted through language but also through the memories and narratives that the music embodies. Starting from the theoretical proposal of Veit Earlman (1998), I believe that history, social organisation and performance are narratives that are present both in music and identity. And these three narrative dimensions are central in defining the Goanity, an identity that is neither Portuguese nor Indian, but an emotional idea of resistance. At different moments in the history of Goa, music, especially Mandó, has been the best testimony of this resistance in which some ingredients of the culture that Goans consider non-negotiable are kept virtually untouched (Bhabha, 1996).

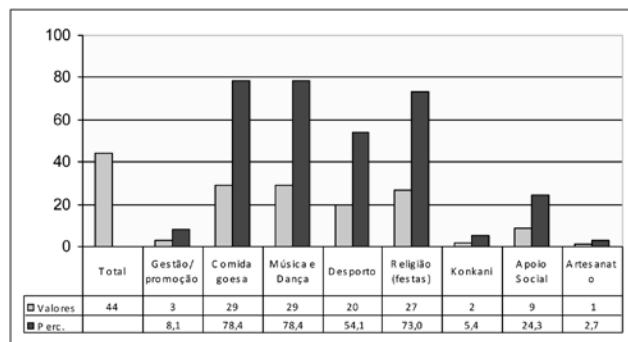
It is probably for this reason that music constitutes one of the most important activities of Goans in the diasporic context and this has been central in creating a kind of 'second Goa', a place without culture, housed within an emotional community, based in cyberspace and shared via the Internet.

Representing Goa in the diaspora

Using an electronic inquiry that was accomplished between 2003 and 2005, I contacted 44 associations of Goans in the diaspora, that make themselves known through websites where they regularly publish their activities. These associations are seated in countries of the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and America. For all of them, and contrary to what happens with the more than 300 clubs of Goans seated in Mumbai, humanitarian support does not form part of their action. Instead, the central objectives of these associations are in short expressed as: 1) construction of a meeting place for Goan residents; 2) creating a sense of Goanity especially for the younger generations.

To achieve these objectives, associations promote actions such as the constitution of sport teams in football and keram (a board game very common in Goa), celebrate the most important religious festivals of Goa: S. Francisco Xavier, on 3 December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (*Festa da Imaculada Conceição*) on 8 December, the Popular Saints (*Santos Populares*) in June, especially St. John (S. João), and the most important festivals of the common Catholic calendar such as Christmas and Easter. They promote floral games, fairs, dances on New Year's Eve or even regular meetings that they call picnics, to eat in group and get together. However, music seems to be present in almost all the initiatives or even in isolation as a central element to some events and organisations.

Figure 1 – Main activities promoted by the 44 associations of Goans with web activity



As evidenced in the analytical framework above, in a universe of 44 associations with Web activity, 29 of them select music and Goan food as the most important actions to achieve their objectives. In this context, the presence of music is expressed through the organisation of musical groups, music festivals and concerts. The cases of associations seated in Kuwait and Dubai are perhaps the most expressive examples regarding the organisation of concerts and festivals aiming to finance Goan musicians that travel directly from Goa to perform there.

To create formally organised musical groups seems to constitute an important tool for sharing Konkani language and for teaching Goanity in the second generation of migrants. In fact, songs to be sung together require the adoption of the same form and the same accent, and music, in this framework, serves as a language unifier although the choice of one of the linguistic versions always complies with negotiation processes that cannot be explored and clarified in this text. On the other hand, children and youngsters are usually very open and enthusiastic with regard to a possible presence on stage. Thus the creation of musical groups that resort to children and youngsters as protagonists is always welcomed by the latter, that agree to sing and dance, as representatives of their parents' message, even if initially the messages that are contained in music, words and dance may not have much meaning for them. However, by learning a repertoire that their parents describe as 'their music', they gradually incorporate the meaning of words, gestures and dress modes, and are certainly faced with the more or less strange idea to play and sing Indian music with Western instruments and sound organisations. 'After all, Indian music is not that difficult, it is even very similar to ours' (field interview, Pedro Carmo Costa, 23, student, 1993).

In fact, for the new generations, born in the diaspora, these sounds are equally schizophrenic. But for parents, this is also the most important argument for transmitting Goanity, through its look, experience and memory, exhibiting its difference in confrontation with other cultures, and especially the Indian culture. To explain difference, Goans have to resort to history, social codes and the meanings of musical performance and choreography. And, while today in Goa they cannot find the settings that are equivalent to these narratives, the objectives are kept in order to pass on to new generations, and also to the host culture, the pride of being Goan, an idea of Goa that remains in their memories and an attempt to recreate in the diaspora.

These objectives are reinforced by other strategies where music is also present in an unequivocal manner. Some evident examples:

1. the creation and maintenance of local radio stations in Konkani (ex: Konkani Radio Goaworld - created in March 2000 in Kuwait,³ a station on-line 24 hours with music in Konkani or performed and interpreted by Goan musicians);
2. the creation of websites exclusively devoted to music (ex: do, re, mi, fa,⁴ a website created in Muscat, Sultanate of Oman, exclusively dedicated to the dissemination of Goan musicians);
3. Konkani Music On-Line, a website created in December 2006 in Ontario, Canada, from which Konkani music can be downloaded in mp3 format;⁵

4. AngelAv,⁶ a website created in Goa, exclusively dedicated to updating all information on production and musical activities in Goa, which includes a newsletter about Goan music entitled *Dulpod*;
5. a yahoo group, dubbed goan-music, created in February 2001, probably in Dubai, fully dedicated to the online discussion about Goan music and also allowing the exchange of information such as lyrics and music in mp3 format, among other things.

In fact, the more fluid access to the internet has promoted an increasing exchange of music over the web but also more contact between Goans in the diaspora and those that have stayed in Goa. In 1999, René Barreto, a Goan lawyer based in London, launched the idea on the web of celebrating what he called World Goa Day. Recalling this moment, at the occasion of divulging of World Goa Day 2003, Barreto defined the objectives of the initiative as follows:

"On GOA DAY this year, thousands of Goans will once again remind themselves of the need to work to preserve OUR culture, music, history, language, cuisine, and art for our children, the non-Goan community, and for posterity. (...) It all started in 1999, when we decided to dedicate a day in the year to the celebration of World GOA DAY. It was meant to be a day when Goans worldwide focused on and took pride in every aspect of Goan culture - language, traditions, the performing arts, cuisine etc".⁷

And this was indeed the beginning of an intense movement that culminated in the creation of World Wide Goans (WWG), an organisation that promoted the first annual gathering of Goans in the diaspora, on 20 December 2000, in Panjim, with the presence of 270 delegates representing the different communities of Goans living outside Goa. The importance of these meetings led the local government itself to create an agency to support the event - the Non-Resident Indian Goan Facilitation Centre that is responsible for organising the annual convention of the WWG since 2003.

World Goa Day, celebrated annually on 20 August in the different countries where Goans are represented through associative structures, always incorporates a strong musical component through the organisation of concerts, festivals and competitions, for which different formally organised groups prepare to perform and/or compete. Especially for this day, Basílio Magno, a Goan journalist residing in Spain, composed the song 'Proud to be a Goan', disseminating it over the web so that it can be sung by *all Goans* on the commemorative day. Although August 20 was chosen in order to celebrate the introduction of Konkani as official language of Goa in the Indian Constitution, the anthem was composed in English and was initially always intoned in English. On 24 June 2007, eight days after my speech in Lisbon at the First Convention of Goans in the Diaspora (and the Konkani incident), Basílio Magno, also present at the conference, updated and disseminated a new version of the anthem through the web, this time in English and Konkani.

Conclusions

The theoretical debate regarding culture enveloped in a postcolonial relationship is not pacific, most notably when it is directed towards the analysis of relationships between areas that share asymmetric pasts of power: some because they were colonised, others because they were colonisers. An awareness of the relativism of history, marked by a post-modern logic, allows us today to encounter consensus strategies to overcome and go beyond the positivist or even romanticised analyses - of which the proposal of luso-tropicalism by Gilberto Freyre is probably one of the most intriguing ones - of the relations of cause and effect between cultures with common colonial pasts. But they equally lead us to evident theoretical impasses that solely depend on how each of us experiences the colonial relation, transforming the discourse in a mirror of its own personal and collective biography.

A reflection on music suffers the same problems although music, and expressive culture in general, can denounce other historical and contemporary processes that help to define it in these contexts as an area of consensus or, at least, of adjustment. Its association with playfulness or 'ludicity' becomes a seemingly 'harmless' testimony, although its performative component can be a condition for its own exposure and, accordingly, its presence cannot be overlooked. Hence, it is possible that some key concepts of postcolonial theory, in particular the concept of 'hybridity', can be re-equated in the context of reflection about musical processes. Instead of hybridity that is based on the almost exclusive idea of analysis of the sound universe where it is possible to diagnose musical ingredients from various origins - arising from a purely theoretical idea that those same origins can be circumscribed - my proposal relapses within the concept of 'conciliation'.

Actually, this addresses a double conciliation, marked by compromise between what is allowed and what is forbidden in the context of the power of colonisation, and between what is exposed and what is hidden in a process of resistance for safeguarding cultural ingredients. We say that the prism of analysis shifts from the gaze of the coloniser, for whom the finding of hybrid forms is a sign of success of his power effort, to the look of the colonised for whom the adoption of the conditions imposed by the coloniser translates into a cosmetics where forms of resistance are concealed by the veiled maintenance of non-negotiable ingredients of culture and only intelligible by themselves or by their peers. It is a possible way of conciliation with the colonists and with itself, in an asymmetrical power relationship.

During the colonial past, Goans 'created' an expressive repertoire articulating ingredients of western music with Konkani language: a way to hide some features of culture and, especially, language. The creation of this expressive repertoire developed from negotiation processes that de facto led to conciliation strategies between coloniser and colonised, between prohibited music and allowed music, creating something new and recognised as 'Goan' (neither Portuguese nor Indian). From 1961 onwards, this same music initiated a new performative and explanatory trajectory, starting to be performed on stage: a form of distinction with regard to the Indian central government and the struggle for state autonomy and linguistic diversity, both

acquired in 1987. In this context, once again, Goan music was also an instrument of conciliation, going beyond religious beliefs, social and political differences, in favor of a common goal: the defense of the language and with it the justification for the autonomy of the state territory.

Since 1987, Goans in the diaspora have begun a process of redemption of their own Goanity, by creating associative and collective spaces and where Goa - or the idea of it - now a State, reconstructed and reproduced itself through the dissemination of music sung in Konkani: a way of preserving the language and to transmit Goanity to the members of the second generation of migrants born in the diaspora. In this context, music permits to overcome all discontinuities, be they social, linguistic or historical, and transforms itself once again into an element of conciliation between Goans of various social and religious origins, among Goans in the diaspora and those who have never left India.

Since 2000, 'Proud to be a Goan', the anthem designed to commemorate the World Goa Day, recalls the testimony of conciliation between all Goans. In it, not a language of union is revealed - be it English or Konkani - but the unique expression that somehow, and despite the memory of the colonial past, allows to claim Goanity with one single voice, anywhere in the world: music.

Notes

¹ In Goa, the process of conversion to Catholicism did not delude the caste mechanism that is present in the social organization of India. Thus, Goan converts to Catholicism remained a social caste but, in this case, the four varnas of Hinduism resulted in three distinct categories, with respect to different precepts of organization by means of natural adaptation that religion imposes. In this respect see Perez, 1987.

² In this text, I adopt the proposal of Leela Gandhi (1998) regarding the use of the expressions 'post-colonial', 'postcolonial' and 'postcolonialism'. In the first case I refer to the period following the end of the colonial status of the colonized territory, in the second case I am referring to the colonial situation from the time of takeover by the colonizers, and in the last case, to the very theory that informs the study on this subject from the seminal book of Edward Said, *Orientalism*.

³ Available at: <http://www.live365.com/stations/konkani>, accessed on 30.05.2010.

⁴ Available at: http://www.konkandaiz.com/music_alwyn.html, accessed on 30.05.2010.

⁵ Available at: <http://www.konkanimusiconline.com/kmo/catalog/index.php>, accessed on 30.05.2010.

⁶ Available at: http://www.angelav.com/s_index.php, accessed on 30.05.2010.

⁷ Available at: <http://www.goanvoice.ca/2003/issue11/goa/goaday.htm>, accessed on 30.05.2010.

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■ Revising citizenship: migration and fado in the play of identities in the United States

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Abstract Music relaxes and awakens. Its influence in human behaviours some times produces unexpected results even for the own. Fado performance among Portuguese migrants in the US, in 1990, awakened reactions questioning identity and citizenship representation. Cultural policies, music repertoires, performing details and individual opinions in migrant and non-migrant contexts inspired the open interpretation I propose of interactions between the established nationalist narratives and the renewed social experiences in transnational context. I argue for an interpretation of the music culture in migrant context that contributes towards an understanding of intercultural relationships in the contemporary social development.

Keywords Migration, transnational citizenship, identity, music, dance, fado.

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Revising citizenship: migration and fado in the play of identities in the United States

Maria de São José Côrte-Real

Introduction

The *Grande Noite de Fados*, regularly performed among Portuguese migrants in the US, included dinner, musical performance and nationalist memory. I studied it, noting the systematic retention of musical models in performance. I compared it with what happened in Lisbon, through repertoire analysis; observation of performing details, sound material, voice character and individual gesture among other expressive behaviour patterns visible among musicians, artists and audiences; analysis of individual opinions and critical information held by performers as well as some members of the audiences. Fado celebrated the past, in a settled tradition of national representation. Something however constrained the ambience suggesting frustration. Marginal then, this strangeness is now at the centre of my interest. What behaviours revealed this sensation? Were they frustrated? What might the causes be? How did they manifest them? Why would they experience that? Might the feeling be productive?

After studying cultural policy and musical expression in the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Portugal, where fado emerged as a constructed musical category for / from nationalistic purposes (Côrte-Real, 2000), it became clear to me why participants seemed divided in their feelings, raising the sensation I termed frustration. Disparate identity forces were playing in a way that the planned nationalist demonstration vacillated before the interpretive experience of performance. Welfare, attention to the other, happiness and critical awareness, among others, prevailing over nationalist notions stressing sadness, loneliness, submission and jealousy, produced effect. I propose an interpretation of the event noting the role of the behaviours in performance and the multifarious forces dealing with individual identity to stress the importance of musical performance in the representation and interpretation of citizenship.

Mind and body in performance ...

Wrapped in white blankets disposed side by side in several rows they left a narrow central path. It was Penn Station in New York passing 4 a.m. on 25.03.1990. Homeless people used the sheltered hallway to sleep. Inhabitants of the city, bodies and the respective quiet minds, gave the public place a new use.¹

Mind and body reactions in the public place emerge in this study on music performance and citizenship representation. Complex networks of memory interact with new social circumstances shaping the play of identities that migrant, and non-migrant, populations live everyday. Increasing migration intensifies inter and intrapersonal relationships. The experience of displacement, enriched by contact with novelty,

challenges established canons and leads us to question and rebuild ways of life. The reference to the "global village in which we all live" requires reflection on the validity of the distinction of citizenship of national base. It is my aim to argue for the study of music among migrants, and fado performance in particular, to observe nuances and meanings of identity as a multipart performing, fluid and adaptable human characteristic, operating on individual and collective dimensions of each one's life.

Music performance is a multifaceted and dynamic human phenomenon, involving rather capricious and sometimes intellectually elaborate, physical, aesthetical, social and symbolic dimensions, challenging barriers, amplifying the voice of its producers and touching its receivers. It rends itself particularly effective for an interpretive observation of citizenship representation in the intercultural arena. In an approach to the concept of identity, acknowledging its fluidity and performing character (Hall and du Gay, 1996; Baumann, 1996), I present a *Portuguese Night* also billed as the *Grand Night of Fados* in Newark, in 1990. Material for purposes of reference was collected in Lisbon, in the context of fado performances for tourists in the restaurants Adega Machado, which closed in 2009 after 72 years in business, and Adega Mesquita, founded in 1941 and still open.² I carried out field and archival work from 1993 to 2000, based on the Archive of SNI (*Secretariado Nacional de Informação* [Secretariat of National Information]), then *Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo* [Secretary of State for Information and Tourism]) of the former Portuguese dictatorship.

Paradigmatic interplays of behaviour involving mind and body, acting in adversity, revealed identity dilemmas that, questioning old nationalist canons, gave way to new individual interpretations on citizenship representation. The Ethnomusicology perspective, in which I am inscribed, studies music phenomena related with, among others, its hybrid character and national use. Inspiring texts have been written about the role of music in the understanding of change and in helping social transformation. Among them *Music and the Global Order* by Martin Stokes identifies circulation across cultural borders and the musical dynamics of interculture (2004). In time of mass migration and electronic mediation that elected music as a key channel of expression, communication, amusement and profit making, political use of this kind of informed analysis will aid in human collaborative development. The action of decision makers in the design of effective public policies stemming models networking music research, animation, experimentalism and diffusion (Carvalho, 2010) will surely benefit from the strengthening of such pursuit.

The *Portuguese Night* was fruitful. We were entering the third month of contact. Besides listening, enjoying the ambience, eating, recording the fado repertoire and speech, note taking and talking to develop interviewing strategic actions, my participant observation took me into levels of significance, whose decoding clues and understanding take eventually some time still. The *Portuguese Night* at the restaurant *Serra da Estrela*³ in Newark, New Jersey, next to New York City, was, in 1990, rather complete. In the Portuguese community of the Ironbound district, is still today a referential place for fado in the US.

As usual, the dinner was served to the sound of music – of a *homem orquestra*⁴, on other occasions a *conjunto*⁵. At about 11p.m., the *fadista* and musicians⁶ appeared, and the room fell silent, the first fado session took place. There were usually three of about 30' each. Songs of sorrow, sadness, disappointment, jealousy, nostalgic nature of fado and poor ambience of ancient Lisbon were sung to the accompaniment of the guitar and the Portuguese guitar. The vocal style was as close as possible to a model selected from pre-migrant memory. At the end of the session, fado performers left the "stage" space, without any kind of raised platform, or even the room, and dance music followed. With it, and suddenly, the atmosphere exchanged radically. The audience danced, laughed and spoke loud. The unstressed ambience called for participation. Lambada reigned with all its exuberance. Eventually some other Latin American hits and one or two items of Portuguese popular music made their way before another lambada rendition, tirelessly repeated all night long. The dancing periods lasted longer than those of fado, about 50' each. Dance and fado alternated as though after making it through a tense session, a time of release was vital to continuing with the event.

The announcement, as usual, had been for a *Grande Noite de Fados* and all staged attention seemed to concentrate on it. However, the night was clearly composed of two different and apparently independent parts. The most participated and animated was the least valued. A somewhat related model of performance was then observable, and still remains, in Lisbon, where in some *Casas de Fado* (restaurants called *Houses of Fado*) fado sessions are interwoven with staged moments of folklore dance. In Lisbon, however, the audience did not participate. Most clients in the restaurants visited in the summer of 1990 were tourists, either non-nationals or from other regions of Portugal, much less engaged in the performance than the US counterparts.

My study then led me to disregard the dancing intermissions between the fado sessions. Caught up by the relaxed ambience of the dance sessions, I capitalised on them as interviewing time. It was during these highly participative moments of intensive body reaction that I collected the comparatively intensive mind reactions of the participants regarding the interpretation whether of their own fado performances or that of others. As the focus of my study was established on the retention of musical models in performance, my aims proved in tune with those declared by participants. My attitude of overlooking the dance sessions seemed even welcome. The fieldwork strategy entailed two aspects: on the one hand, my observation of the unstressed moments of body priority was interrupted by the leading research interest in the event's officially advertised product, fado; on the other hand, my interviews, seeking intellectual response, clearly profited from the relaxed ambience. The paradoxical situation in these intermissions, when relaxed informants tried to produce controlled analytical descriptions of their own music behaviour, may have had some effect on the unexpected responses some answers revealed regarding the motivation to perform fado and even the sustainability of that form of representation of their Portuguese citizenship. Resonances of this ambivalence, nurtured by subsequent studies on cultural policy, musical expression and categorization during the dictatorship in Portugal (Côrte-Real, 2000), renewing my interest on the reflection about fado performance in the migrant context, provided me with the foundations for this article on the interpretation of citizenship representation.

Fado sessions took a formal structure in the US. As in the places visited in Portugal, they started with an instrumental *variação* for *viola* (guitar) and *guitarra* (Portuguese guitar). Then the *fadista* – one or two hired per night – sang five to seven fados. He/she announced the fados' names, joining the titles of the lyrics and those of the respective accompanying musical patterns. In some cases he venerated names of known fadistas who used to sing them. Sometimes the fadista would solicit audience participation to accompany him or her in a refrain. This happened in the last fados of each session. If there were *fadistas* in the audience, which was common, they would probably participate. During one intermission, the musicians would check the pitch for their vocal range and in the last session the fadista would formally invite them to sing two or three fados each. Although the size of the rooms did not require it, all fadistas used a microphone.

During sessions *fadistas* and musicians adopted a rather static, serious, as if saddened posture, in a performance model that seemed to highlight intellectual rather than body expression. The audience also adopted a formal attitude and the sensation given was that of the fulfilment of some kind of penitent ritual, loaded with symbolism. As explained by participants, the *Portuguese Night* was the occasion for the expression and reinforcement of the cultural identity of nationalist inspiration, both as individual and group activity. The symbolism was revealed for example in the opposition between the kind of performance context and structure. While the context was very informal and even familiar – performers and audience members knew each other well, most having even strong personal ties – the structure of the performance was formal. Previously prepared and cordially performed. When a member of the audience sang, he/she was formally invited by the *fadista* over the microphone, after requesting the permission of the restaurant's owner. There were evenings when, despite there being only Portuguese speakers in the room, the *fadista* would address the small audience (less than 40 people), at the beginning of the performance, in Portuguese, English, and French. This format, following a model from pre-migrant situations, intended for foreign tourists in Lisbon, revealed one of the ambivalences of the event as it stressed the distance between performers and the audience in what was deemed locally to be a practice of proximity.

There was though participation. That evening, as usual, somewhat unnatural. The audience would sing refrains, from most well known fados, and request specific numbers, sung as an extra at the end of sessions. After a number of performances, someone felt the audience reaction was quite stereotyped. There were always big ovations, even when an instrument was accidentally but audibly out of tune, or when one singer was not as good as the others. After one such instance, in justification, the fadista commented:

"She likes to sing, you know, and we are all equal, we have the same rights... After all there are not so many fadistas in our community, so if we don't welcome the voluntaries one of these days we will not have fadistas at all" (Miguel Valente,⁷ personal interview, Newark, 24.03.1990, in Carvalho 1991:32).⁸

The audience revealed a keen desire for participation. Some informants have stressed the importance of fado in the community as what they called a natural manifestation of *saudosismo* (homesickness), the heavily loaded Portuguese yearning that is said to express feelings of unity among participants, and which, as part of a romanticised strategy for nationalist propaganda, was said to be impossible to translate exactly into other languages. These performances seemed then to show a reinforcement of the group's cultural coherence to national identity for the purpose of citizenship representation. Commenting upon the reason to perform fado, one musician stated:

"It is difficult to explain, but for me fado symbolises Portugal. It seems that it says that Portugal is here, with us. It is like blues for the black Americans. They love it as we love fado. If we pay attention we see that 90% of our texts are sad texts, they are songs, they are sad fados that tell something about the past. Each fado has a specific meaning, something from the daily life of the people... And because it is typically Portuguese, it is very important that we show it. It is the way we have to show our culture. We don't have other ways of doing so... From time to time the Portuguese Consulate organises shows of paintings and plastic arts. But this happens only once in a year or so. We, with the music, it is different; we have fado every weekend. We all work but we take some of our time, a weekend or a special day just for this. It is important we have to maintain the tradition." (Fernando Costa, personal interview, Newark, 13.04.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:78).

The findings about the quantity of sad songs and the fact that they relate to the past, seem to be presented by the musician as somehow strange reasons to keep them in their repertoire. *"If we pay attention..."* he says, as though we might be better off not paying any. One may consider that the past experience of migrants is hard and so not so pleasurable to recall. Indeed, the explanation came soon after: *"it is typically Portuguese, it is very important that we show it. It is the way we have to show our culture. We don't have other ways of doing so..."* The final sentence, as an excuse, explains a certain discomfort as if performing fado was perceived as an obligation to fulfil as a demonstration of Portuguese citizenship.

One of the powers of music, visible on fado performance, is its potential to link intimate and public spheres of identity. The idea that fado is a very intimate expression, and that to interpret it satisfactorily one has to have passed through specific sad and hurtful experiences of loss or other feelings such as resentment, was expressed by different informants. The expertise in convincingly showing these feelings in public was seen as a sign of performance quality. In this sense, the audience appreciated and commented on the art of the *fadista* as part of his/her musical talent. In order to be a true artist, the *fadista* should first of all feel whatever he/she is singing about. The sonic quality of his/her voice is secondary in this context. Curiously enough, the concepts of music and art were again considered separately in this context of fado performance. The ages of audiences, as well as performers, ranged from around 30 to 60 years, being considered mature in the community. A member of the audience stressed:

"One needs to be mature in order to really understand fado. You have to have had a grief or a deep sorrow in your life, another woman in your life, you know, love displeasure, or something of that sort." (Antónia, personal interview, Newark, 24.11.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:33).

One of the most often heard fados during my fieldwork, was *Negro Ciúme* (gloomy jealousy). Asked about this preference, *fadistas* stressed that the more the fado was intimately felt, the better it was performed and understood. The emotional aspect of fado had, they stressed, a strong influence in the learning process as well:

"Fado can't be taught. It is there or it is not there at all. Fado is a way of life, it is an emotional state." (Conceição Antunes, personal interview, Newark, 24.11.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:33).

The heavily emotional themes of jealousy and unrequited love, so common in this context, are effective for connections of mind and body and intimate and public spheres of the identity expression in performance. Such expression is noted in literary and musical text references as well as on visible and audible components. Adding the palatal ones from the respective dinners one may think about the completeness and power involved in the behaviour and sensations of this complex symbol of Portuguese citizenship representation.

Although most fados in the community were sad, related with depressing aspects of life, and with the category of fado itself, there were less heavy ones referring to the status of being a migrant, however sung with the nostalgia of being far from homeland. Finally, some Lisbon related songs completed the repertoire. Though sung in the same performance context, these were classified as *marchas populares* (popular marches) by some participants. In contrast with the other fados, these songs are in a regular and fast tempo and usually in a major key. The participants' distinction between the music categories – *fados* and *marchas populares* – was not always clear. On asked about this, one musician told that marches were *"the happy fados"* (Fernando Costa, personal interview, Newark 13.04.1990). This opinion was however refuted by others who maintained fado was inherently sad. Although there were new fado texts in the community, they were also sad. The majority of the repertoire was old texts sung to old music patterns, in tune with the "emotional state" that characterized "a way of life" which they called *"typically Portuguese"*.

What to think then about the exuberant happiness and excitement of the same group of people, at the same event, the *Portuguese Night*, during the fado session dance intermissions? Was this in tune with the expressed typically Portuguese way of being? Were they thus less Portuguese, in these dancing intermissions, than in the sung fado sessions? Lambada fever, already present for some time in New York where I lived, heard loud from cars on Broadway, and from Latin stores, had been enhanced by the release of two films: *Lambada* and *The Forbidden Dance* directed by Joel Silberg and Greydon Clark respectively, on 18.03.1990. The films, Jon Pareles noted then in *The New York Times*, had in common, not only the promotion of the hot lambada as American dance music, but also to do so as a cry of protest against the anti-Mexican prejudice in Los Angeles (1990). The song had already been translated into 42 idioms and the *"dance craze, involving undulating, bikini-clad rumps and female-groin-to-*

-male-thigh contact" (1990), had achieved outstanding sale results in many countries. The following chart illustrates certificates and sales, topping 1,000,000 of certified sales in France and in Germany:

Figure 1 – Lambada sales information on Wikipedia

Country	Certification	Date	Sales certified	Physical Sales
Canada	Gold	February 28, 1990	50,000	
France	Platinum	1989	1,000,000	1,735,000
Germany	2 x Platinum	1989	1,000,000	
Japan	Platinum	1989		265,920
Netherlands	Platinum	1989	60,000	
Sweden	Gold	January 9, 1990	10,000	
Switzerland	Gold	1989	15,000	
UK	Gold	February 1, 1990	400,000	

Source: available at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lambada_\(Kaoma_song\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lambada_(Kaoma_song)), last modified on 09.04.2010 at 18H06, accessed on 28.06.2010.

On 29.05.90, *El País* announced the first performance by Kjarkasin Madrid. The Bolivian group, author of the song *Llorando se fue* at the origin of the celebrated dance, would give a concert at the *Auditorio Nacional* hosted by Queen Sofia. Revenues, in favour of the archeological program in the city of Tiahuanaco, involved ticket prices ranging from 2,500 to 10,000 pesetas. The authorship rights scandal nurtured the success. It took a court decision: the celebrated song, popularised by the French group Kaoma, through the Brazilian singer Loalwa Braz was indeed a copy of *Llorando se fue*, composed by the Bolivian brothers Ulises and Gonzalo Hermosa, performed by Kjarkasin in 1981 and registered with the German Society of Authors in 1985 [Tejada, 1990].

The success of lambada in the Portuguese community, attracting everyone, impossible to ignore in the body reactions on that *Portuguese Night* was avoided in our conversations. As if belonging to different worlds, the two music cultures present in that performing event could not be related. I did not insist and my few references were ignored, as if for those who had accepted me as a Portuguese researcher on fado, it did not make sense to mention this other domain. Gender issues, licentiousness, reluctance to music diversity, even a feeling of disrespect towards Portuguese citizenship representation may be pointed as plausible reasons for avoiding *The Forbidden Dance* in our conversations.

There were other subjects systematically avoided. Among them were the relationships between fado and politics, either on the controlling efforts of the right wing past dictatorship ruling Portugal from 1926 to 1974 or on the liberating actions of the left wing both before and after 1974. The major fado singers Amália Rodrigues and Carlos do Carmo were also, perhaps for the same reason, avoided references. The systematic avoidances were meaningful although participants would stress that music and politics were not related at all.

Producers involved in these events, owners of restaurants, musicians and singers, expressed main motivations for fado performance: on one hand, and clearly stated, were the worries over the survival of what was expressed to be "the cultural identity of the Portuguese community" and its presentation to the foreign society in which it was settled; on the other, and less overtly stated, was the individual hope to make some profit. Nationalist propaganda principles and models that constructed the tourist category of "traditional" Portuguese music guided their presentations idealized for American citizens or others occasionally visiting the community. The choice of the "typical" repertoire, characterized as "sad fados that tell something about the past", the structure of the fado sessions, the content of the comments on the microphone, the dinner menu and the formal ambience were directly imported from a model then still present in Lisbon at some fado houses for the consumption of tourists. The clients were, however, for the time of my fieldwork, mostly members of the migrant community.

The community was struggling to establish a local tradition able to generate linkages with the well succeed model they knew from their pre-migrant situation. Involving music and gastronomy, it was associated with the commercial public place of the restaurant, and – as I later understood – had been shaped, refined and protected by the Portuguese dictatorial cultural policy. The effort seemed well succeeded. During my fieldwork, I heard references to the restaurant as the centre of the fado tradition, close to New York; recognized by fadistas in introductions to fado sessions, by audiences and other members of the community. Flyers on local store windows on Ferry Street, and ads in *Luso Americano*⁹ attested so. In fado for around 30 years in several restaurants in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, a musician, guitar maker stated:

"Today fado is more appreciated than some years ago here in the United States. It is because we are doing this as a form of tradition. However, I should say that here (Newark) fado is more appreciated than in Rhode Island and in the other states. Most people there come from the Azores. They go there with the wives and children only for dinner, you know! They don't know how to appreciate fado. It is indifferent for them to hear fado or other music. The real centre of fado is here." (António Rosa, personal interview, Newark, 24.03.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:79).

The realization of the tradition, presented as a cultural obligation, was said to be essential to the identification of the group in the host society, in relation to other migrant communities, and within the community itself.¹⁰ Informants compared the meaning of fado to the Portuguese with that of flamenco to the Spanish and that of

samba to the Brazilians, explaining the nationalist identity they were representing. Invariably, local notions of tradition were connected with concepts such as “style”, “Portuguese identity” (without explanation) and antiquity of the repertoire. It was widely considered among participants, even in Lisbon, that fado and Portuguese music had lost its “Portuguese identity” in the last two decades. Worried, a musician in Lisbon noted:

“There is no defined style in modern Portuguese music. Portuguese music continues in search of a style, which it cannot find. In the old days, there was a determined style, a true style. Today, they try new things, but they fall into the old things again. They haven’t discovered yet anything new and valid. And now with Portuguese membership of the EEC (European Economic Community) things are getting even worse. Now Portugal is only a European country, it has nothing more. It is empty in my opinion it completely lost its identity, as Portuguese music did” (João Matos, personal interview, Lisbon 29.08.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:80).

The disappointment associated with the “*loss of identity of Portuguese music, and of fado’s in particular*” was common to both homeland and migrant contexts in the public spaces visited. Musicians seemed to be unanimous. However, their action expressed as “correct”, did not correspond to the indicators of success mentioned. It was not in tune with the reported “optimum” phase in fado’s reception mentioned by the same musician:

“We are in an optimum phase of fado reception. It is getting better in the last five or six years. I had another profession (architect designer), but now I only play the guitar.” (João Matos, personal interview, Lisbon, 29.08.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:73).

The disappointment was also not in tune with the relaxed state and contagious animation reached in the dancing parts of the *Grande Noite de Fados* in Newark. Mind and body reactions opposed in that. Neither the body animation in the migrant dance nor the satisfactory financial results reported were enough to overcome the negative mental construction that prevented participants rejoicing at the good results obtained. The opposing roles of body and mind competing within music mediation were revealing intimate/rational and public/physical domains of identity in that performance context. Strange feelings obscured the possible satisfaction in the representation of Portuguese citizenship through fado not only in the migrant community in the US but also in Lisbon.

... dealing with identity ...

The discrepancy between rational and physical responses to music stimulus by participants in that situation, stressed the plurality of identity roles, pointing to awkwardness or inability in its interpretation. It is not easy to understand one’s exquisite and dynamic identity in a world undergoing increasing diversification, multicultural and in consequent demand of interpretive openness. With Appiah, in his comments on the writings of Amartya Sen, I argue that in order to understand our identity, we need

cultural freedom “*to preserve or to change our priorities*” (Sen, 2006:113 in Appiah, 2008:346).

The frustration of fado participants in the Portuguese migrant group and elsewhere, I could understand later, resulted from the old Portuguese official “national conscience” (*consciência nacional*). There were still remains of it here and there in the minds of many in 1990, resulting from the strong national identity-belonging feeling that the dictatorial “policy of the spirit” (*política do espírito*) efficiently infused into less critical ones. The case of fado was special within the music scenario for national and individual identity purposes. For the efficacy of the dictatorial services, among other factors, fado may be considered a supreme tool for popular subjugation to a unitary nationalist state ideology. Unexpectedly the political aim surpassed the regime.

These fado participants faced a problem that Amartya Sen conceptualised as “*one of the central issues... how human beings are seen*” and how they should be categorised. How to balance in the process inherited traditions and other affiliations such as those “*involving politics, profession, class, gender, language, literature, social involvements, and many other connections?*” (2006:150 in Appiah, 2008:343-44). Chosen and unchosen identities, resultant from myriad affiliations such as national citizenship, place of residence, geographic origin, class, politics, profession, employment, food habits, sports interests, music preference, social commitments, etc., make us members of a variety of groups. Past and present conditions and forces, not all understood, rationally and emotionally constructed, channelled through body and mind behaviours, interacted in the play of identities. These participants lived that night as on others, while trying to explain connections between fado and their own Portuguese citizenship representation. Body action, against the mind’s conditioned reflection, played an active role in the liberation of their identity balance, through the forbidden Latin dance of the day.

Among the writings about Portuguese national character abundant during the dictatorship, demonstrating more than interpreting, I mention one by Jorge Dias, stressing the ambiguity of the subject. By characterising Portuguese people he says: “*it is a paradoxical people and difficult to govern. Its defects may be its virtues, and its virtues its defects, conform the aegis of the moment*”¹¹ (1971:33 in Cabral, 2003:524). Although eventually more interested on its virtues and defects, the fact is that Dias draws attention towards the meaning of the moment suggesting openness to the interpretive action of the observer, conditioned by the “aegis of the moment”, in other words, the source of protection in power at that specific time and place.

More than fado and my ethnographic questions, it was the “aegis of the moment” that prevailed. The body, awakened by the dance, faced the accepted nationalist narratives. The play of identities in which those participants were caught up made them question their roles and interpret the national character of their citizenship representation. Bodies conducted minds to the versatility, openness and diversity of the notion of identity. How did they see themselves? The question I did not pose seemed to worry them in their discourse. *The Forbidden Dance* made them pass from the

mechanistic-determinist perspective (Fonseca, 2008:16) to what may be called the performative-diversifiable perspective of the character or identity. Using the image of Zygmunt Bauman, they were recognising then, in their interpretation, the passage of identity, in individual and national grounds, from the pilgrim phase, previously determined, to that of the tourist in an open and fluid state (1996). The power of present body behaviour in performance had surpassed that of rationalised nationalist memory. Nationalist reasons were still dominant in the fado culture in the migrant context, and the political sides of right and left wings prevailed in their minds.

Older than the dictatorship the music category of fado, shaped as a national design, fitted extraordinarily well the nationalist purposes of *Estado Novo* (New State). Strong circumstantial conditions, like state control, enhanced the dictatorial use of fado: the romantic origin, the connection with destiny and the performing character. Apparently born in the 19th century, in a time of exacerbated nationalist feelings, it was consistently constructed out of a number of features that served well the also nationalist proposals of the dictatorship. Its conspicuousness in worshipping past times and homeland virtues, giving voice to the people, leaning on unrequited love of different sorts, nurtured nostalgic feelings such as sorrow and yearning. The latter serving so well the contemporary mystic of *saudades*, one of the virtual images of the complex affective node Portuguese people have constructed about themselves through time (Moreira de Sá, nd:1), was shaped not only in music but also in literature, theatre, film and other art works, producing multiple referential connections for later symbolic interpretation. The destiny or fate in the name, acted as an exceptionally strong representation in a then mostly illiterate country dominated by religious faith and fears of Roman Catholic inspiration. Finally, its performing character giving voice to intimate feelings of many sorts, combined with the previous conditions, made fado an extremely efficient channel to link individual identities to the national conscience constructed.

Concerted actions and strategies of dictatorial initiative, adapting fado to its purposes included stripping the lyrics of any possible kinds of critical feelings, through means of censorship; promoting the taste for fado, joining the leader, Salazar, in its advocacy, through information as to his preference and proximity to it (Garnier, 1952); and making it a privileged means for national propaganda through the reinforcement of the music category in the entertainment industry (radio, recordings, journals, cinema, music theatre, restaurants for tourists and international diplomatic entertainment and representation). The great diva Amália Rodrigues stressed her own forced maintenance in fado activity by what she verbalized as "...[they] wanted me for fado", leaving unsaid whom. She was then mentioning the power of the nation, leaving open who "wanted" her for that: precise government agents? Ambivalent forces? People's will channelled through nationalist means? (personal interview, Lisbon, 28.08.1990, in Côrte-Real, 2005).

Even the stress on the minor tonality associated with fado, and the prevalence of the image of the *fado menor* category/music pattern was object of governmental action. Processed, among other means, through consecutive fado contests of national scope, involving most if not all licensed fado houses, in the so called April Festivities (Côrte-Real, 2000, 2002 and 2008). For tourist propaganda, these events happened

in the festive venue of the water mirror restaurant, still existing today close by Praça do Império in Lisbon. Curiously enough, the winner of the last *Concurso de Fado Amador* (Amateur Fado Contest), a young pre-teenager girl, was accepted for the competition on the very day of the *Revolução dos Cravos* (Carnation's Revolution) - 25.04.1974.¹² Also curious is the fact that the intervention song *Grândola Vila Morena*, by José Afonso, used as the radio signal - on Rádio Renascença - to launch military action was chosen by one of the final candidates, and accepted by the jury, to represent his entry in the compulsory *fado menor* category (Côrte-Real, 2000:408).

The political action used to shape the national conscience through fado was so effective that the results last for long after the fall of the regime. Salazar's propaganda stressed that the spirit shapes and transforms men more profoundly than the force of dominators (Garnier, 1955:222). The policy for the national revolution, as the government called the revolution of 28.05.1926 was pursued on spiritual educational grounds and presented as "*the holy war in advocacy of human liberty, of homes (lares) and shrines (altares)*" (Caetano, 1941:123 in Côrte-Real, 2000:28).

The development of Portuguese society, in its different domains, was dominated by nationalism, used as a unifying identity force. Extremely elaborate processes of cultural construction were developed to build products such as "national conscience", "national family" (Ferro, 1946:11), "national gastronomy", "national folklore" and "national song". The mono-cultural configuration of society was carefully constructed through diversified political strategies. The information of cultural, artistic and leisure nationalist identity was carefully transmitted across the national metropolitan territory, colonies and migrant communities through tools such as different periodicals and, among others, the book *Portugal: Breviário da Pátria para Portugueses Ausentes* (Portugal: Fatherland Book for Absent Portuguese) by SNI (1946), or *Vacances avec Salazar* (Holidays with Salazar) by Garnier(1952). The important media channels of the phonograph industry, including radio and television, meanwhile mass-mediated, of difficult access until recently, are now being object of study and gradual archive availability, revealing recent history.

With the advent of democracy, in progress, the trends develop slowly towards a more multicultural configuration. The new Constitution of the Portuguese Republic (1976) proclaimed in article 73 "*the democratization of culture*". In its last (7th) revision (2005) the text of the article referent to education, culture and science states "*the democratization of culture by encouraging and ensuring access by all citizens to cultural enjoyment and creation*".¹³ This measure contrasts with the old dictatorial constitutional policy of Estado Novo (1933) that stressed "*the observance of the hierarchy and coordination of the state in the domain of arts and sciences*" (Article 43, 2 in Côrte-Real, 2000:15).

The dictatorial construct of the nation, conceived out of the national identity principle, whose primary aim was the "*subordination of all individual interests to the common welfare, to the interest of the Pátria*"¹⁴ (Salazar, 1961:227) developed a tight system of social organisation - the corporatism. According to its followers, the corporative system, a solution of social and moral order, recognised the various human societies

in which man participates. From family, commune organised administratively in *freguesias* and *municípios*, profession organised in corporations including associations of employees and employers, to nation and church, respecting a hierarchy of social aims from the substance to the spiritual, and from the particular to the general, taking the national interest as the supreme expression of the common welfare. It is the ideology of integral nationalism. In juridical terms, according to Marcelo Caetano, the next prime minister, this means the integration of all modes of social life into the nation – furnished with the juridical means necessary to the realisation of its own aims – in the political constitution of the state (1941:55). In a military conceptualisation, so much in the taste of Estado Novo, the nation was presented as “*an army that marches, animated by the spirit of unity, to the realisation of the common ideal*” (1941:133, in Côrte-Real, 2000:24). With such a strategy, the state controlled every single movement of society, deliberately shaping, as Salazar stressed in 1929, a new spirit and a new mentality (Salazar, 1961:38). The universality of state functions was clearly mentioned by the dictator in a 1930 speech about the fundamental principles of the revolution: “*the state has the right to promote, harmonize and control all national activities*” (1961:81, in Côrte-Real 2000:24). The highly hierarchical system necessary to operate the “national renaissance” (Ferro, 1933:xxxv) was constructed over the notion of a mindless Portuguese people, “*a mass of men anxious for command and protection, good for all kinds of enterprise, so sacrificed for so many adventures*” (Caetano, 1941:34, in Côrte-Real, 2000:27).

Cultural policy represented a central concern of *Estado Novo*. Promoted by *política do espírito*, it was introduced into the Portuguese scenario by the journalist António Ferro, in a famous series of interviews with Salazar in 1932. The concept of *política do espírito* was a central European construct whose origins were reported to reach back to Napoleon’s writings. Ferro traces the implementation of the concept in its various approaches, stressing the Russian and the Italian cases, foreseeing its implementation within the Portuguese political context. “*In France, in Italy, in Russia, in Germany, in England and even in the Balkans, the State acknowledges the Policy of the Spirit and realizes it, with amplitude, morally and materially protecting all the literary and artistic initiatives*” (Ferro, 1933:274). Noting the political importance of musical expression as a privileged moving force for human emotions Ferro stressed that: “*of all the arts, music is the one that exercises greatest influence in the passions, the one that the legislator should most encourage*” (1933:275, in Côrte-Real, 2000:83). With this purpose in mind, Ferro would pay particular attention to musical expression in Portugal. Music, especially with literary text, and fado in particular, would occupy a meaningful place within the cultural policy of *Estado Novo*. Shaped by its conservative character, the governmental awareness of the powers of musical expression would inevitably promoted its stagnation at various levels.

During World War II and in post-war times, fado was used as a propaganda tool to illustrate the “peaceful” existence of the Portuguese people. Deprived of critical views, thanks to tight censorial action, it was presented as the sweet popular urban expression of Portuguese attraction. The image broadcasted by the government through the book *Vacances avec Salazar* by the French journalist, of Belgian origin, Christine Garnier in 1952, stresses his love for fado and the policy of the spirit as a

condition for national reconstruction.¹⁵

The generalised stagnation, systematically infused, was valued for tourist policy purposes. The full-page ad by Swissair in the *New York Times* travel section on 18.02.1966 stating “*Portugal is Europe before it changed*” is illustrative. A small text alludes to fado as “*the beautiful songs of Portuguese women... heard in cafes*” and to “*the old fishermen mending nets...*”. The strategy, to attract those interested in the eventual exotic purity of life in a poor European past, must be seen as a justification for the overall backlog of the country. Spread through so efficient channels, the valorisation of past constructs, repertoires and practices, as pure and true national representations, would leave deep influences on the imaginary of many Portuguese who learned to associate with Portuguese identity.

The over emphasis on past fado repertoires was observable in the migrant group in Newark. There was a strong reaction against innovation. Local *fadistas* built their repertoires out of old fados, the so called “true”, “traditional” and “typical” ones; visiting *fadistas* invited from Portugal were usually selected from among the older performers and those who sang the older fados; the records and cassettes sold in the stores also featured old *fadistas*, some already retired or even dead. The negation of innovation was clearly stated by participants:

“*People come here to hear old fados and songs, they don’t want to hear new things. I don’t give them old fados because they ask for them. I give because I don’t sing new songs, ok!? I refuse to sing new fados, they have no meaning for me. And so I feel fine, because I know that I’m going to sing for them what they like to hear. Something that makes them remember old days, their childhood, and their homeland.*” (Miguel Valente, personal interview, Newark, 24.03.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:81).

The strange reaction of the participants, avoiding references to the famous fado singers Amália Rodrigues and Carlos do Carmo, even when asked about great voices and their influential effects, may have also been determined by the innovative action that these two singers represented regarding the fado repertoire. Both of them did indeed bring novelty to fado, challenging its identity. Carlos do Carmo did it on purpose, replacing fado’s image of man in society. His record *Um Homem na Cidade* (LP, UPAV 1977) (União Portuguesa de Artistas de Variedades) illustrates this perspective. It considers democratic policy concerns and promotes citizenship; points to innovation in the lyrics, by José Carlos Ary dos Santos, with new and appealing visions of the city; and innovative use of sound material, with some melodic, harmonic and formal challenge. This innovative sonic domain, referred to as *fado novo* (new fado) in the migrant community, was linked with the image of the sounds of April, from the intervention songs emerging during the 1974 Portuguese Revolution.¹⁶

Amália Rodrigues, on the other hand, although having introduced some innovation to fado on purpose, was in her own words surprised by the opinion of those who heard her performances. Amália stressed that it was her audiences who introduced the major innovation to the fado definition. They termed all the songs she sung as fado.

"I may sing a malhão¹⁷ or a vira¹⁸, or even a simple song; everybody will consider it a fado."
[personal interview, Lisbon, 28.08.1990, in Carvalho, 1991:67].

New meanings challenged the identity of fado. If until then fado could be considered "a musical genre, defined within certain limits in terms of song format, tempo, melodic, harmonic and rhythmic patterns, literary thematic and instrumentation", from then on, vocal style, Amália's references in other interpretive ways were also defining characteristics of the category (Carvalho, 1991:67-68). The elasticity these interpreters gave to the identity of fado was not well accepted by those who saw it as a reference to the past, subject to the nationalist purposes of the Estado Novo's cultural policy.

In the migrant context in Newark, the conditions expressed as motivations for participation in the event: the taste for old repertoire, the preference for sad subjects and past themes, apparently working for the conservative categorisation of fado, did not work for the other musical repertoire present on the same night. The intensity of the participation left, however, the impression that the audience was more identified with the lambada dance than with the fados offered up. The contrasting domains co-existing within the event resulted respectively from accepted past narratives of nationalist inspiration and mind subjection or from current experience of intercultural motivation and body attraction. Both produced essence for identity-belonging strategies, observable in the solidarity expressed by the participants in both parts of the performance. However, one of the domains was accepted to represent Portuguese national identity and the other was not. Is it possible that this inference has been part of the cause for the frustration expressed by the participants? Why is it that a performance domain that interests and promotes solidarity, motivating identity within a group of Portuguese people cannot or should not be considered motive for Portuguese identity? What are the impediments for a group of Portuguese people in Portugal or elsewhere to choose a domain for identity-belonging? May this identity be considered a Portuguese identity? Who or what determines the Portugueseness of the Portuguese identity?

From the complex and diversified domains implying different roles of identity dealt with in the situation described, it is possible to interpret that, for this case:

- Reasoning dealing with and eventually choosing from among plural identities, a notion advocated by Sen (in Appiah, 2008:346), may imply mental reflection and body experience; both may point to opposite directions and the apparently less rationalised may prevail;
- Awkwardness in advocating what is "officially" announced as the chosen identity may indicate that it is not so. Avoiding names, circumstances, links of different sorts are among plausible indicators of contrariness;
- Reluctance in accepting welfare as part of one's own identity may compromise the condition to an extreme point so that it may mean unintended identification, or identification with something not wanted.
- The "aegis of the moment" (Dias, 1971:33 in Cabral, 2003:524), changing through time and place, requires constant updating regarding domains of identity of individual, group and country or nation concern.

