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Huvudredaktör/General Editor:

PhD Madeleine Modin, Svenskt visarkiv, madeleine.modin@musikverket.se

Gästredaktör/Guest Editor:

Prof. Owe Ronström, Uppsala University, owe.ronstrom@etnologi.uu.se

Recensionsredaktör/Review Editor:

Prof. Alf Arvidsson, Umeå University, alf.arvidsson@umu.se

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<http://musikverket.se/puls>

E-post/Email: puls@musikverket.se

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Contents

EDITORIAL	4
GUEST EDITOR'S COLUMN	5
Owe Ronström: Reflections on Music and Minorities	5
ARTICLES	13
Mark Slobin: Minority or minority?	13
Ursula Hemetek & Marko Kölbl: On definitions and guiding principles in ethnomusicological minority research	23
Zuzana Jurková: "Music kept us alive"	40
<i>The dynamic of majority–minority recollections and musical remembrance of Terezín</i>	
Božena Muszkalska: Music as an expression of Jewishness in contemporary Poland	57
Jakub Kopaniecki: Musical communities of sexual minorities	72
<i>The music of rebellion during the 10th Wrocław Equality March</i>	
Jonas Ålander: Performing in Sweden	91
<i>Immigrant musicians' possibilities and impossibilities of musical participation</i>	
REVIEWS	112
Sang som våpen. Historier om sangens slagkraft	112
Voices of the field. Pathways in public ethnomusicology	116
Music, dance, anthropology	118
Langeleiken – heile Noregs instrument	120
Kingotone og brorsong – folkelig salmesang i Danmark	123
Rimdrottningar, folkmusiker och rockband. Om deltagandets och lärandets villkor i musikkivet	127
Arven fra skillingsvisene	130
Skillingsvisene i Norge 1550–1950	135
Ballader, skæmt og skillingstryk	138
CONFERENCE REPORTS	142
SVENSKA KOMMITTÉN AV ICTM	147
PRESENTATION OF AUTHORS	148
INFORMATION	151

Editorial

Madeleine Modin, General Editor

Welcome to Volume No. 8 of *Puls – musik- och dans-etnologisk tidskrift/Puls – journal for ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology*. The theme of the issue is Music and Minorities following the ICTM Study group-meeting on the same topic held in Uppsala, Sweden in October 2021. All six articles are in one way or another examining music and minorities. We are grateful to have Prof. Mark Slobin, one of the world's most prominent ethnomusicologists, writing the feature article. He reflects on how "minority" is a category that is orchestrated by a "Minority" in power, in the name of a majority.

We are very happy to have ethnologist and ethnomusicologist Prof. Owe Ronström in our team as new Guest Editor. The theme of this issue suits his expertise very well, just as his dedicated editorial work does. In the Guest Editor Column, he is reflecting on the research field of Music and Minorities and gives a detailed presentation of the articles.

Our previous Guest Editor ethnologist Prof. Alf Arvidsson has for this volume taken the role as Review Editor and has as such done an excellent work with the nine reviews of new literature in the field of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, with a focus on literature from the Nordic countries. There are also four conference reports. In 2019 three monographs about broadside ballads were published in Swedish. This year the trend continues. In the review section we present another two new books about broadside ballads (Skillingsviser) from Norway, as well as a chapter about broadside ballads in a book from Denmark. Our deepest thanks to all our authors of reviews and reports, without your competent work this section of our journal had not been possible.

Many thanks also to all our anonymous peer reviewers of submitted articles, who are so important for the scholarly quality of our journal. Other persons involved who deserves thanks are language reviewers, proof-readers and Maria Hellqvist who makes the layout for *Puls*.

I look forward to the next volume, an open issue without a specific theme. We welcome submissions from ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology as well as adjacent disciplines, such as musicology and choreology, folklore, literature, and related studies of traditional and popular culture. But now, enjoy the reading of *Puls* No. 8! ■

Guest Editor's Column

Reflections on Music and Minorities

Owe Ronström

The theme of this issue of *Puls* is music and minorities. Three words, a perspective, and a field of research. The first word states the field's *raison d'être*, its empirical research focus, aim and objective. The last sets the starting point that serves to place the field within specific social and cultural geographies and to populate it with a certain kind of research objects. And in the middle that little connecting word that establishes the productive intersection that makes the field meaningful. It is this 'and' that sets up and signals a relation to be explored, about expressive forms and certain types of groups, about power, visibility, recognition, cultural complexity and more.

The articles are based on presentations at the 11th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group of Music and Minorities, held in Uppsala, Sweden, 25–29 October 2021. After being postponed due to the Covid pandemic some 50 ethnomusicologists from 19 countries in four continents gathered, onsite and online, to discuss themes like music of minorities as national cultural heritage, ecological issues on music and minorities, new research, theory and method. All the articles discuss the roles and functions of music for groups that position themselves or are positioned as minorities in some respect, either the emphasis is on how music helps to establish, shape and gather, or to express, manifest, symbolise and represent such groups.

Since a couple of decades, music and minorities is an internationally established ethnomusicological research field in its own right. Based on their presentation at the symposium, Ursula Hemetek and Marko Kölbl in this volume give an account of the steps that led to the founding of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities in 1999, and of the discussions that followed on definitions, demarcations, and research objectives. Since 2000, the ICTM Study Group has organised biannual international symposia and published symposia proceedings, articles, anthologies and books.¹ The markedly increased activities among researchers within the field that followed from these symposia and publications have recently led to further institutional anchoring of the field, through the establishment in 2019 of the Music and Minorities Research Center (MMRC), at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna (mdw).

Music and minorities in Sweden

That the 11th symposium of the study group took place in Sweden, is no mere coincidence. Rather, it is an outcome of a markedly growing interest in the musics of immigrants and minorities among young Swedish ethnologists, musicologists and ethnomusicologists in the mid-1980s, an interest sparked by the 28th ICTM world conference in Stockholm and Helsinki 1985.

1. The 12th symposium takes place in Kelaniya, Sri Lanka, 5–8 December 2023, in collaboration with the ICTM Study group on indigenous music and dance. For a list of publications, see <http://ictmusic.org/studygroup/minorities>. (Accessed 31 January 2023)

An obvious reason why much ethnomusicological research in Sweden and other Nordic countries came to focus on ethnic minorities and migrants is the extensive population movements in post-war Europe, of which especially Sweden have received a fair share. Migration produces minorities – no wonder then that with increasing immigration to the Nordic countries followed an increase of recognised ethnic minority groups. Among the first to arrive in the mid-1960s were labor immigrants from South-Eastern Europe and the Middle East. In the following decades followed refugees and asylum seekers also from Chile, Iran, Horn of Africa, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and most recently, Ukraine.

There are, however, also other reasons behind the focus on migrants and ethnic minorities. One is the cultural policies concerning immigrants that were introduced in Sweden, Norway and Denmark in the 1970s, which replaced the earlier assimilationist attitudes with an ideology that advocated integration and inclusion. This required extended studies of immigrants, both as individuals and groups, and of the more general processes tied to immigration. To meet this demand, new research funds were set up that in short time spent relatively large sums on what were then new, small and hitherto more or less insignificant fields of research. One of these was ethnomusicology. With the increased availability of research funding in the 1980s, a small but steadily increasing number of studies of musics among minorities and immigrants to the Nordic countries were published: on Sami, Sweden-Finns, Finno-Swedes, Assyrians, Turks, Chileans, Greeks, Yugoslavs and others.²

A third reason for ethnomusicologists to focus specifically on ethnic minority groups was the strong influence from a long-standing and well-established practice among ethnomusicologists worldwide to study music as culture/culture as music through the lens of a bounded and territorially defined ethnic group. After all, mainstream ethnomusicology has long been what it names, an 'ethno-musicology'. Without much difficulty – and, it must be emphasised, often with good results – this conventional ethnomusicological standard research practice was applied also to the newly arrived immigrants to the North.

Yet another reason is the legacy of a strongly established older research tradition in Nordic ethnology and musicology focusing on bounded rural groups, "folk", with their own distinctive musical traditions, "folk music". The many studies of local Nordic folk music traditions that had been published from the late 19th century and on, together with the substantially fewer studies of the musics of indigenous minorities, stood as more or less obvious models for studies also of the musical traditions of the newly arrived migrants.

As a consequence of these influences, the newly arrived immigrants came to be formatted and presented as "ethnics" belonging to a specific "ethnic minority group" with their own distinctive "ethnic music", in line with the international ethnomusicological standard practices of the time. And to that also as a kind of "folk" with their own "folk music" in line with the older Nordic standard research practices. And in line with both of these practices, the majority of the studies was clearly anchored in what Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius (2014) has named "retrology", a perspective that turns the researchers gaze backwards, emphasises the *theres-and-thens*, as in things past, places left, worlds lost, and brings a number of re-words to the fore: recreation, renewal, revival etc. (Ronström 2014).

2. See the bibliography in Ronström & Lundberg 2021.

One of these early works of importance is Karl Tirén's extensive collection of Sami music published in 1942. This is one of the earliest and most complete collections of music recordings on phonograph in Sweden. It is unique in many ways, not least in that it presents joking by Sami aged from nine to 77, and from roughly as many women as men. In his presentation at the Uppsala symposium, Dan Lundberg underscored the significance of this collection not only for the survival and development of the Sami joik, but also for the public image of the Sami in post-war Sweden, and, not least, for the image the Sami hold of themselves. In 2023, Tirén's work will be suggested for nomination to the UNESCO Memory of the World Register by the Swedish government, supported by the Sami parliament in Sweden.³

From mosaic to diversity

Taken together, the steady stream of studies of the immigrants' lives, traditions and cultures that were published in Sweden during the 1970s and 80's, were assembled into a 'mosaic', the dominant metaphor for the emerging new Swedish society. The metaphor presented an image of society as constituted by a number of distinctive ethnic minority groups, each with their own cultures, living together side by side. What was simultaneously effectively concealed was the Swedish society's role as producer, not only of the mosaic's individual parts, but also of its framework and the glue that holds the parts together (Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 2003:37ff.)

In the 1990s the many different research initiatives, and the reports and dissertations that became the results, had laid the ground for a decisive shift in perspective, from the study of individual ethnic groups and minorities to the nationally institutionalised system that produces, orchestrates and controls the various minorities. Now the dominant metaphor changed from mosaic to diversity, from Sweden as an "immigrant society" to Sweden as a "multicultural society".

A large number of studies in the humanities and social studies now shifted from ethnic groups to ethnic relations, the social organisation of cultural diversity and multiculturalism, and, not least, to studies of state bodies as active agents in production of ethnic minorities and their cultures. A result of these initially quite disparate initiatives was the emergence of the new multi-disciplinary research field IMER, International Migration and Ethnic Relations, in which also a number of Nordic ethnomusicologists took an active part. In his feature essay for this issue of *Puls*, Mark Slobin recalls his meetings with Swedish ethnomusicologists during this period, and the discussions around multiculturalism "as a way a nation-state could control the definition of a swelling group of newcomers from other countries who came with very un-Scandinavian backgrounds and sensibilities", and the invention and design of a "minority-music establishment" that might "have little to do with what the recent arrivals themselves thought of as their own intimate music" (Slobin, this issue, p 13).

Through studies on music, dance and cultural diversity, and on revivals, aging, heritage, media and more, in relatively short time, ethnomusicology became recognised as an important albeit small research field in the Nordic countries. Although it had (and still has) difficulties in establishing itself

3. Lundberg 2021. Tirén's work was recently published in Swedish by Gunnar Ternhag from a manuscript in the collections of Svenskt visarkiv (Tirén 2023).

as an independent academic discipline, the number of active ethnomusicologists has continued to grow. From the 2000s, we have seen a small but steady stream of Nordic studies of music, migrants and minorities, diversity and multiculturalism. Taken together, these studies have significantly expanded, renewed and strengthened ethnomusicological research in the Nordic countries, in terms of perspectives, issues, theories and methods, and also provided important knowledge about social change and development in the increasingly culturally diverse Nordic societies (Ronström & Ternhag 2017).

From this brief overview, it is clear that in practice 'music and minorities' even long before its emergence as an internationally established research field in its own right a few decades ago has been a central area of ethnomusicological research in Sweden and the other Nordic countries. Although the term 'minority' itself may not have been used until recently, there is a long-standing tradition of research that establishes bounded, territorially defined groups, whether in terms of "folk" or "ethnic", positions them as 'minorities' in relation to mainstream society, and endows them with their own distinct cultures, including music and dance.

Three strands of research

A preoccupation with ethnic groups has from the start been a characteristic of the 'music and minorities' field not only in the Nordic countries, but also internationally. As was evident in Uppsala, in practice 'music and minorities' is understood first and foremost as "music of ethnic minority groups": out of the 33 presentations at the symposium, 22 dealt in one way or the other with music of ethnic minorities, from Zhuang in China, Albanians in Germany and Austria, Roma in Finland, to Syrians in Europe and Vedda in Sri Lanka.

Beside this major strand there are a number of other and less prevalent strands.⁴ One concerns the musics of other kinds of minorities than ethnic. In the symposium, a handful of contributions presented works on music among religious minorities, such as Christians in Bali, and Greek orthodox in Israel, and to that one on music among sexual minorities. In his presentation, Jakub Kopaniecki focused on the music of the LGBT+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) communities in Poland, as manifested during the "Equality March" in Wrocław 2018. "Is there a queer music?" Kopaniecki asks and points to 'disco', a constellation of music, dances and a culturally specific sensitivity associated with queer culture over the Western world since the early 1970s. In the Wrocław Equality March disco played a key role to set up a specific "queer" sonic enclave. By transferring the sonic space of nightclubs and LGBT+ events to the streets, Kopaniecki concludes, the marchers were able to symbolically represent their identity in the city's public space. An extended version of his presentation appears in this issue of *Puls*.

Another and different approach to music and minorities is to take off from how interest in certain music and dance genres can forge people together in esthetically defined affinity groups. In the symposium this strand of research was represented by papers on the institutionalisation of tango as a 'minority' dance music genre in postwar Japan, the elevation of the steel pan from outcast to national instrument in Trinidad, and by Bożena Muszkalska's paper on music as an expression of "virtual Jewishness" in contemporary Poland.

4. For a survey of research models within the field see Pettan 2019.

In the version prepared for this issue of *Puls*, Muszkalska notes how music perceived as Jewish has become a significant form to express 'Jewishness', by Jews, but to a large extent also by non-Jews in Poland today. She underscores that "the participation of non-Jews in restoring lost ties to Jewish heritage seems inevitable and necessary given the small number of Jews remaining in Poland" and points to the new hybrid musical forms that this cross-cultural dialogue has led to in a wide variety of styles, from classical music to jazz and klezmer. As a conclusion, she argues that this music has provided "a space for mutual contact, facilitating the empathetic engagement of Poles in understanding the Other and making us remember Jews not only as victims, but also as people who created a rich culture and art through which they express their emotions".

Minorities and the organisation of diversity

Already from these short summaries, it is clear that 'minority' is a notoriously difficult and elusive concept. In ordinary terms the English Wikipedia minority-entry gives part of the explanation:

According to its common usage, a minority group can simply be understood in terms of demographic sizes within a population: i.e. a group in society with the least number of individuals is therefore the 'minority'. However, in terms of sociology, economics, and politics; a demographic which takes up the smallest fraction of the population is not necessarily the 'minority'. In the academic context, 'minority' and 'majority' groups are more appropriately understood in terms of hierarchical power structures.⁵

As is emphasised by Ursula Hemetek, the starting point for the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities was precisely such hierarchical power structures and their consequences: imbalances, discrimination, subordination. The common understanding in the field, and throughout all the contributions here, is that minorities are not "natural", not there to be discovered, but produced within specific political entities (regions, kingdoms, nations etc.), either top-down by government policies, bottom-up by voluntary organisation, or both. The result is specific, context-dependent "ethno-scapes" (Appadurai 1990), that can include minorities of many kinds and on several levels.

A third strand in music and minority research concerns these ethno-scapes, the overall organisation of diversity, and more specifically, the roles, positions and functions of minority musicians and musics in the staging and displaying of cultural diversity and "multiculture" in late modern societies. Several presenters in the symposium addressed this theme, in papers on models and spaces for the survival of music cultures of refugees in Germany, the digitalisation of musical pathways among Swedish-speaking Finns, and on Jewish music in Central Europe. Zuzana Jurková's contribution here concerns memory politics: how the memory of the exceptional musical activity that took place under terrible conditions in the Jewish ghetto and concentration camp in Terezín (Theresienstadt) during the Nazi era was handled in the post-war Czech Republic. She asks why Terezín up to the 1990s was more or less absent from Czech music history, and why, how and by whom it thereafter became "a component of national remembrance". Her answer points to the

5. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minority_group

changing dynamic between minority and majority in relation to the traumatic memories of World War II, an intricate dynamic that moved the narratives of Terezín from “community remembrance of the survivors” to Czech national memory and cultural heritage.

Minorities and “super-minorities”

In a series of works over more than four decades, our feature essayist Mark Slobin has discussed issues around music, diversity, multiculturalism and minorities. In a conference paper from 1995 he asks why the term minority is “oddly positioned” in discourses about the United States. He finds that in the US minorities exist for at least three reasons: racism, immigration, and a policy among various groups to maintain boundaries through expressive cultural forms. There are, however, certain social structures or factors that tend to relegate the idea of minority, and particularly musical minority, to the background despite its apparent importance in American consciousness and politics. One of these is “the racial polarity of a black and white nation” that “makes all other groups onlookers to the main black-white action, hence erasing the notion of “minority musics” (Slobin 2002:31). This is an important observation that can easily be generalised. In Northern Europe, as in many other parts around the world, there are similar social structures or factors at work that tend to make the term minority less relevant, and instead bring together various ethnic, racial, sexual or religious groups into large, heterogeneous “super minorities”, under labels such as “immigrants”, “foreigners”, “Blacks”, “Africans”, “Muslims”, “BIPOC”, or “LGBT+ people”, as discussed by Jakub Kopaniecki in this issue.

In Sweden a common term for such a “super minority” is *invandrare*, immigrant/s. It was introduced on government initiative in the mid-1960s to replace the derogatory *utlänning*, (‘outlander’, foreigner). Up to then *invandrare* had mostly referred to Swedes moving to the USA or moving from rural areas to the big cities. The idea was to upgrade the image of the many newcomers to Sweden by shifting from an excluding and negatively charged term denoting “them”, to a more positive and inclusive term denoting “us” (Ronström 1989). In the years to come a whole series of new words and expressions were coined, *Invandrarverket* (The Swedish Immigrant Agency), immigrant policy, immigrant culture, immigrant food and immigrant music. Soon enough, however, along with stricter immigration policies also the new term became increasingly derogatory. Although there have been attempts to introduce new and less negatively charged terms (such as “New-Swedes”), and although the Immigrant Agency has been renamed “the Swedish Migration Agency”, the term *invandrare* is still firmly cemented as a “super-minority” in today’s Sweden, through top-down policies and through organisation from bottom-up (as in the Immigrants’ Culture Center, founded 1971, and the National Association of Immigrants, founded in 1973).

For immigrant musicians, maneuvering these levels and positions is often difficult. In his contribution to this issue, Jonas Ålander addresses the effects of being positioned as an “immigrant” or “Black” musician in Sweden: how the positioning relates to other ethnic minority positions, how it affects the musicians’ access to gigs, stages and audiences as well as how they are presented and represented on stage and in media. As *invandrare*, or “Blacks”,

they can get access to certain types of contexts, stages and audiences, while at the same time they are excluded from others. Similarly, they can get the media attention they need to be able to work as musicians, but they also become marginalised as performers of an “immigrant music” or “black music” specifically designed for immigrants or black people. Ålander concludes that the conditions for immigrant musicians in Sweden are difficult. Even if there is some resistance among the musicians, their overall situation, Ålander finds, “leaves artists in a hegemonised position where exits are blocked, and change seems distant”. In the end, to be an immigrant musician “is to submit to discrimination and not be listened to”.

From Minority-Majority to Residual, Dominant and Emergent

In the feature essay for this issue Mark Slobin again returns to minority musics, power relations and the social organisation of diversity. He sets off by turning the question of what a minority is somewhat upside-down by introducing the term “Minority”. He notes how the ruling class, “whether slave-owners, serf-owners, privileged politicians, or populist demagogues”, has traditionally invented and managed the “public category of ‘minority’ as a defined subgroup”. Although this domineering class, the Minority with capital M, is always outnumbered by those controlled and defined, it has nevertheless been able to take control over and “speak for a demographic majority that they themselves defined in order to identify subcultures that could be eventually termed “minority groups”.

Through a series of examples from different parts of the world, Slobin goes on to show how the musics of minorities are shaped and formatted by a Minority in the name of a majority. To end, he finds that the minority-majority dichotomy might not be of much relevance anymore, at least in relation to music. An exception is the unexpected and extraordinary development in parts of the world, when the Minority that earlier used to claim to be representing a self-defined majority now instead has begun to portray itself as a threatened minority, “doomed to replacement by the rising masses in its midst”. As an alternative to the majority-minority dichotomy, Slobin suggests a set of productive terms from Raymond Williams: Residual, Dominant and Emergent. These could take the discussion of music and power relations further and open for new perspectives on the role of music in the social organisation of cultural diversity. ■

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Minority or minority?

Mark Slobin

Mapping the “Minority”

The articles in this journal issue cover a wide range of topics stimulated by the term “minority.” When I was first invited to consider this topic by my Swedish colleagues back in the 1980s and 1990s, I observed and described “multiculturalism” as a way a nation-state could control the definition of a swelling group of newcomers from other countries who came with very un-Scandinavian backgrounds and sensibilities. The work of Owe Ronström, Dan Lundberg, Krister Malm, and others showed that the invention and design of a “minority-music” establishment, with resources and performance structures, might have little to do with what the recent arrivals themselves thought of as their own intimate music (Ronström 1993, Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 2003, Ronström & Lundberg 2021). My impression is that even codified Scandinavian “folk music,” like modern European national languages, began more as a product of the Minority than as a grassroots movement.

The sense of “minority” is undergoing an uneasy transition from that earlier period. As I think about it, it seems that the public category of “minority” as a defined subgroup under the management of a putative majority has traditionally been the invention of a minority: the ruling class, whether slave-owners, serf-owners, privileged politicians, or populist demagogues. In this essay, I will call this domineering class the Minority. Their use of our highlighted term has little resemblance to the way that “regular people” have always recognized a sense of difference between “us” and “them.” Historically, on a southern American plantation or in a Russian village, those in power were outnumbered by those they controlled and defined, whether the powerless were of the same or different background (genetic, sectarian, political, etc.). But the Minority presumed to speak for a demographic majority that they themselves defined in order to identify subcultures that could be eventually termed “minority groups.” It flexed its power either by directly suppressing the potential of these officially-defined subcultures or by “benevolently” granting them some limited agency. Musically, the latter has been a more common approach, apart from outright squelching of identity, as in the Stalinist USSR or today’s Chinese Xinjiang. In 2022, Russia’s wholesale destruction of heritage sites at the very outset of the Ukraine war was meant as a first step in recasting the occupied majority population as, at best, a minority, at least a subset of “Russian.”

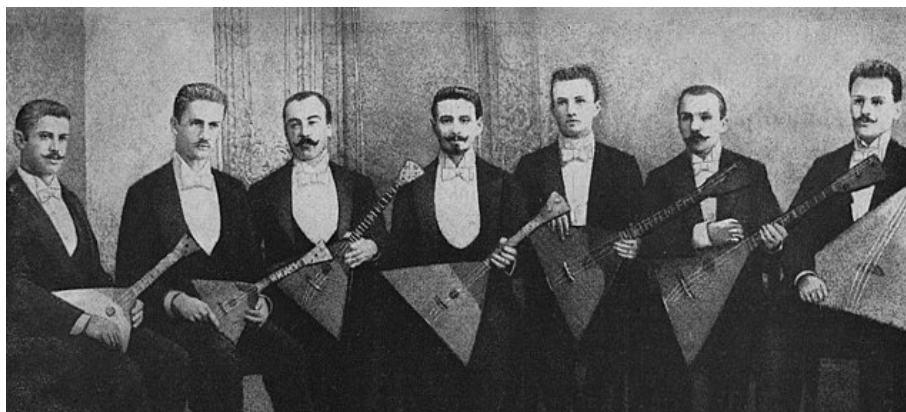


Figure 1. V.V. Andreev's Majority figures itself as the soul of Russia, with invented instruments and formal dress, ca. 1900.