... for citizenship representation

Different peoples experience different organising principles, and citizenship, a millennial European concept, seems to resist time and space adapting itself, not without tragic experiences and inhumane delay, to the changing needs of everyday life. The main systems of Latin representation, *jus sanguini* and *jus soli*, respectively the right of blood and the right of soil, have coexisted within the policies different states have produced to determine citizenship rights. Who we are born from and where, relating the earliest body and place experience of each individual, have been so far determinant for peoples' organisation into nations, states or countries,¹⁹ most of them founded on old previous parts of others. In contemporary, complex and changing environments however, who we are and where we are, after birth though, and in different phases and circumstances of life, have motivated reflection and study on the notions of identity and citizenship. These, in turn bear relevance for the delineation of changing policies of state organisation and care. Social Sciences, including Anthropology, Cultural Studies and Ethnomusicology, among others, have produced theoretical insights for the study of human behaviour as representative of identity strategies basic to life in society. Being part of the interest in the study of music performance processes and products since the 1980s, the notion of identity was recently reviewed in the Ethnomusicology literature by Timothy Rice (2007, 2010). Migration in its growing manifestation, allied with other globalising trends like electronic mediation potentially reducing distances and multiplying contacts, is showing problems, inaccuracies, shortcomings and tremendous gaps in the organisation of nations, requesting urgent deep revision of some established state principles.

The notion of citizenship, the quality of being citizen, the inhabitant of the city in the enjoyment of civil and political rights of a free state,²⁰ is under scrutiny. Central to legal sciences for long, it became increasingly meaningful for social, human and educational sciences in contemporary democratic societies. It implies a legal and political relationship between individual and state and it is a fundamental right. Liberalism and multiculturalism, mainly conceived in the social struggle of migrant efforts, have enriched and challenged the concept. Questioning the idea of citizenship as a form of inclusion Halfmann notes its oddity:

"Citizenship is an odd form of inclusion as compared to membership in other social systems because it combines universalistic and particularistic criteria in the same process of inclusion. Citizenship is attributed to all individuals equally, but only insofar as they belong to a particular nation-state. This inclusion in the political system originates from the formula of the Human Rights Declaration of the French Revolution, which stated that every individual [excluding women]²¹ has a right to be a member of a «nation»" (Halfmann, 1998:514).

The fusion of the "nation" with the state, he stresses, makes citizenship different from the forms of inclusion in other social systems of modern society whose universalism is not restricted to nationals (Halfmann, 1998). The notions of citizenship and nationalism need continuously renewed attention. Policies implemented throughout the world are being challenged as unsatisfactory measures in the light of compliance with

Human Rights proposals and the proclaimed democratic world order. Migrant experiences have been crucial to illustrating the need to review longstanding practices and mentalities. Music phenomena, in production and reception dimensions, are playing meaningful roles questioning social trends delaying intercultural partnership.

The idea of membership, at the base of the citizenship notion, relating people and place ownership rights at various levels, still essential to the contemporary social organisation of states, carries in itself the need for symbolic representation. This is a way to show to others the condition of being a member of an entity – the state in this case. This condition of belonging, known as identity, subject in many cases to a number and information made public in the form of a card, find a turbulent phase in the process of migration. Social scientists have acknowledged and expressed the fluidity and trickiness of the notion of identity, linking individual and national interests, not only in migrant contexts but also in all contexts of life (Baumann, 1996). However, public life seems in many cases to be reluctant in acknowledging this fluidity and need of wise care. Academia and society reveal distance on this issue as on many others. The documentation and analysis of specific situations, in this case involving music and fado phenomena, help to understand some flaws in the interpretation of citizenship and particularly of Portuguese citizenship representation. These flaws stress contradictions between peoples' new social interests, tastes, preferences and needs, and old meanings that social forces effectively implemented emanating through already past organizing policies on identity.

Governmental strategies to deal with citizenship have changed in Portugal in recent years. Among the major ones is the new Law of Nationality (1981)²² regulatory framework that entered into effect on 15.12.2006. It values *jus soli*, in the case of those born in Portuguese territory, for the attribution and acquisition of nationality. This important criterion was based on the European Convention on Nationality (1997) that stated in its 2nd article: “nationality means the legal bond between a person and a State and does not indicate the person’s ethnic origin”.²³ The novelty produced effects and the official numbers newly requesting Portuguese nationality increased significantly: four times more foreigners asked for a Portuguese identity card in the first semester of the year, rising from 4,146 in 2006 to 17,185 in 2007 (Neves and Spranger 2007). International indexes and reports such as the MIPEX, *Migrant Integration Policy Index*, [2005-07], praised Portuguese policies especially in terms of family reunion, rights associated with long-term residence, active government information on political participation, access to nationality and anti-discrimination efforts. Regarding public perceptions in Portugal, and providing statistics for the subjective value that they should have, the report states encouraging figures relative to migrants’ social rights.²⁴

Rosário Farmhouse, the High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue, mentions the experience of the Portuguese diaspora and the close relationship with the immigrant associations for the meaningful advances in these policies. With a limited experience as a country of immigration, and officially considered a host only for the last 15 years, Portugal struggles to attain an efficient performance in this domain. The strategy has been one of integration, and besides the new regulation of

the Law of Nationality, a Plan for Immigrant Integration was approved in 2007, with 122 concrete measures involving 13 Ministries.²⁵

The need to consider the multiple experiences of migrant populations, whether Portuguese living abroad or foreigners in whatever the country, has been valued at many levels, and constitutional documents do reflect this position to some extent. The concept of citizenship is open, dynamic and subject to constant revision and recognition. The role of international partnership in the definition of Portuguese citizenship is stressed in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic (1976). On its 7th and last revision (2005), the text points to principles of equality and of fundamental rights in the articles related to citizenship as a fundamental principle and to general principles of fundamental rights and duties related with it.²⁶

Supranational terms and conditions, the governance forces beyond the state, act on the Portuguese Constitution, and others, ensuring protection to Portuguese and other citizens. With the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Constitutions are, as Dieter Christensen mentions, clouds protecting from the daily burning sun for many (personal talk September 2010). The complexity of working on those governance forces was illustrated by the failed process for the establishment of a European Constitution in 2005, initiated by the French public rejection in a referendum. The growing deterritorialization and atomization of power in the European Union, due to globalization and pluralist migrant trends, among other factors, have been identified by analysts and social scientists as the main arguments for constitutional renovation (Zagrebelsky, 1992; Everson, 1998; Shaw, 1999; Maduro, 2000; Vila Maior, 2006). The deconstruction of constitutionalism required by European integration, Póiares Maduro stresses, may promote an extended application of its democratic ideals (2000:2). Analysing the situation after the failed trial, Vila Maior compares the traditional state centred constitutionalism with a new, “already postmodern one, inclusive and open to the evolution of political science, overflowing beyond the inexorable reality of the State” (2006:298).

The UN *Human Development Report* stresses the potential of transnational circulation, arguing for the valorisation of benefits of diversity visible through migrants’ expressive behaviour. “The freedom to act in pursuit of personal goals and well-being” is referred to as a source for “empowerment, civic rights and participation” promoting “the social bases for self-respect” (2009:60). The importance of “having a voice – and having that voice heard” is stressed as a way to develop capital gain denoting that “decentralization and democratization” provide “opportunities to lobby and to make incremental gains” (2009:87). The recognition that “migrants can affect the ethnic and cultural diversity of a society, literally changing the face of a nation”, and particularly that “in countries with a long and proud history of independence and a strong sense of national identity, the arrival of newcomers may pose more challenges” (2009:91), is reported as is the fact that in the impact of migration “there is no evidence of significant adverse economic, labour market or fiscal impacts, and there is evidence of gains in such areas as social diversity and capacity for innovation” (2009:92). These findings value the meaning of the expressive behaviour of migrant groups for the new and needed conception of citizenship that, as the new and also needed Europe-

an Constitution will hopefully develop, using Vila Maior's words, "overflowing beyond the inexorable reality of the State". The accomplishment of such complex tasks may promote a new model for the organisation of European and other societies in which the experiences of those who migrate and express themselves through performing practices represent useful meaning for political action.

Conclusion

Forms of social organisation, notions of citizenship and the validity of national and supranational constitutionalism are being revised. Studies on identity issues, observed in performing scenes such as the *Portuguese Night* among migrants in Newark, are useful for their versatility.

Expressive behaviours involving music are characterised by multipart completion, dynamism, fusion and emotional reference. In the case of fado, the relative longevity and the social representation, involving symbolic reference, may be considered platforms of observation for intercultural inquiry and understanding.

Body and mind reactions pointing in opposite directions in circumstances such as musical sound preferences, choice of leading references and reflection on one's identity-belonging, seem to highlight the discussion on citizenship, implying openness to diversity, creativity and collaborative endeavour on the interpretive experience.

Contributing to the knowledge of fado this article testifies meanings of migrant music activity to foster intercultural practice. The analysis of transnational situations as this one may inspire decision makers on the revision of the citizenship concept. Having alerted those migrants, fado may play a new role: to emphasise the fluidity and performing character of citizenship resultant from the interplay of human identities in social context.

Notas

¹ This image, retained from the time of my yearlong fieldwork on fado performance among Portuguese migrants around New York for my MA Thesis in Ethnomusicology at Columbia University under the guidance of Dieter Christensen, revisited my thoughts while now dealing with citizenship representation.

² Available at <http://www.adegamesquita.com/>, accessed on 07.06.2010.

³ For privacy, the name of the restaurant was exchanged.

⁴ *Homem orquestra*, literally meaning "orchestra man", was the local designation for the synthesizer or keyboard player who could provide "the music of an entire group".

⁵ *Conjunto* meaning group is a Portuguese word for "band".

⁶ The concepts *fadistas* (fado singers) and *músicos* (the guitar and the Portuguese guitar players), used both in the migrant community as in the observed scenes in Lisbon showed that the musician was applied only to those who played music instruments. The singers were mentioned as *fadistas* or *artists*, marking the difference between a musician and a singer or artist. This distinction separated also those who "knew music" in the sense of dominating knowledge on music theory related with tonal system details and performing techniques on the instruments, from those who dominated only the part associated with the sung melody, the literary and musical texts and its "history". This distinction made visible also in the performance experience regarding attitude towards the public, emotional state and stage location, among other aspects, marked also a distinction between the more technical/scientific and less emotionally engaged side on the one hand, and the more artistic and emotionally engaged side of fado performance, on the other.

⁷ Where informants appear in the text, for their privacy, I have changed their names.

⁸ All translations into English are my own.

⁹ *Luso Americano* is a newspaper edited in Newark since 1928. Being the most read Portuguese newspaper in the US, it has been edited twice a week since 1988, available at <http://www.lusoamericano.com/default.aspx>, accessed on 20.05.2010.

¹⁰ Other members within the community explicitly adhered to other music cultures. That of *ranchos folclóricos*, studied by Soeiro de Carvalho (1990), is an example of it. Some fado informants also regretted the distance of youngsters who preferred pop music.

¹¹ "É um povo paradoxal e difícil de governar. Os seus defeitos podem ser as suas virtudes e as suas virtudes os seus defeitos, conforme a égide do momento" (1971: 33 cited by Cabral, 2003: 524).

¹² Documents in the Archive of the SNI/SEIT, Pendão; consulted in April 1994, Côte-Real, 2000:407.

¹³ From the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, available at http://app.parlamento.pt/site_antigo/ingles/cons_leg/Constitucao_VII_revisao_definitiva.pdf, accessed on 27/05/10.

1. Everyone shall possess the right to education and culture.
2. The state shall promote the democratization of education and the other conditions needed for an education conducted at school and via other means of training to contribute to equal opportunities, the overcoming of economic, social and cultural inequalities, the development of the personality and the spirit of tolerance, mutual understanding, solidarity and responsibility, to social progress and to democratic participation in public life.
3. Acting in cooperation with the media, cultural associations and foundations, cultural and recreational groups, cultural heritage associations, residents' associations and other cultural agents, the state shall promote the democratization of culture by encouraging and ensuring access by all citizens to cultural enjoyment and creation.
4. The state shall stimulate and support scientific research and creation and technological innovation, in such a way as to ensure their freedom and autonomy, reinforce competitiveness and ensure cooperation between scientific institutions and businesses.

¹⁴ *Patria*, the Latin concept for country of origin, meaning the fatherland, was used abundantly in Salazar's dictatorial speeches and writings. Stressing its moral and authoritarian significance, it was linked to government action, always for the national good, to which every citizen would uncritically obey. An illustration of this procedure can be observed in the ending form of every official letter: "For the National Good" (*A Bem da Nação*).

¹⁵ - *La douceur d'une existence tranquille...*

J'ai répété ces mots avec mélancolie. Je pense aux fleurs, aux fontaines et aux passants paisibles de Lisbonne. Je me souviens des nuits où les homes silencieux viennent s'asseoir à une miradouro pour regarder les lumières de la ville, tandis que les fados se répètent de ruelles en ruelles. Au Portugal, le peuple trouve encore le temps de s'émerveiller et garde le goût du rêve. [...]

- *L'expérience nous enseigne, poursuit-il, qu'une activité plus intense, les progrès techniques, les réformes sociales les plus profondes laissent intactes les qualités de notre peuple, si par de soins attentifs nous savons maintenir les cœurs purs et saines les pensées. C'est pourquoi nous mettons l'esprit au-dessus de tout.*

L'esprit? Voici peut-être le mot clef. Celui qui définit le mieux la politique de Salazar. Pour lui, en quelque domaine que ce soit, tout est projection de l'esprit. Il pense que l'esprit façonne et transforme les homes plus profondément que ne le peut la force des dominateurs. N'a-t-il pas même dit, une fois, que la paix est surtout oeuvre de l'esprit? - Cette condition posée, dit Salazar, nous poursuivons le plus rapidement possible notre oeuvre de reconstruction nationale (Garnier, 1952: 233-34).

¹⁶ For an analysis of this perspective see Côte-Real (1996:141-71).

¹⁷ A song/dance category of the folklore domain, linked with rural works.

¹⁸ A song/dance category of the folklore domain, linked with a choreographic detail.

¹⁹ Although the notions of nation, state and country may be considered synonyms to denominate a particular territory with its own government, due to the nationalist dictatorial policies that governed European countries and Portugal in particular during the 20th century, the term 'nation' appears in this article especially connected with that ideological load.

²⁰ My translation from *Dicionário Priberam da Língua Portuguesa*, available at: <http://www.priberam.pt/dlpo/>, accessed on 15.04.2010.

²¹ From ancient Greek times women were not considered citizens due to their belonging to the *oikos* space (the household) rather than to the polis space (the city-state).

²² It is important to note that living practice and written theory, in the case of Portuguese citizenship, as in others, are different instances and that individual identity feelings and constructs are not registered in the laws of the countries. With the advent of democracy, the new Portuguese Nationality Law, *Lei n.º 37/81 de 3 de Outubro - Lei da Nacionalidade*, available at: http://www.cidadevirtual.pt/cpr/asilo1/37_81.html, (accessed on 27.05.2010), tends to privilege jus sanguinis, whereas the former, from 1959, tended to privilege jus soli. Some further changes have also been introduced, the most recent in 2006. Changes to the Law of Nationality, *Lei Orgânica n.º 2/2006, de 17 de Abril*, continue to privilege jus sanguinis, available at: http://www.pgdlisboa.pt/pgdl/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=735&tabela=leis&nversao (accessed on 27.05.2010).

²³ European Convention on Nationality, Strasbourg 06/11/97, available at: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/166.htm>, accessed on 27.05.2010.

²⁴ "The Portuguese express some of the highest support for equal social rights for migrants (69.3%) and for the right to family reunion (72.2%). 45.2% believe that migrants should be able to become Portuguese citizens easily. Six in ten Portuguese think diversity to be an enrichment, although a significant one in ten do not know. 32.2% did not know that ethnic discrimination in the labour market is illegal. Only 37.8% believe that Portugal is not doing enough

to combat discrimination, although six in ten believe ethnic discrimination is fairly widespread. The population was divided on whether foreigners are treated unfairly in the labour market. At 85.9%, the Portuguese are the most supportive in the EU-27 of positive action measures in the labour market based on ethnicity." MIPEx Report, pp.151, available at: <http://www.integrationindex.eu/multiversions/2712/FileName/MIPEx-2006-2007-final.pdf>, accessed on 27.05.2010).

²⁵ Resolução do Conselho de Ministros n.º 63-A/2007. DR 85 SÉRIE I 1º SUPLEMENTO de 2007-05-03, available at: <http://www.igualdade.gov.pt/index.php/pt/menu-legislacao/imigracao/406-resolucao-do-conselho-de-ministros-no-63-a-2007> [accessed on 27/05/10]. Currently, the II Plano para a Integração de Migrantes is already under way (information from the editor).

²⁶ Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, available at: http://app.parlamento.pt/site_antigo/ingles/cons_leg/Constitution_VII_revisao_definitive.pdf, accessed on 27.05.2010.

Article 4 (on Portuguese citizenship as a Fundamental principle)

All persons whom the law or international convention consider to be Portuguese citizens shall be such citizens.

Article 12 (on the Principle of universality as a General principle of the Fundamental rights and duties)

1. Every citizen shall enjoy the rights and be subject to the duties enshrined in this Constitution.

2. Bodies corporate shall enjoy such rights and be subject to such duties as are compatible with their nature.

Article 13 (on the Principle of equality as a General principle of the Fundamental rights and duties)

1. Every citizen shall possess the same social dignity and shall be equal before the law.

2. No one shall be privileged, favoured, prejudiced, deprived of any right or exempted from any duty on the basis of ancestry, sex, race, language, place of origin, religion, political or ideological beliefs, education, economic situation, social circumstances or sexual orientation.

Article 14 (on the Portuguese abroad as a General principle of the Fundamental rights and duties)

Portuguese citizens who find themselves or who reside abroad shall enjoy the state's protection in the exercise of such rights and shall be subject to such duties as are not incompatible with their absence from the country.

Article 15 (on Foreigners, stateless persons, European citizens as a General principle of the Fundamental rights and duties)

1. Foreigners and stateless persons who find themselves or who reside in Portugal shall enjoy the same rights and be subject to the same duties as Portuguese citizens.

2. Political rights, the exercise of public offices that are not predominantly technical in nature, and the rights that this Constitution and the law reserve exclusively to Portuguese citizens shall be excepted from the provisions of the previous paragraph.

3. With the exceptions of appointment to the offices of President of the Republic, President of the Assembly of the Republic, Prime Minister and President of any of the supreme courts, and of service in the armed forces and the diplomatic corps, in accordance with the law and subject to reciprocity, such rights as are not otherwise granted to foreigners shall apply to citizens of Portuguese-speaking states who reside permanently in Portugal.

4. Subject to reciprocity, the law may grant foreigners who reside in Portugal the right to vote for and stand for election as local councilors.

5. Subject to reciprocity, the law may also grant citizens of European Union Member States who reside in Portugal the right to vote for and stand for election as Members of the European Parliament.

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Migration, *sodade* and conciliation: Cape Verdean batuque practice in Portugal

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Abstract This article analyses the practice of batuque within the context of Cape Verdean immigration in Portugal. It observes the practices of two groups, comparing them as strategies of institutional relationship between Cape Verdean migrants and the host society. It reviews the practice of music as a strategic factor for display/presentation of the culture of origin and as a catalyst for community members' socialization. The musical and choreographic practice is interpreted as a process of conciliation between time, place of origin and people. It notes the hostility between the migratory space and the time and place of origin in the emotional recall that is granted by the music content and the choreographic practice display.

Keywords Batuque, Portugal, conciliation, Cape Verdean music, Cape Verdean immigrants, Ethnomusicology.

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Migration, *sodade* and conciliation: Cape Verdean batuque practice in Portugal

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The Cape Verdean migration in Portugal¹

The official figures of the Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras [Borders Control Service] (2009) for the year 2008 accounted for 440,277 foreign residents in Portugal² of which 51,353 (11.7% of the total) were Cape Verdeans. This figure only refers to the status of political nationality, leaving out a huge amount of individuals of other nationalities (including the Portuguese) that form part of the large group of Cape Verdean ethnic origin. Many descendants born in Portugal and many other citizens with dual nationality, or those that have acquired the Portuguese nationality for practical reasons, are taken into account in the assessment of the sum of all Cape Verdeans³ in several academic studies, by the Cape Verdean diplomatic representation and by Portuguese official institutions dealing with this reality.

The modern migration of Cape Verdeans to Portugal has some unique features. According to the principal studies on this topic, it started on a large scale in the 1960s (Amaro, 1999; Batalha, 2008; Carreira, 1983; Esteves, 1991; França, 1992; Góis, 2008; Gomes, 1999; Oliveira, 1973). In 1973, it accounted for about 20,000 Cape Verdean emigrants in Portugal, particularly men that constituted the first generation. However, its main expansion occurred after the Cape Verdean independence in 1975. The successive waves of new immigrants, young men and women, that reached their increase peak in the late 1980s (Amaro, 1999: 39), set the contours of the gradual process of family reunion for hundreds of families. For work-related reasons, and in order to benefit from the informal network of social solidarity and mutual support facilities, the vast majority of Cape Verdeans gathered in the area, which is nowadays the Lisbon⁴ region. According to Ana de Saint-Maurice, the migratory experience of many Cape Verdeans to Portugal has implied strong personal changes in *"the redefinition of their behavioral rules and the reconstruction of their identities, giving rise to new concepts and new ways of life"* (1997:1). Furthermore, this causes *"processes of family deconstruction that develop along with the creation of new forms of solidarity"* (1997:1).

The Portuguese tradition throughout history has almost always entailed emigration and the national experience of significant labour immigration movements dates only from the mid-1960s. It precisely starts with the Cape Verdean immigration and, comparatively speaking, is therefore a relatively recent phenomenon. This could be one of the reasons to account for the fact that, in the decades between 1960 and 1990, the country had virtually no social conditions prepared to receive tens of thousands of Cape Verdean immigrants who were by then arriving. There were not, for example, residences and neighbourhoods that could meet the housing demand of immigrants; the education system was not prepared to deal with the young Cape Verdeans, having a different mother tongue and other cultural references; the intense demand for

labor in sectors such as construction or the catering business and the lack of labor inspection enabled the establishment of a precarious labor market, adjusting itself to the scope of the law and allowing for a range of abuses. This framework summarizes some of the problems that many immigrants faced on arrival in Portugal.

The hostility of the migratory experience of Cape Verdeans was also aggravated by cultural differences, language difficulties and a non-understanding of the organization of the host society. The education system was often unable to cope with the education - and integration - related needs of many young people who suddenly - disconnected from Cape Verde or children of foreigners, born in Portugal - felt it necessary to create and adapt their identity references. Informal groups of young people living together in neighbourhoods became a substitute for school regarding their support for personal development. However, this process sometimes generated value systems very different from those that are transmitted in school. In response to the lack of accommodation, for example, a large proportion of immigrants resorted to illegal self-constructed dwellings in large neighbourhoods without any urban infrastructures, especially in the outskirts of Lisbon and also within the city limits (Amaro, 1999:62).

In this context, both formal and informal solidarity networks had a great importance, establishing sources of comfort and contributing to the success of the migration project and to conciliation with the Portuguese society. The associative migrant movement played many roles, often serving as an interlocutor of immigrants with the political, administrative, social and institutional instances, as well as being privileged provider of social services, education and training. Furthermore, it also provided space for conviviality, sociability, organisation, invention and reconstruction of cultural expressions of immigrants. For the Cape Verdean immigrants, genres of music and dance of Cape Verde remained as essential markers of their identity. Besides leisure in everyday life, the formal and informal gatherings of Cape Verdeans in Portugal never do without the presence of music and dance. Generally, in these contexts, the so-called 'Cape Verdean'⁵ music and dance are preferred, although other genres generally connoted to that what the music industry calls 'African music' can also be very popular. The genres that are present in the events are quite varied and rather diversified: funaná, zouk, kizomba, kuduro, batuque, coladeira, morna, canção, zouk-love, also known as cabo-zouk or cola-zouk, semba, hip-hop and rap kriolu, among others. Preferences are at times connoted to age group, socio-professional status or to the personal life experience of each social actor. The existence of a specific transnational niche for Cape Verdean music in the music industry (which also includes artists that dedicate themselves to repertoires of international scope), structured and with a substantial record offer, television and radio programs, the availability of amateur and professional musicians, concert venues, recording studios, etc. greatly facilitates accessibility to music.

On the associative level, one of the main genres in which Cape Verdeans take part is batuque, a musical, poetical and dance genre associated with the traditional culture of the island of Santiago, from where the highest percentage of immigrants in Portugal originates. The existence of batuque in Cape Verde, on the island of Santiago, is

documented since the early nineteenth century. Before Cape Verdean independence, this genre was mainly practiced by the rural people of the mountainous interior of the island, where, historically, black slaves on the run, took refuge, and where communities with some degree of preservation of memories and practices of African culture consolidated themselves (Gonçalves, 2006:27). Despite the regular influence of European colonisation - especially the Portuguese - in Cape Verde, an unique culture was forged, marked by the use of Creole and certain African practices, but also by other aspects imposed by the coloniser, such as the adoption of Catholicism and the establishment of economic, political and ideological structures of Portuguese origin. Since that time, the social role of batuque, in addition to its functions of recreation and animation of weddings and baptisms, has included a vehicular dimension of rules and moral attitudes, of judgments and joint appeals. The topics that are dealt with in batuque and *finassom* songs - *finassom* is a variant of batuque⁶ - can hence take us back to the concerns and desires of this rural population, that, proud of its identity, has extended these characteristics up to the present. Nowadays, batuque has extended itself to the urban sphere and has adapted itself to new lifestyles. It enjoys great popularity - both in the archipelago and within the diaspora - attested by the continuous creation of repertoire, the emergence of new groups and festivals and the multiplication of commercial recordings. In Portugal, the first batuque groups formally organised between the Cape Verdean immigrants date from the late 1980s. At present, there is a strong circulation and consumption of recordings among immigrants, and the number of organised batuque groups, with regular activity, is to be about twelve.

Two emblematic cases of batuque groups operating in Portugal are: the group Finka-Pé, founded in 1989, based in the Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude, in the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura, Amadora with well-known public activity, and the group Fidjos di Tera,⁷ founded in 2008, of the Associação Cabo-verdiana do Norte de Portugal, in Porto. These two groups represent very illustrative case studies because of their contrast.

From the perspective of ethnomusicology, facing this framework, the following three questions can be asked: how does the batuque practice of these two groups in Portugal constitute a source of comfort and an antidote to the experience of hostility that is typical that the lives that Cape Verdean immigrants entail in the Portuguese society? Which articulation does the batuque practice cause between feelings of nostalgia for the homeland - *sôdade* or *sodadi* in creole -, sociability with patricians and personal requirements of the migration project? And finally, how does the batuque practice constitute itself as a privileged strategy of conciliation, in the institutional relationship between Cape Verdeans and Portuguese society? The migratory experience, analysed by ethnomusicology since decades, has permitted to establish some overarching principles of the relationship between music and migration, as we shall see below.

Migration and ethnomusicology

Human migration as a social phenomenon has been subject of academic interest since the nineteenth century, with geography as a pioneer in its study. Migration presents a wide range of settings - labour-related, political, administrative, and many others - and can be analysed from various points of view. At present, labour migration is explained primarily by economical theories. Ernst Ravenstein (1834-1913) formulated the first interpretations of human migration based on the principle of attraction/repulsion ('push/pull') and on empirical observations of migration inside the United Kingdom (Góis, 2006: 83). In his review of this model, John A. Jackson pointed out that its centrality can only to be attributed to the economy: "[...] *repulsive factors were generally of an economic character, and included lack of access to property or land use, unemployment, low wages, unproductive land, droughts and famines and, finally, the population increase. Attractive factors took the form of improved alternatives to the afore-mentioned and, furthermore, placed the advantages of urban life in sharp contrast over rural life*" (Jackson, 1991:19).

Some of the comments that Ravenstein made, and which deserve a critical analysis later on, can be summarised as follows: (a) migration flows have generated refluxes; (b) migrants prefer for short distances; (c) migrants have a preference for big cities when migrating over long distances; (d) rural people migrate more than the urban population and young adults are more prone to international migration than families. The assumptions of Ravenstein's classical theory, however, are based on the individual's free will, which raised the criticism that "*from the start, free will is subject to a set of social, historical and political conditions that make it less free and more arbitrary*" (Góis, 2006: 88) and that, unquestionably, condition migration.

The social and political contexts necessarily interfere with migration processes, not only through the setting of the migrating subjects' characteristics, but also through the selective choice of their migratory destinations. The individual level, the decision to emigrate, is limited by those contexts. In this respect, Pedro Góis concludes that the "*perception of reality leads the actors to use a set of adaptive strategies modifying both the final migratory destination or the migrations that they have to use in order to achieve them*" (2006: 90).

Studies on migration and culture have gained a new perspective from the 1990s onwards, to some extent influenced by reasoning about the theory of culture by certain authors, such as Hommi Bhabha (1994) or Zygmunt Bauman, who have provided important intellectual contributions to the way we see the relationship space/culture or the phenomenon of consumption and postmodernism. In fact, the approach of the mobility of cultural forms, which has challenged the classical notion of the link between culture and territory or 'place' (in the sense that Bhabha uses 'location'), offers a new way of looking at migration and corresponding migratory experiences. Statistics and data collection - which were the major methodological tools of sociology of migration, economics and geography - have proven to not be sufficient for understanding, for example, the way in which migrants see their own migratory experience. Cultural production in various forms, in particular expressive behaviours,

have thus become another instrument in order to make us understand the vision of immigrants on the host society and the place they have left, as well as how they are seen by the host society.

Music and dance, through the contents that they entail, through the distribution and great social reach they can obtain, imply enormous advantages as sources for the analysis of migration. The elements that make up the music, such as lyrics, instruments and costumes, to give a few examples, are important sources of information about the behaviors and attitudes of immigrants when combined with their social environment. It sometimes even happens, in the most spontaneous musical migrants performance, that those that who perform mix themselves up with those who attend. In addition to this argument, Baily and Collyer state: *"Music has a power to evoke memories and capture emotions entirely separate from the lyrical content (or where lyrics are entirely absent) that we can all identify with, migrants and non-migrants alike. Musical forms may travel independently of migrants, in response to other factors in the broader commercial and cultural environment"* (2006: 168).

Early on in the development of musical science, in the nineteenth century, the basic scientific questions were linked to the nature of music and human musicality, in an ideological framework still very marked by positivism and classificatory scientific paradigms. This was a time in which modern ethnomusicology had not yet been configured theoretically and methodologically and, therefore, it was defined as 'comparative musicology'. At this time, concepts like 'authenticity' or 'primitive music' were central concerns for comparative musicologists, and migration did not constitute an area of special interest to the discipline nor to its epistemology. Migration was merely a phenomenon that could help explain the distribution of musical instruments or of terminologies between different cultures over long periods of archaeological time.

In the 1940s, Melville Herskovitz⁸ opened up a new perspective to the analysis of music and migration by examining African American musics in his study *The Myth of Black Past* (1941). From then on, ethnomusicology would experience major developments, especially with regard to incorporating new topics such as acculturation, change and cultural innovation. The knowledge that American musical genres with African influence carried in its origin, in part, the violent process of forced migration of African slaves, brought about new interrogations that certainly contributed to the new definition of ethnomusicology proposed by Alan Merriam, in 1964, in his main work *The Anthropology of Music: the 'study of music in culture'*. This perspective led, in turn, to the opening of a new scientific chapter, protagonised by Adelaide Reyes Schramm (1979), to define the city, or rather, the 'urban area' and 'ethnic music', as new research grounds in ethnomusicology. The study by Philip Bohlman (1984) on the re-urbanisation of musical life of Jewish immigrants from central Europe in Israel, or the works of Thomas Turino (1988 and 1993) on the music of the highlands of Peru being taken to Lima by internal migrants, for example, are two significant examples of this new perspective.

Adelaide Reyes Schramm, then at Columbia University, promoted a number of studies on minority groups, some of them immigrant, that helped to understand the

various ways of musical organisation in migratory contexts. Several studies about different migratory experiences ranging from the extreme case of political refugees to labour immigrants have showed, however, that music always has a deep personal and social meaning with hindsight to issues of human displacement. Migrants represent case studies that require different approaches and whose categorisations are problematic given their diversity of origin and migration: immigrants, emigrants, nationals, internationals, refugees, deportees, forced migrants, voluntary migrants, and so on. Surely, the diversity of human and cultural settings also produces the same diversity of musical articulations in time and space.

The cultural references in the migratory situation are many, and they represent a major interest to Ethnomusicology by the fact that migrant groups are physically displaced from the culture they are familiar with and find themselves immersed in another culture in which they are a minority. Given the physical dislocation as a fact which by itself generates new conditions for migrants, new communication technologies and the relative ease of modern transportation on the other hand seem to be potential mitigating factors in the feeling of dislocation. Moreover, immigrants, as is known, find ways to keep and redeem bonds of affection and to devise strategies for the reconstruction of niche communities where recreations of their cultural and affective pre-migratory space take place. Moreover, the prospect of return is, in many cases, a fact more or less chimerical, which evocation can be a strong catalyst of attitudes and strategies. Nevertheless, the cultural reality that migrants leave when they move to another territory is a reality that is constantly transforming itself, but of which the old image often remains as a referent that is more imaginary than real. Certain contexts of migratory experience change in such a great manner that the migrants' references become dull images of a past that no longer exists. It is in this space, between the imaginary and the real, that migrants often project identities and ways of being that do not correspond to the host society nor to the cultural idea that they have left behind. And this view can castrate the project of return. Obviously, many migrants *"return to the places they came from but still experience the feeling of being out of place"* (Said, 1999, in Baily and Collyer, 2006:171).

It is in the private sphere that immigrants often organise their closest approximations to the culture they have left behind. The sense of ambiguity between referential space and culture - not being here nor there - has been widely explored in ethnomusicological research, especially in transnational communities, such as in the study by James Watson, *Between Two Cultures* (1977). As Baily and Collyer conclude: *"Re-enactment and repetition of cultural practices continues to provide a source of comfort, a partial antidote to the hostility experienced in the new society, reinforcing and responding to feelings of nostalgia"* (2006:171).

In fact, this sense of longing has proved to be a creative engine in many communities and in these cases, immigrants are responsible for a dynamic cultural innovation that goes far beyond the simple repetition of cultural practices. Baily and Collyer, once again, argue: *"A transnational perspective helps to remove the blinkers under which only developments in the country of origin were seen as authentic representations of the culture of the migrant group"* (2006:171).

With regard to Cape Verdean music, Rui Cidra adds the motivation of migrants towards an own music production to this argument: "*Musicians, as well as intellectuals and writers involved in music production, living in the arquipelago and in the centers of the diaspora, have made migration and its emotional, intellectual and socio-economic consequences into one of the main topics of poetry for song. The texts of batuko, of funaná or morna, and the performative styles used in their interpretation, have limited the 'saudade' (sodade or sodadi) caused by separation from loved ones as an emotional and expressive element defining the aesthetic of these genres*" (Cidra, 2008:106).

Furthermore, this seems to be a case in which culture in general and music in particular help to understand new structures of a transnational community as a whole. Ethnomusicological literature has also showed us how the immigrants can play a role in the maintenance and transmission of traditions. Diasporas at times are seen as much as reserves of cultural memory as respected authorities of musical innovation. In reaction to more conventional explanations of economy and politics about the complexities of the relations between migrant groups, Baily and Collyer (2006: 172) argue that issues of cultural production, innovation and dissemination in transnational communities elucidate them best.

Some factors may have implications on the way in which music inscribes itself onto the migratory experience. Migration occurs in varying circumstances that also produce different uses of music. The presence or absence of musicians and traditional instruments, for example, can design different ways of identification of migrants with the musical traditions of their homeland. Thomas Turino (1993) addresses this problem in his studies on the music of internal migrants in Peru that descend from the highlands to Lima and use music as a means of connection, musical genres as an emblematic function and musical practice as a rhetoric of their social objectives. But, similarly, the spatial and cultural proximity between the local host and region of origin has important implications for the production and consumption of music among immigrants. It is common - and the case of Cape Verdean immigrants in Portugal - that cultural proximity provides certain choices in practice and consumption of music by immigrants, including the music of the host society. Linguistic, religious and other proximity has its implications in the practice and use of music. This proximity can be independent of class divisions that exist within the proper community, such as age, education or social group that in turn, may refer to different choices of consumption and production. A comparison between practices in the immigrant community and in the place of origin is also informative about the way music is perceived and represented. Likewise, by means of its claiming ability or emotional evocation, music can be an element of identity negotiation and assertion of migrant communities. With regard to the popular music of Cape Verdean immigrants, Timothy Sieber raises the question as follows: "*Popular music is a powerful medium for representing, contesting, and negotiating changing cultural identities within shifting global diasporas. Music indexes continuity and change, sustains and renegotiates connection across transnational space, and reshapes generational relations*" (2005:123).

Music may play a role not only of evocation of space but also of a time that, eventually, ceased to exist. Immigrants often secure musical practices in a kind of 'ritualized repetition', cultivating the 'retention of musical models' (Carvalho, 1991) which retains and evokes a past era. This finding raises the question of maintenance of ritual music among immigrants, which also constitutes an element of the rhetoric of maintaining cultural identity. It is very common within immigrants' discourse. The prolongation of migration for several generations, however, can create interesting dynamics of musical innovation. It is exactly by opposition to 'ritualized repetition' that Baily and Collyer explain innovation: "*... migration can lead to cultural innovation and enrichment, with the creation of new forms which are indicative or symptomatic of the issues facing the immigrant, and which help one in dealing with a new life in a place of settlement and in the articulation of new identities. This is specially typical of the second or third migrant generation, born and brought up in a new land*" (2006:174).

Some migrant communities use music for themselves as a way to maintain their cultural identity. Yet, in other situations, music and dance are more addressed to the host community. In these circumstances, music is a way of affirming the group identity to others. One may also use it to create cohesion within the proper group or to clarify one's beliefs. For this reason, too, music among migrants can create splits and divisions. The capacity to evoke ideological, religious or other pre-migratory affiliations that are not understood or shared by all can create cracks within the group. Even at the level of social class, music can be a divisive factor.

Finally, in the context of migration one may ascribe to music a role that Baily and Collyer (2006:177) refer to as 'therapeutic possibility', both for individuals and for groups. People that are migrating may experience emotional weakness or lack of self-esteem. Separation from their homeland, the difficulties of everyday life in a new country and the immigration status itself - the decision to move, even voluntary, is hard and possibly punitive - can be factors of depression. In certain contexts, it is here that music seems to have a therapeutic role in stimulating self-esteem and relief to the feelings of depression and anxiety. In the context of Cape Verdean immigration in Portugal, this is one of the referred qualities for the justification of the batuque practice. Its therapeutic possibilities are related to the alternation of percussion, the expression of problems of daily life and the sharing experience provided through practice (Rosa, 2006).

Batuque in Portugal, *sodade* and conciliation

From an ethnomusicological perspective, batuque can be analysed through its sound dimension and through the various discourses that underpin it: the content of the lyrics and the stories associated with each batuque song, the discursive rhetoric of the social actors involved - musicians, publics and other agents in the organisation of music production -, their behaviour and attitudes and, finally, the personal narratives of individual members of each batuque group. The song repertoire of batuque groups is gradually transformed and renewed in the light of events and the passage of time, since this genre embodies a very important kind of social commentary.

My research work on batuque in recent years has particularly examined the above-mentioned group Finka-Pé, integrated into the activities of the Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude, a community project based in the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura. This neighbourhood, located in the municipality of Amadora, on the outskirts of the city of Lisbon, is mostly populated by people of Cape Verdean origin and, in previous years, has received extensive media coverage related to violent events and crime, although the official rates themselves are numerically lower in the neighbourhood than elsewhere. In fact, this media coverage is associated with the exploration of social prejudices of racism against immigrants of African origin in Portugal (Horta, 2008:225). The process of discrimination and the spread of marginalisation in the neighbourhood ends up feeding and further increasing the limitations of the population of Alto da Cova da Moura towards integration in and dialogue with the outside world. Irreconcilable feelings deepen on both sides, between immigrants and their host society. Moreover, Ana Paula Beja Horta significantly explores these topics by showing how the representations of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood by the state and the media have a 'racialised nature' and how these images 'have fixed local identity in an ideological scale, that articulates the cultural difference with marginalisation and deviant behaviour' (2008:233). This author further concludes that: *"The imposition of individual subjectivities has found multiple forms of resistance and protest by the residents of the neighbourhood. Using their experiences of life in a translocal space, migrants have fought for social identities and have built new alternative ways to represent themselves and the community"* (2008:233). This explains why the district has virtually no basic infrastructure such as paved streets, basic sanitation or public transport. For these reasons, manifestations of expressive culture of the inhabitants - particularly music and dance - represent an important exchange coin to negotiate a social image with a positive signal to the outside.

Founded in 1989, Finka-Pé consists of about 18 women of three generations. Originally, the group only consisted of older women born in Cape Verde who had traveled to Portugal during the 1980s. However, since 2002, the group has begun to include girls, daughters and relatives of the older members, already born in Portugal and also their daughters, granddaughters of the former. This group has a long list of performances all over the country and at least four international tours (Spain 1992, 1995, Cape Verde 1996, Belgium 2003). It has appeared several times on television and continues to carry out frequent performances throughout the country that are almost always commented upon. Once a month, on Sunday, it promotes batuque sessions - the so-called 'batuque course' - with free participation for anyone that wants to. Its repertoire is frequently renewed with new songs composed by own members or with repertoire adjustments of other groups.

In Porto, there is another batuque group that was recently formed and is headquartered in the Associação Cabo-verdiana do Norte de Portugal (ACNP). According to its chairman, Martin Ramos, the association's objective is:

"[...] the spirit of congregation, promoting conviviality and the union of all Cape Verdeans in the northern region of Portugal in order to disseminate the values of Cape Verdean culture, cultural ties between Cape Verde and Portugal, and vice versa. To promote initiatives in the

field of social security, education and health, to promote and participate in cultural, sportive, social, economic manifestations, through the organization of public initiatives aimed at greater social integration and harmony of the Cape Verdean immigrants in the Portuguese society in northern Portugal" (Borges, 2007).

The batuque group Fidos di Tera was created in 2008 and consists of 18 young students and student-workers based in the city of Oporto. Its members meet on a weekly basis at the headquarters to carry out batuque rehearsals and to compose new songs. The public performance is a parallel objective to the rehearsals. Whether or not it has any performance scheduled, the group meets on Sundays to rehearse. In these moments of sociability and conviviality, the members talk to each other, share their experiences, exchange news of their lives and their families because they have few opportunities to do so during the week. During about a year and a half, this group has made around 15 public performances in the region of Porto and has also performed in Spain. All members are youngsters - boys and girls - with personal projects of academic education that provide a migratory framework that is different from most of their patricians that emigrated often only with economic and labour-related objectives. As the migratory framework of these young people is different, their group organisation equally differs from other batuque groups. One of the distinguishing features is the fact that the group includes boys, which, a few years ago, was an unusual feature in batuque groups. However, at present, both in Portugal and Cape Verde, some groups do integrate boys, especially youngsters and children. Other features of differentiation by this group are the formal structure of its songs - which is quite varied and not repetitive -, the adoption of percussion instruments and strings - the *tumba* [a sort of *djembé* and the viola, in addition to the *tchabetas*¹⁰ - and the musical content, especially in the rhythmical percussion part. This is organised in a way that accentuates the 'binary' character of the rhythmical accompaniment pattern, as opposed to the 'ternary' character that is found in the repertoires of other groups.¹¹ In addition, this group composes its entire repertoire by itself.

In one of the songs of the group Finka-Pé, the topic of migration is addressed by the desire to return. The return to the motherland is one of the objectives of migration. However, the transformations of life, especially the birth of children or the adaptation to cultural differences often "turn the return" into a permanently postponed reality that eventually is not realised. Therefore, in song, this desire is formulated in an hypothetical way - the hope to return - thus asserting the contingency of the migratory project:

*I hope to return
Cape Verde I hope to return
Tell Buraca because I hope to return
Oh girl I hope to return
Oh St. Anthony I hope to return
I have hope, oh Angelina I hope to return
I want to return
I hope to return*

*Oia my mother
Oia ah women
Oh world of God
When I was with you
When I went to Cape Verde
He said tomorrow and it remained on that
Oh Black Lady
Oia companions
I hope to return
Oiaiai oh I do hope to return*

Song of Finka-Pé repertoire. Source: INET-MD recording, 1992.

In another registration, in the context of immigration in Portugal, the batuque group Fijos di Tera uses the 'sodade' of loved ones and the earth as the theme of musical and choreographic creativity in batuque:

*I'm in Portugal
My relatives in Cape Verde
I cannot take separation
Distance is killing my life*

*My friends
Help me to go to Cape Verde
Missing [Saudade] my mother
Missing [Saudade] my dad
Missing [Saudade] my sister
My love goes without saying*

*Everything I do
Never worked
I have little luck
A longing to embrace my family
God illuminates my path*

Song of Fijos di Tera repertoire. Source: transcription by the group, 2009.

Within this group, which comes together to socialise and practice batuque, music plays a strategic role in maintaining its Cape Verdean identity, which its members do not want to lose. For most group members, batuque was a reality that they knew from Cape Verde, but had never practiced before coming to Portugal. The statements of several of them about the desire to practice batuque connects directly with the feelings of longing [saudade] and the need to establish processes of socialisation within their own age group of interests. Furthermore, this situation seems to be similar to the one described by Susana Sardo with regard to the practice of music among Goan Christians in Goa: "The choice of music as an ingredient to voluntary partake in a feeling of nostalgia and to meet the need for reconstruction and maintenance of identity,

arises precisely from the fact that music contains within itself a reference to a space (a place and a social dimension) and to a time (history) where it is possible, supposed and desirable to find the essential components of that identity. It is a strong marker of identity because it is unique" (2004:233).

Batuque, in the case of these two groups in Portugal, addresses itself to a Portuguese public that does not understand Creole and often incorporates a strong pedagogical dimension or an approximation to the expressive Cape Verdean culture. Therefore, the performances of the group Finka-Pé are usually commented with explanations about the content of lyrics, dancing, rhythm and other aspects of musical organisation, as well as about the Cape Verdean culture. Here too, the daily lives of women have been marked by a huge difficulty to find employment. In Cape Verde, many of these women were engaged in street vending of fish, an activity that is prohibited in the urban context of Lisbon. Their attempt to reproduce the professional experience that they knew within the host space gave rise to episodes of exclusion and persecution in which many women of the group were arrested or had their goods seized by the police. In the face of this situation and the traumas that it caused, the majority was forced to choose other activities. One of the songs from the group's repertoire - recovered and adapted from a letter of the Cape Verdean musician Codé di Dona, *Pulicia di Praia* - clearly reflects the desperation and anger that this condition of exclusion and near-marginalisation has caused:

*Lisbon Police
Let me sell on the street
Earn the bread of my children*

*Running from the police
[I am caught]
I hit my chest on a car
And die at once.*

Song of Finka-Pé repertoire in 1994. Source: personal recording.

In the following testimony F.S., one of the women of Finka-Pé, talks about her personal experience of tension and conflict with the authorities regarding the street vending of fish:

"I ran into a policeman and he said: stop the car! I stopped the car. The documents of the car? And I handed over the documents. The documents of the fish? And I handed over the documents. I handed over more documents and then the police said I had to pay a fine of 50 thousand escudos. I said that I could not do that, because I have four kids to raise and the father gives them nothing and I was alone in this fight. Then the police said the following: grab the fish that you have there and put in the dustbin. We'll go away and do not want to find you here anymore. If we'll find you here again, you will be fined and imprisoned. I said: okay. And I grabbed into the garbage what I had there, from preparing the fish, and I threw it in the trash, I pretended. I put the fish in the car and went off to my house." [Source: film by Catarina Rodrigues, Mulheres do Batuque, 1997]

The conciliation of interests and legal status of Cape Verdean immigrants with the laws of the host country is not always easy. In Portugal, the experience of various immigrants regarding the legalisation of their status has often been complex and shrouded in bureaucracies and difficulties not always understandable. The representative apparatuses of the Portuguese state, such as the police or the *Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* [Borders Control Service] decide about the legality or illegality of people's situation by means of guidelines that are sometimes unclear. In the following song, the group Finka-Pé exposes these difficulties and interpellates the authorities - the government and the president - to conciliate and resolve the bureaucratic problems of migration.

*Sorrow of our people, our Government
President good day.
We want a union with you
Tell employees to give the people the documents
They ask money from the people
To deal with our issues.
There are many people who have nothing
Give them permission to dispatch their affairs.*

Song of Finka-Pé repertoire in 1994. Source: personal recording.

Finally, conciliation is also expressed through the consciousness of political power, of feelings of equality and of the ability to accomplish that immigrants have of themselves.

*Like us, only us!
We came to Moinho da Juventude
We met with people who were doctors
With pen and paper
We asked them what they were doing
They said they would approve the law
We went to Alto da Cova da Moura
And we shouted to every youngster
To not be afraid
Let's join hands and construct Kova M.*

Song of Finka-Pé repertoire in 2008. Source: personal recording.

Conclusion

In terms of expressive behaviour, migration generates a great diversity of responses in different contexts. At the same time, migration creates tensions and conflicts of interest and understanding - both on a collective and individual level - in which music can play an important role of conciliation. In many cases, music, equipped with multiple properties, functions both as a marker of group identity and a personal link

to memories, other times and other spaces. Its capacity for emotional and affective redemption makes it an indispensable element in assessing the migratory experience. Some of Susana Sardo's conclusions view music in these terms: *"It also is an argument for the recurrent construction of moments of enjoyment of a collective sense of belonging to a group, or of identification. The relationship with the others is absolutely necessary - not only aspired but also essential for musical performance - and works as an intermediary for sharing emotions that refer to the relationship with a place and a past and that seek to perpetuate themselves as a guarantee for maintaining the group and its identity"* (2004: 233).

This seems to be the way by which the practice of batuque, within the two groups mentioned in this article, takes up the form of a source of personal comfort and an antidote to the experience of hostility felt by the Cape Verdean immigrants in the Portuguese society. The automatic and instant ability that batuque provides to re-create time and place of origin is one of the reasons for adopting this musical and choreographic genre in the whole of available Cape Verdean expressive practices. On the other hand, for those that, being children of Cape Verdean immigrants, never emigrated because they were born in the migratory destination, batuque helps to define and shape their system of identity referents. Batuque is often present in their daily lives through practice or listening, thus raising familiarity and proximity, which becomes extremely important.

Batuque practice in Portugal is also an area par excellence of expression of feelings of nostalgia [*saudades*] for the homeland. The sharing of this common feeling, through performance, reinforces the sense of solidarity and group belonging and contributes to the resistance against hostility. Moreover, for the social actors involved, practicing batuque is also a pretext of socialisation, new experiences, new opportunities for conviviality, leisure, travel and knowledge. It very strongly contributes to personal and social development within the group of Cape Verdeans.

Finally, for the two groups observed, batuque represents a privileged conciliation strategy, although at different levels: for the youngsters of the group *Fidjos di Tera*, batuque, as a space of expression of feelings, helps its members to establish their social position and to balance their own relationships within and outside the group. Because of this, they could reinvent batuque in their own way, without depreciating it or without worrying about aspects of 'folkloric reconstruction'. They have reinvented its form and rhythmic accents and have contributed the instrumental references that each member had brought in from other personal experiences, following the example of strong renewal that the genre has been undergoing in the archipelago. For these youngsters, batuque establishes itself as an emotional regulator of the personal relationship with life in the city of Oporto, with regard to the specific immigration status of students or student-workers. It also provides them a social visibility as a particular ethnic group.