More generously, the Minority in western European liberal democracies (except in France, which claims not to have minorities) tends to officially designate statistically-defined units as minorities. Austria, in its "Österreich" approach, codified in Section 1 Paragraph 2 of the Ethnic Groups Act, labels six subcultures as worthy of special privileges, because "they have a mother tongue other than German and cultural traditions of their own."¹ The Austrian Minority conveniently set a timeframe of long-term residency to avoid adding newer groups to the list of the elect. Sweden identifies "minority languages" that, as in Austria, belong to "long-term minorities," not newer immigrants (Ministry for Integration and Gender Equality 2007). The United States has its own discourse of subcultural representation, one that privileges "race," as its basic category. The Census Bureau now allows this to be "self-identified," only intensifying the word's power as the primary social identifier.² Various government agencies, states, and local governments use a variety of terms, "minority" being more of a media and political discourse term.

The Minority defines itself as the Majority

Let me cite some early examples of the Minority as an actor in the musical arena. In Russia, as far back as the early nineteenth century, owners of serfs chose musically talented representatives to build a Russian-dominated national music culture. From classical music, the focus shifted to so-called folk music with the invention by V. V. Andreev (1861–1918) of the balalaika orchestra in the 1880s, continuing the Minority's obsession with peasantry as the origins of identity into the post-serf era. By developing instruments nearly or completely extinct in living tradition – the balalaika and the domra – Andreev and his circle blocked the recognition of actual musical subcultures, including those of the majority Russian peasantry itself, unless mediated by Minority transcriptions of tunes. By sending his orchestra to the Paris World Exposition in 1889, Andreev foreshadowed the use of national music ensembles as international cultural currency. With a broad range of allies from the military schools through the conservatories to the intelligentsia, Andreev was able to ensure that the musical Minority could shape the musical profile of the majority while also creating a modernist export item (Shatilova, forthcoming).³

1. See <https://www.bundeskanzleramt.gv.at/en/topics/ethnic-groups.html> for details.
2. See <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/note/US/RHI625221> for details.
3. I'm indebted to the fine analysis of Andreev's activities and allies by Anya Shatilova in forthcoming work.



In Soviet times, Igor Moiseyev's perfection of the folk ensemble and Piatnitsky's choral network extended Andreev's ignoring of both actual majority and minority musics in the service of ideology and international prestige. Theirs was a model adopted by many "non-aligned" nations in the cold war era, cementing Minority musical representation worldwide. The song "Suliko" offers a particularly striking example of how a Minority of one – Josef Stalin – took a song of a Georgian minority, written in 1895 and elevated it to official status through his cult of personality. "Suliko" had to be translated into the majority languages of the USSR – Russian and Ukrainian – so was classified out of its original minority status by fiat.

In the United States, Henry Ford (1863–1947), not born to power, joined the Minority through industrial achievement alone. His new status gave him a platform for re-creating the semi-popular music of the rural Michigan roadhouses where he courted his wife in the late 1800s. In the modernist 1920s he projected his throwback taste onto the nation by launching a wave of "old-time" fiddling and dancing. The music he championed was so out of favor that it could itself be thought of as a minority music. Echoing Andreev's quest for instrumental revival, Ford needed the already defunct hammered dulcimer. At the suggestion of his Hungarian chief engineer he turned to a local Roma musician who played the cimbalom, the Hungarian hammered dulcimer. In these ways, the minority is absorbed by the Minority.

As a member of an ethnic minority in Ford's city of Detroit, I was taught square-dancing in public school in the 1950s as part of this assimilationist model. Much of Ford's impetus, beyond nostalgia, was to downgrade and, hopefully, suppress what he saw as the noxious power of *his* idea of minority music – jazz, a product of African Americans and Jews, which was fast becoming a majority music. His old-time bands also helped to sell Ford cars; dealers played the music on the streets outside showrooms.

Figure 2. Henry Ford enjoying his Old-Time Orchestra with an assortment of instruments, ca. 1925. Source: <https://www.thehenryford.org/collections-and-research/digital-collections/artifact/149393/>

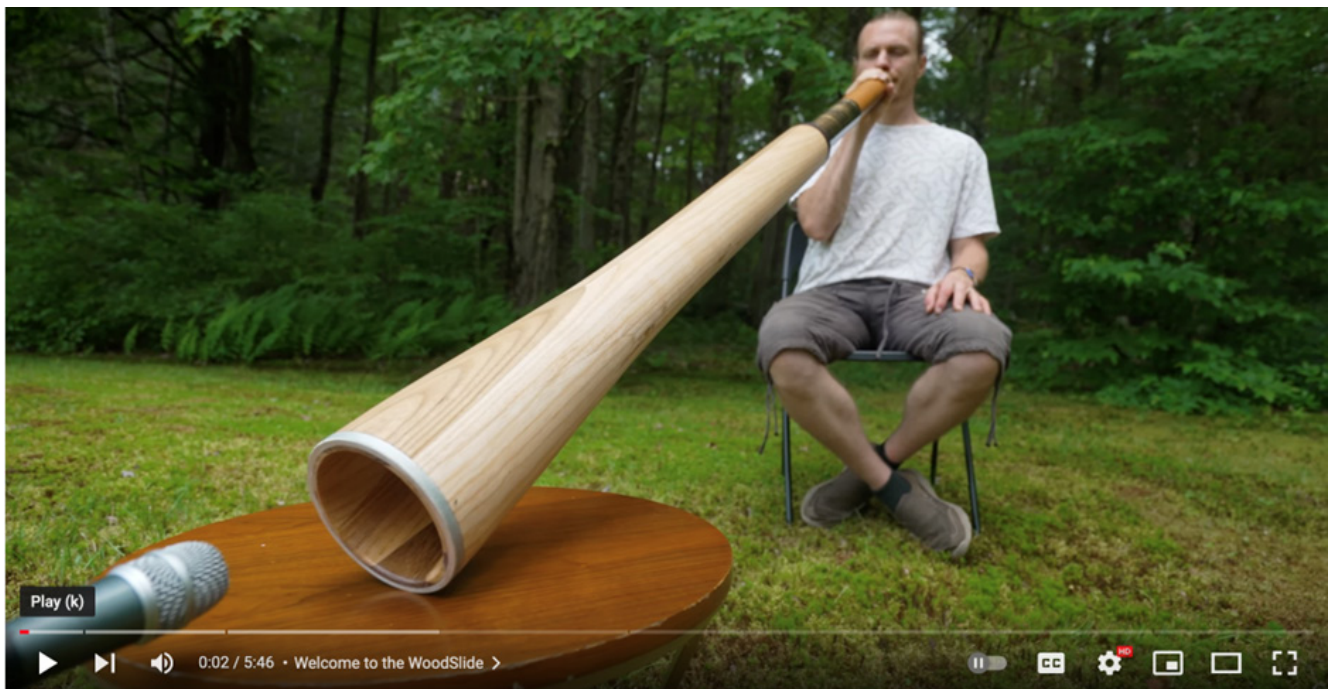
Other members of the commercial wing of the Minority, in the record business, were less interested in ideology but insisted on the power to define the profile of American music. Unlike Henry Ford, John Hammond, the legendarily open-minded, upper-crust producer, is celebrated for promoting Black musicians, but it was on his terms. He refused to offer the artist Sarah Vaughan a contract if she didn't sing the blues. The Minority decides how minorities gain access to markets.

Many nuances mark the creation by a Minority of a majority music.

In Afghanistan, it was not until the 1950s that a combination of better broadcasting technology and foreign cultural advisors pushed the development of a national popular music style based in the Radio Kabul studio. The approach was to combine several of the minority musical instruments alongside western instruments (from military bands and theater troupes) to provide a unified backup sound for the emergence of singing stars. With one microphone in front of the singer, the pan-national orchestra melted into a fairly nondescript sound. The bureaucratic Minority of government radio ignored the real minority musics of the country's patchwork of ethnic groups by dissolving "minority" as a concept, relying instead on the Pashtun and Persianate majority groups as the source of the musical style and texts.

Under a combination of Western and Soviet influence, many emerging countries of the 1960s, for example in Africa, similarly saw a Minority gather representative music and dance traditions of designated minorities to create a melded, emblematic ensemble to project a national image for both internal and external consumption. The "minorities'" own response to this categorization and appropriation is a matter of local study. But the impact of these moves can be far-reaching. For example, a governmental Minority could develop dance this way: "The Ghana Dance Ensemble [founded in 1962] has a tradition of identifying young, talented artistes with mastery of particular dance forms from different parts of the country and training them to express a dazzling variety of dances. Many of these dancers have gone on to set up their own companies or worked with companies all over the world." This is the method for converting local minority dances into international artistic currency: "The directors of the Ensemble have had the challenge of transforming dance in the day to day lives of Ghanaians to stage presentations containing them in restricted time and space (...) [the current director] has explored the dance vocabulary to dialogue with dance cultures from other parts of the world."⁴ This was a successful strategy from the start. The eminent Ghanaian scholar J. W. B. Nketia, in residence at UCLA's pioneering 1960s ethnomusicology program, convinced American universities, including my own institution, Wesleyan University, that Ghanaian drumming and the Dance Ensemble choreography would be the right choice for bringing "African music" into the American academy at a time when an Asian-based Orientalist approach dominated the curriculum. Abraham Adzinyah, a graduate of that program, was hired in 1969 and upon his retirement decades later, a campus music building was named for him. At Wesleyan, it was often the case that African American students were less engaged with the African courses than non-Africans, in the years before African migration to the US introduced a new set of issues around Minority policy and minority identity.

4. <https://ias.ug.edu.gh/content/ghana-dance-ensemble>



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109 Dislike Share Save ...

Affinity Groups: An Informal Minority

There's another version of an "unofficial" Minority controlling minority musics: the role of affinity groups, an international configuration I first identified in the early 1990s as "charmed circles of like-minded music-makers drawn magnetically to a certain genre" (Slobin 1993). Not governmental or institutional, these circles can strongly shape contemporary world music culture, at times with little reference to the life of that music in the source minority communities. A fine example is the move of the didgeridoo from its Aboriginal Australian minority home to world diffusion, the product of an enthusiastic non-Aboriginal Minority that did not work in the top-down way described above but had the same effect of taking charge of a group's tradition. YouTube offers an advertisement by a non-Aboriginal enthusiast for teaching "didgeridoo in 20 minutes," or you can buy a modified "didge" (the outsider nickname) that can handle the Western chromatic scale.

The African *djembe* drum is perhaps the most popular choice for widespread global diffusion by non-African affinity groups. And it's even possible to play the didgeridoo and the *djembe* simultaneously, combining two Minority favorites. As a YouTube video advertises, "one of our favorite instrument combinations for a single musician: didgeridoo and *djembe*. Let your creativity flow with the beat of the drum and the drone of the didgeridoo. Check out how awesome this new *djembe* is with the matching head and body."⁵

Figure 2. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Aigo-QMzDqM>. Last accessed 30 March 2021.

Much the same situation has developed for other minority instrumental traditions, like the Native American flute, a two-chambered duct flute in the terminology of organology, that was in restricted use in indigenous cultures and which became popular as an affinity group favorite, first in the US and then around the world, or the Shona mbira. How minorities in their country of residence react to or creatively take advantage of these affinity-group trends is a subject worth ever more study.

Jazz as a Minority Issue

The question of “jazz” is more complex than I can describe here, but I can point to the constant tension between this genre as being both minority and Minority-identified (with African Americans), as in the highly successful attempt by Wynton Marsalis to make jazz “America’s classical music” by creating a Minority-funded unit at New York’s elite Lincoln Center. But artists are aware of the ambiguities. The much-awarded “jazz” artist Cécile McLorin Salvant, an American of Haitian and French parents who identifies with her traditional “minority” forebears Sarah Vaughan, Betty Carter, and Billie Holiday, is unsure of the status of her chosen form of expression: “I don’t understand the state of jazz. I don’t know what jazz is! I would like to see more people break out of their niches and cliques and embrace contradictory things in their music.” (Jordannah 2022:8).

Still, jazz retains a core sense of being a minority music that resonates with musicians who are not of African American family background, as Ofer Gazit details in a forthcoming study of New York’s large community of immigrant musicians:

The symbolic importance of Black males continues to shape aesthetic considerations in contexts where Black male musicians are in the minority or entirely absent. It reflects the contribution of specific African American canonical musicians as well as the recognition that jazz music was developed within mostly male, African American contexts (...) Jazz musicians who are positioned outside the boundaries of the core tradition are thus faced with the unenviable task of improvising a history of jazz that shows their commitment to a core history while attempting to reflect their own individual voice. (Gazit, forthcoming)

Gazit’s work suggests that complex inter-minority negotiation among musicians is also charged with the need to shape a profile for a Minority audience of clubs and record labels.

Transnational Considerations

Across Europe and beyond, the Minority has also felt free both to enjoy and to imitate selected musical forms of various “minorities.” This catered to the development of tourism, as cultural heritage travel grew explosively. Tourists became an extension of the Minority by demanding standardized presentations of local groups, no matter what those subcultures thought

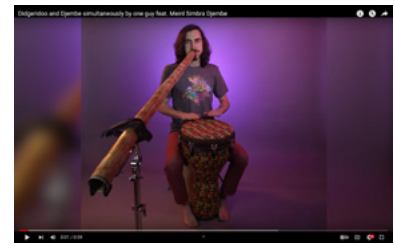


Figure 3. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GuBtWd-8BjwY>. Last accessed 30 March 2021

5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GuBtWd8BjwY>

of as their own expressive culture. Meanwhile, commerce, as the recording industry, caring little for the term “minority,” simply packaged and marketed whatever local musics they thought might attract consumers. In the twenty-first century a new super-Minority emerged: the collective representatives of the nation-states who signed a UNESCO treaty to define “intangible cultural heritage.” There is no need to rehearse here how ICH has played out, as we have an expanding literature on the complex and sometimes ambivalent ways in which the national and the transnational Minority have jointly taken charge of musical minoritization.

Given these developments I wouldn’t have thought that the term “minority” was of much relevance anymore, except for a startling new development. The Minority, which used to figure itself as representing a self-understood majority, has recently decided that it is itself in fact a minority, doomed to “replacement” by the rising masses in its midst. This theory has deep roots in both European and American circles, with considerable interaction among thinkers on both sides of the Atlantic. Recent rhetoric combines both fears of replacement: by race and by the “invasion” of migrants and refugees, alongside traditional anti-Semitic rhetoric. In the US, population shifts have already given the two most populous US states – California and Texas – so-called minority majorities, with more to follow over the next decades. This has sparked intense, violent backlash, a re-assertion of control that ranges from laws controlling the content of public education to police street control to the rise of violent paramilitary white nationalist groups and of lone-wolf shooters who target minority civilians. In the US, this surge began with the election of Barack Obama, seen as a “replacement” President, accelerated under Trump’s patronage, and continues to gain ground. In Europe, the threat of a massive influx of political, economic, and climate refugees has unsettled the compact under which small numbers of newcomers were allowed to become “minorities” that would either eventually integrate into the general population or live in well-policed residential zones with limited mobility. It will be interesting to see whether the rise of a right-wing political party in Sweden will have musical outcomes.

Closing Thoughts

One way of understanding the musical implications of this newly turbulent musical landscape might be to deploy Raymond Williams’s astute trio of terms: residual, dominant and emergent (Williams 1977). Residually, older defined groups can continue to carry on whatever music they like, as long as they are willing to offer a publicly acceptable presentation of expressive culture and/or supply commercial outlets and governmental agencies with musical resources for exploitation. Emergent forms include levels of stylistic fusion brought about by the instant access to any historic or present form of music, thanks to the internet and the personal device, which make musical “minority” meaningless. To take a striking example, the rise of the South Korean popular music style K-pop to global prominence is detached from



ethnicity and race. It was designed by a commercial–state partnership of the South Korean Minority to enhance their country’s image and create new markets for its talent, as part of the hallyu project, first known as the Korean Wave. It succeeded way beyond expectations, with surprising effects. In 2022, the US launched a Eurovision–style competition with states, rather than countries, as contestants. The first winner was from Oklahoma and performed K–pop.

“AleXa,” is a Korean–Russian American who grew up in Oklahoma as a girl named Schneidermann with conventional American musical schooling until she opted for K–pop. She offers an arresting example of the new personal and musical self–fashioning that blurs the lines of older dominant models. Perhaps even the choice to name herself for an anonymous household appliance is worth considering. She seems to have little “minority” sensibility but it might form part of her motivation to be a K–pop singer: “Another reason that I decided to become a K–pop singer was to help my mom find her family who live in Korea. At the age of 5, she bid farewell to her brother at an orphanage in Goyang, Gyeonggi Province, and was adopted by a family in the U.S.”⁶ Here AleXa is perhaps trying to leverage her music to change her family’s history. Still, it’s a long way from proclaiming a Korean connection to this quest for roots. More prominent is the tendency to universalize the Oklahoman. She says she sings in English because “K–pop is going global these days.” Her Korean management crafted a fictional universe for AleXa, where she is an avatar in a multiverse. The avatar of AleXa cannot feel human emotions, “but in her upcoming single ‘Tattoo’ – a dreamy and emotional English–language song dropped Jan. 6 [2022] – she discovers a way to connect herself with human beings.” They praise her “chameleon–like versatility.” What happened to Ms. Schneidermann’s “minority” status in the US? From that perspective, AleXa’s stance

Figure 4. Last accessed 30 March 2021.

6. This and following quotes, see https://web.archive.org/web/20220315064808/https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/art/2022/01/732_321708.html

correlates well with the increasing number of US census checkoffs for “mixed,” a Minority concession that weakens the term “minority.”

So if we continue to see the Residual and can track the Emergent, what might the musical Dominant be? This is far from clear. The Minority’s new strategy – to recast itself as an endangered minority – does not appear to have a musical component. I would not count white nationalist music as evidence of an approach that tries to go beyond defensive tactics towards defining a new dominant profile. On the one hand, streaming and media services have tended to screen out extremist music of any type, just based on message, not style. On the other, that music tends to use available genres regardless of origin. Rap, which might have been thought to be “replacement” music, is instead one of the standard formats among white supremacist musicians. So the emergent “post-genre” model of commercial music may in fact become the Dominant. Even the rearguard action of the Minority to seize upon rap lyrics as evidence of intent in criminal trials may be fading. In 2022, a law was introduced in the US Congress to forbid such extreme stigmatizing of “minority” musical materials even as white supremacist singers employ the rap idiom.⁷

In the current dizzying acceleration of history, the Minority might be losing its traditional power to define mainstream and minority. It seems possible that “minority music” might become more of a residual than a dynamic term as time goes on. After all, does anyone actually want to be a “minority” unless the benefits outweigh the social cost? Indigenous peoples have already pretty much left the umbrella the Minority placed over their heads. Terms like BIPOC (“Black, Indigenous [and] People of Color”) in the US suggest possibilities of alliance or clustering that also vitiate “minority” — can there be a “super-minority?” But how would that express itself musically in the era of the universal archive when every artist, like the national award-winning AleXa, feels free to create a personal profile out of any available sonic resource? Some comments from musical figures from the growing transgender “minority” suggest even a new, very endangered group is ambivalent about the need to define a special status. Kim Petras told the New York Times “I don’t care about being the first transgender teen idol at all, I just want to be known as a great musician. On the other hand, that would be totally sick.” The artist Ah-Mer-Ah-Su complains about the Minority’s labeling instincts: “People in power choose not to disseminate [our] message to wider audiences, because they don’t see themselves in transgender creatives. They believe that music from LGBTQ artists are specifically for LGBTQ people.”⁸

While the Minority in all its guises will probably never stop making top-down distinctions by selecting groups for special status or control, individuals and communities will continue to exercise their own agency, personally and collectively. Music remains one of the most intense zones of interactivity and commitment within an ever more contested and volatile arena of ambition, politics, and commerce.

7. <https://www.billboard.com/pro/rap-lyrics-banned-criminal-trial-congress-bill/>

8. <https://www.insider.com/transgender-musicians-changing-the-music-industry-2020-5#sophie-is-making-waves-on-the-music-scene-and-has-been-named-artist-of-the-year-2>

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On definitions and guiding principles in ethnomusicological minority research

Ursula Hemetek & Marko Kölbl

Abstract

The foundation of the MMRC in November 2019 as the first Music and Minorities Research Center worldwide raised a lot of questions concerning theories and methods in ethnomusicological minority research. At the core of the lively discussions among the international advisory board of the MMRC were definitions as well as guiding principles. While the varying definitions of the term “minority” are a theoretical issue, the guiding principles of research are very much connected to methods. Adelaida Reyes was a key figure in these discussions but also in earlier ones that happened at the time of the foundation of the ICTM Study Group on music and minorities.

Drawing from her work this article deals in its first part with the term “minority”, the historical perspectives of its use and meanings. The second part is concerned with methodological issues with a special focus on future perspectives, that include dehierarchisation as well as decolonisation of ethnomusicology. The article pays tribute to the foundational work of Adelaida Reyes and many of her peers in the early development of ethnomusicological minority research, which helps scholars of today to pay attention to power relations as well as intersectional approaches in ethnomusicological minority research.

Thus minority research proves to have the potential to influence the discipline ethnomusicology in general.

Keywords: Ethnomusicology, minority research, Adelaida Reyes, terminology, theories, methods, engaged research, (forced) migration, representation.

Remarks on theories and methods inspired by Adelaida Reyes

In November 2019 the first Music and Minorities Research Center worldwide – the MMRC – was founded at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna (mdw). The foundation of the MMRC was facilitated by the money from the Wittgenstein award that Ursula Hemetek received in 2018 (www.musicandminorities.org). One precondition was the research focus “Music and Minorities” within the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at mdw that was established in 1990, due to third party funded research projects on minorities. It started with projects on Roma music, continued with research on Bosnian refugees and has continuously

widened its scope (Hemetek 2019, Hemetek 2014). This research, as well as the foundation of the ICTM Study Group Music and Minorities in 1999, had laid the ground for the Research Center.

Although discussions had been ongoing in both above-mentioned bodies, the foundation of the research center again raised a large number of questions concerning theories and methods in ethnomusicological minority research. At the core of the lively discussions among the international advisory board of the MMRC were definitions as well as guiding principles.¹ One of the wonderful scholars in this advisory board was Adelaida Reyes (1930–2021). She participated very actively, as theory and method had played a major role in her life as a scholar. We want to honour her scholarly legacy by making her contributions our point of departure.

While the varying definitions of the term “minority” are a theoretical issue, the guiding principles of research are very much connected to methods. Looking into the history of minority research that started with fieldwork on Native American music at the end of the 19th century, we find a great variety of methods as well as theories. Nowadays, certain guiding principles have been developed in minority research in ethnomusicology and there is an ongoing discussion about these matters in the Study Group as well as in the MMRC. For example, guiding principles for research like “engaged ethnomusicology”, “dialogical knowledge production” and “countering power imbalances” are mentioned on the website of the MMRC (www.musicandminorities.org). In this paper Ursula Hemetek focus on terminology, definitions and historical aspects, while Marko Kölbl continue with future methodological and theoretical possibilities. Together these two perspectives provide an understanding of the development and directions of guiding principles in ethnomusicological minority research.