For the women of the group *Finka-Pé*, batuque establishes itself as a social conciliator because it is the privileged domain for the presentation of Cape Verdean cultural identity of many residents of the *Alto da Cova da Moura* neighbourhood. The group's

performances always provide space for explanations about the characteristics of the neighbourhood and the lifestyles of its inhabitants. To this extent, it is an important contribution to the understanding of cultural difference and serves to diminish the mistrust about Cape Verdeans. At the same time, for each of the women, the practice of batuque is always a personal appeasement, a moment of evasion and conciliation with their dreams of life.

Notes

¹ I thank my colleague and academic supervisor Susana Sardo for proposing the concept of 'conciliation' associated with ethnomusicological analysis that I use in this article.

² The Instituto Nacional de Estatística [National Institute of Statistics] counted 10,627,250 residents in 2008. The foreign resident population was therefore 4.14%.

³ This was, moreover, the criterion used by Amaro (1999) in *Estudo de Caracterização da Comunidade Cabo-verdiana em Portugal* in which, for the year 1997, he estimated a total of some 83,000 Cape Verdeans.

⁴ The Lisbon region comprises 18 municipalities (5.8% of the national total): Alcochete, Almada, Amadora, Barreiro, Cascais, Lisbon, Loures, Mafra, Moita, Montijo, Oeiras, Oeiras, Palmela, Seixal, Sesimbra, Sintra, Vila Franca de Xira.

⁵ The concept of 'Cape Verdean music' is ambiguous. For simplicity of the concept, we mean the set of practices that include specific expressive music and dance, performed by Cape Verdeans, both in Cape Verde and in the diaspora and which, when they are sung, use the Cape Verdean Creole. The literature (Cruz, 1981; Brito, 1998; Gonçalves, 2006; Martins, 1989; Monteiro, 1988; Tavares, 2005) highlights the following types: batuque, finassom, tabanka, colá (or colá sanjon), coladeira and morna. In another category associated with other origins: choro, lundum, mazurka, contradança, xotice, rabolo and samba. There should yet be another category that includes other kinds of international diffusion, especially associated with dance, sung in Creole: canção, zouk and its variant zouk-love, also known as cabo-zouk or cola-zouk, kizomba, kuduro, hip-hop and rap kriolu.

⁶ Finassom is a variant of batuque in which the choreographic component, often exuberant, is completely replaced by an amplification of the sung narrative message. In these situations, the female singer reels off long moral, religious and reflective speeches about human relationships, norms of behaviour and social attitudes.

⁷ Originally called 'Flor di Tera'

⁸ Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University in 1923, a disciple of Franz Boas (1858-1942).

⁹ The case of political refugees and exiles is obviously different from that of migrant labourers, because the former know that the return can mean putting their lives at risk.

¹⁰ The tchabeta is a species of small cushion covered with a material made of napa or leather that serves to strike and make the rhythmic pattern that accompanies the batuque songs. The players are seated, have the tchabeta placed in the middle of the thighs and strike with both hands alternately.

¹¹ Actually, this is a very simplified interpretation of the rhythmic complexity of batuque. The rhythmic organisation of batuque, from the perspective of authors such as Nketia or Chernoff, does not follow the hierarchy of Western rhythmic and is therefore not 'ternary'! It can be, yes, heard as such. For a thorough study on these issues, besides the two mentioned, see Ribeiro (2004).

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Unexpected musical worlds of Vienna: Immigration and music

Ursula Hemetek*

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

Keywords Ethnomusicology, immigration, diaspora, urban ethnomusicology, minorities, Vienna.

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■ Unexpected musical worlds of Vienna: Immigration and music

Ursula Hemetek

Historical and political background of immigration in Austria

Austria is the result or remainder of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which was a multinational country with many languages and cultures, including the Czech, Slovakian, Ukrainian, Croatian, Polish, Hungarian, Slovenian and Jewish cultures. Austria did not have overseas colonies and was not confronted with overseas immigration, like the UK, France, Portugal or the Netherlands as a result of colonialism. Austria was formed by migration but it was first of all an inland migration, within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In the last 50 years, however, there has been massive immigration from eastern and southern Europe. In the 1960s Austria needed migrant workers and so began the immigration of Yugoslavian and Turkish people. Due to its location as a western country at the border of several former communist states there were also several waves of refugees from Hungary in 1956, from Czechoslovakia in 1968, from Poland in 1981 and from Bosnia in 1992. The laws in Austria are rather restrictive concerning citizenship. The number of foreign citizens in Austria is 9%, while the figure for the capital Vienna would be 18%. From the inland migration during the monarchy and the reduction of the territory after World War I resulted the so-called 'autochthonous' ethnic minorities, those who have been living on a certain territory for a hundred years or more. They are citizens of Austria and have been granted certain rights. They are also recognised as an 'ethnic group' ('Volksgruppe'). The term 'Volksgruppe' has only existed in Austria as a political category since 1976, due to the so-called 'Volksgruppengesetz', and it includes only ethnic minorities, with a distinct culture and language that have lived in Austria for at least three generations, thereby granting them certain rights. This law does not include recent immigrants who therefore remain without such rights.

Ethnic minorities in Austria, overview:

Figure 1 – Chronology of the arrival of ethnic minorities in Austria

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

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

According to the last census in Austria in 2001, the numbers of foreigners were as follows:

Figure 2 – Number of foreigners in Austria according to the 2001 census

Austrian population	8,065,465 (total)
Foreigners: Serbia	155,800
Turkey	130,100
Bosnia	96,000
Croatia	57,600
Poland	22,600
Germany	74,400
Hungary	13,000
Romania	18,400
Macedonia	12,400
Italy	10,700
Other groups	less than 10,000

Source: Census 2001

The division into 'ethnic groups' and immigrants seems to be outmoded in times of globalisation and EU integration. This political practice, which is still in use nowadays, has a lot to do with the Austrian political situation after World War II. In 1955, Austria still had the choice to decide whether its self-definition would be as a multilingual or monolingual country. It was German that was chosen as the only official language although there were other languages spoken in the territory – by minorities. Two of these minorities were explicitly mentioned in the constitution of 1955: the Burgenland Croats and the Slovenes in Carinthia and Styria, thereby granting them certain rights. The Slovenes were very active in the resistance against the Nazi regime; one of the few proven sources of resistance in Austria. Therefore their rights had to be included in the constitution upon request of the victorious countries. Later

on, this privileged status was also granted to other ethnic groups - the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Hungarians and the Roma, based on a law from 1976 ('Volksgruppen-gesetz'). The criteria were on the one hand their longstanding settlement in the Austrian territory, and on the other hand evidence of their ethnicity, which was defined by cultural markers like language, customs, music and others which were different from those of the Austrian majority. These definitions very much resemble the old nation's concepts, to be found in Europe since the 18th century. The law from 1976 is still in use and has not been amended, although there have been discussions about it for several years now because many people think that this old-fashioned thinking should be abandoned. The other reason why Austrian politics still divides ethnic minorities into 'Volksgruppen' and immigrants is to be found in another self-definition: Austria does not want to feature as a country of immigration, although de facto it is. Immigration is seen more as a threat than as a necessity. Xenophobia is stirred up by some political parties, which look for scapegoats in times of economic recession. And these are found in the form of immigrants.

Immigrants in Austria are discriminated against on several levels. There is the labour market, housing and structural discrimination by the law, not to mention having to face everyday racism. It is very difficult for them to obtain Austrian citizenship. The integration process - which I define by referring to Bauböck (2001: 14) as a "process of reciprocal adjustment between an already existing group and a settling group" - is not at all satisfactory. The reactions of immigrants themselves are to be found in different strategies, which are between - but also include - two extremes: withdrawal into the ghetto and assimilation. In the case of withdrawal, immigrants limit social contact to members of their own nationality, and find their niches in which to survive. This is of course understandable but it does not lead to a successful integration process. But also in the case of assimilation, which I would define as the complete abandonment of 'ethnic markers' like language and customs, there still is discrimination because of the visibility of 'otherness' by skin colour, by accent or by a person's name. The majority reacts to the challenges of immigration not by adjustment but rather by rejection, thereby hindering the integration process.

I have tried to argue the reasons for this Austrian peculiarity of the division into 'ethnic groups' and immigrant minorities in Austria. Nevertheless, it seems somehow paradoxical. In the meantime, the third generation of immigrants is living in Austria. They were born here, have hardly any contact to the homeland of their grandparents, but are still considered immigrants or are referred to with the now-common expression 'people with immigrant backgrounds'. These conditions do have an impact on the music making of immigrants, which is the topic of this paper. I ask the reader to keep these pre-conditions in mind, because music should always be seen in its social context and the context in the case of immigrants is strongly influenced by politics.

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

Amongst the countless ways in which we 'relocate' ourselves, music undoubtedly has a vital role to play. The musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette

or CD into a machine, evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity. The 'places' constructed through music involve notions of difference and social boundary (Stokes, 1997:3).

What Martin Stokes says here is of course not only true for immigrants, it works for the dominant group as well. But especially in the situation of migration, when a person experiences dislocation, insecurity, constant challenge, unfamiliarity and discrimination, it might become more meaningful and more important to 'relocate' oneself by the means of music. Stokes' argument goes further when he says: *'I would argue that music is socially meaningful, not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them'* (Stokes, 1997:5).

My findings do confirm these theses, and I quote them because they say a great deal about the motivation for the music making of immigrants. I would argue further that it also says a lot about what kind of music these immigrant groups practice. I am far from any essentialist interpretation, because music is what any social group considers it to be, and music styles per se do not represent any denoted ethnicity. But on the other hand, one cannot deny that ethnicity is represented by music. Ethnicity is of course a problematic term and there have been many discussions about it, especially in a discipline that uses the prefix 'ethno' in its designation like 'ethnomusicology'. Adelaida Reyes argues that it should not to be omitted, but defined it in a useful way that allows it to be worked with in an interdisciplinary manner. Reyes mentions this in connection with research in the urban area: *'Groups labeled ethnic are a social reality and... they have come to constitute a structural category in urban social organization. It appears, therefore, that we may have to live with the term a while longer'* (Reyes-Schramm, 1979:17). Stokes also does not question the term, but its definition: *"Ethnicities are to be understood in terms of the construction, maintenance and negotiation of boundaries, and not on the putative social 'essences' which fill the gaps within them"* (Stokes, 1997:6). I share the opinion of many anthropologists (see Asad, 1973) that the construction of ethnicities can only be understood by including power relations in the analysis. It is very important to consider insiders' and outsiders' positions in constructing ethnicities. In the case of discriminated people, the definition of outsiders very often contributes to their self-definition. The group in power - the dominant group - defines who is 'different'. If a group is constantly perceived by others as 'different' because of their ethnic background they might begin to stress markers of ethnic difference in their self awareness. This might also happen in music making, and especially in public performance. Therefore performance in diaspora seems to me another very important aspect of the whole topic; the more so because performed music is very often the object of documentation by ethnomusicologists, including my own research. Musical performance often functions as a representation of ethnicity, 'otherness' and 'difference'. One recent publication on the topic, the book *Musical Performance in the Diaspora* (Ramnarine, 2007) is very useful in this connection because it provides profound insight into possible ways of interpreting the phenomenon of 'administering ethnicity' by performance. And it is about *'how identity is shaped and constructed through and as a result of performance'* (Johnson, 2007:71). In the

following section I will try to apply some of these thoughts to my findings concerning immigrants' music making in Vienna.

Immigrants in Vienna and urban ethnomusicology

Vienna sometimes is supposed to be the 'City of Music' at a crossroads of international flow and immigration. This unique condition of Vienna arises from its history as the capital of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, its later position as the easternmost outpost of Western Europe during the Cold War, as the nearest shelter for refugees during the Balkan Wars, and finally as the centre of working immigration from south-eastern Europe. Therefore Vienna, like other urban centres, is ethnically and culturally diverse. The following table shows that approximately 18% of the population in Vienna are immigrants with foreign citizenships and where these immigrants come from. It does not show, however, that actually 30% of the Viennese population have 'immigration backgrounds'.

Figure 3 – The population of non-Austrian citizens in Vienna (2001).

Vienna (total)	1,550,123
Serbia and Montenegro	68,796
Turkey	39,119
Bosnia and Herzegovina	21,638
Croatia	16,214
Poland	13,648
Germany	12,729
Hungary	4,135
Romania	3,713
Slovakia and Czech Republic	5,425
Other	44,874
Total foreigners	248,264

Source: Available at <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/pdf/vz2001staatsang.pdf>, accessed on 10.06.2006

If we approach musical diversity in urban areas we have to redefine a lot of terms like ethnicity and identity (see above) and we have to abandon certain traditional concepts of ethnomusicology, prevailing especially in Europe, that have to do with static culture concepts (Reyes-Schramm, 1979; Hemetek, 2006). Furthermore, for most of its history, ethnomusicology has neglected urban areas as a field of research. Not until the early 1970s did this situation begin to change with the discovery of popular music as an urban phenomenon that demanded attention due to its socio-cultural context.

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

Adelaida Reyes, one of the pioneers of urban ethnomusicology, gives a very useful theoretical background in the distinction between music 'in the city' and music 'of the city' (Reyes, 2007:17). Whereas the approach 'music in the city' means that the city itself is no more than a passive ingredient with no significant role in explanation, 'music of the city' requires a theoretical and methodological framework that gives full value to its complexity. The city is included in the research either as the context or as the object of the study. Adelaida Reyes also sees a clear connection between the concepts of research on minorities and those of urban ethnomusicology, because "in a scholarly realm built on presumptions of cultural homogeneity, there was no room for minorities. These require a minimal pair – at least two groups of unequal power and most likely culturally distinct, both parts of a single social organism. Homogeneity does not admit of such disparate components. The conditions that spawn minorities – complexity, heterogeneity, and non-insularity – are 'native' not to simple societies but to cities and complex societies" (Reyes, 2007:22-3).

The first research projects in our institute on the topic of music and minorities¹ were more in the tradition of the 'music in the city' approach. These were punctual ethnographic studies focussed on specific communities. This approach has changed during the last few years and in two recent research projects we tried to grasp a little of the general complex reality of immigrants' music making in the city and of the surrounding conditions and economic aspects as well. The first one, called *Music Making of Immigrants in Vienna* (2005-2006) served to a certain extent as a pilot for the second one: *Embedded industries - immigrant cultural entrepreneurs in Vienna* (2007-2009). The latter was an interdisciplinary study in which ethnomusicology was the partner discipline of sociology and ethnology. The research design in both projects included colleagues with immigrant backgrounds in order to integrate their points of view that might and in fact did sometimes differ from the interpretations of researchers who were majority Austrians. In most cases the discussions were fruitful and led to conclusions, which were satisfactory for all persons involved. During the course of the first research project we – Sofija Bajrektarević, Hande Sağlam and myself – were already faced with the necessity to find some structure for the very diverse musical events that we found and documented. Following our project concept which was concerned with music making and not specifically with the musical styles of immigrants in Vienna, we ultimately structured our research according to the surroundings in which music-making took place, as well as according to the function(s) of the musical practice; the way the music is used and performed by immigrant communities. The attitudes of the participants in the events and the function(s) of the music making in the context of the majority society were also considered in the structure of scenarios.

Structure of music-making scenarios:

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

b) Folkloristic practice: traditional music of the country of origin, cultural heritage – There are many cultural organisations of immigrants who cherish the cultural heritage of the countries from which they or their ancestors came. Music is a very important component of the activities that these organisations sponsor. These organisations also present music publicly to expose the dominant society to the cultural background of immigrants. In the communities from Turkey, the educational activities of such organisations are very important – they express the wish to pass on knowledge of their culture not only to the future generations of those with a Turkish heritage but obviously to Austrians as well.

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

d) World Music:² creative exchange – Here we find individual musicians challenging or reaffirming their 'musical roots'. The immigrants in this category perform on public stages in Vienna, sometimes in festivals with names like 'Balkan Fever'. Creative musicians of different origins are involved and the listeners are mainly Austrians. The musician's immigrant background might play a role, but this is not necessarily the case; very often, the musician's aim is to not be labelled an 'immigrant musician'.

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

These categories were developed in long discussions during the first research projects as a tool to organise diversity. Only in the second project was the fifth scenario added. Research needs structures and categories for comparison, even if they overlap, which of course happens. This way of structuring is a result of the research focus of both projects. It takes into consideration the music making of immigrants in Vienna itself as well as the conditions of their music making, taking into account the producers as well as the recipients. In the following section I would like to present some short examples matching some of the scenarios, which I owe mostly to documentation carried out by my colleagues.

Examples from the unexpected musical worlds of Vienna

Weddings as an internal practice

Weddings seem to be a very rewarding topic for ethnomusicologists for several reasons. One of them being that there is always some kind of ritual connected to it and music is mostly involved. Wedding ceremonies also display much of the social structure of a community. And in diaspora communities, weddings are usually one of the first community rituals that are practiced in the host country. I have documented many weddings in different communities in Vienna, and during our research project weddings were included as well. Sofija Bajrektarević (2007) has published about wedding rituals in the Serbian and Croatian community and I will draw from her material in the following section: *"Deep changes in the former Yugoslavia, evident since the late 1980s, brought about a return to tradition, a quest for identity and the radicalization of identity. Today, identity remains a central theme in the lives of both the immigrant population in Vienna as well as of those who remained in their country of origin. For the diaspora population, certain forms of discrimination (visible or not) in the host country, and/or the sense of being excluded experienced by the immigrants make identity an especially sensitive issue. These dynamic cultural tendencies as well as the impact of Austrian culture are clearly revealed by changes in wedding customs. For the former-Yugoslavian immigrant population in Vienna, wedding customs afford a unique opportunity to create a space that engenders the recognition and acknowledgment of myriad aspects of identity both for the individual and for the community (ethnic, national, linguistic, religious, economic, social, regional, family or/and gender-related, etc.). Final confirmation comes with the fulfillment of an everlasting human desire: to settle down although far away from country of origin, to feel at home, at least for a short while, at least to some extent"* (Bajrektarević, 2007:77).

The weddings in both communities consist of two major events: the church ceremony and the wedding festivity. In the past in Yugoslavia, church ceremonies were not familiar at all due to the dominant socialist ideology. But since the breakdown of the country and the subsequent civil war, the respective religions have become an important part of the new national identities. This also holds true for diaspora communities. The Croats are Roman Catholic, therefore the church ceremony is held in a Croatian Catholic church.

Figure 4 – Croatian wedding in Vienna: church wedding ceremony. Croatian church, Brigittaplatz, 1200 Vienna.



Photo: Bajrektarević, 19/11/05, IVE Vienna.

In a Croatian church wedding, the ceremony procession approaches the priest to the sounds of a church organ. Some participants wear ethnic regional signs – knitted ribbons specific to certain localities. Similarly, Serbian wedding ceremonies take place in one of the three Serbian orthodox churches in Vienna.

Figure 5 – Serbian wedding in Vienna: church wedding ceremony, the couple walking in procession around the church with liturgical singing. Serb orthodox church, 1030 Vienna.



Photo: Bajrektarević, 11/06/05, IVE Vienna

The music corresponds to the liturgical practice of the countries of origin. Whereas church ceremonies particularly underline the differences between the two communities that share the same country of origin (Yugoslavia) and speak very similar lan-

guages (Serbian and Croatian used to be considered one language namely Serbo-Croatian), the places where the festivities are held do not differ. These are in both cases big hangars run by immigrant managers especially for these events. There are in both cases suitable for up to 1000 guests, soundproof, equipped with car parking space and amplification facilities for the music, used to be difficult to find and very expensive to rent in Vienna. Therefore immigrant entrepreneurs started with this line of business and they are very successful. The decoration of the room is chosen according to the respective nationality of the guests. In both cases, the receptions are the most important social event of the wedding. Whereas relatively few people attend the church ceremony everyone wants to take part in the festivity. It usually lasts from midday till the morning of the next day. People celebrate and enjoy themselves with eating and drinking and with music. A professional band is usually hired for the event. There are many professionals available in Vienna and musicians can make a good living from playing in weddings. They are usually very well paid. The band's fee is agreed upon beforehand, and the cost is borne by the wedding couple's families. The real earnings, however, come from special requests for specific songs – each request is pre-paid so that by the end of the festivity, the revenues from performing individual requests far exceed the band's agreed fee.

Figure 6 – Serbian wedding in Vienna: notice the money in the accordion.



Photo: Bajrektarević, 11.06.2005, IVE Vienna

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

Figure 7 – Serbian wedding in Vienna: dancing the kolo.



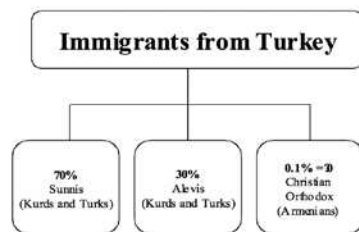
Photo: Bajrektarević, 11.05.2005, IVE Vienna

Many professional musicians in these events are Roma, immigrants from the former Yugoslavia. There is a long tradition in this community of the utmost flexibility in repertory, due to the fact that Roma as musicians have always tried to please their audiences which results in a great variety of styles and great creativity in including new musical elements. Thus it was a Roma ensemble at a Serbian wedding in Vienna that combined a Serbian Kolo with Richard Wagner's wedding march from the opera Lohengrin.

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

The immigrants from Turkey in Vienna are very heterogeneous concerning their ethnic background as well as religious affiliation. Turks, Kurds and a small number of Armenians constitute the three main ethnic groups; the three religions involved are Sunnite, Alevite and Orthodox Christianity.

Figure 8 – Different religious communities and ethnic groups from Turkey



Source: from Sağlam, 2007: 64

Social class constitutes another significant difference among the Turkish immigrants in Vienna and this is reflected in musical identification as well (see further Sağlam, 2007), which probably constitutes a difference to the communities from the former Yugoslavia. But there are many similarities concerning the practice of music making (see also Public Ghetto). We find music connected to rituals like weddings and circumcisions in their internal practice. Of course the music as such differs, but it is also very much connected to homeland styles. In the scenario of folkloristic practice there is a significant focus on teaching activities, which is obviously different to other immigrant communities. Therefore I want to present some of these, based on the work of Hande Sağlam, Bernhard Fuchs and Mansur Bildik: *“Transmitting the musical language of the country of origin to the so-called second generation is one of the most common ways of cultural transmission for immigrants. This takes place in informal and formal areas”* (Sağlam, 2009:329).

There is one central musical instrument which is the focus of these activities in Vienna: the saz (or bağlama). This is the Anatolian long-necked fretted lute that somehow serves as a marker of ‘Turkish’ musical identity, especially in diasporic communities from Turkey. The courses offered by cultural associations of immigrants are numerous, and they might also include other instruments of Turkish folk music as well as folk dance. Hande Sağlam divides these transmission scenarios into ‘internal’ and ‘external’ transmission, thereby differentiating between the target groups. In ‘internal transmission’ the target group is composed of insiders, and lessons take place inside the community. In ‘external transmission’, members of other communities are included. The saz courses would mostly be found in the category of ‘internal transmission’. But there is one extraordinary example of a saz player and teacher, Mansur Bildik, who actually manages to include the Austrian community as well. In an article called ‘Imparting Turkish Music in Vienna from 1984 to 2007’ by Mansur Bildik and Bernhard Fuchs,³ Mansur Bildik says about his immigration to Austria: *“In the 1970s my concert tours led me to Europe. By chance I came to Austria. I should have got married to a Turkish girl who lived, however, in Vorarlberg. But I ended up in Vienna. Since 1980 I have been living in this city and since 1990 I have been an Austrian citizen. First of all, it was the music, which brought me to Austria: on the occasion of concerts, I was often approached by lovers of Turkish music as there was a lack of saz players in Vienna at that time”* (Bildik and Fuchs, 2008:23). At the beginning he played music at Turkish festivities and in pubs. Soon he started teaching, from 1984-1994 at the Franz Schubert conservatoire. When he started teaching at an adult education centre (Polycollege), he soon also attracted Austrian students. The foundation of the Saz Association was very important for him. The association organises saz lessons, workshops and concerts.

Figure 9 – Logo of the Saz Association



The lessons and periodical student concerts take place in the 'Amerling-Haus'. This building is the birth house of the Biedermeier painter Friedrich von Amerling (1803-1887). It belongs to the cultural initiative Spittelberg, houses a museum and numerous alternative cultural associations and supports minority cultures. The Saz Association harmonizes with this concept of a socially-engaged enthusiasm for cultural diversity. In contrast to private lessons with teaching units limited to 40 minutes, in the Saz Association people make music in groups and there is more time available. Especially before concerts, students practise till late in the night' (Bildik and Fuchs, 2008:25). Mansur himself says about the cultural diversity in his courses and about his philosophy: "The majority of my students come from Turkish families. And as you know, the cultural diversity of Turkey is immense. In Vienna there are pure Alevi or pure Kurdish saz groups, but I like the diversity. In my lessons, children with different background, Sunni and Alevi, make music. There are many girls with headscarves too. One of my best students has now started to give lessons at the cultural association of a mosque; I am supporting him in doing so. But I give lessons to people from Afghanistan, Belgium, France, Palestine and Austria too. I am very glad if music connects people. Among the advanced students who accompany me at concerts together with professional musicians from Turkey, there are not only Turks" (Bildik and Fuchs, 2008:25).

Mansur Bildik is an example of an extraordinary initiative to achieve integration via the transmission of musical traditions. Integration in the sense of providing a space where immigrants of different ethnic and religious backgrounds as well as Austrians can meet and learn from each other, united by the wish to learn a fascinating instrument that does not exclusively serve as a marker of collective 'Turkish identity', but demands and permits individual creativity. For these achievements and his longstanding engagement, Mansur Bildik received official recognition from the City of Vienna in 2008. He was awarded the *Goldenes Verdienstzeichen des Landes Wien* (Golden Distinguished Service Decoration of the City and Federal Province of Vienna). This is a great honour, but unfortunately it does not secure financial grants for his activities, a situation that seems to be rather typical for Austrian politics. On the one hand, politicians celebrate cultural diversity and on the other hand there is no funding.

Figure 10 – Mansur Bildik receiving his award, with Sandra Frauenberger, the political representative of the City of Vienna.



Photo: Sağlam 2008.

'Public ghetto'

The decision to call this scenario a 'ghetto' was followed by constant discussions. Often people associate the word with more rigid segregation than can be found here. Nevertheless, we decided to stick to the expression, because by adding 'public' as a kind of contradiction we find it an appropriate description of what we found. For me personally, the discovery of this musical world in Vienna was one of the most amazing details of our research during the first project. I had been living in this city for 27 years, had done professional research on the music of immigrants, but obviously missed this very important aspect. We planned to spend two whole nights in different clubs, cafes and restaurants that were said to have live music. We tried to capture the atmosphere with a small camera, and we tried to talk to the musicians. All these restaurants are open to the public and located close to main streets of Vienna. The outside is usually not very inviting – especially not to an Austrian public – although as you see they advertise in German.

Figure 11 – Entrance of one of the cafes.



Photo: Hande Sağlam, IVE, 2005.

These places seem to constitute a very important economic factor. There are 300 restaurant owners from the former Yugoslavia and 50 of these places have live music four days a week, which means that a lot of musicians can make a living. The types of these locations are diverse; there are cafes with only a keyboard and one singer, and we find clubs and discos with live bands and restaurants that offer music as background entertainment. The music styles differ as well from newly composed folk music from the 1970s to the latest hip-hop productions of the former Yugoslavia, from traditional music to rock. One of the places we visited is called 'Lepa Brena', named after a star from the 'newly composed folk music' scene in the former Yugoslavia. In the band, consisting of accordion, keyboard, percussion and alternating singers, male and female, 'Turbo Tanja' played percussion, the only female percussionist in this musical scene. They played newly-composed folk music as well as kolos in a very popular dance melody from Serbia. The dance, one of the musical ethnic symbols of Serbia, might allude to Serbian ethnicity; otherwise we did not find

any elements in the repertory that pointed to the ethnic and national segmentation of the former Yugoslavia. The repertory consisted mainly of popular music from before 1992, which used to signify *bratstvo-jedinstvo* (brotherhood unity) in Yugoslavia. So there was a certain noticeable Yugo-nostalgia. Patrons between the ages of 30 and 60 participated actively in the singing and dancing, enjoying themselves and the music. They asked for certain songs and the musicians were expected to be able to fulfil their wishes. Everyone spoke Serbo-Croatian, although the owner speaks German as well. The musicians spoke hardly any German. It is not necessary for them to do so as there are no Austrians in the audience in the venues where they perform. In terms of musical repertory, age and social status, the participants in this place and on this occasion were different from those in the other locations we visited that evening. In certain discos we found teenagers, in others young people up to age 30. In places where rock music from the former Yugoslavia was performed we met more intellectuals than working class people.

On our second night tour, we aimed to visit Turkish cafes and bars. What we found was an amazing diversity of music styles as well as certain types of places that mirror those found in Turkey. There are cafes where urban intellectuals go and the musical repertory consists of Turkish popular music and classical Ottoman music played on a keyboard. There is a 'Türkü' bar, mainly visited by Alevi, where one hears mainly folk music. There are restaurants where Turkish popular music and arabesk were performed live and where the whole family would go, and there are places like 'Marmara', called a 'dance café'. It has a Turkish owner, and is obviously a place where Turkish working class men go. They would not bring their families here because this is the type of place called 'pavyon', where men go to socialise, to hear music, to dance, to drink and to meet women. There was no obvious ethnic or religious differentiation. The music style was exclusively arabesk. One of the singers on the evening we were there was Neriman Akkale, accompanied by a keyboard player. And there are Turkish discos, where young people of the so-called 'second generation' go to socialise. These young people, similar to the Yugoslavian second generation, speak at least two languages, mixing them very often; sometimes German is preferred to their mother tongue. Austrian young people never go to these discos, although oriental hip-hop and Balkan styles are used as quotations by Austrian DJs more often nowadays.

During the European Football Championship in Austria (2008), these locations received special public attention as 'ethnic' hot spots. The teams of Croatia and Turkey played several times in Vienna, once even against each other. Fans of both teams were present in relatively large numbers because many immigrants from both countries live in Vienna and additionally many Croatian fans from Croatia travelled to Vienna for the competition. Those that could not get hold of a ticket for the stadium needed a place to watch and of course it is much more fun to have company. So in all the above-mentioned cafes and bars there were huge screens to watch the matches and of course everyone attended. In the Turkish cafes there were Turks, in the ex-Yugoslavian ones there were Croats but with them Serbs and Bosnians alike. There is one road in Vienna where we find cafes of both ethnic backgrounds: Ottakringersstraße. The weather was fine and much of the social life took place outside in the

road. The road was blocked for traffic and after every match there was merrymaking with live music. So one could hear Turkish *davul* and *zurna* and nearby on the other sidewalk Croatian rock at the same time. Through this public exhibition of the music that normally is hidden away inside buildings, the Viennese majority also noticed what was going on there. Their reactions were ambivalent: there were enthusiastic comments when first becoming aware of this lively scene as well as xenophobic reactions. On the night when Turkey played against Croatia, the police expected riots in Ottakringersstraße and warned people not to go there, but actually there were no incidents of violence. On the contrary: the disappointed Croatian fans finally danced halay, kolo and hip-hop together with the Turkish 'winners' in Ottakringersstraße.

World Music

Music making in this scenario is almost exclusively limited to public performances, mostly on stage and for majority Austrian audiences contrary to all the scenarios that were described. The phenomenon that I quoted above as: '*how identity is shaped and constructed through and as a result of performance*' (Henry Johnson, 2007) works here in a different way than in the above scenarios. Here, musical practices are often transformed into different contexts, 'roots' are challenged, but clichés also play an important role. The reason for this lies in the expectations of the audiences addressed. This musical scene is a very lively one in Vienna, also due to the attraction of Vienna as the so-called 'City of Music'. Many professionals are available in town from very different cultural backgrounds and many try to make music together. They have to make compromises concerning their different traditions, of course, but that is a challenge too and the outcome is often very interesting and successful. The annual competition 'Viennese World Music Award'⁴ also stimulates many activities and festivals like 'Balkan Fever'⁵ or 'Salam Orient'⁶. The website for the 'World Music Award' says the following: "*We understand World Music as a wide musical field which can appear in all genres. The things which these types of music have in common are found in the roots of ethnical tradition, and it makes no difference whether those traditions are kept, developed or left behind. The World Music Prize is not an exotic revue; but it tries to reveal the natural artistic differences that can exist*".⁷

Artistic individuality seems to be important, not the ethnic background of the musician. But obviously we do find many immigrant musicians in that scenario. The musical genres differ and are to be found within a wide range from 'traditional' to 'avant-garde'. There are 'ethno jazz' ensembles like Fatima Spar and the Freedom Fries, which consists of musicians with different ethnic backgrounds. The bandleader and singer is Fatima Spar, who has an immigrant background. Her musicians are from Serbia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Austria and Turkey. Most of their music can be defined as 'Balkan', but Fatima Spar doesn't like this definition. In an interview in 2005 she said that the diversity in her music (from Bossa Nova to folksongs arrangements from Anatolia) should be more emphasised in the media. She does not want to be labelled as an 'immigrant musician' playing 'Balkan music'. She does not want to be 'culturalised'. The term indicates that Fatima Spar would be reduced to her ethnic background (her culture of descent) as an artist in public expectations and reception.

There are others who, on the contrary, emphasise this facet of their musical identity. The Wiener Tschuschenkapelle is one of them.

It is one of the most successful ensembles in the multicultural and World Music scene in Vienna and has recently released its ninth album. They also represent Austria in performances abroad. A comment on their website from a performance in Canada: "On one level the Wiener Tschuschenkapelle are simply a group of musicians from Austria, Turkey, and Southern Europe who perform music from the Balkans. On another level they are a living statement against the racism, prejudice, and intolerance, which is particularly aimed against the immigrants from Southern Europe and Turkey who live in Vienna in large numbers."⁸

The political implication was important from the very beginning of the foundation of this ensemble, which recently celebrated its 20th anniversary. The history of the ensemble and especially of the founder Slavko Ninić represents a typical career of the Viennese World Music scene which is quite different to those mentioned above. At the same time it challenges the categorisation into scenarios because his musical career clearly shows an overlap.

A musical biography challenging categorization: Slavko Ninić⁹

Figure 12 – Slavko Ninić, singer and bandleader of Wiener Tschuschenkapelle (from the advertising material of the group from 1997).



Slavko Ninić was born on the 3rd of February 1954 in Komlatinci, which is a small village in Croatia, at that time Yugoslavia. His parents had come from Bosnia, being ethnic Croats. He remembers being somehow discriminated against by the village community because of being an 'immigrant'. He started singing early because he enjoyed music but he never sang in public, just for fun for family and friends. He also tried out the guitar but only as an autodidact and mainly to impress the girls. After finishing school in 1972 he came to Austria for the first time together with some friends who wanted to see the world. It was the time when massive immigration of workers had started in Austria. Austria needed workers due to the economic boom

and had invited the so-called 'Gastarbeiters' – guest workers, who came mainly from the former Yugoslavia and from Turkey (see above). Slavko worked for a well-known building company at that time. Fed up with living in wooden huts and physical work, he started to study at Vienna University, at the department for interpreters. For his musical development, this time seemed to be extremely important because he started to entertain his colleagues at the Slovenian students' hostel by singing and playing the guitar. What he played and sang were the songs he had learned in his childhood in Komlatinci, a kind of all-Yugoslavian repertory. Later, when he continued his studies at Zagreb University he also continued his entertaining activities at the students' hostel there, which widened his repertory considerably. His sources were other students as well as radio programs that featured the wide repertory of traditional music styles of the whole country.

He developed his extraordinary sensitivity for the needs of an audience at that time. The informal music making at the students' hostel seems to have been a good schooling, probably much better than formal music education would have been. In 1979, after earning an MA in sociology in Zagreb, he came back to Austria for reasons of love, and began to work at an NGO, an information centre for immigrants with great socio-political importance. The people he met there were a Turkish intellectual who knew how to play the saz as well as an Austrian mandolin player. The personal encounter that ended up in a musical cooperation has to be seen against the background of the political situation in Austria at that time. It had changed since 1972: racism and discrimination of immigrants was severe, xenophobia rising. The people that had been invited to work in Austria chose to stay - contrary to the initial concept of rotation. The economy still needed them, but society denied them an adequate status. The three young men were political activists in the NGO, trying to fight racism and structural discrimination by means of empowerment strategies. So their first musical steps might be seen under that heading as well, although first of all it was the wish to sing and play music that they felt to be their cultural roots to a public that seemed to be attracted to it. These lead to their first public appearance and finally to the official formation of the 1st Wiener Tschuschenkapelle, in the middle of the 1980s.

There was the political message, but even more so there was a personal need for active music-making, especially for Slavko Ninić, and also the need to create some kind of 'at home-feeling' through their 'own' music and by doing so conveying a message to the audiences. This is similar to many other immigrant musicians. At that time in Vienna something of that kind was completely new. The 'Balkan boom' was still far away, but due to the history of Vienna and the demographic situation in the 1980s it did make sense to perform this kind of music here. The immigrants from the former Yugoslavia were and still are the largest group of immigrants in Austria, about 300,000 at the moment.

They performed music from the former Yugoslavia, Turkish songs and some Greek Rebetica, using vocals, guitar, saz, flute and mandolin. After some time and several successful gigs, Slavko Ninić decided to try to making a living from music. He had never planned to, and this holds true for other immigrant musicians in Vienna as well. The situation of being an immigrant, of being far away from one's former cul-

tural background, of facing prejudices and ignorance, the need to fight these and the feeling that it might do them some good to create an atmosphere which felt like home via music made them musicians. Not all of them became professionals (in the sense of earning their living by music) like Slavko Ninić, but many play and sing in public.

Since the beginning, their repertory has widened. It is labelled as 'Balkan music' but it also includes songs from Russia and Hungary and often Roma music from various parts of the world. And they perform Viennese traditional songs as well. Many musicians have joined the Tschuschenkapelle and left it again. These artists have always had an influence on the repertory and on the arrangements as well. Usually there is no score for the musicians. One person, mostly the bandleader, suggests a new song, plays it to the others and they try to do a collective arrangement. These arrangements are very often characterised by individual creativity and they might also 'challenge the roots'. There is a transformation process taking place in 'traditional music' due to individual creativity and/or creative exchange but also due to an Austrian majority public that needs a manner of presentation that meets its demands concerning musical and performance style. After some rehearsals they would do a 'test' performance, in order to see how the audience reacted. Only after such a successful test would the song be integrated into their program.

Slavko Ninić denies that they play World Music: *"we do not play World Music because this usually means some style deliberately meets another and nothing beautiful remains"*. The whole development of the musician Slavko Ninić suggests of course more than one of the scenarios proposed. The present stage might still be classified as World Music, due to the audiences of their performances but also due to the musical transformation and the 'challenging of roots' that can obviously be found in the music.

Conclusion: Images and representation - the role of the city

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

The first one comes from the immigrant community from China. The immigrants from China in Vienna are as diverse as other immigrant groups. Immigration started later and followed different mechanisms. It was an immigration greatly motivated by

the dream of economic success and many Chinese immigrants are entrepreneurs and own restaurants in Vienna (Kwok, 2008).

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

Figure 13 – Advertising material from <http://www.chinamusic.cn>.



Figure 14 – The Chinese New Year's concert in Vienna's Musikverein 2008.



Photo: Kim Kwok.

The other event happened recently (October 2009). The Festival 'Spot on Turkey now' was an attempt to present music from Turkey in another well known and representative concert hall in Vienna, the 'Wiener Konzerthaus'. The location chosen as well as the program suggested that this was an event that intended to avoid clichés and stand up against culturalisation.¹⁰ This was also strongly argued in the accompanying magazine (spoton magazine 2009). There were diverse approaches to the topic in the program, from Western classical music, Ottoman court music to World Music, but also films and literature were included. The artists performing also included the above-mentioned Fatima Spar, for example. But what they also offered was a dance workshop on traditional dances from Turkey. I attended the workshop and was able to take the following snapshot. What we see is majority Austrians joining a Turkish immigrant dance instructor in dancing a halay, a traditional dance genre from Anatolia, accompanied by a saz and a *darbukka*, in the foyer of the Viennese Konzerthaus. Looking down on the scene is the statue of Ludwig van Beethoven, another immigrant to Vienna, who had been integrated to such an extent that he now serves as one of the representatives of Vienna as the city of music.

Figure 15 – Dance workshop at the Konzerthaus in Vienna 10.10.2009



Photo: Ursula Hemetek.

Notes

¹ Since 1990 there has been a research focus on Music and Minorities at the Institute of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology in research, teaching and publications. The major research projects conducted during recent years were the following. The ones from 2005-2006 and from 2007-2009 are of most relevance for this article. 1990-1992: 'Traditional Music of Minorities in Austria'; 1993-1995: 'Traditional Music of the Roma in Austria'; 1995-2000: 'Music of Bosnians in Austria'; 2005-2006: 'Music Making of Immigrants in Vienna'; 2007-2009: Project partner in 'Embedded industries - immigrant cultural entrepreneurs in Vienna'; Field research projects concerning immigrants in Salzburg (2004), in Innsbruck (2005), in Vorarlberg (2009) and concerning the music of Slovenes in Styria (1999-2001).

² The way we define the term in our project is mainly focused on the special Viennese situation. There is a World Music Award Competition every year, which provides the following definition: "a broad musical field including all genres of music (classical, pop, jazz, rock, dance floor, folk music...) with the common feature of ethnic traditional roots in one way or other, no matter whether these roots are cherished, developed or overcome" (<http://www.ikkz.at>). Of course I am aware of the many other existing definitions and approaches.

³ This article results from a co-presentation by researcher and consultant Bernhard Fuchs, an ethnologist who is also learning the saz, and Mansur Bildik, saz player and teacher. This innovative writing style should be seen against the background of the *Writing Culture* debate that criticised typical representations of others in ethnography (Clifford, 1986; Berg and Fuchs, 1992).

⁴ Available at: <http://www.ikkz.at>, accessed on 19.05.2008.

⁵ Available at: <http://www.balkan-fever.at>, accessed on 19.05.2008.

⁶ Available at: <http://www.salam-orient.at>, accessed on 19.05.2008.

⁷ Available at: <http://www.ikkz.at>, accessed on 19.05.2008.

⁸ Available at: <http://www.tschuschenkapelle.at/pages/presse-en04.htm>, accessed on 25.05.2010.

⁹ I am grateful to Slavko Ninić for sharing with me his life story, his attitudes and his artistic concepts in two qualitative interviews (2000, 2005). I witnessed the development of the band by participant observation over the years and was able to document many of their concerts (see also Hemetek, 2001).

¹⁰ Available at: <http://www.konzerthaus.at>, accessed on 10.11.2009.

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■ Music, city, ethnicity: exploring music scenes in Lisbon

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Abstract This paper discusses the various ways in which music and cities interact, in a context of increased inter-connectedness between the local and the global. On the premises of the existence of a so-called 'global culture', cities tend to reinvent themselves by promoting various (and eventually competing) self-definitions. In the case of Lisbon, this tendency is accompanied by a seemingly increased desire to connect (or re-connect) with the Lusophone world, eventually informing Lisbon's self-images as an inclusive and multicultural city. In this process, new forms of ethnicity may gain visibility in the marketing of Luso-world music (or world music as practiced in the Portuguese-speaking countries). At the horizon of imagined cities as 'transcultural megacities', music tends to gain agency in the promotion of senses of place and belonging, in and to the city.

Keywords Circulation, symbolic ethnicity, emotional communities, invention of tradition, memory of place, transculturalism.

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■ Music, city, ethnicity: exploring music scenes in Lisbon

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The processes of the internationalisation of culture within the space of metropolis are increasingly visible.¹ Likewise, the values transmitted and reflected by these processes (cultural diversity and openness, hybridism, transculturalism,...) are increasingly legible. World music for example has represented for the last twenty years a quasi-permanent circulation of people and sounds in a hyper-connected, open world without borders: a world that corresponds in fact to our globalized one, or at least the 'diasporic imagination' (Dunn, 2002) with which it is associated. In a world of migrants, memory and senses of place may be informed by a global and de-territorialized music which although coming from a specific place, ends up 'speaking to all' as it reaches the sphere of global culture. In this way, one may claim that if migration is the icon of the global era, world music could be its soundtrack. World music does not pretend to be the exclusive holder of the globalized world's musical representation, although it frequently tends to be naturalized as its 'official version'. There are, in any metropolis, hardly promoted music scenes, which as they make use of re-appropriated globalised sounds, communicate at the same time strong senses of place.² This article attempts to show the ways in which the processes and values associated with the internationalization of culture – which, more generally, are taking place within the context of the 'new political economy and its culture' (Sennett, n.d.) –, may be explored under the light of some musical manifestations taking place in the city of Lisbon.

Occupying space: The grand advertising fresco *Optimus*

The *Avenida da Índia*, at the level of *Alcântara-Mar's* train station: an abandoned port area, a transit way, an 'ex-non-place'. A parenthesis, an interval where one never stops, where it is transit only – by car, tram, bus, taxi or train. A passageway which became by fatality advertising space, precisely because it is transit only, intercity highway, interval. Advertising resists to place and disregards it. It stimulates the car driver's distracted gaze as he is waiting for the green light; it masks the complete lack of interest of the place, and suggests something else. Just like a TV-ad in the middle of a movie: advertisement as an utopia for another place. Metaphor for another journey, as the driver is already transiting between two episodes of the 'movie of the city': Lisbon, the *Cais do Sodré to Alcântara* episode (if the driver comes from the centre), or the *Alcântara to Cais do Sodré* episode (if he is driving towards the centre).

Publicity – 'propaganda' – had already started with the grand frescos of the Carnation Revolution. Socialist realism occupied the space of the non-places, calling for brighter tomorrows: an aesthetic dislocation with a strong program and an unquestionable legitimacy. The 1980s saw these frescos transformed, vandalised or simply forgotten, abandoned to their fate. To the point that, today, they almost completely

disappeared from the urban landscape (except in little known places out of the centre – places themselves forgotten from urban planning). A slow, progressive transfer during two decades – 1990-2000 –, from a strong political program to an organic, endogenous identity-creation made of tags and graffiti: the urban hip-hop culture marking its territory. Territories, which precisely were no longer: no man's land, non-places. Places of transit, which became something else, suggesting an appropriation of the kind: 'X was here'...

'Youth in search of identity territories', as the media would say... Identity territories more than territorial identities; multi-territorial identities distributed among micro-territories, as initiatory steps into the city. Maybe this youth read the failure of the great national politics or, cynically, its ultimate success. After the identity orgy of the tags, what other fate, fatality, than the skills-transfer – power control – to private companies self-proclaimed cultural agitators, copying street art and recycling it, asserting and even claiming the necessity of the mercantile reason as a natural continuator for the punk slogan 'Cash From Chaos':³ the brighter tomorrow of a post-'No Future'. A controlled chaos of course: in fact, a non-chaos.

In parallel, the fate of these places of weight in the middle of the city – industrial places, port areas, transit ways, non-places – to be revitalised, rehabilitated, reinvented as to consecrate their definitive extinction as places of origin, of memory – places of the historical fate of the great struggles that once were. Reinvented memory, even: re-actualized, commodified. The *Museu do Oriente*, which building named Pedro Álvares Cabral was the place, during most of its long existence, for the storage of codfish which persistent odor was a source of preoccupation in the initial phase of its renovation. Massive architecture of the 1940s – during the *Estado Novo* –, classified Patrimony of the City, paradoxically returned even further back into the past in the times of the 'Portuguese presence in Asia – permanent collection of the Museum. From the Museum entrance, turning back to the river, one sees the *grand mural fresco* on *Avenida da Índia*, in this place which one day surely existed *per se*. The post-revolutionary realism became identity territory during the last two decades; now it is a grand advertising fresco, a reinvented space for a non-place, made to travel elsewhere in direction of the network world of wireless telecommunications. A wi-fi freedom, in the men-machine hybrids' ideal world, they who abstract themselves from any particular place so easily – whichever place –, immersed that they are in a future world: the world of the 'mental diaspora of the networks', as Baudrillard would put it (1978); a world already happening today.

This here is the Optimus company's grand fresco which, by lack (or excess) of imagination, just copies the street art that preceded it, signalling here also a strong program, political-technological, based on the permanent occupation of place. At night the fresco is illuminated; banally subliminal, it remains visible, maybe suggesting or corroborating this way the banality of the need for any citizen to be permanently available, interconnected, flexible (Sennett, 2001). Companies such as Optimus intend to revolutionise the urban space, not only by wireless technology but also by artistic-aesthetic marking, advertising design, in territories which no longer were. Non-places find themselves invested with a low-cost travel mission, an accelerated

journey towards other future places beyond the brighter tomorrows of the socialist propaganda or the desperate, monadic identity territories. More 'simply': the territories of a future already taking place today.

'Smile, you are being filmed.'⁴ irony of the type 'Big Brother is watching you', with a Brazilian '*jeitinho*' (twist) – national value-added, which basically reveals what Walter Benjamin commented about his contemporaries' perpetual search for newness: the lust to savor their own alienation (Benjamin, 1935). The occupation of space, no longer by the barricades turned against the established order but the established order itself, which imagines itself the organizer for another cultural revolution, by ways of the most advanced technologies. Eminently political, this occupation of space also points out a transfer of control, from the power of the State to private companies. A privatisation of control which guarantees for an illusion of security. Best forgotten the revolutionary and identity interludes who could not predominate, who could not legitimately keep occupying the public space abandoned by the State. The advertising fresco-street art style to better cover up, to secure and ensure against the vandalism of the tags; the fresco protecting so much more as it copies, imitates the tags. A marketing-fresco with a chameleon identity, granted with the gift of ubiquity and the cynicism of trans-territoriality – except that this cynicism is not even noticed anymore. Copy, recycle: a bottom-up approach, so to speak, and low-cost, which in fact is nothing more than transcription, appropriation for the necessities of the mercantile cause. The commodification of public space by the private companies' advertising panels, who imagine themselves cultural agitators and leaders, serving at least three functions: to guaranty control in lieu of the State when the State itself has withdrawn; to enliven and color the walls with no specific function in the city (useless in this sense), in a cynic strategy of recycling vandalism and permanent occupation; and finally to sell of course, to vend while stimulating the consumer's imagination, making him travel virtually from non-places to other high-tech universes, in full liberty. 'The world at your hand'... There is a paradigm here: big corporations – the most modern, the most profitable –, who imagine themselves as cultural agitators and occupy (public? private?) space, pretending to 'create culture', invent lifestyles, aesthetics, etc. There is a transfer, a migration of public space towards the private space of advertising, a migration of arts and aesthetics towards marketing, a commodification of identity strategies as identity politics, into the world without frontiers of an open future.