Terminology, definitions and historical aspects – the concept of minority

Ursula Hemetek

Terminology – namely the definition of the research “object”, minorities – seemed to be crucial from the very beginning of the foundation of the ICTM Study Group Music and Minorities and has continued to be so.² I will provide some facts about the Study Group’s history in order to contextualize the terminology discussion and as a background information.

Emergence of the Study Group Music and Minorities

The first internationally visible event with the keywords “music” and “minorities” took place in Zagreb 1985. The key person was Jerko Bezić, the representative of the host institution, *Zavod za istraživanje folkloru Instituta za filologiju i folkloristiku* (currently, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research). Participants of this historical conference included colleagues from Yugoslavia and from neighbouring countries. Interethnic connections

1. The present members of the MMRC’s Advisory Board are: Samuel Araujo, Philip Bohlman, Naila Ceribašić, Beverley Diamond, Marko Kölbl, Svani-bor Pettan, Mayco Santaella, Stephen Wild, Deborah Wong. Former members: Bruno Nettl († 15 January 2020), Adelaida Reyes († 24 August 2021), Terada Yoshitaka († 29 March 2023).
2. Some of the following paragraphs are also to be found in an ICTM Anniversary publication. There, the history of the Study Group is presented in much more detail (Hemetek 2022).

were in the focus of most presentations (Pettan 2012:450). Bezić (1986) was responsible for a publication following this conference. For me, being in the process of writing my dissertation on a minority (Hemetek 1987), it was a crucial experience to see that minorities could be a topic for a whole international conference. There were similar problems and approaches at an international level and mutual understanding amongst colleagues from different regions due to their shared experience of studying minorities. Probably unconsciously, the idea for my later activities was born there and was also due to the personal contacts I made during this experience.

Much later, when I had started to do research on Roma music in 1989 (Hemetek 2006), I actively contacted some of the people I had met in Zagreb, as I felt rather alone with this research topic in Austria. Among the first was Svanibor Pettan, who at that time was based in Croatia, and Anca Giurchescu in Denmark, both of them doing research on Roma music and dance. I found them within the ICTM, the largest international network of ethnomusicologists worldwide.

The first symposium that served as point of departure for the foundation of the ICTM Study Group Music and Minorities was organized in Vienna in 1994. The results were published (Hemetek 1996) as this was a requirement for the approval of a Study Group within the ICTM.

The whole process went slowly, probably because of the political implications associated with such a topic. In order to make things move more quickly, I asked some colleagues to participate in a roundtable on the topic at the ICTM World Conference in 1997 in Nitra. It showed the diverse approaches and wide range of topics that we considered to be part of the discussions of such a study group: Max Peter Baumann (Germany): “Indigenous peoples as minority groups and immigrants in Germany”, Anca Giurchescu (Denmark): “Migrant communities and the problem of identity in Denmark”, Svanibor Pettan (Croatia): “Refugees and their integration through processes of applied ethnomusicology”, Eva Fock (Denmark): “Youngsters of Pakistani, Moroccan, and Turkish backgrounds and their musical identities”, Iren Kertesz-Wilkinson (UK): “The Gypsies as a minority the world over”, Jerko Bezić (Croatia): “Experiences in international cooperation and minority groups”. The panel was very well attended. When we finally spoke about the plan to establish a study group, the audience supported this idea enthusiastically and signed a letter to the ICTM president (at that time, Anthony Seeger) and Executive Board.

After further discussions and negotiations concerning the definition of the term (see below), the Study Group was finally approved and could hold its foundational business meeting in 1999 during the ICTM World Conference in Hiroshima. Since 2000, when the first Study Group Symposium was held in Ljubljana, there have been symposia every two years in different parts of the world, followed by publications. The membership was growing rapidly (up to 400 members) and discourses on music and minorities began to influence the discipline ethnomusicology as a whole.



Terminology as a theoretical topic remained an important issue throughout all symposia from the beginning. Adelaida Reyes was one of the highly influential thinkers in these discussions and her work had laid the ground for the work of the Study Group.

Figure 1. Adelaida Reyes having lunch during the SEM-conference at Wesleyan University, October 2008. Photo by Ursula Hemetek.

Adelaida Reyes as a central figure

Adelaida Reyes' dissertation, "The Role of Music in the Interaction of Black Americans and Hispanos in New York City's East Harlem", is a ground-breaking work in urban ethnomusicology, nominated for the Bancroft Dissertation Prize in 1975. It marked the beginning of a career devoted to shifting the paradigms of her disciplines through rigorous fieldwork and incisive methodology. The importance of her contribution to discourses in international ethnomusicology is indisputable.

In a time when the theme of migration was new in ethnomusicology Adelaida Reyes started her research on the topic. At that time, she became the first researcher to question as to whether there were special qualities in the refugee experience, within the general context of migration and resettlement, that should be taken into consideration by ethnomusicology. And certainly, she found that there were. Her motivation probably had to do with her own migratory experience, as Kay Kaufman Shelemay points out:

Her own life as an immigrant – a self-described 'flying Dutchman' – included heading the first Filipino family in Waldwick, NJ. These experiences, both

good and bad, paved the way for her sensitivity to the complexity of the migration process and resonate in her later work among other refugees from Southeast Asia (Shelemay 1997).

There are several ground-breaking publications on the topic, for example, Adelaida Reyes' guest-edited special issue on "Music and Forced Migration" of *The World of Music* (1990), or her book *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free: Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience* (1999). Her work has influenced generations of researchers sharing Adelaida Reyes' interest in the topic, including me.

From 2000, Adelaida Reyes was actively involved in the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities, as co-editor of the first publication in 2001 (edited by Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes, and Maša Komavec), as Secretary (2005–2011), and as Vice-Chair (2011–2021). She attended all the Study Group symposia up to 2018, held regularly every two years. Her wise comments, especially concerning the ongoing discussions about defining the concept of minority have influenced and shaped the discourses within the Study Group.

Adelaida Reyes always tried to remind us that "our definition is always the most useful one for the time being, but the discussion process is ongoing" (personal communication). She was also the one who strongly argued that great attention should be paid to migration, as "migration creates one of the largest, if not the largest, human groups out of which minorities emerge" (Reyes 2001:38), and to the relationality of the term, because without a dominant group there are no 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" (Reyes 2007:22).

Adelaida Reyes also argues why minority research did not emerge earlier in the discipline, and she sees its emergence as being very much connected to the field of urban ethnomusicology:

in a scholarly realm built on presumptions of cultural homogeneity, there was no room for minorities ... 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)

Terminology and theoretical implications

When the Study Group came into existence, the field was prepared for such activities insofar as certain old theories of the discipline had already been abandoned. Urban ethnomusicology was already established, also thanks to Adelaida Reyes, and we did not have to carry out pioneering work to challenge old-fashioned models like a supposed "homogeneity" of musical cultures. Heterogeneity and hybridity have proven to be important theoretical models within the Study Group's discourses.

Doing research on marginalized groups was not that new if we look for examples in research at the very beginning of our discipline: Research on Native Americans that would nowadays be included in the definition of

minorities. Bruno Nettl, one of the members of Advisory Board communicated in an e-mail:

When (ca. 1950) I was a student with George Herzog, who was involved in Native American, West African, and European folk musics, the term “minority” never came up. Somehow the role of these societies and their musics within a larger social context was not (very) significant to most of our ethnomusicological predecessors (Email to Ursula Hemetek, 8 August 2019).

It is noteworthy, as Bruno Nettl suggests, that the larger social context was neglected at that time, which is why the term ‘minority’ was not applied. The same neglect holds true for many other publications on what today would be called ‘minority musics’ in the history of our discipline. Besides not paying attention to broader social contexts there was also a lack of a common term. And lacking a common term, there was no means and obviously no intention of comparison. This was the novelty about the ICTM Study Group when it was founded. Dealing with parallels, with certain repeated patterns, comparing different groups and thereby gaining insights into mechanisms of discrimination and how to react musically, that was rather new. The fact that music might play a special role for marginalized groups, and that there might be parallels worldwide, was an approach considered a novelty in 1997.

The first definition of ‘minorities’ for the purpose of the Study Group is from 1997 when the foundation of the Study Group was proposed to the Board of ICTM. It reads as follows:

The Study Group understands minorities to mean underprivileged groups within national states: migrants, refugees, autochthonous/ethnic groups, indigenous peoples and religious communities, among others. Underlying the relationship between minorities and majorities lies the same imbalance of social and economic conditions, an imbalance that accounts for many similar situations on an international level (letter to the Executive Board, 27 June 1997).

This quote is from a letter to the ICTM Executive Board signed by 50 colleagues who had attended a Roundtable discussion at the World Conference in Nitra (see above). Note that only ethnicity and religion are mentioned as markers of identity. This might be a result of the themes that were presented at the Roundtable, but there is a focus on the relationship within a broader social context as well as in an international comparison.

For the ICTM Executive Board the endeavour was obviously too political because of the definition of the term. As an international organisation ICTM always had to balance diverse political interests. The term minority did have and still has different connotations in various parts of the world. There were and still are regions in the world where obvious oppression of certain groups of people officially will be denied. Using a definition of the term that clearly points to that imbalances might have led to diplomatic problems. Additionally,

there were colleagues – especially from the countries of the former Soviet Union – who had experienced that their work had been used for political propaganda and therefore wanted to avoid every political connotation. Therefore, the answer was that the Board had only “tentatively” accepted the Study Group. What they asked for was further discussion of terminology. This discussion took place in 1998 in Vienna, involving a smaller group of people. The outcome was a less political definition of the term “minorities”: “Groups of people distinguished from the dominant group for cultural, ethnic, social, religious or economic reasons”.

There were discussions of the term at least every two years at the Study Group symposia. They were lively and there were many suggestions. For example, I remember very well when in Zefat/Israel 2012 Tom Solomon proposed to rename the Study Group to a “Study Group on Power Imbalances”.

There were other suggestions in the direction of getting rid of the term “minority”. I was always in favour of keeping it, because in spite of the different meanings that the term might have in different political constellations it does make sense to have one term that can be defined in different ways. Its meaning can be subject to ongoing discussions, but it seems to be a term that makes sense in many areas of the world and is broadly understood.

The last intensive discussion of the term within the Study Group took place in 2018 at the Study Group meeting in Vienna, inspired by a fundamental paper by Naila Ceribašić (forthcoming). The outcome of the discussions is the currently used definition:

For the purpose of this Study Group, the term minority means communities, groups and/or individuals, including indigenous, migrant and other vulnerable groups that are at a higher risk of discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, race, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, disability, political opinion, and social or economic deprivation (<http://www.ictmusic.org/group/music-and-minorities>)

I was very happy to draw from this definition when the Advisory Board started to discuss the term for the purpose of the MMRC. The current definition there shows many similarities but it is more explicit concerning intersectionality and power relations.

The term **minority** refers to communities, groups and/or individuals that are at **higher risk of discrimination** on grounds of ethnicity, race, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, disability, political opinion, displacement and social or economic deprivation. These identity markers may and often do intersect. Due to the diversity of discrimination mechanisms and the historical development of certain groups, **different socio-political agendas** may emerge. Minorities can only be defined in relation to a dominant group, since these two poles co-define each other in hegemonic discourse. This relation is a **power relation**, not a numerical one. [words in bold from the original] (<https://www.musicandminorities.org/about-us/essentials>)

Adelaida Reyes' input to the MMRC discussion was again very wise:

I wonder if it might be useful to indicate that the definition upon which an edifice of research activity will be built is a working or a baseline definition. This would signal the recognition and the expectation that deeper insights into and greater understanding of minorities will be forthcoming as a result of the MMRC's efforts. A working definition invites fresh ideas and indicates an openness to refining the definition (as opposed to defending its rightness) in response to new and properly argued contributions. Where does the Center see itself positioned as it begins the construction of a research edifice that takes minorities as a focal research issue? (e-mail communication on 7 August 2019)

We followed her advice, as you can read on the MMRC's website:

One of our key terms is *minority*. Being aware of the fluidity of the concept of minorities, we propose the following definition as a working tool, expecting that future research will bring new insights [italics from original] (<https://www.musicandminorities.org/about-us/essentials>)

The currently used definition of minorities in the MMRC is based on conversations within the Advisory Board. I am very grateful for the inspiring comments, especially by Naila Ceribašić, Beverley Diamond, Bruno Nettel, Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes, Mayco Santaella and Stephen Wild. There is definitely a need for further discussion, as in part there were controversial inputs depending on the different areas of research of the board members. Therefore, MMRC launched a post-doc project that should bring new insights into the matter and has hired Kai Tang, a post-doc researcher from China who will add new perspectives on the definition from her experience in a different part of the world. History as well as the respective political situation are the main factors to take into account when we define the term minority. Personal scholarly insights from China might change our definition, it is work in progress.