This is where music enters, to accompany the great walk towards this wireless future: it is the '*Optimus Alive!*' festival. The July 2009 edition had 'lots of metal': Metallica, Slipknot, Machine Head, Lamb of God, Mastodon, Ramp, among others. Besides music, Optimus Alive! also featured stands of 'Arts' (photography of concerts in Portugal), and 'Science and Environment' (scholarship awards for research in the areas of biodiversity, genetics and evolution, environmental action, environment and recycle – in partnership with the City Hall of Oeiras and the Gulbenkian Institute of Science). Optimus: optimal agitation, cultural intervention, scientific, musical, and... 'lots of metal'.

Other June Festivities: Red Bull Music Academy's 'Popular Soundclash'

Another example of this paradigm: not from telecoms but energy drink. Red Bull, the great partner of sleepless nights in any big city of the world – also cultural, musical accompanist with its branch, Red Bull Music Academy. Red Bull Music Academy does not pretend to bring Metallica in Lisbon, something that Optimus already does. But it pretends to consolidate and eventually create local musical-cultural initiatives, as it has already done in various parts of the world from Sidney to Cape Town, São Paulo or London. In Lisbon, Red Bull Music Academy is cultural agitator during the most emblematic festivities of the city, the *Festas Populares* which take place in June, with their climax, the *Festa de Santo António*, on the 12th of June. With Red Bull Music Academy, the day of *Santo António* is thus reinvented as 'Popular Soundclash'.

On June 12th, Lisbon goes crazy. Grilled sardines and *pimba* music⁵ at every corner of the popular neighbourhoods. The Popular Soundclash as a kind of *off-Festa de Santo António*: here the stands are not for grilled sardines but for turntables and sound-systems. Beyond the reinvented non-places as utopias and other promises of liberty and wireless telecommunications, the places: already invested with the weight of a quasi-mythical history. The *Miradouro* (viewpoint) of *Santa Catarina*, popularly known as '*Adamastor*', is the place for the Popular Soundclash. Adamastor because, besides its beautiful view over the Tagus and the 25th of April Bridge, it hosts the homonymous statue from Camões' *Lusíadas*. Symbology of the Adamastor, monster-frontier in the path of the Discoveries – domesticated monster here of course –, integrated in the design of the city and who became the undisputed master of the *Miradouro*. Mostly maybe, symbology for the bravery of the Other of the monster, the non-monster, human, to brave the *incognito* of the Oceans or the established order of the city: the Adamastor-miradouro, famous meeting point for the alternatives and other pot-smokers. Reinvented places of history and memory as places of organized marginality: here, the Adamastor is and has been the place for the last five years for the '*Off-Santo António*', that '*Santo António underground*' that the Popular Soundclash claims to be. Red Bull Music Academy promoting this way another practice of the city during the festivities. A practice that is necessarily legitimate and civil (it even has an area for children). Here, everyone is having fun, everybody is participating; anyone has a right to this different, open, tolerant proposal. No *marchinhas* nor *ranchos folclóricos* here [they are parading officially on the Avenue of Liberty]; no *fado* nor *new fado* either. The 'deal' here is the sound-system, the gigantic 'boom-box', ideally built from scratch by the protagonists, and central an element for the party since it is going to 'give the sound', the good vibrations of reggae, dancehall, hip-hop, jungle, or drum 'n' bass – depending on the DJ who is acting. Here, the Adamastor travels to recreate the 'vibe' of the Kingston, Jamaica suburbs, in the 1960s precisely, which is where the (here also quasi-mythical) reference comes from; a way of hearing music and feeling together, of having a street party. Importation of a certain idea of the popular: another popular beyond the popular of Lisbon's June Festivities. A popular of the globalized urban cultures (reggae, dancehall, etc.), a popular of more or less peripheral music, a popular of a sense of place as party place –street, plaza, miradouro, neighborhood. Other ways of occupying space: from the peripheral spaces to other, more central spaces invested, maybe despite themselves, with an underground cultural mission,

a formalizing mission too because at the same time it keeps claiming its social, cultural, civil utility. The Popular Soundclash organizers praising a spirit of tolerance and diversity: all races getting together – ‘Whites, Blacks, Mulattos, Chinese, Green, Blue, whatever...’, sharing the thrill of hearing music and having fun. The unique opportunity for Portuguese DJ, to show the world that here also ‘there is some good stuff’: Buraka Som Sistema’s Angolan kuduro made in Lisbon, Sam the Kid’s ‘hip-hop tuga’ (Portuguese hip-hop) with samples of fado master Carlos do Carmo; the affirmation also, of the capacity of a Luso-world music to be remixed by the greatest international DJ (‘Angola’, Cesaria Évora’s song, remixed by Carl Craig, from Detroit, Michigan).

This is about the spirit of the city, about its anonymity and accidental encounters, about its fluidity. Music participating to this urban magic, accompanying the rhythm of the festivities of the city, as it also resists to more conventional festive stakes. Thus also, the ways in which private companies ‘create’ or ‘recreate culture’ – a necessarily global culture but locally, the local being the only guaranty for legitimacy, authenticity. Red Bull the multinational, inventing itself as endogenous instigator for a street, neighbourhood culture with imported music, all the more authentic when it is peripheral, marginal. Demonstrating this way good intentions (civility, appropriation of urban space by the citizen) and good practices (participation of all, tolerance, non-violence). Asserting local presence, Red Bull guarantees also local authenticity – *‘Adamastor’s rocking... I wanna hear some nooise!...’* Just like the Portuguese company Optimus brings the global culture of metal to Portugal – definitely more mainstream a bet (Metallica’s fan-club in Portugal is *‘Portugallica’*). A bet, which obviously reveals a search for greater visibility, also suggesting that Optimus remains connected with the tastes of its audience, its market. ‘Remain connected is what matters’ (and it is a minimum for a telecommunications company...).

The great urban rituals assaulted by multinationals, who realize the potential of socio-cultural agitation in order to sell more. A reason which has no longer anything to do with the political dimension of great struggles or the disorder of values. Consolidation of the relationship with the citizen-consumer, through the occupation of space (media, advertising space, urban space, neighborhoods, plazas, etc.): beyond the product itself, the socio-cultural role, mission. An imagined market share that is necessarily profitable, as it accompanies vending. The notion of customer-care has already gone past the service quality, increasingly and more visibly occupying the sphere of ‘cultural creation’. An elitist creation by definition (it comes from the top, from the multinationals), although it imagines itself popular, democratic. Telecoms or energy drink, the paradigm remains the same: the accompaniment. The world of arts and cultural events increasingly concerned with participation, the civil dimension: the pretension to involve the local populations in the artistic process. In ‘participative arts’, ‘performance arts’, or ‘civil arts’, the mere resident becomes, without really knowing why or how, ‘hero of the place’: magic of representation... Beyond the product, life itself: the citizen-consumer’s life foreseen, planned, included in the business plan.

A marketing symphony, the integral business plan goes well beyond the mere purchase and sale relationship. In the 1990s, Badoit, the French fizzy mineral water, declared: *‘Il y a une vie après le repas’* (‘There is a life after lunch’). Subtext: ‘With Badoit, there is’. Circularity, self-referentiality, self-evidence. The ultimate objective being to accompany the client beyond consumption itself. To guarantee that he will come back, and back again. ‘Come back’, say the shop assistants in the shopping malls of Dallas, Texas. A therapeutic accompaniment, a marketing conviviality, that indicates the end of the citizen’s freedom of choice for he just wants to let himself be tempted, seduced by the magic of commodity, the magic of objects. The seduction of objects, mediated by the shop assistants-accompanists. The ultimate mediation of the only relationship that outlives all of the others for it is the most cynical: the relationship of consumption. The citizen free of everything because he is, in fact, condemned to shopping mall vagrancy. Total, integral occupation of space. ‘And still with this little melody in the background, so cute, so annoying you cannot get it out of your head’. The companies’ socio-cultural role, mission: for they no longer just invent the product, they claim to invent the life that goes with it. The lifestyle no longer provided by the cultural or political leaders but by the brands: branding as a way of life. Still in the 1990s in France, the Renault car Twingo, stimulating the creative spirit (?), pretended to give responsibilities to the conscious citizen-consumer: ‘We provide the Twingo, but you invent the life that goes with it’ (*‘A vous d’inventer la vie qui va avec’*). For the undecided, some all-inclusive suggestions came along: a clean city, a better quality of life, an environmental consciousness, etc. All stereotypes of the time, translated, re-injected, recycled in a dream for a better life. ‘Interesting’: the ultimate category for aesthetical appreciation, which definitely points out the advent of ‘everything is possible’ – in arts as in life. Well, in arts: arts, commodities, TV programs, propaganda, etc... ‘Everything is possible’: now, Red Bull not only prompts us to imagine which life best suits the product but it produces it, inventing it culturally.

Ethnicity in the city: Other Carnivals and other Others (continuing the same)

Besides companies reinventing themselves through the practice of cultural promotion, the city also reinvents itself through the promotion, the inclusion of the Other: it is the idea of the ‘imagination of the center’ (La Barre, 2007), an increasingly assertive attempt to include diversity as a source of cultural richness. In this process, *Lusofonia* eventually becomes an instrument for the promotion of Lisbon as an open, multicultural city.

The Other has never been so abundantly quoted it seems – referenced, documented, called for. The Other, not as much as a concrete person than a posture, an idea, an attitude, a point of view: the city has to have space for the Other. ‘Other point of view’, ‘Other gaze’, ‘Other reality’, ‘Other scenes’, ‘Other Lisbons’... The inclusive center’s narratives are filled with these types of proposals which clearly refer to the periphery, the non-center in an approach where inclusion, legitimisation, rehabilitation are implied necessarily. But, in this ‘other gaze’, this ‘other point of view’, the center remains the same and the Other is an invention or reinvention of the Same. This has to do with the fact that the center entered the realm of an off-centered gaze, exerci-

sing its shifting capacities. The Other is just a pretext: gazed at, observed, represented. The off-centered gaze implies, by definition, an unstable, dynamic, conflicting, ambiguous posture which questions the right, central, official, dominant discourse. Ideally, this gaze is searching for what Machado de Assis used to call the 'real country' (as opposed to the 'official country') (Assis, 1861). Now today, this off-centered gaze is being formalized. It is part of the right posture, of the ways in which each country asserts itself in the world of global culture. But then – or meanwhile –, will the Other still exist? Profusion of the call for the Other, and the Other is nowhere to be found... The Other-pretext, the Other imagined, consumed: ultimate instance of the Other's disappearance – consequent loss of the landmark of the Same. And finally the praised Other, the homage, tribute to the Other. But the context is different already: cultural, global, aesthetical, touristic, mercantile even. Still a political context, but politics themselves have already become another spectacle, a staging for the cultural, multicultural 'thing'.

I believe that there are some affinities between Herbert J. Gans' symbolic ethnicity (1979), Max Weber's emotional communities where the charismatic, the charismatic character is a mediator for the community (1978; see also Maffesoli, 1996), and John Urry's tourist gaze (2001). In comparison with sociology's grand analytical categories, these are 'light concepts' merely pointing towards the tentative, casual, furtive and even futile dimension of social phenomena. Mostly, these are concepts that suggest a consumerist dimension, and an increased commodification of lifestyles, cultural choices, emotions, affects and identities – both individual and collective – in a context of undercover mediation. In this sense the advent of the brand communities (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001) – some sorts of identity readymades therefore disposable – appears like the logical consequence for an integral framing of the emotional communities, in a process of 'commodification of difference' (Sanches, 2009). 'The culture of identity-choice, being the culture of the dominant, tends to become the dominant culture', said Zygmunt Bauman (Bauman 1995). Recording the now central role of new technologies in the processes of identity construction – from the blogosphere to YouTube, MySpace or FaceBook, the anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro spoke of 'Identity in the age of (its) mechanical reproduction' (2008), paraphrasing one of Walter Benjamin's masterworks (1936). Thus, beyond migration itself, beyond migrations, the generalized circulation and mediation: of people, sounds, music, images, ideas, values, ways of being, etc.

There are narratives to explain, for example, the permanence of more or less folklorized cultural forms, transplanted in places of destination; these narratives are in fact borrowed from the experience of migration, even when the experience of migration itself is no longer part of the collective memory. There is a memory of place, as place for affective reference, which cannot be reduced to the effective experience of migration. Symbolic ethnicity itself circulates, exports itself, or is imported. See for example the rastas in Japan, or gangsta-rap in Cape Verde. Various are the cultural forms which tend to forget what they owe to the fact of being – or having been – transplanted. The Portuguese *ranchos folclóricos* in migration for example, are not without effects in return in the country of origin, during festivals or cultural gatherings. Although there are, in a context of general circulation, moments or forms of cul-

tural consolidation, sedimentation, retention of musical models (see Carvalho, 1991, about Fado in New York). 'They are more Portuguese than I am', a Portuguese would say while visiting a second or third generation organization in France or Luxemburg (La Barre, 1997); 'More Portuguese than the Portuguese' say the participants in the *ranchos folclóricos* in migration (Carvalho, 1990). "The more *Gaúchos* are... the *Cariocas*"⁶ would exclaim a bit ironically a *Gaúcho* visiting a *Gaúcho* folklore association in Rio de Janeiro...

Cultural transplantation implies a symbolic process of translation, re-transcription, transfiguration even, which in various cases marks a passage from the 'natural order' of folklore to the 'aesthetical, artistic order' of the reflexive, knowledgeable step. Thus, beyond the migrant group or community: the imagination of transplantation; beyond blood or family ties: the language of affects, the emotional communities. The 'boundaries at play' of symbolic ethnicity: these are fluctuant, temporary, open, transcultural frontiers. There is a choice to belong, and subsequent hierarchies of loyalty, there are aesthetical, artistic, sensitive reasons. Beyond the biological: Benedict Anderson's imagined communities (Anderson, 1983). All of these being valorized in today's global world, by the way: multiculturalism in a context of generalised tourist gaze; the passage from one culture to another, from one group to another; the group which by the way only takes shape during the moment of its event or encounter; the group entering in performance, constituting and reconstituting itself – imagining itself as it is consolidating itself, and consolidating itself as it is imagining itself –, always re-actualized. To ensure the efficiency of representation, the video of the event guarantees its lasting quality in the virtual, media space. Because the image, documentation, enlarges the group's boundaries, far beyond its own space-time limitations. Imagined, tentative, boundaries in motion: towards a temporal 'somewhere' in the future, a geographical somewhere always revealing something else beyond the group itself. Magic of representation here as well. And place itself, the local, only relevant for as long as the event is taking place. The local-pretext (pretext for the encounter, event, performance), more than local-determination (of the type segregation, enclave). Circulation thus embodying urban anthropology's key-concepts – fluidity of urban experience, contingency. Generalised circulation in the global space-time. At the same time, the smooth, safe character of the choice of belonging to a group – Portuguese, *Gaúcho*, whatever the group might be. The choice of belonging in urban context is maybe experienced as more authentic as the reference group is the most remote in space and time, and... rural.

The processes of ethnicisation, of ethnicity construction or reconstruction are obviously processes of essentialisation of differences. There is still an interest in preserving boundaries – or recreate them –, but today the motivations are touristic. It is all about encouraging the exoticism of alterity. Always within the limits of negotiation, if possible, or at least 'out of exclusion': at the horizon of a promise for progressive inclusion. In the invention – or reinvention – of 'Black culture' for example, in this construction of ethnicity, the joint efforts of the media, public institutions, entrepreneurs, and local organizations are converging towards an aestheticisation and a touristic commodification of the Other, as pointed Van Den Berghe (Van Den Berghe, 1994). The tourist project, of the type ethnic tourism, is mediation of differences (Carvalho, 2006; Costa,

2004; Marques and Costa, 2007). This way, the 'other spaces', discovered by 'other gazes' and other 'other points of view', refer to the spaces of the Other; these spaces of the Other which in theory are still public spaces, inscribed most of the time in processes of revitalisation, rehabilitation, legitimatisation, etc.

The self-staging of the city, as space for the diversity of these 'other spaces', is increasingly documented, imagined – in various shows and performances which let us question the ways in which Lisbon represents itself: '*Lisboa Invisível*', '*Outras Lisboas*', '*Lisboa Mistura*', '*Lisboa World Music Festival*', '*Festa da Diversidade*', etc. There are many. If the ambition of multiculturalism is obvious, the sensation is often ambiguous. The staging alternates between the politically-correct respectfulness, and an unnecessary provocation. Respect and consideration for an Other living in community by definition; living in the ghetto by fatality. Provocation, emphasis on a necessarily different, sublimated Other, who cannot stop being authentic, exotic, salvage, primitive, etc. (in this case, is he still living in the ghetto by choice?). Here comes the romanticism of an 'Invisible Lisbon', as if it were the *part maudite* (accursed share) of a visible Lisbon. And it is, and at the same time it is not. The Other reduced to silence: invisible. But the music, the rhythms, the dances: so sensual, so authentic... Music plays a specific role in this process. Because it too occupies space: sound space of course, and the space of representation, for any conceivable end. Music is the instrument... And Lisbon has developed over the last decade it seems, its own definition of world music – Luso-world music –, which tends to redefine and testify the ways in which Lisbon represents itself.

Globalisation implies a cultural competition which translates in new forms of (self-) representation. Ethnomusicology and the Sociology of Music show how local musical production carries a feeling of reinvention of tradition as well as ideas of authenticity. In return, cities and Nation-States tend to build new identities compliant with the challenges of the global market (Crane *et al.*, 2002). The cultural products carrying values of diversity, openness, multiculturalism are becoming national equities. The interactions between music and the city, music and the Nation-State are changing. With the promotion of the place where they come from, the local musics are becoming global commodities.

In terms of cultural choice, we entered the world of the '*à la carte*', virtually endless possibilities; they definitely mark the advent of culture as commodity. The very determination of space and time in traditional cultural choice is being reinvented as it is transferred to the global world and in search for authenticity. In this world of *à la carte* cultural choices, one may make risky, underground choices, which would hardly make it in terms of market (for instance, *fado vadio* in Japan or noise music, not to be confused with metal, its mainstream equivalent). Our reality is of a generalised circulation and multiple borrowings implying a permanent transplantation as well as processes of uprooting, re-rooting, dislocation, re-transcription, and reinvention.

The Other in the dynamics of Soft Power

In these increased possibilities of *à la carte* choices, one may be able to read the history of Nation-States. We entered a phase of 'cultural post-centralisation' – cultural centralization itself was an historical moment essential to the development of the Nation-State. Anti-regionalism was the pretext and the privileged instrument to 'build Nation'. See for example the progressive affirmation of samba as the national music in Brazil, in the 1920s and 1930s, from Rio de Janeiro then capital city, with the central role of national radio. In the reverse process of cultural de-centralisation, local cultures are gaining and re-conquering space within the national culture. The necessity for national integration today, yet unfinished and always at the horizon, increasingly co-exists with the needs for openness and visibility towards the outside world (through touristic promotion for example). This translates in terms of attractiveness and mostly in wishes to create or preserve a soft power (a power of attractiveness or indirect influence, by cultural or ideological means), towards the world outside. This 'world outside' of the Nation-State can be defined as a space of global circulation within which Nations interact and enter in competition. Thus, we cannot ignore the role of the diasporas in the promotion and visibility of national cultural forms, always more or less sedimented, reinvented. Migrant communities are seldom sealed, 'maintaining the tradition' within themselves only; on the contrary they represent a potential for visibility, facilitated by the modern means of communication. This has consequences for the migrant group in question, as it has consequences for the host countries. For example, Brazilian bands settled – and mostly reconstituted – in New York (Nation Beat, Maracatu New York, Forró in the Dark; the organization Samba Nation), play a determinant role in the creation of an authentic Brazilian music made in New York.

The question of the possibilities for almost endless *à la carte* cultural choices that do not mean that all cultures be equivalent, even less so equal. As it is obvious, cultural hegemonies, as economic and financial powers are hanging on. But it is important acknowledging that this change of dynamics relocates the question in the soft power arena, the power of culture, persuasion and attractiveness. As the economist John Kenneth Galbraith put it, '*Globalization is not a serious concept; we have invented it to allow for the politics of economic entry into other countries*' (Madeley, 2000). Now, with generalised circulation, 'new flows' tend to conceal old hegemonies. At the same time, we have to acknowledge that we shifted from an expansion and appropriation logic – the colonial State would be the best example –, to a modern or post-modern, and post-colonial State logic, a soft power logic, a logic of attractiveness. The competition within the space of global circulation has much more to do with this logic of attractiveness than with a logic of expansion-appropriation (because of generalised circulation and new technologies, appropriation itself is increasingly taken for granted as a permanent right and a matter of fact). It is precisely the meaning of soft power, power of attractiveness: a potential for attractiveness which deals with seduction and desire much more than with the aggressiveness of expansionism. In this play of cultural attraction-seduction new actors may appear, and new centers too. Thus, the colonial or post-colonial map is not the most relevant to understand this multi-centered, increasingly hegemonic process.

'Re-cosmopolitanism' is the process in which countries and cities represent themselves, notably by promoting cultural, musical, events which stress the values of diversity and cultural openness (Ribeiro, 2006). Re-cosmopolitanism is also the way in which cities compete, within the market of global culture.⁷ Official cultural events promote the values of cosmopolitan life. Operated by the State at the local and national levels, they tend to project the idea of a post-national society open to circulation, and where tolerance is the keyword. Meanwhile, it is not irrelevant to conceive that this post-national imagination continues being nationally-defined to the extent that it necessarily carries specific feelings of localness (or nationhood) where they emerged from (Castro, 2003; Silva, 2003; Stokes, 2003).

If cultural globalisation is a homogenising process as it is often described, it is more in the quasi-obligation that each city or country faces to invent, reinvent and promote its cultural specificity as local or national 'brands' in order to gain attractiveness and competitiveness in the global arena, than in the outcome of a supposedly homogenised world or global culture. Paradoxically maybe, homogenisation lies rather in the injunction to differentiate, to sell and promote competitive difference. In the case of a 'musical Lisbon', this translates as the promotion of a city with a unique blend of *Lusophone* musics besides fado – from Brazil to Lusophone Africa.

The process of re-cosmopolitanism remains a nationally defined and nationally determined construction, similar to the ways in which each European country had to invent, reinvent and promote its cultural specificity in the process of European construction (La Barre, 2006). For this reason also, entities such as the EU (European Union) or the CPLP (Community of Countries of Portuguese Language) continue debating, beyond the shared official definitions and discourses, representations that are all but converging.

Even so, though, the general tendency goes in the direction of a more flexible definition of national identities. Naturally, the globalization of the economy and culture carries this post-national, multicultural trope. Changes in discourse may be noticed: discourse about the Other, and difference. The Other is no longer to be civilized; he is de facto included already – maybe only at the margins of society. The discourse on authenticity or the 'global mix' (*Global mélange*) (Pieterse, 2003) can only be understood within the historical framework of the post-national, pos-colonial, post-modern, 'post-...' State when put in perspective with the discourse about purity and blood, which characterised the old framework of the Nation-State. As a consequence, the fetishism of authenticity is also changing. In art creation for example, 'pure art' is long gone, it is all about 'hybrid art' now.

The discourses about purity, hybridity, authenticity can only be understood in their mutual relationships, when framed within a system of oppositions. And they tend to conceal the complex realities of power struggles, struggles for legitimacy, visibility, etc. For example, the appeal for the exotic and its consumption conceal complex phenomena of appropriation. Complex for the fact that circulation is permanent in space and time: the notion of origin has been lost in time and in space as well. Soft power

itself is also a factor for circulation, and it also implies the permanence of appropriation: it is the free market of cultures without frontiers.

Yesterday, the only justification for the colonial State lied in its action at the periphery. The colonies were at the margins of an empire governed from the center. The justification for empire lied in the promotion of its action out of the metropolis – never within the center. Now, in the post-colonial world (in the ex-colonial centers at least), the Other is 'all over the place': he is in the center. Yet, the need to promote, to valorise the Other is also part of re-cosmopolitanism. 'We', not much as yesterday's civilization builders but as architects of today's open world of global diversity, 'by promoting the Other, are also promoting ourselves.'

Attraction and appropriation: the laws of circulation. In this process of reinvention-consumption of the exotic, the Other bears the quasi-magical virtues of reanimating, rejuvenating Europe, thanks to the 'primitive truth' of its arts, dance, music, etc. We are still in this paradigm yet, also the representation of the Other remains ambiguous. Except that, meanwhile, we switched in terms of representation, from the 'make visible' to the 'give voice'. In the days of colonial empires, the essential concern was to justify the colossal march towards civilization through expansionism and the appropriation of the primitive, exotic Other. There lied the 'make visible' of the march towards civilization. By contrast, the new values of multiculturalism, civility, good practices – and maybe also simply bad conscience –, encourage a new preoccupation to 'give voice' to the Other, respect the differences, the ways of being and saying, etc. In this sense there are no longer centers or peripheries but a multi-centric world-system made of ideally equal and open societies where circulation is permanent and multi-directional.

Music is the subtext for another context: yesterday's colonial State – a system of domination-civilization –, or today's open system, of the economy of trade and telecommunications which, naturally, logically valorise cultural circulation and hybridism. Also, today as yesterday, music reflects (and sometimes reinforces) the order of things (Blacking, 1973). But it can also denounce the ambitions of power in representing itself through music, arts, culture, etc.

Music bears these two dimensions. Today, world music represents openness and diversity: values that are de-territorialised and ideally correspond to the actual global world. At the same time, the trivialisation of the notion of 'authenticity' by the media, notably bred by the globalisation itself of the 'music of the world', feeds a curiosity for properly local music, considered the more authentic when they have not (yet) reached visibility in the global culture sphere. Potentially, the so-called 'music of the people', 'music-soul of the people', 'underground music', or 'music of the periphery', come to represent a sort of 'World music's Other'. In the global era, these definitions regarding its authenticity are changing: 'authenticity of the local' is reinvented and reasserted as 'genuine' and 'real' authenticity, as it could hardly be suspected to represent any Other besides itself. Based on the local, or the 'non-global', this 'authenticity of the local' appears by this fact, as a form of potential resistance.

Resistance? The 'music of the periphery'

The actual interest tends to emphasize the "music of the periphery", marginal by definition, emerging in some cases, in various cities and peripheries of the globe (favela funk in Rio de Janeiro, tecnobrega in Belém in Pará, the metal scene in Recife; rap underground, kuduro in Luanda or Lisbon; grime or dubstep, and many others). Some music considered peripheral are in fact extremely popular. If the media have the power to baptize music scenes and even generate the self-consciousness required to maintain cultural distinctions (at the expense of other scenes who remain unacknowledged), popular success, actual popularity and 'social relevance' are not necessarily reflected in the media discourse. There is a 'twilight zone' that links mass success with relative invisibility in the official media (Vianna, 2003, 2006a, 2006b). The negative reception of some musical genres – their criminalisation sometimes, most of the cases for purely aesthetical reasons or socio-cultural distinction, as in the case of favela funk in Rio de Janeiro –, tend to reinforce representations of a cultural-musical 'Other', necessarily subaltern and marginal: an Other who does not in fact share the code of established aesthetical values (or more bluntly the so-called 'good taste').

In parallel the official music industry is in crisis and increasingly outvoted, in music production as in consumption. Increasingly, the 'music of the people' (in other words, the music that really is popular) manages to sustain itself without the interference of official agents or institutions. In Brazil for example, the big and real hit-parade is becoming more and more independent from the official and legal culture industry. One has to acknowledge the vitality of the informal economy and the ways in which certain scenes considered marginal and peripheral manage to organize and sustain themselves, through their use of modern technologies in music production and distribution. This situation reflects a profound change in the relation between center and periphery, as between their mutual boundaries. Boundaries which obviously are socially constructed. The media, the public and private institutions participate actively in this construction which ends up establishing hierarchical distinctions in the field of popular music, between what is considered acceptable, tolerable and 'the rest' (in other words, any music that ends up being stigmatized). This power of definition, of inclusion of some scenes considered legitimate or, on the contrary, exclusion of other scenes considered barbaric is becoming obsolete, as the marginalised scenes themselves are gaining visibility because of their capacities for endogenous organisation. In spite of representing a form of symbolic violence which is also a political question of democracy and citizenship, the lack of acknowledgement and the exclusion of some of the most popular scenes from the official discourse give rise to a re-definition of the boundaries of the popular and the acceptable, as well as the locally-defined identity itself. For being supposedly extreme, violent, radical, political or 'non-existent' (or not corresponding to the ruling aesthetical appreciation criteria), these music, excluded from the official discourse and sometimes criminalized (instead of being acknowledged and legitimised as contributing to cultural and musical diversity), do not stop representing however a sense of place, city belonging (Fradique, 2004). The center criticizes the 'lack of aesthetical quality', but it can no longer pretend to be culturally hegemonic. Also, 'real' culture today may be defined as anything taking place outside the media or the official body – in the informal.

It seems relevant to reflect upon the power of resistance of marginal music; a power that lies essentially in the fact of a music being stigmatised. This resistance translates in the creation of parallel cultural worlds invented at the margins, at the periphery (Lionnet and Shih, 2005). Is it possible that, with new technologies, culture, new music, and even business models are being invented by the periphery? This capacity of the periphery in creating and inventing scenes also questions the ways in which culture is promoted within and mostly without a center that is losing its hegemony. Questions of authenticity are no longer necessarily found in the musical styles or sonorities themselves (they may perfectly be globalised, borrowed, recycled), but they certainly continue being based on local identity: it is the 'authenticity of the place' with its necessarily political musical message. The music of the periphery have this unique, literally organic capacity to speak out (directly or indirectly) the present social issues (see for example the narratives of favela funk, rap underground or kuduro, about the conditions of life and exclusion or, in the case of metal, the – noisy – questioning of the dominant values as values of exclusion or, at least, non-inclusion).

We need to understand how a music scene manages to survive without the system of official representation; what are the (endogenous) wishes for legitimisation within the always complex relationship between the cosmopolitanism of musical appropriation, the regionalism of belonging and the stigmatisation of the music culture in question. It is possible that a music scene, constituted around marginality, wishes only to continue being increasingly differentiating itself from the official to escape the institutional representation, or to simply not be represented, remaining more or less deliberately so in the 'pit of the representation of nothingness' (Araújo, 1999, 2007); which might even guaranty for more authenticity. In this case, the re-location of the ex-hegemonic centers within the global multi-centric system of the metropolis would recreate boundaries of legitimacy/illegitimacy between the acceptable and therefore formalized, and the unacceptable and therefore excluded (or at least deliberately ignored). On one hand, the ethic of responsibility (reason) and its values of universalism and humanism, the progressive and finally indifferent inclusion of 'all' in an undifferentiated and repetitive world music; on the other hand, the ethic of conviction (emotion), the 'music of the periphery' with their potential of resistance through cynicism and silence, their perfect indifference in being represented by the center, also revealing, denouncing and eventually exhausting the pitfalls, the contradictions of the 'repetitive society' (Attali, 1977). A resistance which, by the way, would be directly proportional to the degree of exclusion that these musics 'suffer'.

Notes

¹ This paper is a revised and augmented version of a presentation named Music and Migrations: *Circulation in the (Ethni) City*, given at the Laboratório de Etnomusicologia of the Escola de Música (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro), on August 7th, 2009, for the 'Música em Debate (VII)' series. The author wishes to thank Professor Samuel Araújo for the invitation for the presentation, and Professors Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco and Maria de São José Corte-Real for revising the text and for their insightful suggestions.

² A music scene can be defined as a local and inconspicuous ensemble of variable spaces and places where clusters of musicians, producers, and fans explore their common musical tastes and distinctive lifestyle choices. A music scene may be more or less independent from the multinational music market. Although most music scenes come and go with hardly a trace, a few – Kingston-Jamaica reggae, London punk, Bronx hip-hop, etc. – achieve fame and spur musical innovations. It is rather common for any city to have a hip-hop scene, a techno scene, a punk scene, an indie scene, a metal scene, and many other scenes, based on other types of music. Andy Bennet and Richard Peterson have suggested various levels of relevance for the analysis of music scenes: local, translocal, and virtual (Bennet and Peterson, 2004)

³ See Julien Temple's 'fictional documentary' (or 'mockumentary'), *The Great Rock 'n' Roll Swindle* (1980).

⁴ In Brazil, the presence of surveillance cameras in commercial establishments is usually indicated by the sign 'Sorria, você está sendo filmado'.

⁵ Along with its Brazilian equivalent (*brega* music), *pimba* music (literally, 'cheesy' music) can be best described as a bolero derivation with extremely (and sometimes exaggeratedly) sentimental lyrics (see Araújo, 1999, 2007). Although usually ignored by the media, the respective genres of *pimba* and *brega* are highly popular in both Portugal and Brazil, especially in semi-urban areas. In Lisbon, *pimba* music can be heard notably during the popular June Festivities, both onstage and in the streets.

⁶ *Gaúcho* designates the people from Brazil's Southern State of Rio Grande do Sul; *Carioca* designates the people from the city Rio de Janeiro.

⁷ In a similar way, John Urry defined 'tourism reflexivity' as the ways in which places – countries, Nations,... – reinvent themselves to 'enter' the global order (Urry, 2001).

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Afghan music in Australia

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Abstract Based on research carried out in Melbourne and Sydney in 2009, this paper discusses Afghan migration to Australia, the emergence of the multicultural society, the civic promotion of the Afghan Bazaar Precinct in Dandenong (Melbourne), the genres of Afghan music performed in Australia, with brief biographies of some of the musicians, and a survey of CDs produced in Australia. The paper concludes that the Afghan-Australian community (less than 25,000 overall) is too small to support a fully-fledged Afghan music profession. The result is a vigorous amateur music scene catering for a community of music lovers. The work of three contemporary Australian composers influenced by Afghan music is also discussed, to show how the culture of this immigrant community has enriched Australian culture.

Keywords Afghanistan, Australia, multiculturalism, recordings, professionalism, keyboards.

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Afghan music in Australia

John Baily

Introduction

My research on the music of Afghanistan began in the 1970s, with two years of ethnomusicological fieldwork, most of it in the provincial city of Herat, and to a lesser extent the capital, Kabul. My research in Herat was wide-ranging, looking into the performance of various genres: urban and rural; folk, popular and art; vocal and instrumental; traditional and modern; professional and amateur; female and male; and also at various forms of religious singing that did not fall clearly into the category of music, such as Sufi *zīkr*, Shīah lamentations and Quranic recitation. The largely separate world of women's music making in Herat was researched by my wife Veronica (Doubleday, 1988), so that together we more or less covered the whole range of instrumental and vocal performance. When it came to writing the ethnographic monograph that was a major output from this research (Baily, 1988) I focused on male professional musicians operating in Herat city. Research into the wider musical context informed the ethnography but had little visible presence in my book.

After the *Saur* Revolution – the takeover of political power by the Communist Peoples' Democratic Party of Afghanistan on 27.04.1978 – I made a number of short fieldwork visits (usually between two to eight weeks long) to Afghans in exile. The first was to Peshawar (Pakistan) in 1985, and over the years to Mashhad (Iran), Fremont (California), Hamburg (Germany) and Dublin (Ireland). I also worked and performed with several members of one of the outstanding hereditary musician families from Kabul's Kucheh Kharabat (musicians' quarter) who were now located in London. After a hiatus of 17 years I spent seven weeks back in Herat in 1994, during the Coalition period, and made five visits to Kabul after the defeat of the Taliban government forces in 2001. Most recently, in 2009, I spent nine weeks in Australia trying to get some idea of the state of Afghanistan's music in one of its most distant new homes. The present paper, which can be considered as no more than a preliminary report, is based on information gathered during that visit. A fuller account will be published in due course.¹

My 'academic journey' over the last 35 years has moved from a detailed ethnography of music making in a 'pre-industrial Muslim city' (English, 1973) to a focus on processes of globalization produced as a result of (generally) forced migratory movements. With no forward planning, my work has led me to a confrontation with the complex matter of music and migration (for a summary of earlier research by Adelaida Reyes and others see Baily and Collyer, 2006). In trying to understand what happens to music culture and its performance in any particular migration situation one has to take into account a number of variables, such as: geographical distance between countries of origin and settlement; cultural similarity in terms of language, religion and other attributes; the size of the immigrant communities, their ethnic constitution and demography; official attitudes towards migrants; and, prospects for the future in terms of security, employment, and eventual integration in the host society. In the

migration situation music may be static or progressive, in other words, value may be placed on trying to retain what is seen by those who have migrated as their 'traditional' music, something that connects them with their (often imagined) past, or on creating new genres that incorporate elements of the music culture of the host society and equip the music for its new social environment.² Migrant groups have recently been recognised as a source of cultural innovation rather than simply repeating what has gone before, which points to *"the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism"*, as Cohen (1997:26) puts it' (see also Baily and Collyer, 2006:171). And music can be inwardly or outwardly directed, in other words, it may be restricted within the migrant community, to reinforce an encapsulated sense of identity, or it can be used to announce and advertise one's culture to other communities occupying the same space, including, of course, the host community.

Exiles from Afghanistan are living in many parts of the world today. Two neighbouring countries, Pakistan and Iran, had until recently, very large refugee populations, while Uzbekistan and Tajikistan accepted much smaller numbers. Within Europe the main sites of Afghan settlement are Germany, the UK and France. And in North America there are very large Afghan communities in the US and Canada. The city of Toronto alone is estimated to have 100,000 Afghan residents. Australia and New Zealand have small but significant Afghan settlements. Some of my recent work has been to discover how 'music as information' flows between Afghanistan and the Afghan diaspora and within the diaspora itself (Baily, 2007). The transmission of music has occurred through the migratory movements of people, including musicians, concert tours by musicians living in one country and performing in another, audio and video recordings, radio, television, and today, via the internet. In all this there has been a shift in the location of the centres of musical creativity, away from Afghanistan itself to certain sites in the periphery, notably in the US and Germany (Baily, 2007). My research in Australia was conducted to establish how the Afghan-Australians fit into the broader picture.

Afghan settlement in Australia

The first Afghans came to Australia in the 1860s. They had an important role in the opening up of the interior of much of the country, initially for purposes of exploration, and later for the movement of goods. It was realised that horses and bullock teams were not suitable for the sandy deserts of the Australian interior, and it was proposed that the camel would be the appropriate beast of burden for this harsh terrain. Camels needed camel drivers, people with expertise in the welfare of camels, and the knowledge of how to drive them. So, with the camels, imported by ship mainly from Karachi, came a number of cameleers. Some were Pashtuns from Afghanistan or the North-West Frontier Province of what was then British India, others were Baluchis and Punjabis. This diversity notwithstanding, they were generally known collectively as 'Afghans', a term often abbreviated to 'Ghan'. It is estimated that between 1860 and 1920 more than 2,000 cameleers went to Australia, along with something like 20,000 imported camels. Their settlements were known as Ghantowns, and the railway from

Adelaide (on the coast) to Alice Springs (in the interior), which followed a route pioneered by the cameleers, was known as the Ghan Railway. Many of the cameleers came on three-year contracts and returned home after fulfilling their contractual obligations. Others stayed on and in due course set up their own camel train businesses and imported animals themselves. This migrant community has been fully documented in two recent publications, by Stevens (1989), and Jones and Kenny (2007). The cameleers did not bring their families with them and there was a good deal of intermarriage with Aboriginal women. The descendants of these pioneers remain today, as do a few of the mosques they built. As far as we know, the interaction with Aboriginal culture did not have had any musical repercussions.

After the World War II a number of Afghans went to study in Australia under the Colombo Plan, an organization that was born out of a Commonwealth Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in Colombo, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), in January 1950. At this meeting, a Consultative Committee was established to provide a framework within which international cooperation efforts could be promoted to raise the living standards of people in the region. Originally conceived as lasting for a period of six years, the Colombo Plan was extended several times until 1980, when it was extended indefinitely.³ Australia was one of the founding members of the Colombo Plan. Other Afghans went to study under different arrangements, such as Safar Sarmed, who worked for me as my research assistant in Herat in 1974. He studied at the University of New South Wales for a masters degree in engineering in 1977, and like a number of other Afghans in Australia at that time, stayed on after the *Saur* Revolution of 1978, which marks the beginning of a war that has raged in one form or another ever since. Once the conflict in Afghanistan became identified as another front of the Cold War between the USSR and the West (consolidated by the invasion by USSR troops in December 1979) it was relatively easy to be granted political asylum in Australia, as was also the case for a number of other western countries. Those already in Australia were able to sponsor family members and others. Over the years Safar Sarmed sponsored around one hundred people, relatives and a few friends. With the fall of the last Afghan leftist regime in 1992, when a coalition of Mujahideen parties came to power in Kabul, political asylum became more difficult to obtain, Afghanistan now being considered to be at peace. The situation became somewhat easier for immigrants once the Taliban took control. Meanwhile, criminal gangs of people smugglers had pioneered routes from Afghanistan to the southern islands of Indonesia then on to Australia, and we see the arrival of Afghan asylum seekers coming by boat. This process of immigration is described in some detail by Najaf Ali Mazari in *The Rugmaker of Mazar-e-Sharif* (Mazari and Hillman, 2008). During my visit to Australia in 2009 there was the much-publicised incident of the boatful of nearly 50 asylum seekers, most of them Afghans, that exploded three days after being apprehended by an Australian naval patrol off the Ashmore Reef, 200 miles north of the Kimberley Coast of Western Australia, with significant loss of life and terrible burn injuries to many. The cause of the explosion, probably in a fuel tank on the asylum-seekers' boat, has not been conclusively identified.⁴ Australia, particularly during the time of the Howard government, made things very difficult for apprehended illegal immigrants, incarcerating them for long periods in internment camps such as the infamous one at Woomera, in South Australia.

In 2009 the South Eastern Region Migrant Resource Centre published the following figures for the Afghan population in Australia, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics Census of 2006. The total Afghan population was 17,865, of whom 5,848 were in Victoria, 6,699 in New South Wales, 2,339 in South Australia, 1,782 in Western Australia, and small numbers in Queensland, Northern Territory, Tasmania and Canberra Australia Capital Territory (2009: 23-4). Of course, as the survey itself admits, these figures cannot be entirely accurate, and they are now several years out of date, but nevertheless, it is clear that the Afghan population in Australia in 2009 was quite small, probably less than 25,000. This turns out to have some significance for the life of Afghan music in Australia. The same census for 2006 reported there to be about 330,000 Muslims in Australia. Afghanistan itself is ethnically diverse, with Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazaras forming the largest groups. Migrant Resource Centre report gives the following estimates for Afghanistan itself: Pashtun 42%, Tajik 27%, Uzbek 9%, Hazara 9% (Migrant Resource Centre, 2009: 8). None of the other ethnicities made up more than 4% of the population. All four of the main ethnic groups are represented in Australia but the report does not give an analysis of their size one to another. Because of my and Veronica's extensive research on Herati music, and the fact that our access to the Afghan-Australians was largely mediated through Safar Sarmed, a native of Herat, my experience of Afghan music in Australia was biased towards this community.⁵

Australia as a new immigrant nation

The music making of any immigrant community is likely to be influenced in one way or another by the culture of the host community. One might ask what are the salient features of Australian culture that can help us understand the Afghan reaction to life in this particular part of the western world? Australia is, of course, a country of immigrants, who gradually disenfranchised the indigenous Aboriginal peoples who had lived there for at least 40,000 years, a process of immigration that began with the arrival of the 'First Fleet' in 1788 carrying 734 British convicts sentenced to transportation, and which has seen successive waves of immigrants since then. How do the new Afghan immigrants fit in? In trying to get a grasp on the relevant aspects of Australian life for the purposes of my study I received a helpful steer from Gary Bouma, Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Monash University, and an expert on the sociology of religion, with special reference to Australia. When I met him in April 2009 he painted a rather rosy picture of Australia as a successful multicultural society, and graciously gave me several of his publications to peruse. His approach is very much orientated towards religion, with the variety of religious affiliations that immigration has produced in Australia, and with trying to explain why significant inter-religious conflict has been avoided so far by successful federal and state multicultural policies. In order to understand something of this we have to go back to Australian immigration from the beginnings of the 20th century.

When the several Australia colonial governments united in the creation of a federal state in 1901, which involved the previous separate colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, etc. becoming federalised, the so-called 'White Australia' policy was promul-

gated. As Attorney General and later Prime Minister Alfred Deakin stated somewhat disingenuously in 1901, with potential further Chinese and Japanese immigration in mind: *'It is not the bad qualities, but the good qualities of these alien races that make them so dangerous to us. It is their inexhaustible energy, their power of applying themselves to new tasks, their endurance and low standard of living that make them such competitors'* (La Nauze, 1965:279).

Immigration to Australia was henceforth to be largely drawn from the UK and Ireland, although the 'White Australia' policy did not discriminate significantly against other Northern and Southern Europeans. After the World War II there was a gradual change in Government policy. The idea of 'whiteness' was extended to other European nations, notably Italians, and Greeks, and in due course to Lebanese and Egyptians, both countries having substantial Christian populations. By 1973 the 'White Australia' policy was seen to be dead. When the new immigrants were first admitted from outside the British Isles the cultural policy was that of assimilation: immigrants were expected to become true Australians by adopting all aspects of the pre-existing white Australian English-speaking Anglo-Celtic culture. This policy changed during the 1960s, and assimilation was replaced by integration as a policy. Under this, migrants were not discouraged from maintaining many aspects of their traditional cultures, including language, religion, the celebration of national festivals and cuisine. The policy of integration was gradually replaced by that of multiculturalism, with policies couched in terms of the rights of minorities to maintain their culture, and to have culturally appropriate government services delivered to them. There was now a more explicit emphasis on an openness to diversity, with a tolerance for ethnic minorities to retain and celebrate their culture, mother tongue, cuisine, religion, festivals, etc.

Using census data that reveal the sizes of various groups in 1981, 1986 and 1991, Gary Bouma is eager to explain why, as he puts it, there is little likelihood of religious inter-group conflict in Australia (Bouma, 1995). Here he compares Australia with two other multicultural British ex-colonies, Canada and New Zealand. He states: *"There has been no history of violent inter-group conflict, unlike in Canada or New Zealand and all of Europe"* (1995:296). He lists six factors that explain the success of Australia as a multicultural, plural society: 1) the relatively small size of the minority religious groups (such as Muslims) in comparison with the large number of Anglicans and Catholics; 2) the lack of overlap between ethnic and religious difference, in other words, members of different denominations come from many different ethnic backgrounds, while some ethnic communities are religiously diverse; 3) the low degree of residential ghettoisation; 4) The fact that religious difference is not politicized, so that there is equality of opportunity at the individual level regardless of the communities to which a person may belong, or personal characteristics, or of life-styles and identities a person may select; 5) A long history of resolving inter-group conflict through legislation and the courts; 6) the existence of effective organisations promoting positive inter-group relations. Bouma perhaps underplays the significance of inter-group conflicts in the past, for example between Catholics and Protestant/Anglicans in the first half of the 20th century. Nevertheless, I found his arguments helpful in understanding the current situation,

In this milieu Afghan immigrants have been able to make the most of Australia as 'a land of opportunity', a phrase frequently articulated (in English) by Afghan-Australians, and a major theme of Najaf Ali Mazari's autobiography (Mazari and Hillman, 2008), which brings him from a small village in northern Afghanistan to become the proprietor of a successful carpet business in Melbourne. The Afghans I met seemed a relatively affluent community, with well-established families living in often-luxurious houses in well-heeled suburbs. Within that population the four main ethnic groups in Afghanistan are present: Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks. The two main branches of Islam, Sunni and Shiah, are also represented. While Afghans are obviously aware of differences between these groups this has not become a major source of conflict, from which one might conclude that the tolerance supposedly characteristic of the multicultural society extends to these groups. The major conflicts that arise within the Afghan community are of two main kinds: inter-generation differences, with tensions between the traditionalism of the older generation and the modernism of the younger; and problems of marriage breakdown and divorce, where traditional Afghan ideas about gender roles in marriage are contrasted with those of mainstream Australian society.

Dandenong as a case study⁶

As in many other countries with ethnic diversity, there is in Australia a tendency for ethnic business enclaves to develop: Italian, Greek, Chinese, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Indian, etc., and now Afghan. The South Eastern Region Migrant Resource Centre's report lists four Local Government Areas with more than 1,000 Afghans in the 2006 census: Greater Dandenong (Victoria) 2,485; Auburn (New South Wales) 2,214; Casey (Victoria) 1,517; and Paramatta (New South Wales) 1,076. Since Dandenong is close to Monash University and seemed from the outset particularly interesting, I visited the area a number of times.

The City of Greater Dandenong (also known as 'The City of Opportunity') is in reality a suburb of the city of Melbourne, about 30 kilometres from the city centre. The day after my arrival in Australia I was taken by Safar Sarmed to Thomas Street, with its plethora of Afghan businesses, with many Afghan groceries, kebab shops, restaurants and carpet shops. Thomas Street had been until recently a rather dilapidated business area, with empty premises and problems with homelessness and alcohol/drug abuse. As part of the Melbourne 2030 policy an urban regeneration programme was inaugurated, under the banner of 'Revitalising Central Dandenong'. Thomas Street was designated The Afghan Bazaar Precinct, and an attractive logo was designed with the image of a camel, clearly harking back to the Afghan cameleers of the 19th century. In April 2009 this image suddenly appeared all over Thomas Street, in the form of business cards, posters in shop windows, and large billboards. It transpired this was connected with the making of a television documentary about the Afghan Bazaar Precinct.⁷ To promote Afghan business and culture, Dandenong has established its Afghan Bazaar Cultural Tours. The attractively designed flyer for these reads as follows:

AFGHAN BAZAAR CULTURAL TOURS

Experience the enchanting Afghan culture, fashion, food and music through the gracious hospitality of a wide variety of traders in Dandenong's Afghan Bazaar Precinct.

Your tour guide will lead you on a journey to a far flung corner of the world throwing light on the captivating Afghan culture where exotic music, unique fashions and tantalizing food will be experienced.

Tours occur once a month and include visits to specialty shops, an introduction to Afghanistan's long history with Australia, intriguing rugs and carpets, authentic Afghan music, including a variety of delicious food samples that will excite all your senses. Then share the fun of the tour over a meal in a local Afghan restaurant. Tours free, meals optional.

Your tour guide is Bashir Keshtiar, an Afghan community leader, manager of a local branch of the National Australia Bank, and also one of several presenters of Afghan programmes on SBS (Special Broadcasting Service, Australia's multicultural and multilingual community radio). The text of the flyer has several points of interest, such as alluding to the era of the Afghan cameleers and hence Afghanistan's long history with Australia, and two references to authentic Afghan music. Dandenong would seem to be an admirable example of Australian multiculturalism in action. There is an interesting comparison to be made with Fremont, in California, which also has a large Afghan community and is known locally as 'Little Kabul' (Baily, 2005:223). Some years ago Afghan traders in Fremont requested the city council to designate officially the area where there were many Afghan businesses as 'Little Kabul'. This request was refused.

The (live) performance of Afghan music in Melbourne and Sydney

As in other parts of the Afghan diaspora, there are two main categories of music to be found, which for want of a better terminology I shall characterise as popular music and art music. The 'new' Afghan popular music has developed over the last 50 years, and today is strongly rooted in modern electronic keyboard technology. The originator of this style can be identified as Ahmad Zahir, sometimes known as the 'Afghan Elvis Presley', a very significant figure from the past and an enduring model, in the sense that a large number of his songs are available on CD and internet, many of his songs are still being performed, and his style is copied by many.⁸ In addition to the standard Indian harmonium used extensively in Afghanistan, he also played electric organ and accordion, and he would often be accompanied by western instruments such as trumpet, saxophone, flute, trap set, etc. It is interesting to note that Ahmad Zahir's official website is run from Sydney, by IT expert Karim Yousufzai.⁹ I have heard Ahmad Zahir's songs described as 'classical' in Australia, so important has the canon become. Many other songs from pre-war days by other singers continue to be performed, and some of these originated as folk songs in various parts of Afghanistan which were taken up by radio artists (Baily, 1981). Within the category of popular music we find a distinction between 'slow music' and 'fast music', the former being largely romantic love songs, and the latter designed for dancing at festive occasions, especially wedding parties. There are many singers of this kind of music in Australia, mostly young men. A few are semi-professional, going out to play live gigs, while

others are amateurs, who play for their own enjoyment and to entertain their friends at private parties.

The second main category is art music, a style closely connected with the art music of North India (Hindustani music), and rooted in the same principles of Hindustani *rag* (melodic mode) and *tal* (metric cycle). The main genre of art music in Afghanistan is the *ghazal*, a song form used for the singing of classical Persian and Pashto poetry, often of a spiritual and mystical kind, performed in a style closely connected to the ghazal style of India. The great master of this music in Kabul from the 1950s to the 1980s was the classically-trained Ustad Mohammad Hussein Sarahang, who not only sang the Indian classical genres *khyal*, *thumri*, and *tarana*, but was also a master of ghazal, being especially noted for his interpretations of the poetry of the Indo-Afghan poet Bedil (Wikipedia).¹⁰ This kind of music is now of minority interest in the diaspora, and in Afghanistan itself. There are instrumental genres that go along with this singing, usually played on the *rubab*, lute and tabla drums. There are some amateur singers of the Kabuli ghazal style in Australia, and several professional Afghan musicians playing art music on sitar, rubab and tabla.

The one kind of music common in Afghanistan but little represented in the diaspora is regional folk music as played on indigenous instruments such as *dutar* and *tanbur* (two types of long-necked lute), *sarinda* and *ghaichak* (two types of bowed lute), and various kinds of flute. One reason is the difficulty in obtaining these instruments outside Afghanistan. An exception is the use of the *dambura* (long-necked lute) by Hazara migrants, which I have observed both in Canada and Australia. But while performances may lack traditional instruments and their distinctive sounds, folk songs are often performed, but sung in the popular music style to the accompaniment of the keyboard.

Music has an important role in Afghan culture. It is considered to be appropriate for the celebration of certain rites de passage (marriage, birth, circumcision) and other festive occasions, such as 'Eids' (marking the end of the month of fast and the climax of the Haj pilgrimage), The Prophet's Birthday, and at the *Now Ruz* (New Year) celebrations on the occasion of the Spring equinox (usually March 21st). In particular, music is an essential part of the Afghan wedding celebration, regarded as a joyous occasion, to be accompanied with up-tempo 'fast' music for dancing, both individual solo and massed dancing, and, depending on the circumstances, danced by both males and females. At these events in Australia, music is usually provided by locally based professional and semi-professional musicians (see below). In addition to these organised events there are numerous private music sessions when groups of friends gather for dinner and then play and sing deep into the night the old songs from home and the new songs of the diaspora, accompanied by harmonium and tabla. There are benefits and charity concerts, and occasional visits by the big stars of Afghan music, such as Farhad Darya, Mahwash and Wahid Qasemi, which are attended by hundreds of young Afghans, who like to dance en masse in front of the stage. Afghan restaurants sometimes have live performance, as laid on for the Dandenong Afghan tours.

Another type of music making worthy of consideration is what may be called women's domestic music (Doubleday and Baily, 1995). In Afghanistan, this kind of music making went on in the privacy of the home, and consisted of singing, either solo or in a group, accompanied by the *dairah*, a large frame drum fitted with pellet bells and rings inside the frame, that was the most important instrument for women. This drum was also used to play the rhythms of a number of dances. Adult women performed this kind of music in connection with happy occasions, such as betrothal, engagement, or wedding parties, and after the birth of a baby. Women's music making tended to be inclusive, with a high degree of audience participation. Such occasions afforded ideal circumstances for girls to listen, learn and actively participate in music making with gifted and motivated adult performers. This home made music was the main enculturating experience for children, the kind of music to which they were exposed from the earliest age in the warmth of the domestic environment, and was also the style that constituted 'children's music'. It was the foundation on which Afghan musicality was based. A very good example is the 7/8 rhythm called *mogholi*, which westerners find so hard to master but for Afghan children seems to be learned without effort, exposed as they are to it from birth (or even earlier).

This kind of music making is not something we normally find in the Afghan diaspora, but in Australia it exists. My wife Veronica Doubleday is an expert performer of this kind of music. At a number of private parties where my wife was singing and playing the drum other women joined in, singing with gusto. In one case, at a mixed private party of Heratis in Melbourne, after eating together with the men, all the women, my wife included, left for another room, from where the sounds of singing, harmonium playing, and banging away on a pair of tables and much laughter emanated, leaving the men to watch television and engage in a desultory conversation about how many people in the UK own second homes to rent out. In Sydney I interviewed young Afghan women from a music-loving family who described parties where Afghan women get together to play the drums and sing together.

Afghan musicians in Australia

In the early days of recent Afghan immigration, in the late 1970s and 80s, there were very few people with performance skills. And in those early days there were very few Afghan wedding parties. Often when music was required for an 'Eid or Now Ruz celebration, cassette recordings were played. But gradually Afghans arrived who had musical skills and abilities. And then a new generation of Afghans grew up in Australia and experienced music in the school system and was encouraged to perform 'its own' music. Many of the musicians mentioned below can be located on the internet.

Ghulam Sakhi Hasib Delnawaz arrived in Sydney in the late 1970s, an amateur singer who had a number of songs broadcast on Radio Afghanistan in the 1960s under the name of Delnawaz ('Player of the Heart'), including his much admired *Qolin Baf*, about making carpets in the town of Aqcha in northern Afghanistan. He was often accompanied by Nesruddin Sarshar, the tabla player (see below). For many years he was well known as a semi-professional singer in Sydney, but later became more

committed to religious singing, and at a festivity would only take the stage to sing a song or two.

Bareq and **Mirwais Naseer** were members of the famous 'new music' group Baran ('Rain') in Kabul in the 1980s. A third brother and Baran member, Asad Badie, lives in Austria. Bareq and Mirwais are semi-professional performers of the new popular music, with keyboards, drum machines, chord sequences, vocal chorus. They work extensively with their younger brother Tamim Naseer, keyboardist and arranger, whose main work is as an aerospace engineer in Melbourne.

Zahir Yusuf is a semi-professional singer brought up in Australia. His main work is as a taxi driver in the Dandenong area. As a singer he is regularly hired to sing at Afghan weddings and other events. He performs quite often with Yama and Ali Sarshar, but when engaged for lower paying gigs he performs alone, as a one-man band, singing and accompanying himself on the keyboard, using the drum machine built into the keyboard to provide the rhythm. He prefers to perform what he sometimes refers to as classical music, meaning singing classical Persian poetry, but his paid work as a musician requires him to perform mainly Afghan popular music, in both 'slow music' and 'fast music' styles.

Turning to some of the musicians who perform Afghan art music, we may mention the following:

Ustad Khalil Gudaz is arguably the best sitar player in Australia today. He was born in Kabul in 1963 into a family with a keen interest in amateur music making. As a boy he learned to play rubab and tanbur from Ustad Mohammad Omar, one of Kabul's master musicians. He was employed as a musician at Radio Afghanistan in the 1980s. He started learning sitar with a teacher at the Indian Embassy in Kabul at a time when the Embassy organised music courses for several instruments. In 1988 he received a scholarship to study sitar in India at the Shri Ram Bharatiya Kala Kendra, New Delhi, and later at Prayag Sangeet Samiti, Allahabad. Perhaps most importantly, he became the student of Ustad Amjad Ali Khan, one of the great *sarod* masters. From all this he received a thorough training in the theory and practice of Hindustani (North Indian classical) music. He emigrated to Australia in 1998, sponsored by his brother, and settled in Melbourne. In his musical work Khalil Gudaz performs both Hindustani and Afghan music. In 2009 he had adopted a new model of sitar designed for Ravi Shankar, being a little smaller than the standard model, with a flat back, machine heads rather than tuning pegs for the melody strings, and a built-in pickup. What distinguishes him is his performance of Afghan folk and popular song melodies on the sitar, which is done tastefully and sensitively, with a strong input of Hindustani music, especially with ornaments and short improvised passages. In this he is following the example of several key Afghan vocalists such as Ustad Qassem (a 1920s court singer) and the aforementioned Ustad Sarahang, both of whom were trained in Indian vocal music, and who performed Afghan folk songs with a strong input of classical music. In recent years Gudaz has presented himself as a singer, using mainly the poetry of Rumi, sung to his own rag-based compositions, and accompanying his singing with the sitar. In this respect he is the unique performer of a new kind of Afghan

classical music. A short example of this new singing style can be heard on his latest CD *Bamyan* (see below). In Australia he is a full-time professional musician, making his living from performances. He runs a private music school, where he teaches sitar, rubab, tabla, harmonium, and vocal, and has a number of non-Afghan students. He is one of very few Afghan-Australian musicians with an international profile, having been on concert tours in Asia, Europe and North America. He plays sitar on the Mahwash CD *Ghazals afghans*, recorded in France and released in 2007, and on the Afghan singer *Yunus's Yadgar* album, produced by the CD company Bakhtar Music in Hamburg.

Nesruddin Sarshar, usually addressed as Ustad Sarshar, came to Australia in the late 1970s and stayed on after the Saur Revolution of 1978. He came from a family of amateur musicians in Kabul, and has received a thorough training in tabla playing from musicians in the Kucheh Kharabat. He also plays sitar, dholak, rubab, tanbur, harmonium, flute and vocal. He was one of the first Afghan musicians in Australia and these days is known principally as a sitar player, having been the student of Ustad Shamim Ahmad Khan, a disciple of Ravi Shankar. He also works for the Australian government as an interpreter, especially in the processing of new illegal arrivals who arrive from Indonesia by boat. He has two highly talented musician sons, Yama and Ali.

Yama Sarshar, born in Sydney in 1982, is an excellent tabla and dholak player, starting at a very young age, under the tutelage of his father. In 1997 he went to Mumbai to study at the Ustad Alla Rakha Institute of Music, and has been the student of Ustad Alla Rakha, and his sons Fazal Qureshi and Zakir Hussein. When I met him in 2009 he had just returned from another visit to India supported by a scholarship from the Australian Arts Council to continue his study with Zakir Hussein. Yama plays at Afghan weddings and other concerts, and often accompanies visiting Indian artists. He has also played at many concerts in India.

Ali Sarshar, Yama Sarshar's younger brother, also has a background in Indian music, learned from his father. He completed a diploma course with the Roland Company that covered training in sound engineering, keyboard performance, western music theory and practice, including fluency in western notation. He combines skills in sound engineering, arranging, and composition and is the key family member for another aspect of the Sarshar family enterprise, the music recording business called Sash Studios. Here he has a very creative role, not just on the recording technology side, but composing and arranging the backing tracks for singers. But this is not all that Sash Studios provide. Their business card gives a good idea of the range of services available, including organising events, providing live music, catering and musical training.

Sash Studio

Your Total Event Management

We provide our clients with all there is necessary to plan and manage their special event from Weddings, Private Shows, Corporate Functions, Religious Functions, Concerts and many more.

Sash Studios specializes in Live Indian music from Background music to a full band, Live Afghani music band with the choice of any local or overseas artist, Australia's top Bollywood Dancers and many more.... Equipped with state of the art music and recording equipment to give our client all the up to date technology... can also manage all your catering needs from Indian, Afghani and a huge range of other Menus to choose from using some of Australia's number one chefs [...Nesruddin Sarshar] is one of Australia's leading music tutors [...] teaching Vocals, Sitar, Harmonium, Rubab and Dhol....

The Sarshar family constitute a viable ensemble, with Nesruddin on sitar, or harmonium if he is going to sing, Yama on tabla or dholak, and Ali on keyboards. In this format they are ready to accompany any Afghan singer who needs a band for a wedding party or other performance. In 2007 the Sarshar family recorded much of the music for the film *Son of a Lion* (see below). It can be seen that the family derives income from a variety of activities, and in this they seem typical of many other Afghan-Australians, who are ready to work on several fronts simultaneously.

Finally, we should mention two semi-professional rubab players, **Hosein Shirzad** and **Sultan Miazoi**. Both are former students of Ustad Mohammad Omar and maintain some of the repertory of Kabuli instrumental art music. Hosein Shirzad, from Herat, formerly a shoemaker, is also a highly skilled rubab maker, with a workshop in his house in Melbourne. He has made certain structural improvements to the rubab, and has created a number of new rubab-like instruments.

The Afghan recording industry in Australia

An important part of the Afghan music scene in Australia is the CD/DVD business. CDs and DVDs are sold mainly in the type of store known in the US as an 'Afghan market', and in Australia as an 'Afghan grocery', which typically stocks all the necessary ingredients for Afghan cuisine, the herbs and spices, the dried fruits and nuts, pulses, dried milk products, *halal* meat and freshly baked Afghan bread. Such groceries usually also stock a selection of music CDs and DVDs, including many of Indian film music, which remains very popular with Afghan audiences. There are a number of Afghan groceries in the Auburn area of Sydney and the Dandenong area of Melbourne. It is surely significant that music should be sold in food shops, and there is an interesting connection here between diet and identity, 'you are what you eat'. Likewise, music and dance CDs and DVDs also confer identity; 'you are what you listen to'. Indeed, in Afghanistan music is often described as *qaza-ye ruh*, meaning 'spiritual food or nourishment', an idea derived from Sufism. This connection between groceries and music can be found in other immigrant communities.

Most of the Afghan music CDs and DVDs to be found in the groceries of Dandenong are imported from the US and Germany, with a much smaller selection of locally produced Afghan-Australian CDs. During my visit to Australia I acquired a number of these, all of male artists. Six of them were recorded in the Sash Studio in Sydney. The studio is located in the garage of the luxurious large new house occupied by the Sarshar family in the Blacktown area of Sydney. The recording booth itself is minute,

little more than a square metre in area, and the control booth is the same size. Here it is that Ali Sarshar weaves his magic.

Unlike Afghan CD production companies in Germany and the US, Sash Studio does not offer the artists it records an advance. It caters for those who want to make their own CDs. Normally a singer approaches the studio to suggest making a recording. In that tiny studio the singer records the songs he wants on his CD, accompanied by his own harmonium, to a click track. Then over the next few weeks Ali Sarshar creates 'the music' in other words, the accompaniment, using as many tracks as he needs, getting his brother Yama to lay down some percussion tracks with tabla and/or *dohol*. Once the accompaniment has been finalized the singer returns to the studio and re-records his vocals, now without harmonium, over the 'music'. This itself can take quite some time. We see that in technical terms this is quite an advanced process.

The cost is 300 Australian dollars per track; typically the singer wants ten tracks. In theory, according to the deal, the singer can go back as often as he likes to make any changes he wants in the accompaniment or his own performance. When the work is finished he pays \$3000 for the master plus artwork for the CD's cover, also designed by the multi-talented Ali Sarshar. The artist pays a CD replication company \$2000 to get 1,000 copies made, and it is up to the artist to arrange about distribution. CDs sell for \$7-8 in the shops, and by the time the shopkeeper has taken his cut there is little if any profit to be made by the artist. Thus the CD in itself is not a commercial proposition. It is used to promote the artist and get bookings for live gigs. In global terms, the Australian-produced CDs have a limited distribution. Afghan-Australian artists find it difficult to get their products distributed elsewhere in the West, and as a consequence there is not much flow out of Australia. Exceptions are the Bareq and Mirwais and Khalil Qudaz *Souvenir* CDs, which are distributed in Europe and the US by Chorasani Musik (based in Hamburg).

In order to learn a little more about the recording industry, it is worth considering some of the CDs of Afghan-Australians produced in Australia. While there I tried to collect as many such recordings as possible from Afghan groceries in Sydney and Melbourne. None of these CDs has a label number. This small collection in fact covers nearly the whole range of Afghan musical genres found in the diaspora. There are no women singers, and no recordings of women's domestic music.

Yama Sarshar, Jugabandi, Sash Studios – An album of four instrumental tracks, featuring Yama as percussionist, with his father Nesruddin playing sitar, Turkini saz by Deniz Sensis, and electric guitar and 'effects' by Steve Vizesi. *Jugabandi* is the term for a duet. Inside the inlay is printed 'I would firstly like to thank God Almighty. Thanks also to the Australian Arts Council for giving me the opportunity to make this project possible. I would also like to thank my musicians for their hard work and efforts, my Father, Brother, Steve and Deniz, and all my friends and music lovers. I hope you enjoy this CD' – YAMA. Such dedications are to be found in a number of these CDs.

Spirit of Music, Sash Studios – Another instrumental album, with Ustad Sarshar, sitar, Shri Sangeet Mishra, sarangi, Yama Sarshar, tabla, and Ali Sarshar, background

synths and harmonium. The sarangi player was visiting from India. The pieces include *alap* and *gat* in rag Jaijai Vanti, a *dhun* in rag Pilu, an Indian folksong and an Afghan folk song.

Zahir Yusuf, Sahil, Sash Studios – Zahir Yusuf, taxi-driver and semi-professional singer made some recordings with musicians from Kucheh Kharabat during a visit to Kabul several years before. This is his first CD recorded in Australia, with Sash Studio, according to the procedure outlined above, accompanied by Yama and Ali Sarshar. Sahil is the name of Yusuf's baby son. The album is a mixture of fast dance music, slow music, and ghazals.

Kamal Nasir Dost, Nawhy Del (Melody of the Heart), Sash Studios – Vocal accompanied by sitar, tabla/dholak and keyboards. A collection of mostly romantic slow songs, very much in the Indian film music style, some with relatively sophisticated chord sequences.

Hussain Damoon, Voice of the Heart, Sash Studios – Vocal accompanied by sitar, sarangi, keyboards and a strong tabla presence. Very much the Sash Sound, with lots of keyboard effects and clear use of chord sequences. The album displays a wide range of moods and 'feels'.

Naim Shams, Qarsak Panjshir, Dance Evolution, Sash Studios – As the title suggests, this is an album of fast dance music suitable for wedding parties, with Naim Shams singing, accompanied by keyboard and percussion.

Khalil Gudaz, Souvenir, CD 2, no details given about the recording studio – This is an instrumental CD of sitar music, with Ustad Arif on tabla. It was recorded in Peshawar in about 2000, and produced by the Aryan Supermarket in Oakleigh, Victoria. This business became the Aryan Restaurant in Dandenong, the proprietor Yergash Rahimi provides catering for Afghan weddings and other festivities, and also imports CDs from Germany and the US for distribution in Australia. This is one of the few Australian-produced CDs distributed in Germany and the US, through Chorasani Musik based in Hamburg.

Khalil Gudaz, Bamyani, Aryan Music Centre, Dandenong – Another album of instrumental sitar music, including an original composition in rag Bamyani, based on a four-note scale used in Hazara music. Other tracks are Gudaz's interpretations of Afghan folk and popular song melodies. The last track gives a brief sample of his new 'singing with sitar' style as a taster for his forthcoming album. Produced by Yergash Rahimi of the Aryan Music Centre in Dandenong.

Mirwais & Bareq, Aryan Music Centre, Dandenong – An album of fast music for dancing and several slow songs derived from Indian films. The singing brothers Mirwais and Bareq Naseer, with their keyboard playing brother Tamim. Also distributed in Europe and US by Chorasani Musik.

Sultan Miazoi, *Rohnawaz*, no details about recording or production – A selection of popular song melodies from the 1960s-70s. Sultan Miazoi (his stage name is Rohnawaz) is a fine rubab player, formerly the student of Ustad Mohammad Omar in Kabul, accompanied here on tabla by Pandit Ram Chander Saman.

Mir Wais Yousufzai, *Jahan-e Man (My World)*, recorded at JMF Studios and Arcadia Solutions Studios, Sydney – This album consists of (his own) original song compositions, very much influenced by the style of Ahmad Zahir. Mir Wais is an amateur singer and harmonium and accordion player. His brother Karim curates the official Ahmad Zahir website.

Mir Wais Yousufzai, *Ehsas (Feelings)*, recorded in Bloom Studios, Sydney – More of Mir Wais in the Ahmad Zahir style, mostly with harmonium and tabla accompaniment.

G. Nayel, *Live, A Collector's Edition of Ghazals, Ba Yadat Shah-o-Rooz ('Day and Night in Your Memories')*, recorded at a live concert in Sydney, 2006, produced by Dr NA Khalidi – Ghaus Nayel, vocal and harmonium, with Rahin Damoon on tabla. Nayel is an amateur ghazal singer in the Kabuli style who had some ghazals broadcast on radio and television in Kabul.

Wafi Jamal, *Afghanistan*, produced by K.C. Music – A mixture of new popular music styles with rap.

Australian composers and Afghan music

With perhaps the exception of rap, there is not much evidence of Afghan-Australian musicians incorporating ideas drawn from contemporary art of popular western music into their work. The westernisation and modernisation of Afghan popular music began in Afghanistan itself, in the 1960s-1980s, and developed further in the West, especially in the US. On the other hand, interestingly enough, there are examples of contemporary Australian composers inspired by music from Afghanistan, amongst whom we may mention Peter Sculthorpe, Amanda Brown and Sadie Harrison.

Peter Sculthorpe, is first and foremost Australia's most distinguished modern composer. In his dedicated pursuit during the 1950s and 1960s of an identifiably Australian idiom for his music, he turned his back decisively on traditional classical European models and influences, famously telling an interviewer from London's *The Times* in 1966: "*Europe is the past: Australia, Indonesia and the South Pacific are the future*" (Skinner, 2009). Sculthorpe's work embodies these ideas, as well as a strong belief in the need for justice with respect to minority groups in Australia. His *String Quartet Nr 16* (2005) was inspired by a collection of letters written by asylum seekers in Australian detention centres (Austin, 2003). The first, third and fifth movements of the quartet are freely based on a traditional love song from Central Afghanistan, almost certainly a Hazara folk song, while the second and fourth movements use a similar Afghan scale. "*Not only did the use of this material allow Sculthorpe to*

address a crisis of the present, it also allowed him for the first time to gesture to the long presence of Afghani cameleers in the Australian outback with which his music is so closely linked" (Skinner, 2009). The movements are entitled Loneliness, Anger, Yearning, Trauma, and Freedom, reflecting the emotions of the internees.

Amanda Brown, a second composer created the music for the film *Son of a Lion*, shot in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan in 2004-5 by Benjamin Gilmour (Gilmour, 2008). In the liner notes accompanying the CD of the soundtrack Brown writes, "*Having never heard music of the Afghanistan/Pakistan region previously, before embarking on composing I had a lot of research to do in terms of a general understanding of the musical history and styles, instruments and their keys and ranges, and most importantly, tracking down local musicians who could actually play these instruments*" (Brown, 2008). The Afghan musicians she found were Ustad Sarshar and his two sons, who performed much of the soundtrack for the film. She was the winner of an Inside Film Award for the best soundtrack of 2008 and the CD of the soundtrack has been nominated for the Australian Recording Industry Association Music Award for 2009.

A third Australian composer involved with Afghan music is Sadie Harrison. Born in Adelaide, Harrison has lived in the UK since 1970. Her work *The Light Garden Trilogy* was initially inspired by the book *The Light Garden of the Angel King*. Travels in Afghanistan with Bruce Chatwin by Peter Levi. From reading this she became fascinated with the idea of the Bagh-e Babur, the garden in Kabul where Emperor Babur, first of the Mughal dynasty, lies buried. The piece incorporates structural elements of Afghan instrumental art music as delineated by Baily (1997). The three parts of the trilogy are *The Light Garden* (2001), *The Fourteenth Terrace* (2002) and *Bavad Khair Baqi* (May this goodness last forever!) (2002). In the CD of *The Light Garden* the three parts of the trilogy are interleaved between four pieces of traditional Afghan music performed by London-based Ensemble Bakhtar, of which I am the director.

Conclusions

We can usefully begin to look at how Afghans have adapted to life in Australia by returning to the variables highlighted in the introduction to this paper. Obviously, Australia is a long way geographically from Afghanistan, though no more so than California. But being on the other side of the world, 'down under' as they say, introduces a kind of psychological distancing. In Australia you are somehow 'out of contact', 'off the radar'. Australia is also far away from Afghanistan in socio-cultural terms. Imposed upon indigenous Aboriginal culture is a layer of Anglo-Celtic culture little more than 200 years old, and enshrined in the 'white Australia' immigration policy introduced in 1901. Australia is overwhelmingly Christian (Anglican, Catholic, Orthodox), the dominant language is English, there is the passion for sport, casual - even revealing - clothing, a tendency towards nuclear families, no great respect for older generations, little concern for family honour, sexual freedom, political democracy, working-class solidarity ('mateship'), positive attitudes towards multiculturalism, opportunities for self-improvement and economic success. Afghans have adapted well to this cultural

environment and have embraced the liberal and tolerant ethos of their new home. Islamist tendencies are muted, shown by the relative scarcity of veiling, the general absence of strong anti-music ideology, and an absence of inter-sectarian conflict between Sunnis and Shiahhs. Tolerance is also evident in the absence of strong inter-ethnic tension between different sections of the Afghan population (Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks and others).

Turning now to the matter of Afghan music in Australia, we see that Melbourne and Sydney conform to the same pattern that I have found in California (Baily, 2005), London and Hamburg (Baily, 2008). This supports the idea that there are in fact two parts to the Afghan diaspora, the near and the far, the 'eastern' and the 'western', the countries that are geographically and culturally close to Afghanistan, and those that are remote. Looking at Australia as part of the 'western Afghan diaspora' we see that Afghan musical life in Australia, in comparison with the US or Germany, is to a large extent conditioned by the relatively small size of the community, between 20 and 25 thousand people. This is not enough to support a vigorous Afghan music profession. There are no big stars and very few fulltime professional musicians. Such as there are, supplement their income by teaching in their own small privately run music schools. There are only two, very small, media companies, Aryan Music and Sash Studios. There is some state sponsorship for making commercial recordings and going abroad for musical training. And there are state sponsored multicultural radio and television channels that have some Afghan music programming. The result seems, unexpectedly, to be a vigorous amateur music scene catering for a community of music lovers.

Within the Afghan-Australian community there are several innovative musicians, specifically Ustad Khalil Gudaz, and members of the Sarshar family. They are successful both as purveyors of Indian (Hindustani) and Afghan music, indirectly pointing to the historical links between the music culture of the two regions. They are able to address a range of audiences, Afghan, Indian, and 'white-Australians' who patronise the world music scene. They perform both within the Afghan community - at weddings and other festive occasions - and to the greater Australian community, for example, at world and international music festivals, such as Mid West Music Festival, Aurora Music Festival, Womadelaide, and the Sydney Jazz Festival. However, not much of this creativity flows from Australia to Afghanistan or to other parts of the Afghan diaspora. It is a one way traffic, which shows that the model of music flow within the periphery proposed by Baily (2007) is an over-simplification that requires further refinement; the case of Australia shows how local conditions create irregularities in the flow of music information.

The work of the above-mentioned composers of western art music is particularly interesting because it shows how, for varying reasons, the culture of recent immigrants enriches mainstream Australian culture. It provides a fine example of the way in which migrant groups are a source of cultural innovation, supporting Robin Cohen's belief in "the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism" (Cohen, 1997: 26).

Notes

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² Note from editor: This emphasis on the value to retain images of what is seen by those who migrated as their 'traditional' music was identified as 'retention of musical models' in relation to the performing practice of fado among Portuguese migrants in the region of New York (Carvalho, 1991) and as expression of utter nationalism, relative to the practice of folklore groups in the same migrant context (Carvalho, 1990).

³ <http://www.colombo-plan.org>

⁴ This is currently the subject on further enquiry. There are indications that the explosion was deliberately started, see <http://news.theage.com.au/breaking-news-national/asylum-seeker-boat-fire-was-deliberate-20091001-gdzw.html>, accessed on 13.01.2010.

⁵ Heratis are today classified as Tajiks, though they probably never thought of themselves as such in the past. Locally, they called themselves Herati, or perhaps *farsiwan*, Persian-speakers.

⁶ The name is thought to be a corruption of the Aboriginal word *Tanjenong*, meaning 'lofty mountains', and referred to the ranges which overlook the area (Wikipedia)

⁷ 'The Ghan camelier theme is stamped all over the Central Australia brand with bronze statues, logos etc.' (Gavin Gatenby, p.c. 16.11.2009)

⁸ Ahmad Zahir, born in 1946, came from a wealthy elite background. His father was Prime Minister for a short period. He was killed in 1979, seemingly because of his political views (Wikipedia).

⁹ See <http://www.ahmadzahir.com>

¹⁰ *Ghazalkhani*, ghazal singing, was very much an art cultivated by the hereditary musician families of the Kucheh Kharabat, the musicians' quarter in Kabul. The ancestors of many of these musicians were migrants from India who were employed at the royal court from the 1860s onward.

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■ Music as indicator of social adjustment: National patterns in Melbourne

Marcello Sorce Keller*

Abstract Research on migrant musics is more important and crucial to the study of musical cultures at large, than we usually make it. We do not really know a musical culture, until we see how it reacts to the experience of migration, and experience possible disregard, disrespect, hostility, and discrimination. Moreover, immigrants find themselves in a condition in which traditional forms of behaviour are challenged by the new environment; at which point the choice is either to abandon or adapt them. How they react tells us much about how their carriers are amenable to integrate and merge into a different social fabric. In other words, musical behaviour can be looked at as an indicator of social adjustment, integration or, on the contrary, of marginality or malaise. A few examples taken from recent research in Melbourne (among Swiss, Maltese, Italian, Turkish, Armenian migrants) help clarify the point.

Keywords Migration, music, social adjustment, integration, Melbourne.

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■ Music as indicator of social adjustment: National patterns in Melbourne

Marcello Sorce Keller

Roger Norrington to begin with...

Star conductor Roger Norrington (2004) published a few years ago an article in the *Journal Early Music*, where he says: 'This short essay is not a scholarly paper such as this journal is used to. It is perhaps more a call for an imaginary conference... This essay is a call for research, a *cri de coeur*'.

Much as my musical interests diverge from those of Roger Norrington's, and much as the topic of his contribution, 'The Sound Orchestras Made' is unrelated to that of this essay, still, I like borrowing his opening words. That's because what I am going to express is a *cri de coeur* just as well, an attempt to make converts if you will.¹ Not that I really wish to steal anybody's soul, but I would very much like to tickle the curiosity of my readers and possibly entice someone of them to participate in a type of research in which I would enjoy having more company. Research on migrant musics is of course, and rightly so, quite a relevant theme in contemporary ethnomusicology. And yet I feel it is even much more important and crucial to the study of musical cultures at large, than we usually make it. The reason is: a) we do not really know a musical culture, until we see how it reacts to the experience of migration, and b) how it reacts to that experience, tells us much about how its carriers are amenable to integrate and merge into a different social fabric. In other words, musical behaviour can be looked at as an indicator of social adjustment, integration or, on the contrary, of marginality or malaise. A few examples taken from my recent research experience in Australia, may help clarify the point.

Malta and Switzerland...of all places

Let us say we wish to study the musical traditions of Malta. The right place to begin is, of course, Malta itself – but it would be wrong to believe that it is the only place to investigate. In fact, it makes a lot of sense to look for Maltese music in many other places outside of Malta. That is because Maltese culture in Malta, in its own turf so to say, is confronted with no competition at all, and is simply taken for granted by everyone. Indeed, I would go as far as saying that just like we do not know the real character of a person, until he or she incurs in a confrontation with people representing conflicting interests, by the same measure, we do not sufficiently know a culture until it is confronted with competition, maybe disregard or even disrespect, hostility, and discrimination. In other words, much as it is obvious that cultures are to be investigated first in the territory, in the surroundings in which they first developed, still, some of their deep-seated attitudes only become visible in observing how they react to displacement and transplantation. That is so, because immigrants find themselves in a condition in which traditional forms of behaviour are challenged by

the new environment. At which point the choice is either to abandon or adapt them. It is in situations such as these, that people become aware of which of their values they regard as essential, or 'central' (that is, not amenable to compromise), and which are, on the contrary, 'peripheral', 'accessory' (and, therefore open for negotiation).

Not only many contemporary scenarios across the world suggest such an angle of observation, but even examples from recent and not so recent music history are waiting to be considered. For instance, even the very interesting case of the so many of Italian migrants to America who became professional musicians and champions of American music could be examined in this light: Nick La Rocca (trumpet player, author of the famous *Tiger Rag*), Frank Signorelli (pianist with Bix Beiderbecke), Joe Pass (alias Joe Passalacqua, celebrated guitar-player), Joe Venuti (the most famous jazz violinist of all time), Peter Rugolo (Stan Kenton's arranger), Chuck Mangione (trumpet player and composer), Bill Russo (composer-arranger with the Stan Kenton orchestra), Tony Scott (alias Anthony Joseph Sciacca, distinguished clarinet-player) and, last and not least – Frank Sinatra. Their music was as American as apple pie. Does that mean that they did not really feel (or they were not) Italian anymore? Or that American music could be part of their lives, without disturbing what they felt was the Italian heritage that really mattered for them, and maybe music was not part of that?² Of course, that is difficult to say: the contributions immigrant Italians gave to American popular song and jazz has not yet been investigated from the point of view of their national or trans-national identity. Similar questions could be asked in a variety of different context, and not just when people migrate and have to decide how much they care about the music they grew up with (and actively or passively practiced) in their homeland; but also in the case of people who embrace music that is not accepted in the social group they are part of and who, by doing so, become marginal in their own milieu, home, or territory.³

And now my statement that traditional forms of behaviour meet no challenge in their land of origin needs to be better qualified, because, indeed, there are exceptions. In fact, cases exist where traditional behaviour is strongly challenged even in its original habitat, for instance, when processes of modernisation or of culture contact may significantly affect the *status quo*. In extreme circumstances an entire society may even go as far as replace one musical system for another; the wholesale adoption of Western music by most of the population of Korea may be a case in point.⁴ That does not seem to damage the Korean sense of identity. Another interesting example may be those European teenagers, often politically on the left, and then vehemently anti-American, and yet so much of their musical consciousness is occupied not by their national traditions but by... American rock and pop which they listen to avidly. That probably means they have made American music part of their own identity, and no longer perceive it as somebody else's and as 'American music'. But it is usually abroad, among immigrants that this type of challenge and adaptation needs to be met on a daily basis, in music as well as in every other realm of human behaviour.

The Maltese, in Malta, still practice a vibrant form of vernacular singing, called there, *għana spirtu pront*, a song type requiring instantaneous ability to respond, featuring improvised rhyming duels, somewhat comparable to rap music. In this song-

-genre Arabic modal scales and European chord progressions intermix freely while the singers, accompanied by a couple of guitars, argue with one another. This type of performance is ideally suited to a cohesive social environment of people who know each other well, and easily understand the humour made at the expense of someone of them. Unless this kind of social environment exists, in which everyone knows everyone else, it doesn't really work. Now it just so happens, that groups of Maltese in Australia are reviving this type of song (Klein, 2005). One wonders why, because motivations can be remarkably different: obstinate attachment to, and nostalgia of the land of origin (leading to forms of marginal survival), wish to recuperate an almost forgotten tradition (and then revival and reconstruction with possible mannerism of performance may occur) (Katz, 1968), and desire to acclimatize (and then fusion, hybridising of various kinds may take place).⁶ In the case of Maltese *Għana* songs, it could be a wish to reconstruct a network of social relationships among compatriots, with no equivalent in Australian society, where *Għana* songs may be instrumental in achieving that goal. And then, when the intention is to make one's music accessible to outsiders, for instance, when that of one immigrant group is taken to the stage and literally exhibited in a festival, as it so often happens in Melbourne, attitudes at play may be quite different; so much so that a tradition being exhibited may more or less consciously undergo transformation, out of a desire to make it palatable to with no acquired taste for it (Duffy, 2005). Indeed, content and intention of musical behaviour (including listening attitudes), to be found among immigrants could hardly be more diversified. The case of the German-Swiss is a good example of that.

The German-Swiss in Melbourne occasionally listen to their own *schweizerische Volksmusik* (a kind of Germanic equivalent of country music, also popular in Bavaria and Austria) and often they actually learn how to make it right there, in Australia; they learn to make this music which, in their younger days, in Switzerland, they once rejected as their parent's music, and were attracted by the Beatles and the Rolling Stones.⁷ But nothing in their behaviour today betrays any wish whatsoever to pass their acquired taste for Swiss traditional music on to their children; nothing in their attitude reveals any regret, it might at some point be forgotten. Is it a mere coincidence that the German-Swiss community is so well integrated into the fabric of Australian society? In fact, the German-Swiss in Melbourne, never express any wish to go to back to their country of origin. I would like to understand all of this better, and that is why I would cherish the opportunity to compare observations with those of other scholars interested in looking at music as an indicator of social adjustment: integration, isolation, or malaise.

It makes sense to compare apples and oranges (...if they are in the same basket)

No question about it: the study of music behaviour gauged as an indicator of social adjustment is nothing less than a daunting task. So many factors and variables are at play: geographic and cultural distance, community size, generational make up, reasons for leaving the land of origin, successive waves of immigration, cultural policy of the homeland to keep in touch with its citizens abroad, the variable ease and frequency of visits home, etc. And yet, when all is said and done, in looking at the Maltese,

Swiss, Armenians, Cook Islanders, French-speaking people of various nationalities, one cannot avoid the strong perception of how these groups widely differ in their attitude to adapt and merge with the Australian environment. Daunting as the task of understanding such attitudes through music really is, cosmopolitan cities make it possibly a little more manageable. Melbourne, for instance, where about fifty national groups found their new home, offers the possibility of observing what strategies communities of widely different origin enact, in order to meet, basically, the same challenge: adapting to the same urban environment. That makes comparative observation if not exactly simple, at least not quite as hopeless as it would be to compare the Italians in Argentina with the Pakistani in London. In Melbourne they all have to meet the same challenge and, indeed, just about every one of the immigrants living in Melbourne (Italians, Turks, Indians, etc.), organizes musical events meant to exhibit the music they used to hear and practice before arriving in Australia; just about every group shows, and I am thinking here mostly of first generation immigrants, different degrees of appreciation for the music they find in Australia – which also opens up an attractive field of observations.

I am reminded in this connection of the old story of Ishi, the California Indian, last surviving member of the Yahi tribe, discovered in 1911, and studied by anthropologists Alfred L. Kroeber and Thomas Talbot Waterman. Ishi was, literally, the last of a 'lost' tribe who at some point stumbled into twentieth-century California (Kroeber, 1961). What I find most fascinating about his story is not so much the testimonial of a vanished culture he provided, but how he reacted to the way of life of early 20th century America. And here Kroeber and Waterman do not tell us much. They tried to document the songs he knew; but they did not try to gauge his reactions to the American music of the day. That would also have been most interesting.

Of Plato, and a few other things

We all remember how the Greek philosopher Plato believed that preserving conventions of musical style is fundamental to maintaining political and social order. More interestingly, he believed that in order to measure the 'moral climate', of a society, one should 'mark the music' (see Anderson, 1994; Fubini, 1976). This is not the occasion to recall what a long history this platonic view of music has had, and what may still be valuable about it. I only wish to say that I would very much like to convince politicians that musical behaviour needs to be observed and studied, every time we are confronted with migratory phenomena; and tell them that musical tastes and practices (and their change in the course of time) help gauge how easy or difficult it is for immigrants to strike a balance between assimilation and co-habitation, and the maintenance of a sufficient number of cultural traits that make their national origin still worth identifying with (Keller, 2005). Musical behaviour has a lot to do with the way people feel about their present self and their past.⁸ Through music-making, and participation we exhibit, sometimes we even flaunt, our sense of belonging to a given culture, nation, ethnic or social group. Through music we make it clear to ourselves who we are, or think we are, or would like to be, or think we should be. And in conflict situations the extent to which the opposite parties are willing to listen to each other's

music tells us how deep-seated their enmity may be. Is it going too far to say that if Israeli and Palestinian politicians knew what happens musically in Jerusalem and Gaza, they would interact with each other better? Maybe, and yet, if we look at the situation between Israel and the Palestinians, music and politics do not tell us exactly the same story. There is a very promising mixture of musical styles over there. If we really want to know how the majority of Israeli and Palestinians feel about their own future, listening to the music they make, and the music they like would probably not be a waste of time.

We do know how often different people may claim the same of music, the same performance or the same repertoire as their own. That has got to mean something as well. No doubt, any given sound structure may be compatible with perception habits of more than one culture. And everyone will associate to those sounds one's own memories, feelings, attitudes. In other words: songs may be simply shared or they may be claimed as one's own by several people at the same time; especially groups, or cultures, that are fundamentally similar. But different groups may also claim the same music as their own, and maintain that all the other cultures who also make it are 'derivative', while their own is the 'authentic' and the 'original' (Keller, 2005).⁹ Or else, when music is shared, some wish to identify with larger groups could be the reason.¹⁰

There is no shortage of examples of how complex patterns of identity can be, as they are expressed through musical behaviour. Across Anatolia a very special genre of popular music called *arabesk* may be heard. But Martin Stokes (1992) reminds us that people listen to it even in Lebanon and Egypt. And *arabesk* has something in common with rock *mizrahi* in Israel and the *rebetiko* of Greece – of all things (but try to tell Greeks and Turks how their musics are related...and see how they react!). These are all matters worthy of scholarly attention. So I think it is no overstatement to say that any politics that does not take into consideration musical behaviour risks overlooking essential patterns of social interaction. If we really wish to know how people feel about their own future, about their neighbours, about themselves, it is a good idea to listen to the music they make, the music they share, the music they exhibit, the music they reject. One fundamental question might be: is the music immigrants find in the host country more easily accepted when there is a strong desire to become part of the new environment? I tend to think so. Does so-called "marginal survival" express strong attachment to the past, potentially detrimental to social adjustment in the host country? I tend to think so as well. To be sure, no oversimplification is ever possible; every case is a little different and our comprehension of migration, a huge body of literature dealing with it notwithstanding, remains quite sketchy.

Music for crying, music for laughing

The large Turkish community in Melbourne can afford television programs, and competitions in which young people exhibit their talent in performing traditional songs. Armenians organize events where their national culture is celebrated, with almost religious overtones (e.g., orthodox priests attend and bless the public and the musi-

cians). During a concert that took place in August 2004, several Armenian traditional folk songs were performed in such a manner as to sound more like art-songs than folk songs.¹¹ Swiss-German folk songs could never be sung with such a serious attitude without appearing ridiculous.¹²

Quite on the contrary, when the Tonga and Cook islanders organise musical and dancing events, the atmosphere is relaxed and informal. During a musical evening I attended (in July 2004, organised by the Unitarian Church of Melbourne, which encourages young people not only to learn traditional practices but also, to adapt them to their taste and attitudes), the traditional music of Cook and Tonga islanders was interspersed with 'techno' and 'hip-hop' episodes in which, incidentally, the young performers manifested the same light and elegant touch that makes their more traditional dancing so enjoyable and pleasant to observe. Everybody in the audience, young and old alike was invited to join in, regardless of national origin.

The enormous Italian community in Melbourne is capable of supporting newspapers, magazines,¹³ radio stations,¹⁴ as well as retail businesses that sell videos, CDs, and DVDs of Italian popular music. In Melbourne, in music stores, not necessarily just in the Italian neighbourhood of Carlton, one easily finds, not simply mainstream Italian popular music, but also sub-genres that only enjoy regional circulation in Italy, and even songs that are by now quite out of fashion and mostly forgotten – and more questions come to mind...

Conclusions

All such realities are waiting to be studied, ideally in a comparative fashion. In fact, if there is something obviously missing in the large literature of immigration studies (sociological, anthropological, ethnomusicological, etc.), that is the comparative dimension. How different are the Maltese immigrants in Australia, in their musical likes and dislikes from Australians of other origins? Casual observation suggests that differences are quite remarkable. While some people in hearing music of their land of origin get moved and cry, others just laugh and dance. Much work is needed if we wish to understand what is really going on there. Is there anybody willing to help? A Platonic trend in ethnomusicology might be a good thing to have!

Notes

¹ This article elaborates and combines my paper *Musical Memories of the Land of Origin: National Patterns in Melbourne* (39th ICTM World Conference, Vienna, Austria, July 9, 2007) with a talk "Why the Musical Behavior of Immigrants is so Very Important to Know", I gave at The University of Melbourne, Melbourne, on May 8, 2008. It is based on three rounds of research made in Australia, for which I am extremely grateful to the School of Music/Conservatory of Monash University in Melbourne, and to the Freilich Foundation at the National Australian University in Canberra. They both provided me with generous hospitality and financial support.

² The same could be said of musicians of French origin like Stephane Grappelli (violinist of Italian origin) and Django Reinhardt (gypsy-Belgian guitar-player).

³ One good example would be the "Punk subculture" in England in the middle 1970s.

⁴ Alfred Louis Kroeber (1963) was one of the first anthropologists to consider processes of loss and substitution resulting from cultural contact.

⁵ To this day, the most extensive discussion of this repertoire is by Marcia Herndon (1971).

⁶ And also revival, reconstruction, substitution/replacement, imitation, compartmentalization, modernization, etc.

⁷ It may be worth pointing out to the non-Swiss reader that in German-speaking Switzerland *Volksmusik*, as recognized by non-specialists, is a musical genre (equally popular in Germany and Austria). It is a type of *Volksmusik* that has little in common with the "folk music" that folklorists and ethnomusicologists are usually interested in. It might therefore better be referred to as *neue Volksmusik* (which helps understand it as a musical genre quite in touch with modernity: it uses electric guitars, jazz and country style elements, along with the diatonic accordion, *Schwyzergöggeli*, and it is disseminated through CDs, TV and radio programs) or as *volkstümliche Musik* (folk-like music). All this is in some way comparable with the situation in Serbia and Montenegro where repertoires and genres in indigenous styles are generally referred to as *narodna muzika* (i.e., "national", "people's", or "folk" music); modernized, stylized versions of this music, which often incorporate some features imported from the West, or elsewhere, are occasionally referred to as *nove narodne pesme* ("new folk songs") or *novokomponovana narodna muzika* ("newly composed folk music") (Ringi, 2003).

⁸ It is not uncommon for people who were poor and destitute in their home country, not to wish to remember much of their past life once they find a new home abroad – especially traditional songs bound to memories of hard work and starvation.

⁹ Adela Peeva, *Whose is this song?*, Adela Media Bulgaria, VHS, 2003: this is a film showing how all across the Balkan area people identify with one particular melodic type, and they resist or even resent any suggestion that it might have originated in any other country than theirs.

¹⁰ In former Yugoslavia, foreigners often noticed that Croatia and Slovenia, were much more in touch with Western popular music than Serbia or Macedonia – probably an indicator of openness.

¹¹ In the valuable arrangements by Komitas Vartabed and Arax Mansurian.

¹² Intriguingly enough, in the German-speaking area an art song can more easily become a folk song than vice versa. One such case is mentioned by Alfred Einstein (1947) when he remembers how pleased was Brahms when, browsing through a folksong collection, he discovered that one of his *Lieder*, "In stiller Nacht" had in fact become a *Volkslied*! As such it was published in the song collection as a melody by unknown author!

¹³ For instance the newspaper *Il Globo*, and the quarterly *Italy Down Under – The National Magazine of the Italian Australian Affairs and Culture* published in Melbourne.

¹⁴ *Rete Italia*, KHZ 1593 AM

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■ **Music and migration: Kurds in Berlin**
Dieter Christensen*

Abstract Based on fieldwork in Northern Kurdistan - the Turkish provinces of Siirt and Hakkari in 1958 and 1965 - and among Kurdish migrants in Berlin/Germany in 2005-2008, this essay explores the transformations and losses of music-related expressive behavior in the process of trans-national migration.

Keywords Kurds, migration, Berlin, music.

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■ Music and migration: Kurds in Berlin

Dieter Christensen

What is the role of music and related aspects of expressive behavior¹ in processes of migration? How does music affect these processes? How does migration affect the properties of music, the performance patterns, the meanings of music? Migration is understood here as a social process that affects the community from which the migrants depart, the community which receives the migrants, and the people who are moving from one place to another, as individuals or as a group, for whatever reason. This essay deals primarily with Kurds who have moved to Germany from the Turkish Republic. Kurdistan, their homeland in Western Asia but not a State, extends over parts of the Turkish Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Republic of Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, as these States are currently known. My present study draws on fieldwork conducted in 1958 and 1965 in the South-Eastern Turkish provinces of Siirt (Kurd. Sêrt), Şırnak (Kurd. Şirnex), and Hakkari (Kurd. Hekarî/Çolamerg),² on work throughout the 1960s with Kurds then residing in Berlin; and on fieldwork among Kurdish migrants in Berlin during 2005-2008.

Who are 'the Kurds'? There is no unanimity either among scholars or Kurds themselves. For Turkey, Martin van Bruinessen includes 'all native speakers of dialects belonging to the Iranian languages Kurmanji or Zaza, as well as those Turkish speaking persons who still (or again) consider themselves as Kurds' (van Bruinessen, 1989: 613). This definition can be extended, *mutatis mutandis*, to Kurds in and from Syria, Iraq and Iran, and to speakers of the related Iranian languages Sorani/Mukriyani, Hawrami, etc. These dialects and languages are often not mutually understood. What complicates matters further is that in Iraq and Iran, modified versions of Arabic script are used, whereas in Turkey and Syria, it is a modified Latin script – where not banned by the government. Diversity extends also to religion – in addition to various schools of Islam, Alevi (by many considered apart from Islam), Yezidi, Ahl-i Haqq, and Christian beliefs separate Kurdish groups, and there are marked distinctions in the ways of life – from urban to sedentary-agricultural to semi nomadic and fully nomadic. In short, 'the Kurds' are anything but a homogeneous people, and it is only through rising nationalism since the late 19th century, the border-crossing media from radio to television in the 20th century, and now increasingly also various forms of migration that ethnic integration is slowly advancing.