In an insightful recent article on theories and methods of minority research in ethnomusicology, Svanibor Pettan (2019) looks at definitions of the term in other disciplines and emphasizes Adelaida Reyes influential concept: "power as the key factor that determines the majority-minority relation, where one concept cannot and does not exist without the other" (Pettan 2019:43).³

The MMRC does have a mission, a research question, and also clear goals:

The MMRC conducts research on the role music plays in the context of relationships between hegemonic and marginalized social groups within societies. What are the (constantly changing) meanings and values of music of and for marginalized groups and individuals?

This includes local, national and global levels, the consideration of socio-political conditions, a historical perspective, and the dominant group's impact. Likewise, both ethnomusicological research and socio-political

3. As this article is based on Adelaida Reyes' legacy and her influence on the current discourses within MMRC I, do not go further into a discourse analysis on the term minorities. Pettan's article provides further insight.

engagement play an equally important role in the MMRC's work. (<https://www.musicandminorities.org/about-us/essentials>)

I have tried to show here that for this intention terms matter. Terms like “minority” involve theoretical, methodological, historical, regional and socio-political considerations. Therefore, it is worthwhile to have an ongoing discussion on the question of what we mean by “minority” in our research.

Theoretical considerations do influence guiding principles of research, they are closely interwoven. The website of MMRC states:

There is an awareness that there are structures that produce and maintain power imbalances and hegemony, such as structural racism, colonialism, and heteronormativity. The center re-thinks ethnomusicological theories and methods in order to expose and avoid approaches that reinforce such structures. Scholarship is seen in close collaboration with activists and communities, bringing up minority issues and re-shaping our ways of reading them. (<https://www.musicandminorities.org/about-us/essentials>)

Therefore, dialogical knowledge production and engaged ethnomusicology go methodologically hand in hand with these theoretical considerations of countering power imbalances. All research projects in MMRC follow these guiding principles and the inaugural collection of articles of the journal *Music and Minorities* also demonstrates these (Hemetek 2021).

Envisioning Future Methodological and Theoretical Possibilities in Ethnomusicological Minority Research

Marko Kölbl

The above discussion on the development of definitional discourses that have shaped the evolving understandings of the term “minority” within the community of ethnomusicologists dedicated to minority research also points towards methodological and theoretical implications. The historical perspective on ethnomusicological minority research presented here is not only a first-hand testimony, it also serves as a foundation for my attempt to explore possible future directions regarding theories and methods, and ultimately to share my own personal visions. While my own positionality and my own research experiences have strongly shaped what you are reading,⁴ I am also departing from a more general perspective prioritizing Adelaida Reyes' ideas and approaches as valuable impulses for this section. Foregrounding theories and methods, this section discusses what ethnomusicological minority research might encounter in its future developments and tries to grasp already palpable tendencies and trends.

4. My ethnic minority identity as a member of the Croatian minority of Burgenland/Austria and my open self-understanding in terms of gender and sexuality are important aspects of my positionality that influence my research.

Recalibrating Methods in Fieldwork and Engaged Research

Not exclusively, but very often, ethnomusicological minority research takes place within the scope of the researcher's living environment. This is especially the case with research on music and migration that is carried out in urban settings, an area of research that still relies on Adeleida Reyes' groundbreaking work, as she was indeed a pioneer of "urban-focused domestic fieldwork" (Barz & Cooley 2008:12).

Further methodological developments in ethnomusicological migration research might critically engage with the fact that power relations in "urban-focused domestic fieldwork" have changed. Today's post-migrant societies take different shapes and forms depending on the respective part of the world they are situated in.⁵ But distinguishing migratory and non-migratory individuals is becoming increasingly absurd, leading to the fact that researchers and those researched might share very similar realities regardless of their ancestors' migration history or their post-migrant positionality. Referring to shared lived realities, I am not only pointing out the blurring of hierarchies in fieldwork but also to the very meaning of post-migrant social togetherness.

In this respect we might also find ourselves inclined to reconsider the engaged or applied methods that are mentioned in MMRC's guiding principles and that so often mark our fieldwork and research and the attempt to engage in socio-politically effective research pertaining to the social discrimination and political situation of minorities. In my own research with refugees, for example (Kölbl 2021), I could clearly see that engaged approaches are very much marked by inequalities that are inherent to not only academia but also to political activism. Engaged work is very much linked to the researchers who design it: ethnomusicologists that frame their approaches as "politically engaged" and "socially effective". Often these framings are considered to contribute to de-colonizing academic knowledge production and the discipline of ethnomusicology in particular. Through this methodological positioning emerges a "good researcher subject". However, despite aiming for the very opposite, engaged framings often tend to reinforce majority-minority hegemonies. As one of the previous publications of the Study Group on Music and Minorities titled *Voicing the Unheard* (Defrance 2019) suggests, engaged attempts often depart from advocacy, from giving voice instead of departing from marginalized voices themselves. I envision a shift from advocacy to a true understanding of minoritarian agency that is necessary to overcome preconceived notions of White European sovereignty over humanitarian and compassionate forms of approval and the facilitation of minorities' cultural expressions.

There is no question that collaborative models of fieldwork and dialogical knowledge production are well-tested and efficacious ways of including people with a minoritarian standpoint positionality⁶ not only in fieldwork, but in as many steps in the process of knowledge production as possible.

5. Postmigrant theory is a very vital field of thought, especially in German-speaking academia, and particularly in migration studies. Wolf-Dietrich Bukow, Erol Yildiz and Marc Hill (2015) define a postmigrant society as a new social normality independent of binaries between minority and majority or natives and migrants – binaries that fall short of acknowledging the plurality of urban forms of living together. Naika Foroutan (2019) argues that in a postmigrant society migration is not the crucial phenomenon. The focus lies rather on the processes that occur when migrants and their descendants claim political rights and foreground their social and cultural agency.
6. My use of the term "minoritarian standpoint positionality" draws on feminist standpoint theory (see Harding 1993) that understands knowledge production as dependent on the researchers' social positionality and that claims that marginalized researchers can gain a privileged position in researching and theorizing their specific experiences of marginalization. While feminist standpoint theory focused on women and their contribution to feminist scholarship, the concept was further developed and transferred to other markers of marginalization, for example in indigenous standpoint theory (see Nakata 2007) not the crucial phenomenon. The focus lies rather on the processes that occur when migrants and their descendants claim political rights and foreground their social and cultural agency.

Also in these attempts, ethnomusicological minority studies could be a productive realm in the attempt to further methodologies. Very often collaborative and dialogical models fail to really depart from the deadlocked structures of neoliberal academia. How does dialogical knowledge production translate to publishing, to academic achievements, to university politics? Critically engaging with these questions and developing radical reconsiderations of methodological traditions are tendencies that we can observe not only in ethnomusicological minority studies but within ethnographic research on social difference on a broader level (see Alonso Bejarano, López Juárez, Mijangos García & Goldstein 2019). It seems most crucial that ethnomusicologists join the discussion on ethnographic methodologies in research on social difference in an interdisciplinary mode.

From Intersectionality to Decolonizing: On Theoretical Tendencies

These methodological considerations tie in with theoretical positions on social and cultural difference. No doubt, power relations, individual and structural discrimination (as becomes clear in the discussion on the definition of the term minority at the beginning of this article), questions of identity (e.g. Stokes 1994, Hemetek et. al. 2004) as well as transculturality or hybridity (e.g. Hemetek et.al. 2019, Keller & Jacobs 2015) mark important theoretical arenas in our field. Since these paradigms have accompanied us for some time, we might gain insights by looking closer at how new paradigms in ethnomusicology might have an influence on the study of music and minorities.

As mentioned by Ursula Hemetek above, the MMRC's current definition of minorities makes more explicit references to intersectionality and power relations. This also relates to theoretical directions foregrounding the intersection of social categories within the field of ethnomusicological minority research. Intersectionality is certainly a theoretical trend within the humanities in a broader sense, but specifically within ethnomusicological minority research, as we witnessed at the 2018 joint symposium of the ICTM Study Groups on Music and Minorities and Music, Gender and Sexuality in Vienna. When Deborah Wong argued in 2015 that as ethnomusicologists "we have trouble living up to the intersectional analyses we know we need" (Wong 2015:178), she sharply establishes how mainstream ethnomusicology seems somehow reluctant to embrace this thread of theoretical thought. Still, I would argue that today intersectional thought is about to become a well-received and beneficial theoretical impulse, especially for researchers who foreground the intersection of multiple oppressive structures within the minority communities they work with.

Today, theoretical impulses are often connected to political activism that responds to socio-political challenges and crises. Adelaida Reyes convincingly notes how paradigms come into being in the light of crisis. Crisis "calls for a departure from normal science, a period of extraordinary [...] research" (Reyes 2019:38). Adelaida Reyes thus argues that "innovation no longer

suffices; change, or in Kuhnian terms, a paradigm shift, looms ever larger on the horizon” (2019:38). Following this argument, we can clearly keep track of a paradigm shift in ethnomusicology following the Black Lives Matter movement’s re-gaining of immense global political relevance and the ways that “decolonizing ethnomusicology” has been declared a priority of most scholarly organizations in our discipline. The ICTM dialogues are a good example of that.

In the light of the Black Lives Matter protests, Danielle Brown’s open letter on racism in music studies specifically seems to have incited a sudden self-reconsideration of ethnomusicological societies globally, from the SEM to the ICTM. Danielle Brown’s own experience as a black female academic in ethnomusicology indeed provides strong evidence of the problems with ethnomusicology’s institutional principles and scholarly traditions:

What was strange and uncomfortable was the ways that predominantly white scholars in attendance presumed that they understood BIPOC [Black, Indigenous, People of Color] and were authorities on cultures to which they did not belong. Over the years, I have witnessed white ethnomusicologists attempt to dominate and exert power over scholars and artists of color (who did not kowtow to their status as an expert). (Brown 2020:n.p.)

Large international ethnomusicological organizations’ initiatives have indeed incited a paradigm shift. Decolonial ethnomusicology became a buzzword with incredible academic currency. But how might this paradigm of decolonizing ethnomusicology relate to ethnomusicological minority studies? How does the critique on representation, the question of who speaks for whom, for whose music, relate to music and minorities?

In light of these questions, it is central to acknowledge that not all regions of the world correspond to the specifics of social struggle in the US context. Racism is different in different parts of the world, and the representation of marginalized groups – a core matter of ethnomusicological minority studies – relies heavily on local histories of institutionalized forms of racisms, classism and processes of Othering. Likewise, it is important to acknowledge the ways that researchers in ethnomusicological minority studies have studied exactly these forms of exclusion before references were made to contemporary critical theoretical thought – mostly using a different linguistic repertoire and a different theoretical framing. However, I would argue that linking work in ethnomusicological minority studies to broader theoretical impulses from Critical Race Theory and decolonial approaches actually benefits our work, since it helps to create a more interconnected and interdisciplinary research environment. Furthermore, there are benefits in confronting ourselves with this question of claiming knowledge and the representation of marginalized groups following the fashion of radically reconsidering one’s own habits and habitus. Speaking from my research perspective, for example, this also means to be aware of and to appeal against the coloniality of ethnographic research on music and migration *per se*.

Who speaks?