Music and the communities from which migrants depart

How does migration affect music – or rather, music-related expressive behaviour – in the communities from which the migrants depart?³ I shall deal here with those communities in Şırnak and Hakkari with which we became familiar during our fieldwork in 1958 and 1965. At that time, the population of Hakkari and Şırnak was almost 100% Kurdish, and the vast majority were Muslims. There were small pockets of Syrian Christians in Şırnak town and in small villages of Uludere (Kurd. Qilaban) – such as Şiköy – who dressed and spoke Kurdish in addition to Neo-Aramaic (Suryani or Kil-

dani). And there was a miniscule presence of Turks – administrative officers, soldiers, police, *jandarma* (gendarmes), and teachers; and in the Eastern part of Hakkari there were some 'Turks' who had been resettled from Macedonia. The long-time local population consisted of non-tribal peasants in the valleys – the Qilaban (Uludere) valley of Şırnak and the Gevar (Yüksekova) valley of Hakkari, East of the Great Zap river; and of semi-nomadic tribal Kurds elsewhere. The economy was based on subsistence agriculture and subsistence husbandry – mainly sheep, with minimal illegal trade of flocks across the border with Iraq and Iran. Ethnic identities were conceived in narrow local terms – sub-tribal and tribal for the (formerly) nomadic groups, the aşîr, or narrowly regional – village or cluster of villages – for the non-tribal kurmanc. Variants in expressive behaviour – local dialect, dress, music and dance – marked differences among local and descent groups, and an awareness of a larger communality of behaviours set 'us Kurds' apart from 'strangers' such as Turks. Contacts with the outside world, at that time, consisted of compulsory military service for men, usually in Western or Central Anatolia, which also enforced a basic familiarity with the Turkish language which women mostly did not share; very occasional visits to market towns such as Siirt, Diyarbakır or Van; and, since the late 1930s, the occasional opportunity to listen to radio broadcasts⁴ in Kurdish of Radio Yerevan in Soviet Armenia, an Iranian station, and a radio station in Baghdad.

Among the Göyan, village dwellers of Eastern Şırnak province, and the semi-nomadic Ertoşî of Western Hakkari, the main occasion for public⁵ performances of music and dance were weddings that usually brought together participants from the same village or tribe with those from neighbouring settlements or related tribes. The main activity was dancing, in two distinct ways: as line dances where the dancers themselves would sing; or as line dances accompanied by drum and oboe (*dehol û zorne*) playing, without singing, where the instrumentalists were not members of the tribe or residents of the village but were professional musicians *mitirb*,⁷ engaged for the occasion from a small town such as Cizre (Kurd. Cizîra Botan). The singing in the singing dances, so called here to distinguish them from dances to instrumental music, would follow an antiphonal pattern: two choruses of two or three men each would alternate, or so would women choruses; or two or three women would "answer" two or three men, in each case the singers being part of the line of dancers (Christensen, 1963 and 2002). There were distinct movement patterns, and a complex terminology for the singing dances, emphasizing arm and shoulder movements and positions *yamilla ya sivik* and *yamilla ya giran* (with a light or a heavy shoulder) or the imitation of animal movements as in *siwarkî* (horse riding). Musically, dance songs are characterised by short phrases repeated by the alternating singers, and a narrow melodic range (Christensen, 1963).

Figure 1 - Singing dance of Ertoşî women at a wedding, 1958.



Figure 2 - Singing dance siwarkî. Herink, Gevar 1965.



Figure 3 - Ertoşî woman in her finery at a wedding, 1958.



Figure 4 - Ertoşî men dressed for the wedding, 1958.



Figure 5 - Dance with dehol û zorne at an Ertoşî wedding, 1958.



The other noteworthy display of public expressive behaviour was the singing and telling of narratives dealing with love (*hej'kirin*) or war (*şêr*, *mêrxweş*, *mêrxas*) in the guest room or tent of the 'owner of the wedding' or of the head of the village or tribe. Performers would be either male members of the group who were recognised for having the skill and gift to tell stories well. However, they would not have professional status, and would not use musical instruments. Alternatively, the same *mitirb* who provided the dance music and who would accompany their singing with a drum or with a string instrument would then 'tell' for a male audience, with females listening from an adjoining room or through a curtain in the tent.

Figure 6 - Mitirb singer from Cizre with his three-stringed bowed spike lute *riçak* in the guest part of the tent of an Ertoşî chief, 1965.



In the villages East of the Great Zap river, in particular, in the Gevar valley, the predominant social structure placed large landowners over a dependent peasantry. While the celebration of weddings called for singing dances similar to those of Western Hakkari, there were no mitirb to play *dehol û zorne*; however there were local peasants to play for dances on the double clarinet *dûzele*, and wedding hosts and landlords could call on local or regionally known bards – *dengbêj* or *lawjebêj* – to ‘tell’ epics, again without the use of instruments.

This was the situation in the 1950s and 1960s, out of which the first Kurdish labour migrants reached Germany, initially in chain migrations like that started by a young Ertoşî man who had come to Berlin to continue his technical education. Two brothers followed him to take up industrial employment, soon brought their families, and thus created a nucleus for additional migrants from their region. They brought with them a knowledge of Hakkari expressive culture but not enough mass – enough people who shared it – to replicate performance events of their environment of origin.

With the political unrest in Turkey since the early 1970s, the rise of the militant Kurdish independence movement PKK Partîya Karkerên Kurdistan (Kurdistan Worker’s Party), and the destruction of Kurdish villages in Northern Iraq, pressures mounted on the Kurdish population of Eastern Anatolia to either assimilate to the Turkish majority, or to migrate. In Şırnak and Hakkari provinces, villages in a broad swath along the border with Iraq were razed by the Turkish military, and their population expelled.⁸ A ban on the summer migration to high mountain pastures, essential to the subsistence husbandry of the Ertoşî and other semi-nomadic tribes of the area, forced people from their land. Families took refuge in the larger cities familiar to them from earlier market visits (Van, Diyarbakir), but many moved on to the big cities of Central Anatolia and Western Anatolia (such as Ankara and Izmir) or even to Istanbul where, dispersed among other urban dwellers, they had to seek new sources of income to survive, and usually lost the support of a social group sizable enough

to maintain and practice their tribal or local expressive culture. Many then moved on to the ‘promising lands of Europe’ – and in particular, Germany.⁹ To sum up, in the case of the farming and sheep-raising communities of Siirt and Western Hakkari discussed so far, the departure of individual migrants or small groups of migrants for Germany had no impact on local musical and dance practices because they did not involve specialists or professional musicians¹⁰ – those were engaged ‘from the outside’ when needed. Also, they did not involve complex musical instruments. The physical objects required for performances were only those that the migrants could take away with them – the reed flute that shepherds played for their own entertainment was not part of public performances as defined above, and the reed clarinet used for dances in Eastern Hakkari was a simple instrument easily replaced from readily available materials. The dramatic effect on the local expressive culture came not as loss from migration but from the violent destruction of Kurdish communities and their economic bases, that is, from forced relocation and dispersal. Where displaced populations congregated in substantial numbers, usually in urban settings,¹¹ they adapted to and adopted from the new environment while constructing a modified Gevdan identity. Video clips on YouTube of Gevdan weddings show women dancing in glittery colorful dresses, men in urban Western suits moving in close line formation similar to traditional Gevdan ways or in a loose circle, but always to the sounds of a synthesizer imitating oboe and drum, or supporting an amplified solo singer who is not one of the dancers.¹²

Music and the receiving community

The ‘receiving community’ into which migrant Kurds entered is that of ‘the Germans’, and in our case more specifically that of Berlin. Later arrivals, and the following generations, would of course have the benefit of existing Kurdish circles to help them with their adjustment. In German public awareness Kurds first appeared when the Saxonian writer Karl May (1842-1912) published in 1892 his adventure novel, *Durch’s wilde Kurdistan* (Through Wild Kurdistan). In the book, written for young people, Kara ben Nemsî (Karl son of the German) depicts his fictitious hosts as courageous and noble characters.¹³ Karl May’s writings have remained popular and affected the expectations of Germans when Kurds eventually arrived in Germany in recognisable numbers.

Kurds have appeared in Germany since the 19th Century, initially usually as educated individuals of urban origin, and as temporary visitors rather than as migrants with the intent or necessity to remain in Germany for the duration. After World War II, universities in the German Democratic Republic as well as in the German Federal Republic began to attract Kurdish students from Syria, Iraq and Iran, and to a lesser extent from Turkey. Those were not migrants in the sense that they came with the intention to settle permanently in Germany, though many of them eventually did; but while they came individually to the university of their choice, they did form student associations based on their ethnicity as Kurds for mutual support and also to pursue political aspirations – regardless of their country of origin. These associations organised social gatherings where Kurdish dances in colorful Kurdish costumes manifested Kurdish

identity. Photos from early performances show male and female dancers alternating in line dances, not an accepted performance practice in Kurdistan at the time. Since there were then hardly any female Kurdish students in Germany, the female dancers had to be German friends of the Kurdish men - and the gender-mixed line-dance constituted an adaptation of domestic practices to the migration environment.

Similar developments took place also elsewhere in Europe, and an international Kurdish Students Society in Europe (KSSE) was founded 1956. With Germany as their central headquarters, the KSSE ran up to 16 chapters and had eventually about 3000 almost exclusively male members from all parts of Kurdistan, including the Kurdish students in Berlin who were already present during the 1960s. It is significant for the subsequent wave of Kurdish labour migrants - and later also political refugees - that the student organisation from early on became involved in the issues of maintaining and propagating Kurdish culture, recognition of the Kurdish people as distinct from the majority populations in their respective States of origin, and more broadly, Kurdish nationalism.¹⁴ Their origins from different parts of Kurdistan required mediation among differences in expressive behaviour - language, Kurdish dress, music and dance - in favor of what could be presented as 'common Kurdish.' With their public meetings in Berlin and elsewhere, they prepared the way in which associations of migrant workers and refugees, as well as Kurdish professional organisations would later present themselves to the general public.

With the mid-1960s, labor migration from West Asia, and particularly from Turkey, began to bring substantial numbers of 'guest workers' to several countries of Western Europe, including Germany. The majority of these came to Germany from Turkey, prevailing from Central and Eastern Anatolia where economic conditions were poor. They arrived as Turkish citizens, with Turkish passports (Borgk, 2003). According to Kemalist ideology and policy, there were no Kurds in Turkey - the Turkish Republic did not recognize a Kurdish ethnicity and penalised those who claimed otherwise. *Gastarbeiter* from Turkey had to hold a temporary work permit from the German authorities, and a valid Turkish passport to be renewed periodically by Turkish consulates in Germany. German authorities did not keep statistics on ethnicity and did not recognise Kurds as a minority in Turkey. Also, many of these labour migrants from Turkey who were ethnic Kurds were reticent to reveal their Kurdish identity for fear of Turkish reprisals - not only the cancellation of their Turkish passport which would compromise the extension of their German labour permit, but also punitive action against their relatives in Turkey.

In Berlin, the majority of labour migrants moved initially into boroughs of the city that offered relatively inexpensive housing, in particular, Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding. The massive labour immigration from Turkey since the mid-1960s, mostly single young men, was re-enforced by mostly Kurdish refugees from Turkey, Syria and Iraq, and from the early 1970s on by their families and then by the Germany-born next generations. They concentrated on Kreuzberg and Neukölln where some areas became known among Germans as 'Türkenviertel' (Turkish quarter), ignoring the fact that a substantial portion of these 'Turks' were ethnic Kurds, and others were not Turks at all but from Syria or the Iraq.

Weddings

In the early years of labour immigration, from around 1965 to the 1980s, young men would seek their brides from the home country, often among close relatives, and would celebrate the wedding there before bringing their wife to Berlin. As the second migrant generation reached adulthood, weddings in the diaspora became more common, even though the tendency to marry within the extended family or the larger social group and to bring brides from the 'old country' continues, with weddings often celebrated in Turkey rather than in Berlin. However, for the Kurds of Şırnak and Hakkari with which this essay started out, 'old country' means now towns outside of Turkish Kurdistan - towns like Ankara, Izmir, Antalya, or Istanbul - where an assimilation to Turkish urban ways has also modified the Kurdish wedding ritual and its associated forms of expressive behaviour. Song dances, where in the Şırnak and Hakkari of the 1950s and 1960s choruses of two or three dancers alternated in singing the mostly narrative dance songs, often have retained the movement patterns of the dancers, but the singing is now relegated to a single vocalist who just stands apart from the line of dancers, sings into a microphone, and is usually supported by an electronic keyboard, or replaced by a synthesizer altogether. Alternatively, in line dances that were formerly accompanied by drum and oboe, the place of these instruments is more often than not taken by a synthesizer, though live *dehol û zorne*, when available, is still preferred. This is true for Kurdish weddings held in urban Turkey as well those celebrated as in Berlin.

Video 1 - Kurdish wedding in Berlin, 2005.

(Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cPXaGnUxFGY>).

Newroz¹⁵

In the 1970s, Kurdish labour migrants began to form associations, clubs, social circles for mutual support along the lines of the respective country of origin, and in some cases, a region within a country. The larger ones also associated with the long-established and increasingly politicized student organization KSSE (renamed Kurdistan Students Society in Europe) to benefit from the experiences and social skills of the students.¹⁶ In the process, the workers' associations became politicised themselves, which also meant, infused with the trans-regional nationalism that had marked the student organization from early on, a pan-Kurdish nationalism that was vented through, and used as a tool in the domain of expressive behaviour: public performances of Kurdish music and dance in Kurdish dress.

By the first decade of the 21st Century, Kurdish associations had proliferated in Berlin and had gained recognition by German authorities.¹⁷ Among their activities was the sponsoring of public performances open to anyone: occasional concerts of prominent Kurdish artists such as Şivan Perwer and Ciwan Haco, and the regular celebration of the Iranian New Year, Newroz, which is the Spring equinox.¹⁸ The celebration of Newroz (or Noruz) had been unknown in Şırnak and Hakkari in the 1950s/1960s. By 1980, it was commonly recognised as a Kurdish national holiday and symbol of Kur-

dish identity by Kurdish immigrants in Berlin regardless of their country of origin,¹⁹ no doubt in consequence of efforts of the KSSE to break down regional distinctions among Kurdish communities. Nevertheless, Newroz celebrations in Berlin in which I participated in 2005-2008 had much in common while differing in some regards. I have selected three events to discuss aspects of expressive behavior.

Newroz at Komkar, March 2008

Komkar (Komala Kargerren, lit. Association of Workers) is an umbrella organization for smaller clubs etc. of Kurdish migrants mostly from Turkey. It organizes cultural events to maintain and propagate Kurdish culture, sponsors folk dance, music and theater groups, offers German language courses, and generally lobbies for Kurdistan. Komkar has its own offices in Neukölln, near Kottbusser Tor, in the heart of Turkish Berlin, but this year Newroz will be celebrated in a rented hall near Hermannplatz, also in Neukölln, at a social establishment called Kulturwerkstatt ('culture workshop') belonging to the City of Berlin. It has a large hall, a day care center and a restaurant run by Turks.

Rows of fixed chairs face a stage. There are welcome speeches over a microphone – the hall sits perhaps 200 people and is well attended. Then comes a female singer with Alevi songs, some in Kurmanci (Northern Kurdish), others in Zazaki, accompanied by a bağlama player. After more speeches there are folkloristic skits – a woman with a baby in her arms sings lullabies in Arabic until she is loudly reminded to sing in Kurdish – big applause. A group of young girls line-dances to the sounds of the synthesizer. My companion explains: 'they have no boys.' Finally a well-known local Kurdish entertainer, Dimoqrat Taha, sings into the microphone to the accompaniment of the increasingly noisy synthesizer and then leads the general line dance around the audience. Throughout, small children are playing happily with each other in an unselfconscious way, and well accepted by the adults.

Video 2 - Newroz in Komkar, 2008
(Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDb0jB2aD0>).

Newroz with the Syrian Kurds

On March 19, 2005, the Gemeinde der Kurden aus Syrien in Berlin/Brandenburg (Community of Kurds from Syria in Berlin/Brandenburg) celebrates Newroz (Roja Pîrozkirina Newrozê) in the Saal Tempelhof, a hall in an industrial area rented for the purpose. The event starts at 5:30 pm. The hall can accommodate around 150 people, tickets are eight euros for adults, children under twelve are free. A large podium is set up against the center of one wall, with a keyboard and large speakers. Tables and benches for the audience face the podium. A large Kurdish flag with the golden sun in the center adorns the wall behind the podium. The Kurdish national colours green/yellow/red are used everywhere in the decoration.

The celebration begins with what is considered the national anthem, *Ey Reqîp*, sung on the podium by a small chorus of eight women and men, with microphone and keyboard accompaniment. Then there is a recitation of poems of nationalist content. A speech by association president Alî Sofî (in business suit) appeals to Kurdistan's future, her children and martyrs. This is followed by a reading of congratulatory messages from other organisations, including political parties such as the Kurdistan Democratic Party Iraq and the KDP Iran. A middle-aged woman in a red Western dress introduces the folkloristic troupe Tirej – eight men in gray *şal û şepik*²⁰ and checkered neck shawl, gray or red, brown kummerbund and red/green/yellow ribbons tied to their shoulders. The troupe enters in a crouching, creeping manner, with a flute playing, then proceeds to line dancing with *tenbur* and overwhelming keyboard accompaniment, dances where men are pairing off, and at the end, forms a pyramid of men raising a Kurdish flag. A recitation appeals to unity of Kurdish unity, with shouts of *yek yek yek* (one one one).

Later, there is a dramatization of the fight against oppression: a man with a pistol appears, walks around and aims the pistol at various people who seem to be by chance in the center of the room in front of the podium. Dancing in a line, Tirej surrounds the pistol man, and with gestures forces him to the ground. Victory! Applause!! After more sketches, a *tenbur* player plays and sings, with synthesizer and drum machine interludes, before communal dancing begins: to the sounds of the synthesizer, men start line dancing, women join. This is interrupted periodically by solo singing: a narrative in *şêr* style (nobody around me knows what it is about), two strophes only, followed by a dance song with the drum machine. So far, everything is compatible with Hakkari narrative and dance melodies, with 'technology' as superimposed 'modernity.'

Then Xoşnaw, a Kurdish-Syrian singer from Sweden, the featured star of the evening, enters. He sings in a pop-style approaching *arabesk*: a high voice, very 'sweet' (my term), 'soft and feminine' (my Kurdish neighbors' terms). The singer's movements and style of physical presentation are all pop-arabesk. He gets markedly more attention from adults than the preceding presentations. Eventually, interest in Xoşnaw fades, and line dancing starts again, with Xoşnaw singing into a microphone and backed up by the keyboard. This leads to general dancing in the centre space, with the majority of the adults and a few small children participating. At 10:30, the party breaks up, the keyboard is disconnected.

In 2007, the Gemeinde der Kurden aus Syrien celebrates Newroz in a Protestant church in Kreuzberg. There is enough room to dance in front of the rows of seats in a large circle and, occasionally, in an additional line, all moving counter-clockwise; music is again supplied by synthesizer and singers over a microphone and large loudspeakers; the space is draped moderately with Kurdish flags. This time the vast majority of the participants wear Western clothes.

Video 3 - Circle dance to amplified vocal-synthesizer sounds at the Syrian Newroz in Berlin, 2007
(Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zPsoAohEqTc>).

Newroz of the Association of Kurdish Physicians in Germany at Charlottenburg Town Hall

Charlottenburg is one of the more affluent boroughs of Berlin. Named after the former Prussian palace in its midst, it is far from the places where to majority of Kurdish migrants live. The Town Hall is a spacey, prestigious building in Gothic style, with an impressive staircase. The celebration takes place on the 2nd floor where the foyer is dressed up with an exhibition of Kurdish items such as *kilims*, copper water cans, old daggers etc. Soft drinks, wine and beer are set up for the reception part, hot and cold food is being arranged – but first comes the serious business: speeches by Kurdish dignitaries and the Charlottenburg Bürgermeister (Mayor) and a Berlin City official in charge of migration matters. The Iraqi Ambassador is present, but the Syrian one, though he had accepted the invitation, is missing, which is remarked upon repeatedly. In conversations later on people say, with a smile, that they hope in the future to see the Turkish Ambassador, as well... The speeches are given in a large lecture hall equipped with a piano. After the speeches, Sherzad Levey plays his own composition “*Variation on a Kurdish Theme*”, on the piano; later also Chopin’s *Impromptu op. 29* and another composition of his own. He is technically very good, but there is nothing Kurdish that I can perceive in his *Variation*.

After the serious part, comes the ‘reception’ where people line up to get at the food. The music is set up in the foyer, provided by the music band named ‘Can’ from Northern Kurdistan: Ozan, Ismail, Hüseyin, Tugay. There is a vocalist who sings in Zazaki and who also plays *saz* (tenbur); an acoustic guitar with electronic pick-up; and a winds player who alternates between a plastic flute and a *balaban*.²¹ The fourth name presumably belongs to the one who set up the electronics but who is not actively participating. After considerable time of eating and listening only, a few people begin to dance – men first – and are soon joined by others, both women and men, and the rest of the evening has enthusiastic communal Kurdish dancing in the center.

Conclusions

Large Berlin Newroz celebrations organized by various Kurdish associations in which I participated over the years 2005–2008 had the following characteristics in common:

- the spontaneous line dancing of audience members around the entire space, or in a circle in the front space. The line of dancers, gender-mixed and often alternately female-male, or with an additional line of women only, would be lead normally by a dancer waving a scarf, and the music would come from a synthesizer, or from a solo singer on the stage, not himself dancing, using a microphone, and backed up by the synthesizer. More rarely there would be a drum-oboe (*dehol û zorne*) team;
- the focus on staged performances of songs by professional Kurdish musicians, with the use of amplification and generally with synthesizers to support vocalists. On occasion, prominent singers – such as Ciwan Haco and Nizamettin Arîç – would accom-

pany themselves on the long-necked lute tenbur. The audience was generally seated in concert-like fashion to face the stage;

- in many cases, performances of folklore dance troupes dressed in ‘Kurdish’ costumes;
- prominent display of Kurdish national symbols, in particular, the Kurdish flag (red-white-green, with the yellow sun in the center). The colors of the flag were replicated in the costumes of many participants. Alternatively, as in the case of the physicians’ association, the display of quasi-folkloric Kurdish objects such as rugs, rural kitchen tools, and historical weapons. Generally, symbols and slogans would project the fight for the recognition of Kurdish identity and independence.

Figure 7 - Young Kurd at a Newroz celebration in Berlin, 2008. The jacket proclaims in German ‘I live and die as a Kurd’.



For Kurds in and from Turkey, Newroz is a ‘new tradition’ introduced by Kurdish intellectuals to maintain and strengthen Kurdish cultural identity and unity across state borders in Kurdistan and in the diaspora.

Expressive behavior in the domain of music and dance emphasizes that Kurds from different regions and settings – rural and urban – share: communal dancing in lines to instrumental music performed by oboe and drum ensembles or their electronic substitutes. Problems with regional differences in dialect²² that would interfere with the communal performance of singing dances as they are common in Hakkari weddings are avoided by using instrumental sounds, mostly from a synthesizer, or from a synthesizer-backed solo singer who is not himself dancing; if available, the traditional drum-oboe ensemble would perform instead. The practice of choral antiphony in the performance of dances is disappearing.

The process of migration has both diminished and widened the range of musical expressions and the sense of belonging for individual Kurds from Turkey and the following generations: for a narrowly local or tribal identity lost, they are gaining the awareness of a national/ethnic identity in a trans-national, global context.

Notes

¹ An abstract concept of 'music' was not developed in rural Kurdish thinking at the time and areas of our 1958/1965 fieldwork. Instead, notions of 'saying' sound 'deng' and of dance combined into what is best called 'expressive behavior', which also includes speech, dress and gestures as modes of an individual's or a group's expression of personality or identity. In this essay, 'music' is considered a part of this broader concept, which I call expressive behavior. Migration studies have mostly ignored expressive behavior other than language (see Baily and Collyer, 2006).

² In 1958 jointly with Nerthus Christensen and Dr. Wolfgang Rudolph of the Ethnologisches Institut, Freie Universität Berlin, which also sponsored the 'excursion'; and in 1965 with Nerthus Christensen, M.A., with the support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. I wish to acknowledge the financial support of the DFG (German Research Foundation), which made the work in Kurdistan possible. Warm thanks also to Dipl.pol. Siamend Hajo of the European Center for Kurdish Studies (Berlin) who greatly facilitated my access to Kurdish circles in Berlin.

³ The term 'sending community' that is widely used in the sociological literature strikes me as inappropriate, at least in this case, where community intent to 'send' is patently absent.

⁴ There was no electricity in the villages of Hakkari, let alone on the summer pastures at that time; the few radio receivers were battery operated, provided that there were fresh batteries available.

⁵ 'Public' here refers to enactments that are potentially open to performers and/or audiences beyond any given family; 'private' indicates limitation to a family setting.

⁶ An incident we observed in June 1965 illuminates the close association of dancing with the wedding. A segment of the nomadic Herki tribe needed to pass over the pastures of the Gewdan, a seminomadic tribe of the Ertoşî confederation, to reach their own grazing grounds further north. After protracted negotiations between the elders of both groups over the number of sheep to be surrendered by the Herki, the matter was settled by a singing contest. Upon the news that fighting and potential blood feud was avoided, men broke out in spontaneous dancing, and one of them called out 'it is like a wedding' (Christensen, 2002: 66-68).

⁷ From Arab *mūfrib*, someone who induces enchantment, a professional musician. Here: a Gypsy.

⁸ 'Feraşin is empty', my Kurdish friends in Berlin told me at the time. Feraşin is a fertile district northeast of Beytüşşebab, winter home to semi-nomadic Ertoşî groups.

⁹ For details, see Skubsch, 2002 and Ammann, 2001.

¹⁰ This does not apply in other cases. For instance, in the case of the Yezidi in Georgia, a local Yezidi Sheikh complained in 2005 that there were 'no musicians left – they have all gone to Germany'.

¹¹ According to the website *gevdanasireti.sitemynet.com* (accessed on 15.10.2009) 125,000 Gevdan lived then in Van, in Western Turkey or abroad, with only 66,000 remaining in Hakkari and Şırnak provinces. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Gevdan wintered in villages northeast of Beytüşşebab, a district town then in Western Hakkari province, and migrated to their summer pastures in the high mountains further northeast. The Gevdan are a tribe of the Ertoşî confederation.

¹² Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0hneJFd0gpE>; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ux0gsdYtM6g>, accessed on 15.10.2009.

¹³ In fact, Karl May had never seen Kurdistan: his vivid imagination was supported by his reading of 19th Century geographers' reports and travelogues.

¹⁴ Among my Kurdish acquaintances in Berlin during the 1960s were several students who have since assumed prominent roles as politicians in their home countries. See also Sheikmous, 1989.

¹⁵ Newroz, Nuroj, Newruz (according to differences of dialect and lack of standardized orthography) means literally New Day, and it is the word for the (Iranian incl. Kurdish) New Year.

¹⁶ For details see Sheikmous, 1989 and Hajo, 2003.

¹⁷ In 2003, the Berliner Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Kurdologie e.V. produced an illustrated brochure, *Das Kurdische Berlin*, which was published by the Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats, a branch of the City Government. The brochure lists 27 Kurdish associations in Berlin, among them organizations for Alevi, Yezidi, Zaza speakers, Women, Language and Culture of Central Anatolia, Kurds from Syria, and Kurdish physicians. See Hajo *et al.*, 2003: 82-3.

¹⁸ To enable people to attend this feast at more than one association, and to share musicians that are in short supply, the celebrations are actually spread out over the two weeks around the 21st of March. This underscores and furthers the integration of Kurds in Berlin and their cultural expressions.

¹⁹ In Turkey, celebrating Newruz was banned until 1995 when, ironically, the government claimed it as a Turkish holiday. Public, open-air Newruz celebrations have been held in recent years in prevalently Kurdish towns like Amed (Diyarbakir), Van, Batman, Şırnak, Hakkari, Tunceli, Mardin. The Kurdish satellite television station Roj TV, based in Denmark, has broadcasted Newroz programs that were watched also in Berlin.

²⁰ The traditional Kurdish men's dress consisting of long trousers of finely woven striped cloth and a loose jacket of the same material. It is distinct from typical Turkish and Arabic rural clothing.

²¹ Balaban is a short, cylindrical oboe with a large double reed typical of Armenian music and popular in Armenian adaptations of Kurdish music broadcast by radio Yerevan.

²² Even within Turkey, Kurmanci and Zazaki speakers cannot easily understand each other; the Sorani of Northern Iraq and the Mukriyani and other dialects of Iran are even more remote so that a non-Kurdish language has to serve as *lingua franca* for every-day communication. In Germany this is usually German, or, among Kurds from different regions of Northern Kurdistan, Turkish. The *lingua franca* solution is obviously not applicable to choral-antiphonal singing, hence the substitution with instrumental sounds. The development of a trans-regional 'high-Kurdish' that could serve as *lingua franca* also in musical contexts is still in its infancy.

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Migration and musical creativity in Bronx Neighbourhoods

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Abstract This article connects musical life with urban housing policy in Bronx neighbourhoods for the last six decades. Most of the early Bronx hip-hop jams, led by pioneering DJs like Kool Herc, Afrika Bambaata, Charley Chase, and Disco King Mario took place in the community centres and public spaces of Bronx housing project and subsidized middle income housing developments created under the Mitchell Lama program. The Bronx's legacy of musical creativity was not only a reflection of the immigrants and migrants who came into its neighbourhoods it was fostered by enlightened government policies which created affordable housing for the Bronx's working class and middle class residents of the borough. It is my argument that culture is political, and that cultural creativity is responsive to government initiatives ranging from liberalised immigration laws to the construction of affordable housing.

Keywords Migration, musical creativity, Bronx, jazz, Bronx History, housing policy.

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Migration and musical creativity in Bronx Neighbourhoods

Mark Naison

For over sixty years, the Bronx has been a place where musical creativity has been stimulated by the migration of peoples from diverse regions of the US and the world, creating working class communities where people from many different cultural traditions lived in close proximity.¹ In the 1940's and 1950's the migration of African Americans, Afro Caribbeans and Puerto Ricans into neighbourhoods of the Bronx already inhabited by Irish, Italian and Jewish residents created a climate in which jazz, rhythm and blues, and Afro-Cuban music were performed and appreciated not only by people of the ethnic groups among which these forms originated, but by youth of every background. The result was an explosion of musical creativity, nurtured in clubs and theaters, schools and churches, and the community centers of public housing projects, remarkable for its hybridity. The Bronx was a place where the greatest Latin bands regularly employed Black musicians, where jazz artists played Latin numbers and employed Latin percussionists, and where doo wop (a term for urban harmonic singing without instrumental accompaniment) and rhythm and blues singers often created harmonies to Latin and Caribbean rhythms. But more importantly, many Bronx communities, in the 1950's and 1960's were places where cultural and musical traditions were shared on a grass roots level. To be from those neighbourhoods, whether you were Black, White or Latino, meant you danced Latin and sang in the urban harmonic style, and had a special appreciation for artists, like the Drifters, Joe Bataan, Mongo Santamaria or Jimmy Castor, who fused the two traditions.²

This first wave of musical creativity, lasting roughly from the mid 1940's to the mid-1960's, was triggered more by internal population movements within New York City than by the movement of new groups of immigrants directly into the Bronx. During those years, most Blacks and Latinos moved to the South Bronx from Harlem and East Harlem rather than directly from Caribbean or the American South, seeking better housing, schools and economic opportunities than they could find in Harlem's densely packed, highly segregated neighbourhoods. The sense of excitement such families felt about moving out of rooming houses and packed tenements into spacious apartments on racially integrated blocks was magnified by their easy access to the families, churches and cultural institutions they had left behind. Because the South Bronx was connected to Harlem by four subway lines and three bridges, Blacks and Latinos moving to the Bronx had little difficulty retaining a connection to cultural practices and musical traditions that had been part of their lives in Harlem neighbourhoods. With Harlem being only a 20 minute bus or subway ride away (and less than 40 minutes on foot) Black and Latinos living in the Bronx continued to shop on 125th Street, attend shows at the Apollo, dance at the Park Palace and go to the Rucker Tournament to watch basketball games.³ As the South Bronx emerged as the destination of choice for many of Harlem's upwardly mobile families, these two sections of the city remained powerfully linked.

However, what made the South Bronx unique as a site of cultural and musical innovation was the mixture of peoples that took place within its neighbourhoods, which differed markedly from what most people had experienced in Harlem. During the 1930's and 1940's, two working class predominantly Jewish South Bronx neighbourhoods, Morrisania and Hunts Points, each with strong trade union and socialist influences, experienced an influx of Black and Latino families more peacefully and harmoniously than white neighbourhoods in New York typically did. Although these neighbourhoods had become predominantly Black and Latino by the late 1950's, for nearly twenty years, their schools, shopping districts, parks and recreation areas displayed a mix of Blacks, Latinos and descendants of European immigrants rarely seen in any neighbourhood in New York, or in any American city... The high school that served these communities, Morris High School, was the most racially integrated in the United States in the 1940's and 1950's, and local junior high schools, almost all of which had excellent music programs, had a comparable racial mix.

Figure 1 - Picture of 7th Grade Class in 1961 at Herman Ridder Junior High School in Morrisania.



Photo from private collection of David Greene.

These integrated South Bronx neighbourhoods, which remained economically vibrant as well as culturally diverse through the 1950's proved extremely conducive to musical creativity. Not only did local schools promote music through talent shows and excellent music instruction, but the business districts that served these neighbourhoods, Boston Road, Prospect Avenue, Westchester Avenue, and Southern Avenue, had an extraordinary array of nightclubs, theaters and social clubs that not only presented the major Afro-diasporic musical traditions of the era – rhythm and blues, be bop, big band jazz, calypso, mambo, Afro-Cuban music – but created a setting where musicians from different traditions could listen to one another, jam, and create new musical forms. The 1953 New Years Eve show at the Hunts Point Palace,

the South Bronx's largest music venue illustrates the eclectic mix of music typical of these remarkable neighbourhoods. On the same program, you had the nation's hottest rhythm and blues group Sonny Till and the Orioles (whose signature song was *Crying the Chapel*), mambo king Tito Rodriguez and be bop legend Thelonious Monk. Less than a mile away, on Boston Road, there were six live music venues in six blocks, two of which played jazz (Goodson's and the Apollo Bar), one of which played Latin music (the Royal Mansion), and three of which played jazz, Latin music, and rhythm and blues in various combinations (Freddie's, the Blue Morocco, and the Boston Road Ballroom).

The musicians who came out of these neighbourhoods crossed ethnic and racial boundaries with reckless abandon. The great salsero Eddie Palmieri, who grew up in Hunts Point with an Italian father and a Puerto Rican mother, and received his first musical training at Junior High School 52, staffed his first band, La Perfecta, with almost as many Black and White musicians as Puerto Ricans, one of whom Barry Rodgers, was a Jewish kid from the South Bronx widely regarded as one of the greatest trombone players in the history of Latin music.

Figure 2 – Jam Session at Home of Arthur Jenkins on Union Avenue in the Morrisania section of the Bronx in 1956. The trombonist is Barry Rodgers and the pianist is Arthur Jenkins.



David Karp collection, Bronx County Historical Society.

Mongo Santamaria – the Afro Cuban percussionist – benefited from a long creative collaboration with African American jazz musicians who lived in Morrisania. His most popular hit *Watermelon Man*, was a song borrowed from jazz pianist Herbie Hancock. He discovered, accidentally when Hancock was sitting in with him at a gig Santamaria's band was playing at Club Cubano Interamericano, a Cuban social club on Prospect Avenue. Santamaria also had a productive relationship with jazz saxophonist Bobby Capers, who played in his band for eight years, and his sister, jazz pianist Valerie Capers, who composed many songs for Santamaria. The Capers, who lived on Union Avenue, and Hancock, who lived on 164th Street near Boston Road

with his roommate, jazz trumpeter Donald Byrd, were among a large and vital group of African-American jazz musicians who lived in the Morrisania section of the Bronx. Among whom were jazz singer Maxine Sullivan, trumpeter Henry 'Red' Allen, and jazz pianists Elmo Hope and (for a few years) Thelonious Monk. But if Latin music captured the imagination of many African American musicians, jazz and rhythm and blues also captured the attention of many Latinos. Ray Mantilla, a Puerto Rican percussionist who grew up on Beck Street in Hunts Point, had his most memorable musical moments playing with jazz great Dizzy Gillespie, and South Bronx jazz greats Bobby Sanabria and Ray Barretto proudly feature pure be bop numbers in both their recordings and their live shows. But the most astonishing example of this, I have heard, is on a two record set called *The Sweeter Side of Latin Soul* which features singers from salsa bands, many of whom came from the Bronx, singing doo wop with incredible passion and conviction. In neighbourhoods where the music of different traditions came pouring out of apartment windows, parked cars, churches, bars and social clubs, from speakers outside music and furniture stores, from picnics and block parties, and from informal gatherings of congueros and urban harmonic singers in hallways, schoolyards, parks and on the roofs of buildings, imaginations were stirred. And new musical identities were created in ways that defied traditional measures of ethnic identification.

Though Black and Latino settlement of Morrisania and Hunts Point took place almost entirely through the private housing market, construction of public housing in the South Bronx, which began in 1950, also contributed to the multicultural atmosphere of South Bronx neighbourhoods. Not only were the earliest South Bronx housing projects, Patterson, Melrose, Bronx River, and Bronxdale Houses beautifully designed, meticulously maintained, and filled with upwardly mobile families of World War II veterans, they contained a significant group of Whites of different nationalities as well as Blacks and Latinos. Taur Orange, who grew up in the Bronxdale Houses in Soundview, described the mothers sitting on project benches as a 'little United Nations', and Allen Jones a former professional basketball player now living in Luxembourg, who grew up in the Patterson Houses in Mott Haven, described the white kids in his neighbourhood as tough, adaptable and able to 'rap and play the dozens as well as any black kid'.⁴

Though most of the Whites in these developments had moved out by the early 1960's, South Bronx housing projects, both the original developments built in the early 1950's, ones built between the middle 1950's and the middle 1960's (the last South Bronx housing project, Claremont Village, was completed in 1965), remained thoroughly multicultural, with Blacks and Latinos living in the same buildings and sharing food, music, dance steps, and styles of dress. Renee Scroggins, who formed the punk funk group ESG with her three sisters and their neighbour Tito Libran, grew up in the Moore Houses with the sound of Latin percussionists rising up from nearby St Mary's Park:

'Every summer... you would have some Latin gentlemen in the park with some coke bottles, a cow bell and a set of congas playing the same thing 'boom boom boom, tata ta boom, boom boom...' it was our summer sound.'⁵

Vickie Archibald, from the Patterson Houses, recalled how Latin dancing and Latin music became an integral part of the lives of virtually everyone who grew up in her project:

'It was in sixth grade when I was first introduced to Latin music. Before then I'd heard it because there were a lot of Latinos in the building, but I didn't really dance to it. But as I got older, I began to notice more and more black people dancing to Latin music and they were good! They used to dance semiprofessionally at the Palladium and places like that. And we watched these folks who also lived in Patterson, who were maybe high school age, and we just fell in love with the music' (in Naison, 2002).

The contribution of public housing to musical creativity in the Bronx is a subject that deserves far more attention than it has received. Public housing in the South Bronx, sometimes regarded as a source of the area's precipitous deterioration, actually cemented the neighbourhood's character as center of cultural interchange between Blacks and Latinos and provided safe zones where musical creativity could thrive even when disinvestment and arson ravaged Bronx neighbourhoods in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Every public housing project had community centers staffed by social workers and recreation leaders, and many of these centres sponsored dances and talents shows where bands, DJ's and musical groups could perform. Particularly innovative center directors, such as Arthur Crier of the Murphy and Phipps Houses, and Hugh Evans of the Mitchell Houses, served as a bridge between generations, allowing young artists rhyming over beats to perform side by side with R&B singers, and Latin and funk bands who kept alive older traditions of instrumental and lyrical virtuosity. These performances took place outdoors as well as indoors. The schoolyard of PS 18, right outside the Patterson Houses, was the scene of memorable musical performances from the 60's through the 80's, ranging from jazz concerts featuring pianist Eddie Bonnamere accompanied by Latin percussionist Willie Bobo to DJ battles featuring legendary hip-hop figures Grandmaster Flash and Pete DJ Jones. Scores of local DJ's got their start in project schoolyards, parks community centers, the most famous of them being Afrika Bambaataa, whose parties in the Bronx River Community Center helped jump start hip-hop in his section of the Bronx, and Disco King Mario, whose legendary jams in Rosedale Park across from the Bronxdale Houses attracted thousands of people.

The passage of liberalised immigration laws in 1965 not only cemented the Bronx's importance as a site of cultural exchange and musical innovation, but also helped spread zones of multicultural interaction well beyond the South Bronx. A wave of new immigrants from the Anglophone Caribbean entered the Bronx in the late 1960's, many of them coming directly from the islands rather than from another section of New York City. Rather than settling in Morrisania and Hunts Point, where the private housing market was rapidly being abandoned by landlords and redlined by banks, they moved into newly vacated apartment buildings adjoining the Grand Concourse, Jerome Avenue and University Avenues, where neighbourhoods once closed to Blacks were losing Jewish and Irish residents, and to two and three family homes adjoining White Plains and Gun Hill Roads in the North Bronx, which were being vacated by Italian Americans. While some of the middle class flight that created room for new

immigrants was triggered by suburban home construction, it was also stimulated by the construction of tens of thousands of units of subsidised middle income housing under the Mitchell Lama program, which created whole new middle income neighbourhoods on the Northern and Eastern periphery of the Bronx in Soundview and Castle Hill and in Baychesters, where the world's largest cooperative housing project, Co Op City, opened its doors.

The wrenching demographic shifts that the Bronx underwent from the late 60's through the late 70's, like the concentration of public housing in the 1950's and early 60's, have largely been portrayed in negative terms. The arson and abandonment cycle that destroyed tens of thousands of units of housing in once vital South Bronx neighbourhoods, leaving acres and acres of scarred and vacant lots where houses and business districts once stood, coupled with a withdrawal of city services from the affected areas, left remaining residents of these neighbourhoods battered and traumatized and turned the South Bronx into an international symbol of urban decay. But during those same years, tens of thousands of upwardly mobile Black and Latino families were able to rent apartments, or purchase homes and co-ops in middle income neighbourhoods once closed to them, either in new subsidised housing developments, or in apartment buildings and homes that had been vacated by Whites, later joined by thousands of recent immigrants from the Caribbean who were able to rent or buy housing in the North and West Bronx.

These social and demographic shifts had a powerful effect on the cultural and musical movement known as hip-hop, which was far more multicultural, and for more geographically dispersed throughout the Bronx than most scholars have been willing to acknowledge. In dramatic contrast to the 1940's and 1950's, when the vast majority of Blacks and Latinos in the Bronx were confined, by residential segregation, to four adjacent neighbourhoods East of the Grand Concourse and South of Tremont Avenue. Mott Haven, Melrose, Morrisania and Hunts Point, in the 1970's, tens of thousands of Blacks and Latinos were living in sections of the West, North, and Southeast Bronx that were once closed to them and contained a sizable number of people living in private homes of middle-income housing developments. In all of these communities, Caribbean influences were paramount. The most important early Bronx hip-hop DJ's were all of Caribbean background – Clive Campbell (Kool DJ Herc), came to the US from Jamaica in 1967; Kevin Donovan (Afrika Bambaataa) was born in the US of Jamaican parents, Joseph Sadler (Grandmaster Flash) was born in the US of Barbadian parents; Carlos Mandes (Charley Chase) was born in the US of Puerto Rican parents.

But equally important, with the exception of Grandmaster Flash, these DJ's did not begin their careers in the burned out, abandoned neighbourhoods of the historic South Bronx. Kool Herc held his first jams in the community center of 1520 Sedgwick Avenue, a middle-income housing development in the furthest reaches of the West Bronx, one block from the Harlem River.

Figure 3 –1520 Sedgwick Avenue, where DJ Kool Herc held his first jams.



Photo from private collection of Joe Conzo.

Afrika Bambaataa held his first parties in the Bronx River Community Center, in a neighbourhood filled with one and two family homes, separated by a river and several bridges from the scarred and burned out sections of Morrisania and Hunts Point. Charley Chase began spinning in the community center of the Murphy Houses, just North of Crotona Park, and in the Phipps Houses just South of the Bronx Zoo. While the crowds who came to these parties contained a significant number of gang members and kids from tough neighbourhoods, the fact is that more of early hip-hop jams took place in community centers and schools than in abandoned buildings and on street corners. The most popular single setting for Bronx hip-hop jams, which every single important artists performed at, was the Webster Avenue Police Athletic League on 183rd Street, which was built as part of a subsidised moderate income housing development in the Fordham section of the Bronx.⁶ Even outdoor jams took place in the relatively protected setting of public housing projects, and Mitchell Lama developments, with housing police and parents nearby in case of trouble. Some of the major centers for outdoor hip-hop events in the Bronx were the Mitchell, Millbrook, Mott Haven and Patterson Houses, in the Mott Haven Section of the South Bronx, Echo Park, in the West Tremont section, Lafayette Morrison and Rosedale Park, both in Soundview, and Heffen Park in a section of Baychester called 'The Valley' near Co Op City.

When hip hop moved into commercial venues, it followed migration and immigration patterns that took Blacks and Latinos outside of their historic areas of settlement... The majority of Bronx clubs where hip hop was performed live were located on Jerome Avenue in the West Bronx (Disco Fever, The Ecstasy Garage, the Hevalo) or along Gun Hill Road in the North Bronx (the T Connection and the Stardust Ballroom), in neighbourhoods to which Blacks and Latinos had moved relatively recently, and which had a large Caribbean population. Most of these clubs were also close to subway lines, allowing them to attract customers from Manhattan who had become attracted to this musical and cultural movement that had sprung up in the Bronx.

The story I have just told, of how the Bronx could be the site of musical creativity in two dramatically different periods in the borough's history, hopefully provides a model for examining similar moments in the history of cities throughout the globe. Population movements which bring people from different cultural traditions together in city neighbourhoods whether the product of market forces or state policies, can create new cultural forms which have resonance far beyond the settings in which they arise. The Bronx, while probably better known for the multiple tragedies that beset it than its cultural creativity, was the site of neighbourhoods more racially and culturally diverse than any in the nation more than 60 years ago, and retained that diversity through wrenching social crises that destroyed large sections of the South Bronx. Some of that resilience, I am convinced, is due to enlightened housing policies, long since abandoned, which placed hundreds of thousands of units of low income and subsidised housing for working class and middle class New Yorkers in neighbourhoods throughout the Bronx. When a disinvestment crisis, coupled with a city fiscal crisis, spurred massive abandonment of private housing in older Bronx neighbourhoods, public and subsidised housing not only created residential zones protected from the business cycle, but nurtured new cultural forms among young people in a borough that most people in the city, and the nation, had written off.

So after exposure to the worst that globalisation and conservative social policies could inflict upon it, the Bronx is alive, well and still a site of musical creativity. The most affordable of the city's five boroughs, the Bronx is experiencing new waves of migration, which are inspiring another explosion of hybrid musical forms. As immigrants from the Dominican Republic, West Africa, Mexico, South America and South Asia are entering Bronx neighbourhoods, they are fusing their indigenous musical forms with what they are hearing on the airwaves and on Bronx streets. The two most popular new groups from the Bronx, Aventura and Toby Love, have combined Dominican bachata with hip hop and R&B, employing both English and Spanish, to create music which has become popular throughout Latin America as well as in US cities with large Latin populations. An amazing new group from Chile, via Chicago, which has settled in the South Bronx, Rebel Diaz, is giving political hip-hop a new lease on life, joined by Patty Dukes and Rephstar, two young Puerto Rican MC's who shatter traditional gender roles. But also, by La Bruja, a Puerto Rican MC who in the great Bronx tradition, combines salsa, reggaeton, hip-hop, and Jamaican dub poetry in her albums and performances. They will be soon joined by African immigrant poets, singers and MC's who are already performing at showcases and talents shows all over the Bronx and all over the city.

In Bronx neighbourhoods, migration and musical creativity are as closely linked today as they were 60 years ago. Let us hope that activists and community organisations can fight for the construction of enough new housing, while protecting what subsidised housing still exists, to keep those neighbourhoods affordable. Although this is an uphill battle, it is encouraging that hip hop pioneers DJ Kool Herc, Cindy Campbell and Joe Conzo have been active participants in the struggle to keep 1520 Sedgwick Avenue in the Mitchell Lama program of affordable housing and make sure its current tenants are not forced to pay market level rents. This alliance between cultural workers and community organisers, spearheaded by artists like Rebel Diaz and Patty Dukes whose

activism spans both roles, may create momentum for more egalitarian social policies than those which have dominated New York since the 1970's. Therefore, creating new opportunities for immigrants, workers and youth of all nationalities.

News Flash - March 4, 2008. Thanks to the efforts of hip hop activists and affordable housing advocates, the New York City Department of Housing and Urban Development just stopped the sale of 1520 Sedgwick Avenue to private developers.⁷

Notes

¹ This article is a revised and extended version of a communication presented at The House of World Cultures in Berlin on 18.10.2007.

² The Drifters, out of Harlem, were the best known urban harmonic group in New York City during the late 1950's and early 1960's. Although their members were all African American, many of their most popular songs, such as "This Magic Moment" were produced to Latin Beats. Joe Bataan, born in East Harlem to a Phillipine father and African American mother, immersed himself in Latin Music traditions and became one of the most popular exponents of a style called "Latin Soul". His most popular song was "Ordinary Guy." Mongo Santamaria was an Afro Cuban percussionist who became the head of one of New York's most popular Latin combos in the 1960's. Many key members of his band were African American, and his most popular song "Watermelon Man" was written by the African American jazz pianist Herbie Hancock. Jimmy Castor, and African American bandleader from Washington Heights, led a combo called "The Jimmy Castor Bunch" that fused the jabbing horns of James Brown with the complex Latin percussion of Tito Puente. His signature song "It's Only Just Begun" was one of the three most sampled songs by the first Bronx hip hop DJ's.

³ The Rucker Tournament was a summer basketball league in Harlem, organized by a social worker named Holcombe Rucker that attracted professional basketball players as well as the best basketball talent in New York's inner city neighborhoods. By the 1960's thousands of people were coming to watch the tournaments championship games at its outdoor court on West 155th Street.

⁴ "The dozens," sometimes called "the dirty dozens," is a tradition of playful verbal competition between black men and women, most often taking place on street corners or other public spaces, that usually involves boasting and the exchange of insults. One of the best discussions of the dozens is in Robin D.G. Kelley's (2004: 123-4). Interview with Taur Orange, Bronx African American History Project, November 20, 2005, transcript available at the Bronx County Historical Society. (Allen Jones, with the Assistance of Mark Naison, *The Rat That Got Away*, unpublished manuscript to be published by Fordham University Press, Spring 2009, chapter 13, page 94 - published meanwhile.)