The trending debate on representation and decolonizing in academia may lead to misconceptions of what it means to critically interrogate researchers' positionalities in knowledge production on musics of minorities. When we think of who represents knowledge on minorities' musics, it is crucial to not confuse the need of critical reflection on non-minoritarian positionalities with an a-priori prioritization of researchers belonging to a minority. Being a minority member does not guarantee for a representation of minoritarian knowledge that is inherently accurate and above that preferable to other perspectives. Likewise, a researcher who does not belong to the group whose music is subject of knowledge production may achieve valuable insights, develop intriguing ideas, and present important findings. Further, it often is not possible to draw a sharp distinction between majority and minority affiliation – a distinction that rests on essentialist understandings of minority identities.

It is, however, vital to contemporary ethnomusicological minority research, to consider the critique of minority members on how their knowledge was and is being represented in academic settings. Their perspectives become increasingly important within ethnomusicological discourse. Especially in the last decades, the number of minority member ethnomusicologists doing research on their own minority is increasing. Minority researchers' experiences, however, often bear witness to the discipline's power structures and colonial patterns:

As a minority researcher, I saw little that validated my forms of knowledge, my experiences, my ways of being. I had become disillusioned with the system, and I could feel fatigue setting in. Academia had become a game that I no longer wanted to play, at least not under the current terms. It was time for me to go. (Brown 2015:2)

This quotation by Danielle Brown poignantly displays how marginalized experiences may not be validated in academia. A field like ethnomusicological minority studies needs to make it a central mission to problematize these dynamics, since the field actually aims to foreground the marginalized experiences in question (see “countering power imbalances” as one of MMRC's guiding principles). To end this paragraph with Danielle Brown's words, ethnomusicology at large is bound to “acknowledge that my people's stories are just as valid as the stories that others tell about us” (Brown 2015:6).

Migration and Forced Migration as Main Topics of Ethnomusicological Minority Studies

Also of relevance in Adelaida Reyes' conception of the field of music and minorities were the relations between ethnomusicological minority studies and other fields of research on social and cultural difference. In her foundational text on music and the refugee experience, she highlights the possibility of situating our music-specific perspective of migration and

forced migration in particular within the broader context of migration and refugee studies. In addressing the possible ways of locating refugee research within ethnomusicology, she not only asks whether research on music in refugee settings represents a “break from traditional ways of thinking” in ethnomusicology or whether it represents a “continuity in an albeit less familiar territory” (Reyes 1990:3). She also discusses the topic that ethnomusicological refugee studies might contribute sound perspectives to migration studies in general. It becomes apparent that there is beneficial potential in the interference between ethnomusicological minority research and the manifold disciplinary realms that also deal with minority communities whose music and dance expressions and social and political situations are of concern to ethnomusicologists. Relating to the beginnings of “urban ethnomusicology” and research on migrant communities in particular, Reyes again makes clear how links to other disciplines benefit ethnomusicological endeavors: “a perspective *from outside* of ethnomusicology became necessary to see more clearly what could not be seen *from within*” (Reyes 2007:18).

Generally, the study of music and migration, as Adelaida Reyes reminds us, constitutes an extremely important field of research in ethnomusicology:

The contemporary, however, is not so accommodating. Its very presence is a demand for attention. It is expected that events are reported with the utmost fidelity to perceivable reality. This is the case, for instance, with migration, particularly forced migration, and its currently incessant coverage by the media. It is a here-and-now phenomenon and promises to be such for the foreseeable future. In its many forms, in its global reach, and in its immediate as well as far-reaching effects on human life, migration has become part of contemporary life. It has the power to transform both migrants and the society within which they live. (Reyes 2019:43)

Adelaida Reyes relates this to ethnomusicology, and especially ethnomusicological minority research:

Ethnomusicology is thus confronted with virtually unexplored territory that has a population large enough to people nation-states, a growing population that must interact with international institutions as well as a host society as it constructs an expressive culture that incorporates the distinctive experience of forced migration. Is the discipline up to and willing to meet the challenge? (Reyes 2019:47)

Monitoring the political developments in our world during the last decade, we see that Adelaida Reyes’ observation is becoming more and more topical as time progresses. This pertains to all regions of the world and, I would argue, transcends the topic of migration and flight. It also pertains to political populism and anti-democratic developments that affect all kinds of minorities all over the world, even though the social, cultural and political rights of migrants and refugees are particularly curtailed.

Conclusion

Ursula Hemetek & Marko Kölbl

From discussing the development of theoretical and methodological issues in ethnomusicological minority research we may draw the conclusion that there is a certain change of paradigms in the discipline due to the topic of research. As Timothy Rice showed in his article from 2014 “Ethnomusicology in Times of Trouble”, the topics and environments of research also reshape methods and theories. Rice points out some of the issues we mentioned, like “equal partnerships with communities and community musicians” in our research, or “diminishing the conceptual distance between so-called theoretical and so-called applied work in our field” (Rice 2014: 204–205). Among other things, the work of Adelaida Reyes has laid the ground for these changes. Her persistent focus on power relations in the study of music and minorities seems once again to be most relevant in our methodological and theoretical considerations. Specifically, the work of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities and the MMRC consistently addresses and contests power relations within ethnomusicological minority research and focuses on the political effects of ethnomusicological research undertakings on the minority communities in question.

The foundational work of Adelaida Reyes and many of her peers in the early development of ethnomusicological minority research equips us to further a de-hierarchization and decolonialization of ethnomusicological minority research that might also find points of reference and possibilities of expansion in broader debates on marginalization and social and cultural difference across the boundaries of music and dance research.

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“Music kept us alive”

The dynamic of majority–minority recollections and musical remembrance of Terezín

Zuzana Jurková

Abstract

A characteristic feature of post-authoritarian societies (such as the Czech Republic after 1989) is social consolidation, in which a re-construction of collective memory plays an important role. Usually, memories of minorities that have been temporarily silenced are reshaped. While in some cases minorities find their own autonomous voice (e.g. Roma in the CR), in other cases the minority “story” becomes part of the “story” of the majority. This is the case for the recollections of the concentration camp Terezín (Theresienstadt) 1942–45, where Czechoslovak Jews organized a rich cultural and musical life. In the words of one of the survivors – “Music kept us alive”. The article examines the transformation of the “Terezín phenomenon” (primarily its musical life and music production) from an important component of minority musical remembrance to a part of the majority narrative.

Keywords: Terezín, Theresienstadt, Czech Jewry, music, remembrance, collective memory

Ceremonial evening for the Bubny Memorial of Silence

On 12 July 2021, in the grand hall of Prague’s Trade Fair Place (*Veletržní palác*), which today serves as a venue for exhibitions of modern art produced by the Czech National Gallery, a ceremonial evening was held to commemorate the forced transports of Czechoslovak Jews to the concentration camps during the Second World War. The evening was organized by the Bubny Memorial of Silence (*Památník ticha Bubny*), an institution associated with the nearby Bubny train station, from which such transports departed. This institution was established by a descendant of those who were transported, Pavel Štingl (1960), a documentary film director who produced several films about the history of the 20th century, including the Holocaust (*O zlém snu*, 2000) [About a Bad Dream].

In the audience of roughly 150 people there were several Holocaust survivors, as well as some of the regular attendees of concert performances of the musical works authored by composers who were imprisoned at Terezín (*Theresienstadt*). However, this time the evening’s musical component was different: Iva Bittová, the actor, singer and violinist who is a leading figure of the Czech alternative scene, was performing her piece “The



Way” (*Cesta*) here; her compositions usually make it hard for the listener to be certain of what is already composed and what is improvisation. Just a couple of weeks earlier, Bittová had also performed on a similar occasion, the commemoration of the Holocaust and its Romani victims at the site of the former concentration camp at Hodonín u Kunštátu. Apparently, that performance was associated both with the figure of her father, the famous Romani musician Koloman Bitto (1931–84), as well as with her own early film output, in which she several times embodied the characters of young Romani women.

After this musical performance followed the essential part of the commemorative evening in Prague. Czech Culture Minister Lubomír Zaorálek announced that Memorial of Silence is becoming a state-subsidized organization (its status heretofore had been that of a nonprofit public benefit corporation). That this was no exception had been confirmed by the frequent commemorations of the transports in the public broadcast media. The newly-appointed Culture Minister Martin Baxa, who succeeded Zaorálek, mentioned in one of his first interviews the need to “set in motion the activities of the Memorial of Silence in the Bubny neighborhood of Prague, from where the Jewish transports set out during the war” (Vitvar 2022:58). As a scholar, I had anticipated such an event for a few years, and as a citizen I had hoped it would come to pass. From my own perspective, the drawing of an important arc of collective remembrance has now been completed, and a crucial role in that remembrance is played by music.

Figure 1. Gala evening in Veletržní palác Prague, 12 July 2021. Photo: Zuzana Jurková.

The hidden chapter of Czech music history

I first heard about the concentration camp at Terezín and its musical life in the mid-1990s, when my colleague at the Czech Academy of Sciences' Institute for Musicology, Milan Kuna, published two books on this subject: *Hudba na hranici života* (1990) [Music on the Border of Life] and *Hudba vzdoru a naděje: Terezín 1941–1945* (2000) [Music of Defiance and Hope: Theresienstadt 1941–1945]. As a junior researcher dedicated to other subjects who held a PhD in musicology, two things fascinated me. The first was the described facts of cultural life in the concentration camp at Terezín in and of itself, which were unbelievable. This is how Kuna describes musical life at Terezín during just one week in February 1944:

After all, just in the one week that closed with Verdi's "Requiem", the W. Lederer Piano Trio had organized a chamber music concert, together with a concert by the Taube Orchestra (Monday, 14 February), and Puccini's "Tosca" conducted by F.E. Klein sounded in parallel with the oratorio "Creation" by Joseph Haydn, under the direction of Karel Fischer (Tuesday, 15 February), and three remarkable concerts took place in the middle of the week: A solo recital of Bach's compositions by Edita Steinerová-Krausová (Wednesday, 16 February), a chamber concert by a piano quartet of Johannes Brahms and Antonín Dvořák (Thursday, February 17), and again a solo recital by Carl S. Taube of compositions by Fryderyk Chopin (Friday, February 18). The next day, Heda Grabová-Kernmayrová organized a song evening accompanied by Karel Reiner in parallel with a concert by V. Kohn and "his" orchestra (Saturday, February 19). On Sunday morning, February 20, the orchestra performed Taube's popular compositions in the hall on Main Street, and an hour earlier (at 4:30 PM), before Rafael Schächter led the performance of Verdi's "Requiem", Hans Hofer had performed Johann Strauss's operetta "The Bat". (Kuna 2000:77; translation from Czech by Gwendolyn Albert)

The second thing that was incomprehensible to me was that despite having graduated in musicology at Charles University during the 1980s and having earned a doctorate in the discipline during the 1990s, I had never before heard about this chapter of Czech musical life. How was that possible? What else should adepts of musicology learn but that music has "saved someone's life", as some Holocaust survivors put it – or more soberly, that during what were their last days of life, people passionately created and performed music? The absence of this chapter from our history in the customarily presented, historical, national narrative seemed even stranger because some of the survivors of Terezín belonged to the actual elite of the music world during the second half of the 20th century. Zuzana Růžičková (1927–2017), the Czech Philharmonic's harpsichordist and a soloist, was in my opinion a perfect interpreter of Bach's compositions in those days. Karel Berman (1919–1995), the bass singer with the National Theater, had been known to me as a charming interpreter of Leporello in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. His poignant interpretation of the oratorio by Schönberg, "A Survivor from Warsaw", would never have occurred to me to be associated with his

personal experiences. Despite having admired these performers onstage and having read about them in program notes, as well as in the interviews published with them in magazines and newspapers, I had never heard anything about what they had lived through at Terezín.

This paper is, in a certain sense, a search for an answer to that question: How was that possible? Or to formulate this in a more academic way: What circumstances prevented the commemoration of such an important chapter in Czech (music) history? What changed later so that it became a component of national remembrance? Lastly: Who were the main stakeholders that brought this chapter about Terezín into the public space? My search for answers to these questions takes place within a collective memory studies framework which is, in my understanding, centered around two basic ideas. The first comes from Jan Assmann. In his view, human societies (or in his terminology, "cultures"), are linked together with what he calls a connective structure. This involves two dimensions, the normative and the narrative. The former of these "binds the person to those close to him by, in the symbolic world of meaning ... creating shared space for experience ... thereby contributing to the development of trust and orientation" (Assmann 2001:20). The narrative or time dimension then "connects yesterday with today, as it creates the formative memories and maintains their presence" (ibid.). In other words, a human society is bound together, among other things, by what it considers to be important from the past and therefore recalls in the present.