⁵ Interview with Renee Scroggins, Bronx African American History Project, February 3, 2006, transcript available at the Bronx County Historical Society.

⁶ The Police Athletic League was an organisation formed by a police officer in the Lower East Side of New York in 1914 to keep young people out of trouble by getting them involved in organised sports. By the 1940's there were PAL centers all over New York City, including many neighbourhoods of the Bronx, which sponsored boxing, basketball, baseball and track and field. Occasionally, these centers opened their doors to cultural groups who sponsored dances, plays and concerts.

⁷ "Bronx Birthplace of Hip Hop Saved - For Now," *New York Observer*, 03.03.2008.

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Si se puede! **Music, musicians and Latino Vote at the 2008 US Presidential Election**

Jean-Michel Lafleur* e Marco Martiniello**

Abstract This article seeks to examine the relevance of popular culture and music in particular in the context of post-migratory multicultural societies. More precisely, we aim to demonstrate how music and musicians contribute - in specific spatial and temporal settings - to mobilizing migrant origin populations. The article starts with a conceptual discussion on the role of music for ethnic and migrant groups and on the role of music and musicians in electoral campaigns. Subsequently, we review the case of the 2008 US presidential campaign to show the relevance of minority artists' productions and the political use that can be made out of it in competitive electoral contexts such as that of the United States.

Keywords Culture, music, artists, political campaign, immigrants, minorities

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■ *Si se puede!*

Music, musicians and Latino Vote at the 2008 US Presidential Election

Jean-Michel Lafleur e Marco Martiniello

Having since long been neglected, issues of participation and political representation of migrants and ethnic minorities of migrant origin have in recent years become the subject of public debate and media coverage.¹ The task of sociologists and political scientists interested in understanding and explaining the mechanisms of political inclusion of immigrants and their descendants is not easy. Indeed, the issue of electoral participation of foreigners and citizens whose ancestors are or were immigrants, for example, does not make itself easily understood because statistics usually available in the area are insufficient and, moreover, the necessary financial resources to carry out large surveys, such as exit polls, are desperately lacking.²

However, sociologists and political scientists focusing on the relationship between immigrants and their descendants on the one hand, and formal political institutions, on the other hand, have long neglected other important inputs such as the political significance of the practices and musical productions of migrants and ethnic minorities, or those that are primarily addressed by them. For the majority of traditional political scientists, the boundaries of politics and political institutions coincide perfectly. According to them, there is no need to exercise significant politics outside of elected assemblies, government circles and political parties. To consider the political dimension of music, which is more for immigrants and their descendants, is of little interest and meaning.

In turn, the specialists of Cultural Studies tend to exaggerate the political dimension of art and culture in general. For many of them, nothing can be without political relevance. Therefore, rap, for example, is considered as a practice of resistance or affirmation of identity, whatever may be its content and the approach advocated by the artists.

This article proposes a 'third way' that consists in affirming that it is interesting and important to examine the political relevance of popular arts in general, and music in particular, in the context of multicultural post-migration societies (Martiniello and Lafleur, 2008; Lafleur and Martiniello, 2009). In what way do they allow to a part of a population of immigrant origin to express political views and mobilise themselves politically under certain spatio-temporal conditions?

In the context of electoral participation, we wonder what role music and musicians can play in the political participation of citizens from immigrant or ethnic minorities. Can they be used to build or strengthen electoral support of the candidates? What attitude do candidates adopt with regard to artists during a campaign?

We wish to exemplify this through the US presidential elections of 2008, during which music and musicians were very much present, in particular via clips on the Internet and through concerts, primarily in support of Barack Obama. As will be discussed through various examples, but more particularly regarding the Latino electorate (much of which stems from immigration), musicians have stepped up efforts to mobilise this community.

The article consists of four parts. The first part presents a general discussion on the relationship between music, musicians and politics, with particular emphasis on the United States. The second part proposes a general theoretical framework in order to understand the relevance of musicians and music for the expression and political mobilisation of immigrants and ethnic minorities. This framework then evokes attempts of instrumentalisation of musicians and 'immigrated' musics for electoral purposes. The third part compares this theoretical framework to empirical data collected during the campaign that has led to the election of the first African-American president in the history of the United States. Finally, the conclusion outlines some research perspectives in order to analyze the relationship between popular culture and political mobilisation in the field of Migration and Ethnic Studies.

Music and political participation in the United States: some general reflections

The American elections in the 19th century can be described as moments of socialisation whereby (male) citizens went to the polls with their friends and enjoyed the entertainment offered by the candidates (McGerr, 1986). At that time, there was no question of voting by going to work but to seize the opportunity to meet others, socialise or even discuss business (Altschuler and Blumin, 2000). Although one must bear in mind that the electorate was much smaller than it is today, the rate of electoral participation was also much higher than it would be in the 20th century. This has led some researchers (Addonizio, Green and Glaser, 2007) to assert the hypothesis that to increase voter turnout today, one should not focus solely on the grounds that discourage electoral participation, but instead consider the benefits that voters can have by their presence at the polling station on election day. To prove so, they organised a music festival on election's day in front of polling stations in different US cities. By doing so, they have demonstrated that the festive gatherings did have an impact on voter turnout.

The analogy with the 19th century elections obviously has its limits; the most notable being the increasing role played by the television in the US elections after the World War II. But while television certainly has influenced the behaviour of US electoral campaigns, some researchers have however shown the limits of this medium. Baum notes that with the increasing number of channels available to American households, news of political nature, and especially presidential elections, compete with entertainment programs (Baum and Kernell, 1999; Baum, 2005). For Baum, this has tended to encourage politicians to reformat their message to fit an audience accustomed to 'zapping' when bored, but also to expose themselves in television entertainment programs in order to reach less politicised population segments, that are also most likely to easily change their party preference.

In this context where television becomes the main medium used by candidates to reach voters, music will equally play an increasing role. Certainly, this can already be noted during the 1932 presidential, for which Franklin D. Roosevelt chose the song *Happy Days Are Here Again* (a song associated with democratic campaigns up to present) as his campaign anthem.³ Besides the optimistic tone and content to associate the candidate with a positive image, the political significance of this song, taken from a musical comedy, was however limited. Things were different when Ronald Reagan chose Bruce Springsteen's *Born in the USA* in 1984.⁴ While the republican candidate for re-election saw this song as a hymn to the greatness of the country he ruled, he did not think its author would repudiate it, recalling that it was written thinking of the idleness of an America traumatised by the Vietnam War. Many other artists have tried to control the political use of their works, such as Tom Petty who refused the song *I won't back down* to George W. Bush for the 2000 presidential election while he did allow Hillary Clinton to lay claim on it for the Democratic primary of 2008.⁵

By means of these examples one might ask, first, why candidates introduce music and want to associate themselves with musicians during their campaign and secondly, why musicians decide to support a candidate and with what impact.

To understand the interest of candidates to use music and musicians, we can first mention the work of Kenneth Burke (1969) on the theory of identification which, applied to artists during the presidential US election, shows that if a segment of the population, especially youngsters, identify with an artist, this population will then tend to follow the political preferences of the artist.

For Eyerman and Jamison (1998: 163), social movements depend on the formation of a collective identity in which music can play a major role. According to these authors, music helps to create a sense of collective belonging that favors adherence to a cause to the benefit of ritualised and shared memories to which it refers. Lahusen (1996), in turn, insists on the legitimate function of artists. The latter, through the recognition of the legitimacy and validity of their opinions, can serve as a guarantee to a cause and to political action. It appears, therefore, if we adhere to these different works, firstly, that the pressure of the media system, especially television, encourages politicians to simplify their message and spread it through unconventional forums such as entertainment broadcasts, where artists traditionally enjoy a lot of legitimacy. On the other hand, the limited audience of mainstream political actors associated with the emergence of new non-elected actors (companies, international organisations,...) urges politicians to call for artists in order to maintain the interest in political participation and thereby the legitimacy of the democratic system that is in place. If these approaches may help to understand why the candidates show themselves alongside artists in election rallies, they explain to a less satisfactory degree why one candidate can sometimes use only one song without trying to appear alongside of the artist.

It is by means of a more detailed analysis of what music 'does' that one should try to better define its utility for a candidate in the presidential election in particular. First, there is the sound, and rhythm that have to convey a positive impression of the candidate with the image of *Happy Days Are Here Again*, used by Roosevelt. Next, there is

the choice of the musical genre. Although hip-hop may nowadays be singled out for its violent and misogynistic connotations, it remains associated with urban, disadvantaged African-American youth. Using this type of music, or the support of artists that claim to form part of it, in an election campaign is also a way to reach this population segment on the one hand, and to recognise its socio-cultural specificity on the other. Similarly, when John McCain takes a country style song called *Raisin 'McCain* as campaign anthem, he chooses a genre embodying a white, rural and conservative America (although there is also an alternative country that is not conservative).⁶

Even more obvious than genre, sound or rhythm, lyrics can help shape the image of a candidate to express his poetic vision of society or, more directly, his political program. This is the case with *High Hopes* of which Frank Sinatra rewrote the lyrics for the campaign of John Fitzgerald Kennedy in 1960.⁷ But it is also the case of *Yes, we can*, which words are taken from a speech written by Barack Obama, set to music by WILL.I.AM with the contribution of various performers.⁸

One consequently finds what Rolston (2001) calls lyrical drift or diversion of words, which consists in taking the original meaning of a song out of its context to give it another meaning by reinterpreting it in another context. This was attempted by Ronald Reagan with the hit *Born in the USA*, and caused Bruce Springsteen to reiterate the context in which this song was written. Finally, we can also mention that the performance on stage may also be a commitment within an election campaign.

Regarding the role of musicians, and artists in general, in election campaigns, one should also consider their influence through activities not directly related to their work or performance. In this field, Anglo-Saxon political science has long studied the role of celebrities in political campaigns using the concept of 'celebrity endorsement', coined in commercial sciences that study the persuasive power of 'celebrities' in purchasing decisions. Thus Wood and Herbst (2007) point out that, both in politics and in marketing, 'personalities' are an inspiration, especially for youngsters, and can have an influence. Corner (2000) explains the desire of politicians to associate themselves with persons known to occupy two separate spaces: that of politics where the political identity of a person is forged and where competence is a criterion for success; and that of the public, where awareness and empathy play a far more important role. In the latter case, the depoliticised electorate described by Baum (2005) may be affected with the help of artists.

One element is worth noting with hindsight to the influence of artists such as we have described above. Indeed, one tends to present social groups, especially youngsters, as homogeneous groups that, united by their preference for certain artists, could make similar political choices if these artists encouraged them to do so. This is predicated on the supposed ability of artists to be, as we have seen in the work of Eyerman and Jamison (1998), 'bearers of truth' within social groups. This ability to influence, in turn, would be the result of a process of creating a collective consciousness among different individuals through the ritualised performance of music and the common emotions it provokes. For Lahusen (1996), the values that unite the audience are hence assets that give artists the privilege of being recognised by the public as having legitimate political opinions.

Before addressing the issue of music and immigrant musicians in the electoral campaign of 2008 in the United States, we will present a theoretical framework in order to understand the complex relationships between music, immigrants, ethnic minorities and politics in a post-migratory situation.

Music and political action of immigrants and ethnic minorities

We will first propose a general theoretical framework in order to value the relevance of musicians for the expression and political mobilisation of immigrants and ethnic minorities. We will then evoke the process of instrumentalisation of musicians and 'immigrant music' for electoral purposes in a highly competitive political context like the one of the United States.

Why when they do it, do immigrants and their descendants, as well as ethnic and racial minorities, choose the arts in general, and music in particular, as a form of expression, even as a means of political mobilisation?

Six elements can be put forward to answer this question. First, the political usage of music or other forms of artistic expression by ethnic minorities and immigrants must always be situated in its context and be relativised. One should avoid considering that these groups have traditionally and consistently made use of arts and music in their process of political mobilisation. This would obviously be a mistake. To say that the arts in general and music in particular may have a political relevance and an important function in the mobilisation and political participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities is one thing, but to claim that this is necessarily the case is much more questionable. The question of whether music can be political in itself or only the context in which it is produced renders it political, remains very relevant. In this sense, we recall that when the band *Carte de Séjour* 'remixed' the famous song *Douce France* with Arabic sounds, in the 1980s, voices rose in protest against the re-appropriation of this famous French popular song by a youth segment of immigrant origin.⁹

Secondly, one can hypothesise that when the conventional paths of political participation are closed or restricted, the arts and music can become the only means of implicit or explicit political expression. From this point of view, the example of black Americans in the era of segregation is enlightening. Excluded from conventional politics, without political rights, they found ways of expression and political mobilisation in music and literature. Thus, although blues and jazz cannot be regarded as political music, there are many examples to demonstrate how these musical styles allowed to challenge the US apartheid system in force or to resist it. One of the earliest political songs of jazz and blues is no other than the famous *Strange Fruit* by Billie Holiday, a poignant plea tale about lynching, to which blacks in the Deep South often fell victim (Margolick, 2000).¹⁰

Thirdly, even when spaces of conventional political participation are open, arts and music can be of considerable political importance. A lot has been said about the disinterest of young people from every possible origin with regard to politics. Some

even argue that we are facing an ignorant generation with whom social issues do not resonate. However, when looking at rap, for example, it can be noted that some of these young rappers, often coming from immigrant or ethnic minorities, have a lucid and constructed discourse and clear political views. These young people are wary of political institutions that they perceive as distant, and they express their views or challenge the existing system in general, as they also do with the ethnic and racial discrimination of which they consider themselves to be the victims, through music. This then becomes the preferred means adapted to their political demands.

Fourth, the use of music does not necessarily replace the conventional political participation. Thus, while Doc Gyneco put himself at the service of Nicolas Sarkozy's campaign, Joey Starr used his rap to encourage the youth of the suburbs to register to vote and to vote to prevent the election of the former French minister of interior affairs to the presidency of the republic. In the penultimate US presidential elections, we saw Bruce Springsteen unsuccessfully put all his popularity to prevent the re-election of George Bush.

Fifthly, music often plays a role in social and political movements in such a way that it is sometimes difficult to tell if music is a means of political expression or if political mobilisation is a condition of artistic production. For example, the US civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s was both a socio-political movement and an artistic movement in which specific musical forms played a major role (the folk of Pete Seeger or Joan Baez, the soul of Curtis Mayfield and others, the rock music of MC5, etc...).

Finally, the social and economic resources that can be mobilised by minorities also partially explain the type of artistic expression that is most easily used for political purposes. Music can be performed without instruments or with limited and inexpensive equipment, unlike movies for example, which require financial and social resources that are difficultly accessible. Today, the development of the Internet allows virtually anyone to post messages on specialised sites like MySpace or YouTube. In general, certain art forms are more easily within reach of a larger group of people than others. Thus, the undocumented immigrant musician may have its own visibility as an artist on the canvas, regardless of his legal status or financial resources. A good example is provided by the Bolivian musician William Sandoval, 'leader' of some of the undocumented migrants in Belgium, whose musical site allows him to broadcast music and political messages.¹¹

In a book entitled *Acting in Concert: Music, Community and Political Action* (1998), political scientist Mark Mattern presents an interesting typology of political action in popular music. First, music can inscribe itself in a political confrontation. It then becomes a form of resistance, opposition and struggle against those that are in power. Classic examples of this type of action are the protest songs of the 1960s and the music of black Americans in their fight against the Jim Crow system, but also the British reggae of the 1980s. The musicians of the Caribbean immigration critiqued the injustices and oppression of which they were victims. They fought for a radical change of power relations in society, against racism and the extreme right and for an

interracial harmony. Music in its conflictual use is considered as an act of militancy where both oppressors and oppressed, both good and evil, are clearly identified as part of a zero-sum game. Such use of music can help to mediatise a cause, and can encourage depoliticised minorities to rejoin the field of political action and therefore sometimes help to influence public politics. In return, the confrontation with music can also strengthen the position of the actors involved, thus strengthening the division between oppressors and oppressed, although this dichotomous model ignores the grey areas and the fluidity between these groups. Secondly, music can have a deliberative function by stimulating reflection on the collective identity of the minority group and the negotiation of this identity with that of other minority groups. Many studies have been conducted on the role of music in the affirmation of identity in immigrant communities and ethnic groups. Viesca (2004), for example, has highlighted the role of Latin-fusion musical productions in the Greater Eastside of Los Angeles. This music (the group Aztlan Underground is a representative) mixes ancient sounds of Mexican *Folklorico* and more contemporary sounds of North American hip-hop to create an own musical style expressing both the roots of the Chicano community and its marginality in the era of globalisation.¹² The debates that have rocked the world of hip-hop show this deliberative function of music. Indeed, there is little uniformity in this movement made of different currents that can be distinguished by their political analysis, their positions on the racial issue, on immigration, sexism, etc. All these debates that help to make sense of collective identity use music as a vector. In the end, music forms part of a pragmatic action when musicians come together to organise a special event in order to achieve a specific result. The best examples of this category are the concerts of *SOS Racisme* in France or the *Live8* concerts driven by Bob Geldof, the *0110 concerts* in Belgium in 2006, *Live Aid*, *Farm Aid*, *Concert for Bangladesh*, the *Belgavox* concert in support of Belgian unity in 2009,¹³ etc. To be sure, these three forms of political action through music are not mutually exclusive and they do not particularly relate to minorities of immigrant origin. However, this typology is a good starting point to examine how immigrants and their descendants as well as ethnic minorities can be both political actors and artistic players in order to improve their position in society.

Before focusing on the American electoral campaign of 2008, we would like to consider the instrumentalisation attempts of musicians and immigrant musics purposes. Answering this question requires taking the measure of the challenge posed by the vote of citizens of immigrant and ethnic minorities. In the United States, for example, candidates develop many strategies to attract, or at least not offend, different minorities. In recent years, the Latino electorate has increased significantly in both the Southern States and in other key states for US policy. Being electorally successful on both regional and national levels without the support of Latino voters is difficult not only because of their demographics but also because of the peculiarities of the American electoral system. In European countries, the electoral weight of citizens of immigrant origin may also be significant in some countries, in certain regions and cities. Historically, the promotion of politicians of immigrant origin has often been the first means used by certain parties to try to win the electoral support of citizens of immigrant origin.

In this context, it is conceivable that some forms of popular musics and the ability of expression of musicians from immigrant and ethnic minorities may help to mobilise voters. These artists and their cultural productions can be part of a strategy of political manipulation to direct the vote of citizens of immigrant and ethnic minorities to certain parties or particular candidates. These manipulative attempts may find their origin in the proper initiatives of artists that are integrated in the electoral strategy of a candidate. The instrumentalisation may also be orchestrated by officials of the electoral campaign of certain candidates.

The case of the 2008 US Presidential Elections

Although artists have historically been involved in US electoral campaigns, it is the election of 2008 that seems to have given a new dimension to the presence of artists: be it record financial contributions made by the artists themselves, songs composed in honor of the candidates, or evidence of explicit support in the press or cultural events. We will focus here on the role artists have played in the campaign of Barack Obama and we will particularly focus on Latino artists.

According to the press, no less than thousand songs, known or unknown, have been written in support of Barack Obama and it would take about 50 hours to listen to them all on the site www.youtube.com (Les Inrockuptibles, 2008). If the involvement of artists in the American electoral campaigns thus seems to have taken on new proportions with the advent of candidate Obama, the phenomenon is still part of a certain tradition of political activism of American protest singers, of which the period of the Vietnam War up till now seemed like the golden age.

But before considering the mobilisation of artists in favor of Barack Obama, it is a good idea to first stress the importance of two terms of President Bush in the awakening of the political consciousness of many artists. In fact, whether they belonged to musical styles known for their rebellious nature, such as independent rock, or to country music, in the collective imagination associated with conservative America, many artists have openly positioned themselves against the foreign policy of President Bush. These position-takings entailed sharp criticism for certain groups, such as the female country music group Dixie Chicks, even among its traditional audience.

During the 2004 presidential campaign, two artists that would later engage in the Obama campaign, Sheryl Crow and Bruce Springsteen, had already supported the Democratic candidate John Kerry in a collective of artists grouped under the acronym 'Vote for Change'. This campaign, that saw a number of concerts in states crucial to the presidential election, however ended in disappointment. For artists like John Fogerty (frontman of Creedence Clearwater Revival), "extremely disappointed to see that most people have forgotten what happened in Vietnam", the quagmire in Iraq had to lead the American electorate to punish George W. Bush in 2004 (Le Soir, 2008: 35). This was not the case, but this episode proved, as pointed out by Dave Matthews, that for the artists supporting Kerry in 2004, 'the motivation was getting rid of Bush,

of being against everything he stood for' rather than really support the political candidate Kerry (Rolling Stone, 2008).

Along with the quagmire in Iraq, another dramatic event helped in bringing artists together against George W. Bush: Hurricane Katrina, breaking in upon New Orleans, revealed the failures of the government in place and resulted in a surge of solidarity led by artists like Bruce Springsteen, who held a solidarity concert for the hurricane victims, or Brad Pitt, who was involved in rebuilding neighbourhoods. By the end of the second term of George W. Bush, this last one was successful in the mobilisation of many artists against him. It is in part on this dissatisfaction that the success of Barack Obama would gradually be built.

Very different from the campaign around candidate Kerry, the artists supporting Obama will retake his message of change. It is no longer about opposing the republican opponent and what he represents, but rather about adhering to the values of the democratic candidate that is promoting a new vision for the United States. Sheryl Crow does not say anything else when she tells the Swiss newspaper *Le Matin* that '*Obama's victory is a must, only he can offer my country the change it needs*' (our emphasis, *Le Matin*, 2008). Barack Obama himself explains why so many artists have adhered to his political message: "*The musicians and, more generally, creative people may be more prone to ideas of change, or at least more receptive - to not be satisfied with what exists, but to take it forward*" (Rolling Stone, 2008).

Among the initiatives taken by artists, the most significant one has been to publicly display their support for candidate Obama in songs, during a concert, in newspapers or on the web. Dave Matthews, for example, sent an e-mail on October 4, 2008, the day before 'Super Tuesday', to no less than one million email addresses of fans gathered over the years (Rolling Stone, 2008). Bruce Springsteen, in turn, published a letter on his website in April 2008, in which he declared his support for Obama because "*[h]e speaks to the America I've envisioned in my music for the past 35 years, a generous nation with a citizenry willing to tackle nuanced and complex problems, a country that's interested in its collective destiny and in the potential of its gathered spirit. A place where '...nobody crowds you, and nobody goes it alone'*" (USA Today, 2008).

If one considers the hundreds of artists, known or less-known, that have sent similar messages to their fans, it appears that millions of potential voters have been directly or indirectly reached by an encouragement to vote for Obama. Surveys conducted by private companies and research conducted by scholars differ on the ability of celebrities to influence the vote of voters (Wood and Herbst, 2007:147). For example, a survey on the influence of the support of the most famous American television host Oprah Winfrey for Barack Obama says that 60% of respondents felt that this support was useful for Barack Obama, while 69% said that their own vote would not be influenced by this support (Pew Research Center, 2007).

In addition to public appeals to vote for candidate Obama, many artists have expressed themselves in music. This is the case of Sheryl Crow that changed her *Are you strong enough to be my man?* to *Are you strong enough to be my president?* But there

can also be completely new songs composed during the electoral campaign. This applies to the pop song entitled *I Got a Crush ... On Obama*, performed by Amber Lee Ettinger, better known as the "Obama Girl" that was viewed by over two million Internet users in less than three weeks on the site www.youtube.com (USA Today, 2007).¹⁴

The musical production that would be mediated most belongs to a genre that mixes political speech and musical accompaniment. The mix of *Yes We Can*, produced by African-American musician WILL.I.AM from a speech that Barack Obama delivered on January 8, 2008 in New Hampshire, after his defeat in that state, with accompaniment of guitar, a song covered by a series of show business personalities like Scarlett Johanson and Herbie Hancock.¹⁵ This song, originally released in video format, was viewed 16 million times between February and July 2008 on the site www.youtube.com (Rolling Stone, 2008). Although here again it would be impossible to measure the impact of this video on voter choice, this campaign event, echoed by the media, teaches us at least two things. On the one hand, the Internet plays an important role, since 24% of Americans over the age of 18 regularly monitored the election campaign online (*Le Soir*, 2008). For Barack Obama and many artists such as WILL.I.AM, the web has proved a more direct, faster and often less costly means than television to speak to American citizens. But especially, as the artist states, the web makes it possible to turn the individual into an active citizen within the campaign since with this video, "*You have a choice whether or not you wanna forward it to your friend, or whether or not you even wanna watch it. The rules changed because of the Internet*" (Rolling Stone, 2008). On the other hand, this episode tells us that artistic initiatives that are independent of the Barack Obama campaign can afterwards find themselves at the heart of the official propaganda of the candidate, since the latter showed the video on his campaign website.

In addition to public statements and artistic productions trying to appear in favour of Barack Obama, many artists have also displayed their support during their performance. Examples include the encouragements to vote for Obama and the projection of his image on big screen by hip-hop artist Jay-Z during his tour, or Michael Stipe of REM wearing a t-shirt bearing the image of the democratic candidate during his concerts. One also recalls that Madonna showed her inclination for the democratic cause by attacking candidate McCain, whom she compared to Adolf Hitler during one of her shows. Some other artists like the Foo Fighters and Jackson Browne explicitly asked John McCain to stop using their songs without permission as part of his campaign. Such public disclaimers appear as much public support to Barack Obama.

The musical tours that have been specially arranged for the elections have been numerous. They often had the promotion of youth participation in the elections as a formal message. The tour *Get Out and Vote 08*, for example, was organised by a collective of artists in partnership with the association Rock the Vote, which for nearly 20 years encourages young people to participate in elections through artists. We note that many artists participating in this tour had previously expressed their support for candidate Barack Obama. The same was true for the Hip-hop Summit Action Network association, which organised free concerts for those willing to register as voters. Its leader, Russell Simmons, is a star in the world of hip-hop and he equally supported

Obama. These events are worth noting when one knows that among the 18-29 year olds, 2 million more voters than in 2004 were registered, thus reaching a participation rate of 51%, a level not been reached since 1972 (Rockthevote, 2009).

Regarding Latinos, of whom the electoral mobilisation is low historically speaking, with the notable exception of Cuban-Americans (Lafleur, 2005), various initiatives were taken by members of the community to get people to register as voters. One of the campaign's most famous video clips in Spanish, entitled *Podemos con Obama* (see below), sums up the issue pretty well in its introduction: during the 2004 presidential, President Bush won by 3.5 million votes of difference, but 8 million Latinos eligible to vote did not show up. This population can thus make a difference if it mobilises itself.

Both in the case of the Latino electorate and with youngsters, one notes that the presidential election of 2008 has brought profound changes. In fact, a poll by the Pew Hispanic Center (2008a) indicates that the involvement of Latinos increased in 12 of the 15 states where it was possible to compare the participation in the democratic primary elections of 2004 and 2008. Similarly, in the State of California Latino voters represented 30% of participants in the democratic primary in 2008 as opposed to only 16% in 2004. However, the same poll indicates that more Latinos supported the candidate Clinton than Barack Obama. During the presidential election, however, 67% of the Latinos supported the democratic candidate against 31% for John McCain (Pew Hispanic Center, 2008b). These results are even more surprising considering that Barack Obama in the eyes of the Latino community apparently had different disabilities in relation to WASP candidates. First, candidate Clinton could count on the positive balance left by her husband during his two presidential terms from the Latin community. Second, commentators emphasised the difficulty of some Latino voters to vote for an African-American candidate. In addition, in 2004, President Bush had succeeded to take over a substantial portion of the Latino vote in favour of the Republican Party (above 40%). Finally, candidate McCain had written a reform project for migration policy in Parliament with John Kerry, which had made a good impression on the community.

Although the issue of migration policy reform has certainly contributed to politicise a traditionally less active Latin population, many initiatives from the community itself also helped to drive up the turnout. A Latin member of the governing bodies of the Democratic Party (Democratic National Committee) and Hillary Clinton supporter put up a project called *Casablanca* (White House) which aim was to bring together 8.000 volunteers to encourage Latinos to register as voters (El Mundo, 2007).

Beside this type of militant initiative, artists from the community at stake, following the example of WASP artists or the African-American minority, stepped up efforts to encourage Latinos to vote (endorsement, support concert, musical productions, ...). The Puerto Rican singer Ricky Martin, for example, said in a press statements issued by the team of candidate Clinton that she "has always been consistent in her commitment with the needs of the Latino community" (Latina Lista, 2008). Whether they be rock artists like Juanes or stars of norteña music such as Los Tigres del Norte, many

artists have urged their fans to register as voters at concerts. Similarly, the star of the Dominican merengue Juan Luis Guerra and Mexican rockers Mana have attended the support concert held in Miami in March 2008, entitled *Ya es Hora* (it is time), and intended to convince Latinos to go and vote. The stars of Latin-fusion of the Spam All-stars also held a support concert for Obama in Florida, bringing together 16,000 people. One therefore finds that Latino artists of different national origins and belonging to different musical styles have helped to mobilise Latino voters that are equally extremely diverse. Whether from the Mexican community, traditionally democratic but close to Clinton, or from the traditionally republican Cuban community, artists from every community and every musical style have wanted to lend their support to Obama.

The parallels between the strategies adopted by Latino artists and those of artists from other groups or communities even went much further with the production of a video bringing together 24 Latino personalities in a clip posted on YouTube entitled *Podemos con Obama* (We can with Obama).¹⁶ The utterances of the director of this clip, Andres Levin, member of the Cuban funk band Yerba Buena, confirm that 'seeing the power and effect of [the WILL.I.AM] video had, I thought this is something I can do' (Miami Herald, 2008). This music video, much like that of Colombian filmmaker Andres Useche, entitled *Si se puede cambiar* (Yes we can change),¹⁷ the clip *Viva Obama* in mariachi style¹⁸ and the clip in reggaeton style *Como se llama* (What is his name),¹⁹ was viewed hundreds of thousands of times within some weeks.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that these last two pieces are the work of a single producer, Miguel Orozco, who in 2007 adhered to candidate Obama's message and created the website Amigos de Obama²⁰ of which the goal is "(...) use new media to effectively introduce Senator Obama to Latinos and communicate his inspiring story" (WebWire, 2008). By diversifying the musical styles and using the linguistic code of 'spanglish', Orozco managed to send out a unifying message around candidate Obama for a Latino community characterised by its diverse national origins, its migration routes, and its cultural affinities. Contrary to the campaign song in Spanish of candidate Clinton (entitled Hillary, Hillary Clinton) that she commissioned to the artist Johnny Canales,²¹ the hits produced by Orozco were officially used by Obama only after his campaign team had requested it (Wall Street Journal, 2007).

Moreover, this last element allows us to underline that, although we might have so far presented the artists as autonomous actors, the music and artists have also been used by the candidate Obama's in his election strategy. We have already mentioned the presence of artists at Obama's side during his campaign meetings or the organization of concerts for the democratic candidate. If the recuperation of WILL.I.AM's song on the campaign website is a clear example of strategic music use, it is the convention in Denver where Barack Obama would be officially nominated as candidate for the democratic party where the use of music has been most spectacular. The musical performances mobilised the 75.000 spectators present. With a budget of several million dollars, the event also wanted to convince a large part of the US population. According to observers, it were indeed the contributions of artists such as Melissa Etheridge, who resumed hits of Bob Dylan or Bruce Springsteen, rather than political

rhetoric that attracted the viewers' attention (Forbes.com, 2008).²² These concerts obviously contributed to a raised public tension until Barack Obama's discourse.

One can also note that during this event, as in many efforts of candidate Obama, his entrance on stage was accompanied by a song by Irish band U2, *City of Blinding Lights*. Besides the artistic value of this piece, one might wonder why Obama is using an Irish band to open his meetings when a number of American artists offer him his support. Some observers point to the reputation of these pieces but also the vagueness of their words that can be adapted to all causes (Globe and Mail, 2008). However, we must also put this into the politicians' strategy of simplifying their message and to associate themselves with artists to incite citizen's interest in politics. The choice of a group like U2, known for its struggle for the reduction of the third world debt, hence seems particularly appropriate because of the little controversial character of its political commitments for the general public.

Before concluding, we also note that the success of candidate Obama among American artists also has to do with his qualities as an orator. As noted by Bada (2008), one finds the musicality of the sermons of African-American religious leaders in the speeches of Barack Obama. This quality, in addition to the strategic use of music and artists, has undoubtedly contributed to the attraction of the crowds like few politicians have managed to do before.

Conclusions

After this analysis of the role of artists in the 2008 US electoral campaign, it seems important to note two limitations in the use of artists and music in such campaigns. We note, first, that it is difficult to precisely measure the impact of a song or an artist's presence alongside a candidate on the electoral results. We have shown earlier that certain categories of voters, such as youth or Latinos, have been particularly encouraged to vote in the last presidential elections. However, even if the results indicate a historic mobilisation of the electorate, it is not possible to determine the importance and role of music and artists. In turn, the resurgence of the political mobilisation of artists and the attention that they have gotten from the candidates confirm our initial idea that further study of the phenomenon is desirable. Second, our analysis of the US campaign of 2008 demonstrates the importance that the Internet has gained in communication with the public, both with regard to candidates and artists. In fact, many of the cultural productions that we have presented, have through the web, been viewed by several million people, out of the candidates' control. This element introduces a fundamental difference in comparison with traditional campaigns, in which candidates decided on their appearances with artists and on the choice of music in their electoral campaign.

The question of the relations between immigrants, their descendants, ethnic minorities and politics has become a research topic as important as others. Numerous studies have been conducted on various aspects of their mobilisation, their participation and their political representation. However, many questions remain to be explored. In

considering the relevance of music and musicians in the political life of immigrants and ethnic minorities, we have tried to show that there is an interest in going beyond traditional approaches to political participation of immigrants and to take the relationship between minority cultural productions and political expression seriously.

Our work does not lead us to any generalisation, but does allow us to make a plea for a new agenda of research on the relationship between culture and politics in post-migration and multicultural societies, and to thus reconnect in innovative ways with one of the oldest questions that has crossed the history of social, political and anthropological thought.

Notes

¹ This article, written in French by the authors, was translated into English by Bart Vanspawen.

² It is interesting to make a connection to the literature on post-democracy, as is done by Hague, Street and Savigny (2008). According to Crouch (2004), despite the existence of democratic institutions, post-democracy is characterized by political management by elites without taking citizens into account. In such a system, the support of artists in the political sphere aims at maintaining the illusion of political participation (which effectiveness is hence substantially reduced) by seeking to stimulate public interest.

³ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gqsT4xnKZPg>, accessed on 09.09.2009

⁴ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z11e4W8mF60>, accessed on 09.09.2009

⁵ Available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P93cl_u1mng, accessed on 09.09.2009

⁶ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qmKglTJefjg>, accessed on 09.09.2009

⁷ Available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eZp_8XCDYvM, accessed on 09.09.2009

⁸ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jjXyqcx-mYY>, accessed on 09.09.2009

⁹ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bNLoxJPZqzM>, accessed on 09.09.2009

¹⁰ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h4ZyuULy9zs>, accessed on 09.09.2009

¹¹ <http://www.williamsandoval.com>

¹² Available at <http://www.myspace.com/aztlanunderground>, accessed on 09.09.2009

¹³ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sgFclij92Cg>, accessed on 09.09.2009

¹⁴ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wKsoXHYICqU>, accessed on 09.09.2009

¹⁵ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jjXyqcx-mYY>, accessed on 09.09.2009

¹⁶ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wuXqy40F4Co>, accessed on 09.09.2009

¹⁷ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ky8Hvq-FOU>, accessed on 09.09.2009

¹⁸ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0fd-MVU4vtU>, accessed on 09.09.2009

¹⁹ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mgBbmBLGiQE>, accessed on 09.09.2009

²⁰ www.amigosdeobama.com

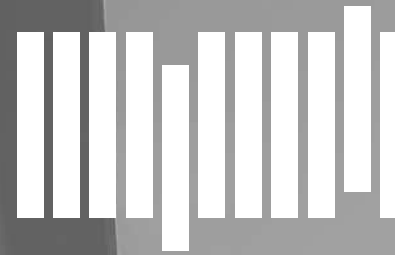
²¹ Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-wNvvuG309s>, accessed on 09.09.2009

²² Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tNgxdQkDcu8>, accessed on 09.09.2009

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migrações

www.oi.acidi.gov.pt

II. GOOD PRACTICES

■ Wanderings

Godelieve Meersschaert*

The 1980s. The Alto da Cova da Moura neighborhood. The day before a christening celebration. Huge cooking pots in improvised fireplaces. Women are arriving from their work. They are helping each other out. Smells are in the air. The pots only need some watchfulness. The dishcloths are wrapped, and formatted to serve as 'tchabeta'. The women turn into batucadeiras. The batuque takes care of the party during the rest of the night. There is life in the neighbourhood.

The Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude, located in the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura, founded in 1987, plays a key role in the struggle for social and economic rights of residents and of the community. Cultural activities are probably the most visible face of an action that has been long and transformatory. In this text, two Cape Verdean performative practices will be highlighted: batuque and kola San Jon.

The batuque group Finka-Pé emerged in 1988 in the Alto da Cova da Moura neighbourhood, in the Amadora municipality, within the activities of the Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude.¹ Formed by Cape Verdean women, of the island of Santiago, that live/lived in the neighbourhood, this group devotes itself to the practice of batuque as a means of dissemination and maintenance of Cape Verdean culture (Ribeiro, 2010), but above all because of the power/energy that it gives them as a group, as immigrants, as people.

Batuque is an integration of body, of feelings. Together with a psychotherapist, the batucadeiras have identified the therapeutic aspects of their batuque: women sitting in a circle, support each other, singing about their sorrows and joys, concerns and about what gives them power. A phrase sung by one of the batucadeiras is repeated in chorus, like a mantra; they are exorcising what suffocates them. They sing verses from their great-grandmothers and invent new ones like a song about people without documents, about their children that cannot find a job and about some that get into unlawful acts. The fact that they are together in a circle; the alternation left/right, valued by EMDR;² a dance that can lead into trance; all of these are therapeutic elements.

* Vice-President of Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude.

Figure 1 - Finka Pé in the Jerónimos Monastery, 27 September 2009.



Photo of Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude.

Everyday life is embedded in their art, that is, the art of the body as an absolute experience of their emotions, thoughts, feelings and problems. They are aware of their cultural identity, an identity that is not constructed negatively, against or in favor of a European reference but positively, for what it is, through what they represent.

The recognition of their art by Domingos Morais, ACARTE³ programmer, had a major impact on children of batucadeiras and on young immigrants in general. He invited Finka Pé to perform in Gulbenkian in 1992. The official (and financial) recognition of the Cape Verdean culture by the official Portuguese instances provided an *aha-erlebnis*⁴ to youngsters, children of immigrants, that witnessed the valorisation of their parents' culture.

In 2008, Finka Pé spent a week in Zaragoza, in the framework of the EXPO. It performed seven times a day for 20 minutes in front of the African Pavilion. On the last day, the producer said: *"should many professionals, had only half of your professionalism"*.

In November 2009, Paris, Blanc-Mesnil. Finka Pé presented a show about batuque with the support of teachers and pupils of the Escola Superior de Teatro e Cinema de Lisboa. In Paris, they met with a group of women from the Comoros called 'Les Femmes de la Lune' and with a group of women from Algeria. A meeting of women from the suburbs. They did not understand the languages of one another, but through music, in workshops, they dialogued intensively; a dialogue of cultures, of human values between people of very different cultures, of different religions. We are far from the time of the Edict of 31/03/1866 prohibiting batuque in Cape Verde (Santiago): *"... such entertainment of less civilized people should not be seen by honest people of good manners ..."*

Kola San Jon, a cultural expression of the islands of São Vicente and Santo Antão, was similarly banned during the colonial period. In Cova da Moura, the group started its

activities on the initiative of a direction member of the Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude, originally from Santo Antão.

We quote Ana Flávia Miguel (2010): *"The group Kola San Jon (...) plays an important role in the social, cultural and economic life of Cape Verdeans and their descendants. The festivities, for which all prepare themselves months in advance, take place in June, during Popular Saints days, though other performances happen throughout the year. The dynamics surrounding this Cape Verdean genre reveals a multiplicity of meanings, rhetoric, narratives, memories and expressive behaviours that transform the genre into a performative practice of a polysemic nature, that incorporates music, dance, voice and artifacts. Here, the sound of drums, whistles and voices summons everybody to the dance in which the umbigada coup [a choreographic movement stretching out the belly bottom] repeats itself in a continuous motion that is colored with rosaries, ships and other artifacts. The religious component, in various ways associated with a set of beliefs that are ritualized in the devotion to St. John the Baptist, such as through the use of images of the saint, in the conduct of masses and pilgrimages, (...). Finally, merely considering Kola San Jon held in the community residing in Lisbon and the symbolic representation of memories and rhetoric that get mixed in social relations, and that, in representing the space of origin, build bridges that are actually lusophone because the music works as a symbol of something bigger and allows for sharing"*.

In this context, the participation in January 2007 of 60 members of the group Kola San Jon of the Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude in Madrid in the filming for the documentary 'Fados' of Carlos Saura is very significant. Half of the group did not have their documents in order. We managed to get support from SEF.⁵ The regularisation of the documentation later made it possible to find a job!

Figure 2 - Kola San Jon in Cova da Moura, 27 June 2009.



Photo of Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude.

Since the 1990's, in the sphere of action of Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude, other musical groups of youngsters, descendants of migrants, have developed themselves: hip hop groups that explore the Studio 'Kova M', organise 'residences', produce CD's, and make connections with youngsters from the suburbs of other countries: this is material for another article. Fact is that examples such as the batuque group Finka Pé and the group Kola San Jon enrich European culture. Migrants and descendants of migrants demonstrate the importance of linking cultural, social and economic aspects; they are actors within an intercultural dialogue; that achieve the dialogue between / the integration of body and soul.

Notes

¹ This information is available at <http://www.moinhodajuventude.pt> [date consulted 05.02.2010]; Rodrigues, C. (1997), *Mulheres do Batuque* [available at: <http://www.vimeo.com/4436108>, date consulted 05.02.2010]; Finka Pé at Universidade de Aveiro (2006). Available at: <http://www.vimeo.com/4897895>, date consulted 05.02.2010]; General rehearsal ESTC of Batuque Finka Pé (2009) [available at: <http://www.vimeo.com/8570123>, date consulted 05.02.2010].

² Psychotherapy EMDR (*Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing*)

³ [Then the Department of Entertainment, Artistic Creation and Education through Art of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Note of the publishers]

⁴ Aha-erlebnis: an experience that provides an understanding, a solution or an answer to a problem that has been a concern for someone for a while.

⁵ Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras [Note of the publishers]

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■ Music and migration: the Gulbenkian Next Future Program

Miguel Magalhães*

The Next Future [*Próximo Futuro*] is a Gulbenkian Program dedicated to contemporary artistic creation and to theoretical production on an axis that includes Africa, South America, the Caribbean, and Europe. Next Future takes place in a natural sequence of the work that has, in recent years, been developed in the Cultural Forum *Estado do Mundo* and in the Gulbenkian programme *Distância e Proximidade*. The work constructed in the last four years has confirmed the certainty that artistic creation (with music occupying a prominent position there in) is one of the areas of human activity that is best suited for sampling social, economic, political and cultural changes, particularly in areas that relate to the mobility of people. As people migrate, their creations and their works do likewise. Constructing a cultural program from assumptions related to migration is a complex task, crucial for the organic development of cities, but not without pitfalls: how not to contribute to the formation of artistic ghettos and how not to turn the stages into mere offices of trivia?

Recent years have been lavish in mutations. At the side of large movements of people and migratory waves between continents - and not dissociated from these - changes have occurred in the technological nature that affect the programming and production of a project with the characteristics of the Next Future program. The dissemination of the internet and the ability to access it for musicians from places so diverse as the slums of Rio, cities like Berlin, London or New York, the *townships* of Johannesburg or the *musseques* of Luanda, in recent decades has altered the entire chain of production and value that used to manage the normal functioning of the music industry in the broadest sense.

Simultaneously, migrant populations have immediate access to the artistic production and creation in their place of origin, never cutting off their provenances and maintaining their networks intact. And the same is true in places from where they have left. These networks maintain a constant flow of information between migratory origin and destination.

Cultural programmers and producers often are directly connected to artists by doing their own, almost techno-ethnographic, research work. The appeal to musical agents, for example, has become less common, while the collapse of the record industry has dramatically increased the number of live performances (a proof of this is the growing number of spectators of live concerts in Portugal, from 3.7 million in 2007 to 4.4 million in 2008).

* Cultural Producer

None of these issues can be separated from the growing importance of the mobility of artists in Europe (and elsewhere), a social and political paradox that Europe both lives and feeds. Issues related to social protection, allocation of work permits or tax treatment of artists wishing to work in Europe is at all contrary to the public discourse, promoting cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue.

As the manifesto of Next Future states, the programme seeks to fundamentally *“reflect on what is today’s contemporaneity and how it acts in the representation of artistic and cultural production; to contribute to the redefinition of identities, of new flows of markets or people, and of new centralities, in particular the definitive importance that cities acquire in this era of transnationality”*.

The Gulbenkian Próximo Futuro Program¹ is a project with a duration of three years and lasts until the end of 2011. In 2010, starting June 18th, several concerts, shows, film sessions and visual arts installations will be presented, and several research *workshops* will be realised during the year.

Notes

¹ Available at www.gulbenkian.pt/proximofuturo and www.proximofuturo.blogspot.com, accessed on 05.09.2009.

■ Batoto Yetu through Lisbon, in New York and Luanda

Júlio Leitão*

BatotoYetu (Swahili for “Our Children”) is an arts organization dedicated to fostering self-esteem and cultural awareness in children through the preservation and expression of African arts, culture and folklore. For the past 19 years, BatotoYetu has worked in the US, Portugal, and Africa to inspire both youth and adults to connect with and respect African culture through the promotion and preservation of African dance, focusing heavily on the cultural traditions of Angola. Working within and outside of existing school systems, I applied my career as a highly successful dancer and choreographer to this mission, inspiring youth to treasure their heritage, contribute to their communities, respect themselves and others, and excel in all aspects of their lives.

Figure 1 - BatotoYetu children in New York



BatotoYetu’s performances are based on epic events and burst with energy and satire. Whether ten minutes or an hour in length, ten performers or two hundred, each performance is an expression of African culture and an enrichment of its roots. The Birth of NzingaMbandi Carnegie Hall Performance, in New York City for example, portrayed an exciting dance epic based on the true story of NzingaMbandi, a young princess who became Queen of Matamba (present day Angola), leading the resistance against colonialism and enslavement in the 16th century. As the story unfolds,

* Dancer, born in Luena, Angola, studied in Lisbon, living in New York City since 1985.

the audience embarks on an adventure through the turbulent and triumphant times of the ancient civilizations of the Kingdom of Kongo, experiencing history in motion through the songs and dances of its citizens. The Birth of NzingaMbandi was developed at The Yard in Martha's Vineyard, Carnegie Hall and Symphony Space. The completed work premiered in the summer of 2003 at the Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival, subsequently touring the United States and the Caribbean.

The mission of BatotoYetu in Angola is now to help nurture and change the fate of youth, thereby changing the fate of the country. Through the revitalisation of Angolan Culture, BatotoYetu aims to inspire people of all ages, promote community celebration and pride, foster unity, embrace diversity, and instill a genuine spirit of peace in all of Angola. Angola will be looked upon by the rest of the world as the model for the preservation of African history in its purest form – a place where modern society is perfectly in sync with the traditions of our ancestors.

My vision for a cultural village in Angola began taking shape twenty years ago, while working with Jacques D'Amboise at the National Dance Institute for a performance for 1,000 children at the Brooklyn Academy of Music's Majestic Theatre, I knew that someday I wanted to create this level of performance in my home country of Angola.

I began BatotoYetu in Harlem, creating an in-school residency and pre-performance program for at risk New York City youth. These dancers eventually performed on some of the most prestigious stages in world. Their self-esteem grew as they began to understand who they were, and who they could be. These young students stayed in school and off the streets. I knew that for many of these children, African dance was doing more than shaping their lives – it was saving them. My work in Harlem and then in Portugal eventually led to performances in Angola, and from these opportunities others have grown. In recent years I have worked with children from an orphanage at the Ilha, creating astounding performances that, like elsewhere, have sparked great passion in the young performers.

Notes

¹ Available at <http://www.batotoyetu.org>, accessed on 05.03.2010.

■ The Moscow Piano Quartet in Cascais

Alexei Eremine*

Everything started when completing the Advanced Course, Guenrikh and I founded a piano trio, along with a colleague and close friend who unfortunately emigrated to the U.S. shortly thereafter. Then came the idea of creating a quartet with piano. With Andrey Kevorkov (violin) and Timofey Bekasov (violin) we created the Moscow Piano Quartet, which played its first concert on January 24, 1990 at the Ermolov House-Museum in Moscow, marking not only a crucial step for the Quartet, as to the cultural life of Moscow.

The following year, the composition of the group was changed again and it was with Alexei Tolpygo and Andrey Ratnikov that we played twice in succession and at the festival of S. Richter December Evenings in Moscow and accepted the invitation of our colleague and friend Luis Cunha to move to Portugal in order to teach and to play concerts in the Escola Profissional de Arcos do Estoril. This call caused us much excitement, because we would work together.

At first it was not all easy. Our ideas about the work did not coincide with those of who had called us. A quartet with piano was ultimately not needed and we had to be viewed only as teachers. This started a conflict in which the City Council of Cascais was on our side and gave us the title of Resident Quartet with ten concerts a year, which we hold since then. At the time there was still no Centro Cultural, so we played in the Museu do Mar, the Museu Condes de Castro Guimaraes, the Hotel Palácio ... We conquered an enthusiastic audience that has accompanied us over seventeen years. We could say that this was one of our great achievements. Always have the room filled at our concerts. In 2001 we received the Medalha de Mérito Cultural do Concelho de Cascais.

The performers were changing over the years and in 2000 we realised that inviting someone from Moscow was complicated and practically impossible. We started searching for musicians here and the last change came in 2005 for the composition we have now. Both Alexandre Delgado and José Pereira were very good acquisitions. Alexander is not only a musician, but also a composer, author of radio programs and a music *connoisseur*. He is still a very interesting and charismatic man. His opening statements of the Quartet captivate the audience in the first seconds. José was my student at the Higher Academy class of chamber music and brought a young influence to the Quartet.

* Pianist of the Moscow Piano Quartet, teaching at the Academia Superior de Orquestra Metropolitana de Lisboa.

Figure 1 – The Moscow Piano Quartet



From the beginning, the Quartet has achieved its main objective: to disclose all written works for violin, violet, cello and piano, from the classical period to the present day, including the less known ones. We have played more than a dozen first-audition works, some of which were dedicated to us by composers such as Luis Tinoco, Eurico Carrapatoso and Patricio Silva. However, we do not limit ourselves only to the works of the quartet. We vary our repertoire, including quintets, sextets, both for strings, as well as woodwind or brass and percussion instruments, inviting a wide variety of performers.¹

We played concerts throughout Europe, Russia and Japan, often collaborating with artists such as Claudio Ahriman, Natalia Gutman, the Borodin Quartet (it's impossible not to note the influence of his cellist, Valentin Berlinsky, in our Quartet, with regard to careful tuning, the wealth of sounds and deep knowledge of the works played), Mikhail Shmidt, Elizabeth Keusch, Antonio Rosado, António Saiote and Paulo Gaio Lima.

Notes

¹ Available at <http://www.myspace.com/moscowpianoquartet>, accessed on 29.09.2010.

■ **Stories with Music... Music with Stories: an inclusive project for audience training**

Carla Soares Barbosa*

Contos com Música... Música com Contos is a project with two performing aspects - stories with music and commentated chamber music concerts - being complemented with educational measures. Initiated in 2003 by the Academia de Música de Viana do Castelo, it is dedicated to the creation and training of youngsters and children audiences, in strategic interaction with the community of Minho-Lima.

The project's main aim is to develop training for youngsters and children audiences through regular and structured performative activities in conjunction with educational communities, thus contributing to the knowledge of musical repertoire of the world and to the valorisation of other cultures, by using a perceptible approach. Using a multidisciplinary model that explores the potentials of a narrative/musical repertoire, it aims to encourage contemporary musical creation by commissioning new works to Portuguese composers or those living in Portugal, giving priority to cooperation with foreign countries of Portuguese or Ibero-American expression, using texts of writers of such countries. The project markets both the Portuguese and world musical heritage, promotes close awareness of cultural identities, focuses on the artistic quality of planning and interpretation, values the activity of the new generation of performers and the integration of migrant musicians, and promotes the circulation of musicians and works in Portugal and abroad, especially in Galicia.

This project addresses itself to the educational communities of primary and secondary schools in the municipalities of Viana do Castelo, Ponte de Lima, Paredes de Coura; the educational communities of the professional and vocational music schools in Viana do Castelo and elsewhere; and the remaining student population of those locations, especially higher education, and the general public.

The themes are: 1. Musical story - Constructed artistic work that comprehensively combines oral narration, pantomime, occasional theater or dance, with music. The selection of stories that are to be presented favors texts that address universal values of citizenship and that enable the actual knowledge of cultural identities; 2. Commented concerts - Starting from a formal concert situation, the arranged repertoire frames itself within the cultural context of the time, highlighting the most important features of the composers' musical language and the musical elements of their countries' traditional music, or the influence that it undergoes and the way in which sound materials from other cultures are addressed; 3. Related Activities - Processed

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in the form of lectures, exhibitions, workshops and post-concert meetings with composers and writers, by way of animation and interaction with the public, providing a real contact with creative artists.

The project's principal strategies are the strengthening of regional articulation and cooperation, presenting a regular and systematic cultural offer that involves working with various municipalities. Regarding internal dynamics, the aim is to innovate and to present multidisciplinary artistic proposals, valuing contemporary creation, in an intensive dialogue with schools and artists. It is an inclusive project, particularly developed for the resident populations in Alto Minho, in conjunction with the educational communities. In the field of cultural management, one seeks to professionalise all aspects with regard to the production and dissemination of events, investing in marketing services and in the qualification and certification of the human resources that are involved.

The following musical stories are included in first absolute audition:

- *How to make orange colour [Como se faz cor de laranja]* for narrator and 17 musicians, with music by Pedro Faria Gomes and homonymous text by António Torrado, for instrumental ensemble and narrator. World premiere on 23.03.2007. Teatro Diogo Bernardes, Ponte de Lima, FAM Ensemble. Narration: José Lourenço. Direction: Césarío Costa.

- *The tear and the star [A lágrima e a estrela]* for ensemble and narrator about the story The maker of lights [*O fazedor de luzes*] of Mozambican writer Mia Couto and music by Fernando C. Lapa. World premiere on 29.03.2008. Teatro Municipal Sá de Miranda, FAM Ensemble. Narration: Joana Solnado and Marco Antonio Del Carlo. Direction: Javier Viceiro and José Martins.

- *Story of a seagull and the cat that taught her to fly [História de uma gaivota e do gato que a ensinou a voar]* for 18 musicians and a children's chorus ad lib, music by Sérgio Azevedo, about the homonymous text of the Chilean writer Luís Sepúlveda. World premiere on 13.02.2009. Teatro Municipal Sá de Miranda, Viana do Castelo, FAM Ensemble. Narration: Tiago Fernandes. Direction: Javier Viceiro.

- *Stories of a thousand drops of dreams [Estórias de mil gotas de sonhos]* for ensemble and narrator about *Ynari, the girl of the five braids [Ynari, a menina das cinco tranças]* of Angolan writer Ondjaki and music of Jean-François Lézé. World premiere on 19.11.2009. Teatro Municipal Sá de Miranda, FAM Ensemble. Narration: Daniel Martinho. Direction: Javier Viceiro.

The project is financed by the Ministério da Cultura - Direcção Geral das Artes [Ministry of Culture - General Arts Directorate] its partners being the municipalities of Viana do Castelo, Ponte de Lima and Paredes de Coura. This project, developed in culturally disadvantaged contexts, provides the living experience of regular artistic expression, promoting a dynamic process of learning through consumption and fundamental values of citizenship, such as knowledge of and respect for cultural diversity.

Table 1 - Public attendance.

Project	N.º of Spectators
Contos com Música... Música com Contos 2003	2750
Contos com Música... Música com Contos 2004	2407
Contos com Música... Música com Contos 2006	4252
Contos com Música... Música com Contos 2007	4130
Contos com Música... Música com Contos 2008	3323
Contos com Música... Música com Contos 2009	In process

Source: AMVC. Annual activity report

In 2005, the project was interrupted due to lack of national funding.

■ The Association Sons da Lusofonia

Carlos Martins*

The idea of creating the Association Sons da Lusofonia (ASL)¹ emerged from the musical experience of Portuguese saxophonist Carlos Martins, initially bringing together artists from diverse origins, namely Africans, Brazilians and Portuguese. The practical realisation of this idea took place in early 1996, with the legal establishment of the Association. Already for several years, the Association develops work of enrichment of the common heritage of Portuguese-speaking peoples, fostering multiculturalism and interculturality, promoting diversity in all its areas of activity (Orchestra Sons da Lusofonia, Ethnomusicology, Pedagogy, organization and production of shows and other events), also with regard to its implementation among the various communities living in the greater Lisbon area.

Since 1998, the larger visibility of the Orquestra Sons da Lusofonia led to the realisation of several shows in Portugal and abroad. A major objective of the Association is to contribute to the cultural cooperation between Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking countries, promoting the development of a cultural identity based on common traditions, in a future-oriented way.

Pedagogy and Cooperation through the arts, particularly in the area of music and expressive behaviour, serve as privileged vehicles of communication, in consolidating the network of cultural and technical cooperation that we would like to see as an 'Intercultural Forum' in the city of Lisbon.

The creation of the event *Lisboa Mistura* has made the Association open doors to peoples from other, non-lusophone cultures that have migrated to Portugal. OPA (Oficina Portátil de Artes [Portable Arts Workshop]) has provided learning and performance opportunities to youth communities in the center of Lisbon.

The activities developed by the Association are part of the following areas: Pedagogy; global education through the arts; cultural and technical cooperation; conception and production of media (books, music, videos); creation and promotion of exchanges; design of major events and festivals.

Notas

¹ Available at www.sonsdalusofonia.com, accessed on 23.06.2010.

* Saxophonist, clarinetist and composer.

■ The Putos qui ata Cria Project

Ana Fernandes Ngom*

The youth initiative *Putos qui ata Cria*¹ focused on the figure of the Master of Ceremonies (MC), as a social educator able to sensitise young people for social cohesion and respect for cultural diversity. Translated from Cape Verdean creole, it means 'children that are growing up'. This was the motto that guided the creation of an album with songs that address, through rhythm and rap poetry, a number of issues that affect many youngsters, especially those living in socially vulnerable neighbourhoods of the suburbs of Lisbon.

The *Putos qui ata Cria* initiative was promoted by the Associação Juvenil Laços de Rua and funded by the European Community by means of Measure 3 of the *Juventude Program*. This project was designed and implemented to raise awareness, to include, to encourage and to promote intercultural understanding among youngsters of different neighbourhoods. The "kick-off" was a four-day residential gathering that sought to facilitate the coming together of the young MCs, allowing them to gain and share out knowledge, at the same time arousing their interest in working together.

Eight young *rappers* were consistently involved in the initiative: L.King, Strike, Sette, Dama Bete, Sebeyks, Kromo, Lady F and Boss, that grew up in the neighbourhoods of Marianas, Cova da Moura, Fontainhas and Estrela d'África (Damaia), among others. The project took place in the years 2005 and 2006 and lasted seventeen months. During the process, the project took many shapes: we lived in moments of greatest indecision and lost some of the youngsters by the way; it was a period of advances and setbacks, losses and gains. We walked the roads that we had been constructing, some of which led us to nothing of special interest, while others unexpectedly proved to be very productive. We would like to highlight the participation of the group in the *II Encontro de HIP HOP do Concelho de Cascais*; the participation of six group members in the exchange program *Urban Connection*, held in September 2005 in Strasbourg, France; and the joint organisation with the association Moinho da Juventude of a Youth Festival entitled *Um outro mundo nu ta Cria*, an expression of which the objective was to make young people aware that another world is possible.

As socio-cultural activity leader and driving force of this project, I think that, given the challenges that our societies put forward, to educate towards action actually is a coherent and necessary strategy, especially when intervening at the level of socio-economic inequalities. The experience that has been related here was driven by the desire to bring African communities - which in Portugal constitute one of the groups that are most vulnerable to poverty, social exclusion and discrimination - closer, giving voice to youngsters that are seeking real guarantees for progression and personal development. In June 2007, this initiative represented Portugal at the European Youth Week² in Brussels, being awarded and recognised by the European Commis-

* Socio-cultural agent.

sion for Education, Training, Culture and Youth as a valuable practice that contributes to the participation and inclusion of youngsters with less opportunities.

Notes

¹ Available at <http://www.myspace.com/putosquiatacraia>; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UL5aHxCoFCc>; <http://blogs.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=blog.view&friendId=93622327&blogId=359675328>, accessed on 23.06.2010.

² Available at http://ec.europa.eu/youth/sharing-experience/doc/thematic_compendia/good_practices_inclusion.pdf (p.16), accessed on 23.06.2010.

■ The Program MigraSons

Ana Fernandes Ngom* and Lídia Fernandes**

MigraSons is a program of Rádio Zero de Lisboa¹ on migratory movements, interculturality and cultural diversity, made by people of different origins, promoted by *Solidariedade Imigrante* (SOLIM) - [Association for the Defense of Immigrant's Rights].²

In a first phase, in February 2009, a number of activities, aimed at setting up the necessary team needed to produce the radio program, were carried out including the realisation of a workshop about radio. The training was conceived with a concern to provide learning experiences focused on the acquisition of skills and the preparation of the radio program. From the start of the project, an active involvement was expected from the participants, explaining their motivations and personal experiences, bringing in ideas, themes and news and contributing to shape the structure of the program. The training began with familiarizing the team with the radio studio in its technical dimension. In a second phase, the contents and preparation of different radio items was worked out from a script. During the last phase, the program got structured, identifying issues of interest to immigrants and related to cultural diversity.

Our intention was to create groups that were diverse in terms of nationality and gender, and that included people with a good knowledge of Portuguese and others with greater difficulties. We also sought to form a group that included both people with specific media training and people for whom *MigraSons* would be the first experience in this area. In the first edition of the Program MigraSons,³ 14 programs were broadcasted, of which the following topics can be highlighted: immigrant women; migration and development; presentation of the 'Pau de Arara' project; work conditions; associations and communities; immigration policies in Italy; human trafficking; Muslims in Europe; young and second-generation immigrants, among others.

In November 2009, a second edition of the program was initiated, the theme of re-entry being human mobility, in which we presented a gathering with Duarte Miranda Mendes (ACIDI Chief of Cabinet), Gustavo Behr (president of Casa do Brasil, in Lisbon) and Timóteo Macedo (president of the association Solidariedade Imigrante), that debated some of the central ideas of the United Nations' Human Development Report for the year 2009. In December, we presented a special with regard to December 18th - International Migrants Day.

MigraSons passes world music in its emissions, in different languages; it sings the need to travel, the longing, the despair, the gains and losses of those who continue to

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live far from their homeland. We stress, throughout our emissions, the Senegalese rap with Daara J Family, sounds of Guinea-Bissau with Jose Carlos Schwarz, Eneida Marta and Kimi Djabaté. We had in studio the presence of Minao Soldjah, who presented its *Mixtape Soldadu 3º Mundo – Lágrimas di Sangui*, we presented the solo project of Romi Anuel and the Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio, among others.

Notas

¹ Available at <http://www.radiozero.pt/>, accessed on 12.03.2010.

² Available at <http://www.solimigrante.org/>, accessed on 12.03.2010.

³ Available at <http://migrasons.blogspot.com/>, accessed on 12.03.2010.

■ OriAzul calling music talent throughout Africa

João Jorge*

OriAzul (Gold [Ori] for the sands and Blue [Azul] for the ocean of the Cape Verde Islands) is a musical band with musicians from Cape Verde, Senegal, Gabon and the Congo's, who found in the Portuguese Creole and in the Cape Verde *coladera*, the glue to homogenise the much diversified cultures, ethnicities and languages.¹ In concerts or dancing events, *coladera* followed and mixed with African rhythms warm-up, establish a peace of mind and connects diversified public. The exposure to diversification will have motivated OriAzul to the domain of education. They have worked with international schools in several African countries, with the objective of integrating students on the music environment. In Ethiopia, where the Portuguese presence is positively remembered since the 16th century and where OriAzul have enjoyed surprising success, in their five tours, the band practiced with students and integrated them in public concerts. It is rewarding for all at school, musicians and public (parents, teachers) to see musical talent revealing itself before a vibrating audience. OriAzul used a system of a sound control table, combined with the back-up of their musicians, providing big enjoyment to the public, friends, colleagues and parents, which reduced inhibitions and increased self-confidence, resulting in applause and dance. The reward that any musician, young, old, amateur or professional, desires.

Figure 1 – OriAzul workshop in a School in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



* Aeronautical Engineer, MBA Thunderbird, AZ.

Figure 2 – OriAzul workshop in a School in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



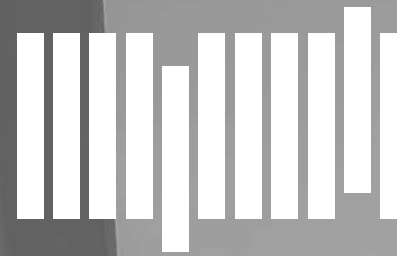
An interesting story deserves mentioning: a young trumpet player of a school in Addis Ababa, with no experience in public performances, saw, surprisingly, his opportunity in one of OriAzul's performances. A few days of practice, encouragement and a 400 people audience concert, where even small deviations from the young talent were received by a warm audience reaction, opened him the doors to public stages. About one year later he was accepted at Berkeley, California, in a prestigious music school in United States.

OriAzul musicians recently composed *Peace and Love*, with rhythms and for instruments of different regions. The theme was based on love and equality sentiment that addresses the public in three African languages (Wolof, Lingala and Fang) and in three European (Portuguese Creole, French and English), calling for the ending of conflicts. This piece was launched in Addis Ababa at the Peace Day Concert (21.09.2010), presented as "African Union and European Union Celebrate Together the Peace Day with OriAzul" and reported in a local EU publication.² OriAzul repertoire includes other themes that deserve attention, such as those on migration (*Manuela, Djobepami*), transmission of disease (*Control*) and peace (*Jacaba*).

Notes

¹ Available at <http://mp3.mondomix.com/oriazul>, accessed on 30.09.2010

² Available at: Inside the Africa – European Union Partnership, 11: 1, 27-28, accessed on 30.09.2010.



migrações

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III. NOTES AND OPINION ARTICLES

The New Creoles and a Great 2010

Jorge Murteira*

The 21st century is about to reach adolescence. So insecure...¹

Despite much inertia, a certain unease and uncertainty in the planet, changes come in a row.

As always, for the best and for the worse.

This regardless of whether we like it or not that these changes happen and of adapting ourselves, more or less easily, to the new scenarios that we know.

Here is a 'Green Card' written by some creole musicians. 'Green', but not so much for being ecological. I explain: while 'crioulo bedjo' (old creole) that thirty years ago disembarked for the first time in the islands of the tropics, it was perhaps difficult for me to imagine in the last century today's, in Lisbon, a German musician challenging a Cape Verdean colleague, telling him in fluent Portuguese:

"You think a lot and when you think, the soul goes away. I liked very much! We are not making chemistry, we are making music. Go with voice. One more 'take' and that's it." And so it was.

These are the 'new creole' that joined Danae.²

The music is much better and more fun than the words.

A Great Decade.

Notes

¹ Text adapted by the author from a message sent to friends and acquaintances announcing the promotional video "Carta Verde" made by himself.

² Available at <http://www.myspace.com/danaexdanae/videos/video/101758117>, accessed on 05.01.2010

* Anthropologist and Film Documentarist.

Music without borders in Viana do Castelo

Mafalda Silva Rego*

In Viana do Castelo, the seaport was the most important connection between its people and the populations of various continents for centuries and also exchange for art, skills, customs to culturally enriching traditions. Currently, it is the cultural spaces and events that largely encourage the gathering of people and cultures and bring new worlds to Viana do Castelo, both due to various annual festivals dedicated to the blues, jazz, classical music, folklore, drama and cinema, as well as other events such as the Lusophone Book Fair in which all Portuguese speaking countries are invited to take part. Every year, musicians, composers, writers, painters and actors are invited to participate and present their work, exhibiting new ways or styles of portraying the world, knowledge, different cultures and identities.

There are, however, two educational institutions in Viana do Castelo, where various cultures meet on a daily basis. I am referring to the Vocational Music School (EPMVC)¹ and the Music Academy of Viana do Castelo (AMVC),² as among teachers and students, one may find fourteen different nationalities. These institutions represent a cultural foundation of the local community, recognised for providing the finest music education and organising outstanding cultural events. Angola, Brazil, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Cuba, France, Iran, Italy, Lithuania, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Ukraine and United States of America are the country of origin of several teachers and students from these two institutions that share the same premises. A 'Tower of Babel' where classical music, this too, belonging to the world, is taught and learnt.

As a teacher at the EPMVC, but mainly as a linguist, I am fascinated by the socialising of the diverse elements of distinct cultures, the nature of their knowledge and traditions. My first surprises took place in the 'teacher's room' where both greetings among colleagues as well as the discussion on the various educational systems were made in different languages. Then, came the surprise of the mix of traditional instruments from several countries, used mostly in the musical moments organized for the students' families. I recall, for example, the use of Cuban maracas and the Portuguese cavaquinho in the same performance. A greater surprise, was the ease with which evaluation meetings were organised, in which approximately forty teachers, all using Portuguese (with a variety of accents) as the medium of communication, reviewed and assessed the efforts and work undertaken by each student and, then, the class as a whole. Leisure activities and sociable gatherings are also quite entertaining. Stories of linguistic slips and misunderstandings are cheerfully retold amongst teachers. This year, the Christmas Dinner of both institutions, organised by the Cuban teachers, proudly presented Cuba's traditional food and music.

* English Teacher at EPMVC.

Students also benefit on a social, cultural and educational basis from their contact and acquaintance with their foreign teachers, conductors and/or colleagues, as they unveil much wider networks of knowledge. This helps them to rapidly comprehend our condition of citizens of the world. Many of the teachers from these two institutions have graduated from some of the most prestigious music conservatories in the world, such as the Moscow Conservatory. Their aim is to transmit to their students what was learnt from their own masters in the area of musical interpretation and performance. However, in addition to this training, students also discover that the different ways of eating, speaking, displaying happiness and sadness, commemorating important dates and socialising are, in themselves, of great importance to their own citizenship education. The direct contact with the manners in which different cultures express themselves, during the students' development stages, is an exceptional scaffold for the requirements of today's globalised world.

In fact, many teachers hold a special status at the School/Academy either due to their successful professional background or because they have taken on management responsibilities for many years. Mutual support and the sharing of responsibilities lead to better understanding and respect. This reminds me of a couple who worked for this school, he, the conductor of the EPMVC Symphonic Orchestra for many years, Miguel del Castillo, of Cuban nationality and she, Tatiana Sajarova, Russian, soprano and a piano teacher, whose life as a couple is a reflection of the world's history in the 20th century. The musical groups, which through the years have been created, are also a fine example of the excellent professional relationship amongst all involved. It is the case of the FAM Ensemble, a group whose composition may vary but which congregates musicians of various nationalities, whose academic or professional background is linked to the EPMVC or the AMVC and which performs under the musical direction of the Spanish conductor, Javier Viceiro, or other invited conductors. It is also the case of the Bóreas Quintet, which in addition to Portuguese musicians also includes the Russian pianist Yuri Popov.

In years gone by, the sea linked Viana do Castelo to new worlds, new people. Today, the teaching and learning of music, in Viana do Castelo, makes the universe even more united.

Notes

¹ Available at www.fam.pt, accessed on 05.01.2010.

² Available at www.amvc.pt, accessed on 05.01.2010.

Music, synergies and interculturality in school in Loures

Maria da Luz Fragoso Costa* and Maria de São José Côrte-Real**

The pilot project Mussi integrated into a wider research project¹ on performative practices and education, has been energised into three separate editions, in 2007 and 2008 at EB1 n^o4 de S. João da Talha, in Loures. It promoted collaboration at many levels namely migrant integration into the School through the articulation of artistic knowledge, especially music, dance and drama, in the curricular activity. It increased the educational success and tolerance in the school community and laid the foundation for the construction of quality learning in public schools, in an ethical, humanistic dimension of intercultural and multimodal dialogue.

The many participants involved made it possible to build a new collaborative network in the school's experience: the coordinator of the school was directly responsible for the management of space, time and resources; the other teachers, for the integration of themes and activities in the curriculum, providing support and collaboration for the performative agents in the course of performing their respective workshops; the educational assistants for help regarding arising, often completely new needs; the pupils and families for their enthusiastic participation. Outside of the School, the institutional and individual partners were many, establishing a collaborative network with representatives of Primary Education, Higher Education and Arts Education, as well as of the local Municipality and Commercial Industry. Coordinated in an educational/ethnomusicological research perspective at the Escola Superior de Educação de Lisboa and then at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, promoted scientific and educational rigor, manifested, among other things, in the selection of the performative agents² and in the supervision of their work in School, preferring those that, collaborating with the municipality of Loures or in schools of music, dance or theater in the Lisbon region, showed their interest in the pedagogical experience of this innovative proposal.

The Educational Division of the Municipality of Loures supported the logistics of the pilot project, in the performing public presentations, providing transport facilities and giving exposure throughout the municipality. Sonae Sierra, through the commercial center LoureShopping, funded the costs relating to musical instruments (flutes, bass drums [bombos], guitars and violins) that the project offered to the children and the school respectively, as well as the costs related to the work of the performative agents, composer and the public performances' infrastructural facilities such as t-shirts, flyers, light meals, security, sound.

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The pilot project Mussi, an original scientific-pedagogical Portuguese conception, aimed to contribute to the optimisation of the existing curriculum, for the promotion of an innovative public school of quality and dialogue within the community in the 1st cycle of Primary Education, a learning organisation where everyone works together, collaborates, learns to reflect and reflects to learn, where music and its transcultural synergies are the starting point for learning in a new cultural and educational dimension. Its goals are promoting the development of education for citizenship, reducing the handicap of cultural relationships of pupils and educational agents of migrant and other origin, and further disseminating innovative educational experiences from Portugal to the world. The project was considered as an example of *Best Practice* by Evens Foundation, in 2008. Its evaluation and discussion takes place in articles (Côrte-Real 2008) as well as in public presentations in national and international meetings. It proposes to stimulate the development of citizenship education, diminishing the limitations of cultural relationships among migrant and other students and educational agents.

Its dynamics increased educational success and decreased socio-cultural distances by softening the problems as a result thereof in the School. It promoted and tested the access to quality education, starting from the inclusion of performative practices (music, dance and drama) in the curriculum of the 1st Cycle of Primary Education. It reinforced the affective relationships between pupils, teachers, performative agents and families, thus contributing to capacity building and intercultural strategies in a public school, using references from several cultural areas as diverse as: European art culture (violins, with reference to practices of the Suzuki Method), traditional Portuguese culture (traditional dance, drums), globalizing popular culture (hip-hop), collaborative Portuguese (invention of texts), world music and dances (Indian and Mozambican).

Including 19 teachers, about 300 pupils (6-12), with great ethnic diversity, some pupils with special educational needs, 7 performative agents and 7 educational assistants, it was an excellent opportunity to test the use of different communicative modes, through performative processes and products, involving pupils, performing agents and teachers. It represented a great opportunity for personal development, ethics and citizenship to all. It implied a new management of time, of space, of pupil groups and of teaching-learning methods. It was a project that innovated the school. There was more time to learn together, respecting ethnic and cultural diversity. It was set to find a new way of working together, building on the professionalism and competence of human resources involved. It was an innovative and creative project, particularly notable by the joy and happiness in the school: the brightness in the eyes of children and families reflected it! To great sadness of all we were unable to sustain its integration into the curriculum, due to lack of financial support and little recognition of the entities of the macro system on local, regional and national levels, on which a public school depends. One can conclude with an excerpt from a poem by Sebastião

da Gama: *We go by the dream/moved and silent. / Do we arrive? Don't we arrive? (...)*
/We leave. We go. We are.

Notes

¹ The research project 'Performative Practices and Education for Citizenship in the Basic Education' was developed as part of a post-doctoral grant funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia.

² In the selection of the performative agents, attention was given to the academic training. Much of them are graduate students, with a master's degree or doing their master's studies in education or in performing arts, particularly at the Academia Nacional Superior de Orquestra (OML), Northwestern University (USA), Escola Superior de Dança, Escola Superior de Teatro e Cinema e Escola Superior de Educação (IPL), Faculdade de Motricidade Humana (UTL), Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (UNL), Faculdade de Psicologia e Ciências da Educação (UL).

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África Festival in Lisbon

Paula Nascimento*

África Festival - Lisbon came into existence because of the political will to integrate a programming on Africa in the Festas de Lisboa. It was the first and only initiative of African musics held in Portugal on a regular basis and with international importance. Three editions were realized: 2005, 2006 and 2007, all as part of Festas de Lisboa, organized by EGEAC ([Empresa de Gestão de Equipamentos e Animação Cultural] from the Municipality of Lisbon).

The initiative assumed a position of great importance to Portugal as a platform for interculturality, supporting the dissemination of African cultures in the world by backing the circulation of artists, and gave Portugal its place in the international circuit of world music festivals (which includes African musics), in a very short time gaining a significant reputation and recognition (noticeable by the quality and stability of the program over the three editions, by the great coverage in the national press, by the international press that was present and by the significant and wide variety of spectators that it attracted), all these factors being indicators of success.

In 2005, the great music shows were presented in Monsanto (Anfiteatro Keil do Amaral), and in 2006 and 2007, in the park next to the Torre de Belém. The emblematic performance of Ali Farka Touré with Toumani Diabaté, in Monsanto, is perhaps the biggest reference of this program that presented a significant range of the most important musical creations from Africa or with African roots. Baaba Maal, Tiken Jah Fakoly, Oumou Sangaré, Tcheka, Mayra Andrade, Tinariwen, Bassekou Kouyaté, Cheikh Lô, Músicos do Nilo, Bonga, Tito Paris, Waldemar Bastos, Paulo Flores, Lura, Manecas Costa and Ray Lema, and many others.

África Festival was a tribute to an important facet of Portugal and Lisbon's identity, which called for a simplified approach, free of stereotypes that proposed an area of true knowledge, information and dialogue between people of different backgrounds and cultures. It was a pioneering programming concept in Portugal which considered the participation of all African countries (and not just the Portuguese-speaking African countries) and that of all Africans: those living in Africa, those living in the diaspora, afro-descendants and people of mixed origin. In this way, the festival contributed to the creation of new audiences, internally promoting an increased consumption of these genres. The artists gained presentational space in Portugal and today we can enjoy performances by artists such as Toumani Diabaté, Oumou Sangaré or Ray Lema, in places of reference such as Centro Cultural de Belém in Lisbon or Casa da Música in Oporto.

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Within the perspective of creating new audiences, the used strategy naturally involved a model of free entrance for the first years (as, by the way, was also the case of the Festival de Músicas do Mundo de Sines). With an average audience of 10,000 spectators per day for the outdoor stage, where the big music concerts took place, África Festival united a very diverse audience - from different backgrounds, ages, social classes and cultural interests -, interested, critical and participatory. It involved the African communities, the indigenous community, other foreign residents and tourists, noticeably with great participation of families. People who love music and who love to get to know different cultures.

Focused on music but sensitive to other artistic disciplines, the festival annually opened the way to other expressions: film, visual arts and photography, dance, literature and theater. Training, opportunities for dialogue, information and reflection. The 2007 edition gave the festival a new dimension and represented a huge leap compared to the previous editions, considering the extension of the agenda (a program comprising eleven days) and the possibility to also integrate a venue to the program - Cinema São Jorge - which brought together 5,388 viewers in a week. Immediately after the last edition (2007), EGEAC decided to take the event out of the schedule of *Festas de Lisboa*. Three years later, África Festival still lives fondly in the memory of the people and the city.



AFRICA.CONT: the place of music in the project

J.A. Fernandes Dias*

The AFRICA.CONT project evolves from a challenge that was launched for us and takes place because of the political will to respond to the absence in Portugal of a platform. In other words, a platform that fosters an understanding of contemporary African cultural creation, inserted within an inevitable context of development of Europe-Africa relations. The great enthusiasm with which we received the invitation to design and project this institution results from a concordance with this diagnosis, and with the proposed official agendas.

AFRICA.CONT was thus born as project of a platform for the development of relations of communication, cooperation and interaction between Europe, the African countries and their diasporas. Based on the affirmation of parity relations, privileging interaction of autonomous realities in their differentiation of roots and mental, intellectual and cultural structures, stemming from different histories, environments and forms of social, economical and political organisation; but all crossed by the same modernity and contemporaneity, and by the same challenges that globalisation processes put forward to them. And noncommittal regarding political trends, religious confessions, advocacy groups and business groups, is prepared its institutionalisation as a private foundation of public interest.

The cultural center AFRICA.CONT will be a dynamic and comprehensive space in geographical and political terms - from North Africa to South Africa, from Cape Verde to the Horn of Africa, and towards its European extensions and the Americas, the Middle East and South Asia. But it also wants to consider major cultural constellations, integrating all forms of African culture as an agent of contemporary globality: music but also visual arts, dance and theater, photography, film and video, architecture, urbanisation and design, literature and the humanities, fashion and cookery, including internet and electronics as cultural vehicles and supports par excellence of contemporaneity. We are also fully aware that we are living in a globalised world, where African cultural developments are interconnected with attempts to rethink the West and its cultural productions, out of its traditional hegemonic auto-narrative. That responds to a new consciousness of the world, and the art world, and do not resign itself to a tolerance based on paternalism, quotas and political correctness.

The program will include in-house productions, as well as co-productions with national and international institutions, that circulate; and will still be able to welcome

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relevant external initiatives. And will be developed in close cooperation with international and national experts. Its development is suggested in two formats. A large multidisciplinary annual project, whether thematic or regional - about a theme or a particular region, a pluridisciplinary program will be developed that extends itself over several months, and integrates the visual arts, cinema, comics, dance, music, theater, photography, literature and the humanities; with exhibitions, performances, shows, conferences, debates and readings. In addition, temporary events in various disciplines, and of shorter duration, but always seeking to establish a program that creates the context for these events. In addition to these temporary programs, it will work towards the creation of a range of services on a permanent basis and in process - the development of research projects, of residencies for African creators, the creation of a center of documentation, literature and media, which incorporates various disciplines, and of an educational program aimed at different age groups and different audiences.

Expected to start its full operation in 2012, after the construction of its installations (with a project of the Tanzanian architect David Adjaye), AFRICA.CONT will meanwhile keep a light and disperse schedule, using alternative spaces available in Lisbon. Thus, from March to May 2009, a cinema cycle took place - *African Screen-Novos Cinemas de Africa* curated by Manthia Diawara and Lydie Diakhaté - in twelve sessions, with discussions involving many of the presented filmmakers. In June, architect David Adjaye presented the preliminary study of the architectonic project, in the space where AFRICA.CONT will settle - Terceiras do Marquês, at Avenida 24 de Julho. And in December, we gathered a set of international personalities that are relevant in the African cultural world, in the meeting *Encontro Africa.Cont*; for two intense days, we reflected and discussed together what AFRICA.CONT is, what it can do and what it should be, thus following our aim from the beginning to work with Africa more than about Africa. Already in 2010, we will start the residencies of artists, and we will present three exhibitions - of photography, architecture and visual arts; and we organize a concert in which Victor Gama and the Kronos Quartet will present themselves with a program that sees its world premiere in New York in March of this year.

But music has so far taken up a significant place in the provisional programming. Already at the official presentation of the *Projecto AFRICA.CONT* in December 2008, Wyza premiered the show *Bakongo* at Cinema São Jorge, preceded by Grupo Wonderfull's Kova M that danced *Íman*. And in September, on the terraces of Terceiras do Marquês, three big names of three different musical areas of Africa presented themselves. The event was curated by our collaborator Paula Nascimento, who united the Kora Jazz Trio, the Ethiopian Mulatu Astatke & The Heliocentrics, and the Cape Verdean group Ferro Gaita, from the afternoon into the night.

But music will always occupy an important place in our programming. Whether in the final programming, in the two types of initiatives listed; or in the provisional stage

that we are in now, for many reasons. Its ubiquity in Africa, with the musical diversity and richness of the continent. Its importance in cultural, political and social life of the African populations; contemporaneously, but also traditionally. Its unique ability to articulate different genres, traditional and modern, African and others; of translating them to each other, resulting in a hybrid genres in a proliferation that is unmatched in any other cultural area; what has always happened - it suffices to think of Afro-Caribbean merengue, rumba or salsa, of Magrebean gnawa, of Brazilian lundun, choro or forró, of Cape Verdean morna or mazurca, coladeira, funaná, batuko tabanka, of North American jazz and blues; but that has an unprecedented scale in recent decades - afrobeat, rai, reggae, hip-hop, zouk, kizomba and kuduro or marra-benta. Since the twentieth century, it is difficult to find genres in popular music that have not been marked by the sounds of Africa. And, conversely, the urban musics of Africa and its diasporas have learned like no other how to talk with all exogenous traditions. All this implies that music is a place par excellence for the discussion about globalisation, and to think about concepts such as world culture (world culture and world music) versus global culture, which dominate the contemporary debates.

And then, certainly after what has been written so far, there is a clear majority interest of diverse audiences in the musics from Africa. They are, without a doubt, the African cultural form that most crosses generations, social classes, worldviews, musical interests. It is equally more accessible, given its global spread.

Being a musician: an excellent passport

Gustavo Roriz*

I landed at Lisbon airport on the morning of 25.05.2004. In my luggage I brought an electric bass, a few CDs, some books, a modest sum of nine hundred and twenty euro in my wallet and a Brazilian passport. With this sparse luggage, I knew that I would face a big marathon before getting a visa to live and work in Portugal. In the meantime, I would have to support myself with the little money I had brought and, on very short notice, would need to find some work in order to survive. As a newly arrived immigrant, I basically had two goals: to do exactly what I did in Brazil - that is, to live from music - and to establish myself in Portugal.

As soon as I arrived, I got settled in the house of a befriended Brazilian musician which, through a simple phone call with a colleague, got me a three month contract to play in a nightclub in Cascais, as well as a small apartment in Algés where I could settle for the period of the contract. It was from that point that I started to believe that there were opportunities to subsist in Portugal. At first, things went very well and my enchantment with the 'new country' was growing day by day. I found the Portuguese to be receptive, attentive and above all very tolerant, although the direct way of saying things appeared a bit strange to me. I decided to follow the advice of the same friend that had welcomed me when I arrived: *"in a country of which one does not yet know well how it is, listen more and talk less"*. However, all the conversations in which I was trying to get to know what would be the best way to get a visa and to finally be able to legalise myself were far from encouraging. Almost nobody gave me confidence and the Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) [Immigration Service] at that time could not cope with the huge numbers of immigrants, due to the limited amount of staff. Faced with this situation, I committed myself to reading and investigating everything about immigration laws, but without any hope in getting a contract as a musician. Proposals such as 'white marriages' (those that serve only to get a residence permit) and fictitious contracts were not lacking, but I decided not to accept any of them and I came up with the idea of turning to my European ancestors and see if I could get to my goal through that door. After some research, I found out that my origin was linked to the Beiras region through my mother's side (Neves) and to the Minho region through my father's side (Roriz). As for Neves, I never found out exactly who they were. As for the Roriz family, I discovered that I descended from sergeant-major António Ferreira Roriz, from Minho, which settled in Mariana, Minas Gerais, in the nineteenth century, more specifically in 1873, exactly one hundred years before the day I was born. Therefore, as to my Portuguese descent, this was already very distant and once again my hopes were low.

* Professional musician.

Time passed by and the period in which I should have left the country eventually ended. I resorted to the trick of leaping to Morocco and back. During my return, evidently, I had major problems in the port of Algeciras, but after listening to a long sermon by the Spanish police, they let me continue and I could return to Lisbon. From that point, I had another ninety days to resolve my situation, and if I would be not to some extent successful, I had already decided to return to Brazil, because I would not stay illegally. Before living in Portugal, I had already been in Mozambique, Japan and the United States, and in none of these countries I had had the bitter experience of being an illegal immigrant.

The weeks went by, until I received a call from singer Fernando Girão, with whom I had recorded a few months earlier. He had always excited me to stay in Portugal. He clearly was very excited on the phone, because he had found a way for me to stay in Portugal: Article 87, paragraph g),¹ which provided that persons involved in sports and the arts could make a direct application for residence, as long as they represented some relevance to the country.² But what importance could I have for Portugal? A caring lady of SEF instructed me to collect everything that could prove my skills in music, as well as letters of reference from artists and organizations that I had worked with in Portugal. I made a folder with my graduate degree diploma in popular music at UNICAMP in Campinas, São Paulo, and joined reference letters from everyone I had worked with as a musician or music teacher. None of these people denied me their help and even Fernando Girão helped me during this phase.

Once I had gathered all the paperwork, I went to SEF on 11.03.2005, and managed to get the application for residence. An employee brought me a small bluish paper that stated that I was awaiting residence, and told me that from that moment onwards I was regularised, and therefore could stay in Portugal. Interestingly, although being regularised from that moment, I asked her how many days I could still have stayed as a tourist, if I would not have been successful in the application for residence. The lady asked for my passport, left for a few minutes and after returning, told me with a smile, *"Today would have been your last legal day"*. From that day, I almost had to wait a year until, in January 2006, I finally received a letter in my house stating that my application for residence had been granted and that I should address myself to the SEF balcony on Avenue António Augusto de Aguiar, with my passport, proof of address, criminal certificate and two photos. Ironically, my appointment was made for the 11 March 2006, that is, exactly one year after I submitted my paperwork.

When people ask me whether I like living in Portugal, the first thing I say is that, despite some difficulties that I have - like any Portuguese also has - I am very grateful for everything I have achieved in this country, which, as a thirty year old, I chose to be my new homeland. Today I have a curriculum of which I cannot complain, and I have experienced things here that I could not have experienced in my country. Professionally,

I have played with the greatest Portuguese artists and I was a member of the group Madredeus, and with all these professionals I got very much enriched. I am married to a Portuguese citizen and I attend the Master in Ethnomusicology at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (FCSH) of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. I feel totally integrated into society. I cannot and will not forget that this country has given me a residence permit, by means of which I could enjoy the right to work, study and live peacefully, thanks to a very special condition - being a musician. Throughout my life, I will always take into account the recognition and credibility that I have been given as an artist. Thank you Portugal and all Portuguese and immigrants who have helped me since I landed here on that morning of 25.05.2004.

Notes

¹ Note from the edition: The following is written on Article 87 from the Annex 'Repúblicação do Decreto-Lei n.º 244/98, de 8 de Agosto (condições de entrada, permanência, saída e afastamento de estrangeiros do território português), com as alterações introduzidas pela Lei n.º 97/99, de 26 de Julho, pelo Decreto-Lei n.º 4/2001, de 10 de Janeiro, e pelo presente diploma' from Decree-Law nr. 34/2003, published on Diário da República — I SÉRIE-A, NR. 47, page 1365, from February 25, relative to the residence visa waiver: '1 — Não carecem de visto para obtenção de autorização de residência os estrangeiros: ... g) cuja actividade no domínio científico, cultural, económico ou social seja considerada de interesse fundamental para o País.'

² Note from the edition: General Legislation – 'Decreto-Lei n.º 244/98 de 8 de Agosto (Replicado pelo artigo 21.º do Decreto Lei n.º 34/2003, de 25 de Fevereiro) h) *Cuja actividade no domínio científico, cultural ou económico seja considerada de interesse fundamental para o País;* (Aditado pelo artigo 1.º do Decreto Lei n.º 4/2001 de 10 de Janeiro)'.

Orquestra Geração at the Escola Básica 2,3 Miguel Torga in Amadora

Maria Isabel Elvas*

My research on Orquestra Geração (OG) focused on the process of implementation and development of an educational project in an elementary school located in a troubled neighbourhood, and on how it has articulate with the discipline of music education that I teach at the same school. The social neighbourhood Casal da Boba was built in 2000/2001, opposite to the EB 2,3 de Miguel Torga in Amadora, and later to the EB1 da Boba, to rehouse the families of three degraded neighbourhoods: Fontainhas, Bairro Azul and Alto dos Trigueiros. This changed the socio-cultural composition of the population from the parish and the school. The district came to be identified with and represented as a ghetto with a population of low economic resources, "connoted" with social and economic exclusion. Most of the working population is employed in construction, industry and domestic cleaning services. The youngsters, representing about 50%, are between 10 and 24 years old and exhibit problems of poor education, family instability, unemployment, low incomes and lack of documentation, factors that reinforce a trend towards social exclusion.

Under the responsibility of the City Council of Amadora and wanting to promote the social and human development of youngsters residing in Casal da Boba – especially those of immigrant descent in 2005 the *Projecto Geração/Oportunidade* emerges with the support of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and ACIDI. The project's intervention areas are training, education, health, employment, legal assistance and leisure. In this context, OG emerges as a pilot project in 2007. It imports the methodology that has made the Simon Bolivar Orchestra into an international example, a product of the pioneering vision of the Venezuelan economist, politician and musician José Antonio Abreu, responsible for the creation, more than 30 years ago, of the System of Youth and Children Orchestras in Venezuela. It seeks to take advantage of the approximation of children to music in order to develop personal and social skills, assuming that, beyond any direct relationship with music, the development of these skills can extend to society.

The adaptation of the methodology in Portugal, design of the model management and training of trainers are supported and monitored by Venezuelan specialists, under the educational and artistic responsibility of the Escola de Música do Conservatório Nacional. In 2007/08, OG began its activities in the school EB 2,3 Miguel Torga, in S. Brás, Amadora, with the string group. In January 2008, the program was extended to the Agrupamento de Escolas da Vialonga, with the adoption of the educational program and structure defined by the National Conservatory, albeit operating more

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independently and aimed at students in the 1st cycle of basic education. The Fall 2008, the group of woodwind and brass instruments performed, whereas the Fall 2009 featured the percussion group. On the Fall 2009 more schools joined the project in the municipalities of Loures (Apelação, Camarate and Sacavém), Amadora (Zambujal), Oeiras (Carnaxide), Sintra (Mem Martins) and Sesimbra (Quinta do Conde). This adherence was due to the combined efforts of municipalities, foundations, European funds, private companies and ministries, specifically those of Internal Administration and Education, which supported all participating schools during the past school year.

Music as a force of social inclusion policies has gained prominence in projects seeking full citizenship for children and adolescents at risk. Culture is seen as an important means for rebuilding socio-cultural identity, and music is one of the most accessible and appealing cultural activities. Specific studies highlight the impact that social inclusion projects that use music as a conductor axis have had in the recovery process of identity and self-esteem. Many projects in this area have revealed the importance of music in constructing the identity of children and adolescents in urban peripheries of large cities. Music presents itself as an important element of identity formation and in the construction of citizenship in contexts where multiplying cultural agents transform social reality. Such a project, with the chief aim of social inclusion through music, is relevant to a broad field of research, to which the experiment described and analysed in my report has sought to make a contribution.

Intercultural dialogue at the Escola Básica Integrada do Carregado

Luisiane Ramalho*

In my research, I have analysed pupils' opinions about their own musical learning through observation of music education classes at the Escola Básica Integrada do Carregado (EBIC). Looking for strategies to deal with multicultural issues in education, I have come to understand music as a liaison between the school environment and the various other environments experienced by pupils, thus revealing its elevated potential as an agent of intercultural dialogue. I have studied concepts of children's representation of musical learning and of cultural niches that have proven to be particularly useful in developing my analysis.

The various cultures of Carregado, located at 35 km from Lisbon in an area that is an historical crossing of communication routes that connect the cardinal points of the country, include Brazilians, Ukrainians, Moldovans, and African-descendants of various origins. My investigation into children's representations in the 5th year of the 2nd cycle of basic education led me to identify a number of significant elements pointing to different cultural niches frequented by these children. These significant elements, whether physical, social, emotional and rational, among others, point out how children construct their knowledge and experience in their daily lives.

Children's representations of musical learning refer to modes, spontaneous or not, of expression relative to the conceptual and practical knowledge of pupils. They reveal themselves in the form of verbal, motoric or even musical expression, and considering them stresses the interest of the learner in the educational task. An ethnomusical analysis, following the model proposed by Merriam (1964), reworked among others by Slobin and Titon (1992) and adapted to the educational practice by Côté-Real (1998) and Brito and Côté-Real (2001a, 2001b) involves ideas about music, respective expressive behaviours, sound and material products associated therewith, as well as the reactions of pupils that make reference to them. This perspective makes it possible to treat these elements as a pedagogical repertoire, emphasising the learner's interest in the subject of the traditional study of music, facilitating the intercultural education process. Understanding children's representations of musical learning visualises connections between musical aspects used within the classroom and the multiple cultural niches in which children participate, such as family environment, the places in which they play and socialize, their community neighbourhood, among others.

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In expanding educational discourses and practices, my research points to needs such as enhancing expressive behaviours in carrying out musical activities and understanding the meanings of their representations; contributing to the development of curricula that are not only consistent with alleged learning needs, but also with the pupils' cultural reality; and promoting the formation of critical and reflective teachers that can work towards a musical education that produces musical knowledge and promotes interculturalism.

A democratic educational perspective that, according to Banks and Banks (2010), values the creative ability of the pupil, as well as an ethnomusicological perspective that considers performing practice and the meanings of its representations as nurtures of intercultural dialogue (Côrte-Real, 2010, in print), have allied themselves in my study in the Escola Básica Integrada do Carregado, showing how multicultural characteristics can exert a decisive influence on pupils to develop their capacity for intercultural dialogue.

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The '(r)evolution' of Lusophone musics in the city of Lisbon

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Music transforms experience in various degrees of affectivity and belonging. Proposing a socio-cultural analysis that is grounded in musical performance, I want to offer an ethnomusicological counterexample within the debate on postcolonial pessimism, through the possibly conciliatory role of postcolonial musics. An effective antidote to this pessimism can be to associate groups in terms of cultural systems that are interrelated linguistically rather than geographically or racially. My case study explores the integration of lusophone migrant musicians in Lisbon.

Departing from a discursive analysis of the concept of *lusofonia*, I address the ways through which it figures in the cultural policies of the Municipality of Lisbon and of governmental institutions, and how it informs their actions. I also explore the role of voluntary associations such as *Sons da Lusofonia* that evoke *lusofonia* as part of their goals. I then analyze ways through which the concept of *lusofonia* and the action of governmental institutions and voluntary associations inform the creative work and identities of migrant musicians from PALOP (African Official Portuguese Speaking Countries), Brazil and East Timor. Finally, I attempt to understand whether the concept of *lusofonia* stimulates a common identity among Portuguese-speaking migrant musicians.

Viewing music as a strong integrating element, as a bridge between communities, I follow Conquergood (1991:173) in believing that a performance paradigm privileges 'particular, participatory, dynamic, intimate, precarious, embodied experience grounded in historical process, contingency, and ideology'. I want to show that community-related performance both stimulates a sense of belonging in a new context and of being proud of one's roots.

Whereas the documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução*¹ takes the artist as a point of departure, I want to approach music as a point of connection between lusophone migrant musicians that live together in the same, postcolonial, city. This implies looking at how music is practiced at a community level, where musicians play and how they relate to one another, and how institutions and voluntary associations interact in this process. This approach can offer interesting insights about music as a way of incorporating and democratising differences.

I call for a more socially applicable view on music, giving larger visibility to Lisbon's sizable migrant communities and their musicians. Hearing what these cultural agents have to say might give us another view on the importance of their musical

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practice. Lusophone migrant musicians in Lisbon, I argue, constitute the city's socio-cultural identity as much as do fadistas. But their battle seems to be a different one. The points of inspiration for the conception of this project, besides *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução*, have been association Sons da Lusofonia's yearly festival Lisboa Mistura (since 2006); Festival ImigrArte of the association Solidariedade Imigrante (since 2007); EGEAC's África Festival (2005-7); and my own experience of being a migrant musician and researcher in a new city.

This field research (using individual biographies and participatory observation) was carried out in Lisbon between October 2009 and February 2010. I interviewed the following musicians of the lusophone musical space: Zézé Barbosa, Celina Pereira, Tito Paris (Cape Verde); Gutu Pires, Kimi Djabaté (Guinea-Bissau); Luanda Cozetti, Jefferson Negreiros, Mucio Sá (Brazil); Tonecas, Sergio Fonseca (São Tomé and Príncipe); Aldo Milá, Ricardo Gouveia, Chalo (Angola); Júlio Silva, António da Costa Neto (Mozambique); José da Amaral (East Timor); Arvi Barbosa, Maria de Lourdes Elvino de Sousa, Virgínia Brás Gomes (Goa); Carlos Martins and António Pires (Portugal), among others. Relevant associations were also interviewed.

Notes

¹ Documentary *Lusofonia, a (r)evolução* (Red Bull Music Academy, 2006), available at: <http://www.redbullmusicacademy.com/video-archive/documentaries/3>, <http://www.myspace.com/lusofoniaarevolucao>, accessed on 25.01.2010.

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