The second crucial idea on which researchers in the field of memory studies more or less agree is that memory does not involve an objective picture of the past, but involves a highly selective (re)construction of the past, one that happens in the present and also testifies to the present. Astrid Erll's formulation is concise: "Individual and collective remembrances are never a mirror image of the past, but an expressive statement of the needs of the person or group who is doing the recalling in the present" (Erll 2011:8).

My search for an answer to the question of why this was, or at a minimum, why till the 1990s the chapter about Terezín was more or less absent from the Czech (music) history narrative, has taken the form of looking for those who did commemorate this chapter, and when, during the 75 years since the gates to the Ghetto at Terezín were opened. This accumulated material forms the basis for most of this paper and has provided me with an answer that resonates with the ideas of Andreas Langenohl (2010) about collective memory in post-authoritarian societies. I will discuss these ideas in my conclusion.

Terezín

In 1939 were about 120,000 of those who would later be labeled Jews according to the Nuremberg Laws living in the territory of what is today the Czech Republic (from March 1939 to May 1945 the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, *Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren*).¹ Most of them were culturally integrated into both urban and village settings and were secular. One of them was for example Bruno Nettel (1930–2020), one of the key

1. I am basing this on data from Jurková – Blodig 2022. Blodig gives the number 118310.

global figures in ethnomusicology. His father, Paul Nettl, was a professor of musicology in Prague, and his mother Gertrud Hutter-Nettl was a well-known pianist (Nettl 2013). The Nettls left the Czech Republic in September 1939 for the USA. According to Bruno, his father was a Czech patriot and did not want to return to Bohemia after the war because he (rightly) assumed he would no longer find the multicultural society there that he had enjoyed before the war (Nettl 1994). The vast majority of those who did not leave the country by 1940² later passed through the concentration camp at Terezín. From the Protectorate there were about 75,000 who ended up in Terezín.³ Later, Jewish people from Austria, Germany and other countries were brought there, numbering approximately 65,000. Around 6,000 prisoners from the Protectorate died at Terezín (mostly because of the appalling conditions for personal hygiene and malnutrition), but most of them were killed elsewhere. Almost 65,000 did not survive the war.⁴

Terezín is a city fortress built by Emperor Joseph II in the 1780s. Before the Second World War, 3,500 inhabitants lived there; at the time of its highest population density there were more than 58,000 prisoners living there.⁵ It began serving as a ghetto in late 1941, and in 1942, when the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question" had been decided, the administration of the ghetto was entrusted to the Jewish prisoners. This Jewish self-administration was in charge, among other matters, of raising the children and youth, and within the framework of their so-called "free time" (after the compulsory 10-hour work day), they organized concerts, lectures, theatrical performances, etc. In addition to the predominantly classical music repertoire, a cabaret or a dramatic theater repertoire were also in operation, but music dominated, undoubtedly. A partial explanation for this activity and its intensity certainly is connected with the high prestige that (predominantly classical) music enjoyed in the everyday culture of Czech Jewry during the interwar period, as can be read in many memoirs that have been published. The intensity with which "free time" was filled, as outlined above, is, in my view, difficult to believe even today. What is even more essential, of course, is the meaning of spending one's "free time" on culture. Later, the words of one survivor, which I heard during the *Defiant Requiem* at the Cathedral of St. Vitus in 2013 stuck with me: "Music kept us alive". This is also testified to by one of the youngest survivors, who was just six when she was imprisoned at Terezín, Micheala Lauscherová (later married surname Vidláková):

Culture in Terezín is a big chapter of its own that shows the will to preserve such humanity, human dignity, the appearance of normalcy, the escape from evil when the place to which one flees simply means running into culture. This is the huge significance of culture in Terezín. There is a lot of talk about culture in Terezín today, every-body says 'Well, if they had so much culture there, then it can't have been so bad' – but the culture that the people squeezed out of themselves was consumed by the others just so they could remain human beings. In order to escape ... the evil, there simply is one place into which to flee – to run into culture. This is the huge significance of culture in Terezín. (Michaela Vidláková roz. Lauscherová – Culture in Terezín, memoryofnations.eu)

2. According to Blodig, 25,274 people were officially rescued by emigration; another 4,000 emigrated illegally.
3. Blodig gives the number 73,468.
4. Of the 63,838 Jews from the Protectorate who were killed in the extermination camps, according to Blodig, the vast majority, namely 57,127, passed through Terezín.
5. According to Blodig, the highest number of prisoners in September 1942 was 58,491.

Brundibár

The most famous work associated with Terezín is doubtless the half-hour long children's opera *Brundibár* by librettist Adolf Hoffmeister (1902–1973) and composer Hans Krása (1899–1944). Krása came from the family of a wealthy lawyer, which enabled him to study music privately with Alexander Zemlinský and to study abroad in Berlin and France; his *Symphony for Small Orchestra* and *String Quartet* were also performed in Paris. His opera *Verlobung im Traum / Engagement in a Dream*, which was performed in 1933, received considerable attention (Červinková 2003). The content of *Brundibár* is simple and comprehensible for children: Two children are doing their best to make money by singing to buy milk for their sick mother. They are prevented from buying the milk by the organ-grinder Brundibár, who steals their money. With the aid of their small animal friends, the children catch to him and get their money back.

The composition was conceived in 1938 for a competition run by the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, but given the political situation the competition was never judged (Červinková 2003:162). The opera was first performed in a Jewish orphanage in the Hagibor locality of Prague at the close of 1942 and start of 1943. By then, Krása and several of the children from the orphanage were already imprisoned at Terezín, while Hoffmeister had managed to escape in time, which – as it turns out – had a certain influence on the composition's dissemination in the future. An actor from the Hagibor production, Rudolf Freudenfeld, brought an arrangement of the score for piano along with him when he was forcibly transported to Terezín (Červinková 2003:177). Freudenfeld gave the arrangement to Krása, who then orchestrated it for the available line-up of musicians there.

The composition was performed at least 55 times at Terezín between September 1943 and September 1944 (Červinková 2003). The choral finale, "Brundibár defeated ...", is even captured in a film made for propaganda purposes by the Nazis in the summer of 1944 ("Brundibár clip from Terezín" Youtube.com). Child performers who survived the war repeatedly testified to



Figure 2. Brundibár in kibbutz Giv'at Chajim, 1955. Photo: Dita Kraus. With permission.



the conviction and enthusiasm with which they sang that finale and to the enthusiastic response they awoke in their listeners (Červinková 2003:200).

Two films were made about *Brundibár* in Czechoslovakia during a two-decade period after the war. In 1954, a film version by F. Lukáš was produced at the Children's Film Studios in Prague, and in 1965, the television film *The Penultimate Act*, a program composed of songs and music from *Brundibár* interspersed with the memories of survivors, especially Hoffmeister (Červinková 2003:208). In the same year, Walter Küttner prepared his loose adaptation of the latter film for German television under the title *Der vorletzte Akt*. Apparently, the birth of these films was associated with the fact that while the composer, Krása, had been murdered at Auschwitz in October 1944, Hoffmeister, the librettist, survived the war and became an important figure in the field of culture and diplomacy. He was also a protagonist in the film produced in 1965. The following year a public performance of *Brundibár* was staged in Prague. The musical preparations were by Hanuš Krupka, and performers from the Children's Choir of Prague sang the roles. After that, it was as if this piece had been swallowed up from the face of the earth in socialist Czechoslovakia.

Abroad, *Brundibár* was performed from time to time. It is explicitly first mentioned as being produced in kibbutz Giv'at Chajim, Israel, an event initiated by several survivors, above all the Kraus couple, for the 10th Anniversary of the Liberation in 1955 (Krausová 2022).

Figure 3. *Brundibár* in the National Theater Prague, 2014. Photo: Zuzana Jurková.

Other comments on its performance are associated with the year 1985. Červinková (2003:210) mentions that year in connection with the study of *Brundibár* in Freiburg, led by Maria Veronika Grüters for grammar school students. One survivor, Ela Stein-Weissberger, who performed the role of the Cat in *Brundibár* at Terezín, talks about that same year in connection with the revival of the opera in the French film *Terezín's Children and the Mustache Monster* of 2019. It did not return to the Czech stage until after the change of regime in 1991. At the instigation of the Terezín Initiative it was staged, and on 18 October on the 50th anniversary of the ghetto's founding, it was performed by Disman's Children's Radio Ensemble for the first time. *Brundibár* has now been staged for a quarter of a century, and sometimes produced in concert form. Eight years on from that first staging, the Children's Opera of Prague rehearsed the composition and then performed it, primarily at the National Theater's New Stage venue.⁶

In 2015 the opera *Brundibár* became the centerpiece of a social intervention project in Brno, "Brundibár from the ghetto", in which this opera was studied and then performed by actors and musicians from Brno with children from socio-economically excluded localities (See 20 *Brundibár z Ghetta*, ymcabrno.cz).

A certain pattern can be seen in the dynamic of *Brundibár* emerging in public spaces. After the fading of its immediate postwar resonance, *Brundibár* first appears abroad as a memento of Terezín. In Bohemia it is taken up first by the "Jewish community" of the Terezín Initiative, the official activities of which were only possible after the political transformations of 1989. Only then was the stage of the most official institution, the National Theater, open to *Brundibár*. Both the context of this work and the work itself become an acknowledged component of cultural value, and it could also serve as an instrument of social intervention.

The Czech literature about music and musicology

The following section on "writing about music" has several interesting motifs. The first is a kind of concordance between the "writing about Terezín" and the situation in Czech society: The culture of music-making at Terezín was written about during politically more relaxed periods in the 1960s, and then hidden under the surface during the days of normalization in the 1970s and 1980s. After the November 1989 overthrow of the communist regime, not only did one postponed academic publication after another come out on this subject, but also several titles targeting readers among the informed public. The second motif is about communication with people abroad in the area of conferences and publications, and the third motif is the justifiably expected, but far from obvious, collaboration between musicologists and musicians.

The mid-1960s, a period of gradual loosening, politically known as the Prague Spring, was ruptured by the Soviets and their allies occupying the country

6. The Children's Opera also released *Brundibár* on DVD in 2003.

in August 1968; this period is also exceptional from the perspective of recalling Terezín. Even before the above-mentioned film *The Penultimate Act* was made, a short story by Josef Bor, *Requiem for Terezín*, was published in 1963. The author, who himself was a Holocaust survivor, drew attention for the first time to one of the important episodes in the life of music-making at Terezín, the production of Verdi's *Requiem*. 30 years later, music journalist Ludmila Vrkočová returned to this subject with her book *Requiem sami sobě* (1993) [Requiem for Ourselves]. Murry Sidlin's monumental 2013 memoir was then published in the United States, about which more below.

Just as important, albeit long concealed from the public, was another event: In 1965, on the basis of brokering done by a young musicologist, Ivan Vojtěch (1928–2020), the composer Alexander Waulin offered some scores by one of the composers imprisoned at Terezín who was a leading figure in musical life there, Viktor Ullman (1898–1944), to Charles University's Department of the History of Music at the Faculty of Arts. This collection of exceptional value is stored there to this day (Reittererová 2020:142). That's not all. As Vlasta Reittererová, who later became one of the important figures in the popularization and research of Terezín, has written:

In the mid-1960s, at the Department of the History of Music ... in Ivan Vojtěch's seminar two theses were produced about the "Terezín" composers. The thesis by Jiří Kocur was dedicated to Ullmann's opera *The Fall of the Antichrist*, and the thesis by Blanka Müllerová Červinková was dedicated to Hans Krása. After the defeat of the "Prague Spring" and the onset of what was called "normalization", the subject of German culture in Bohemia was pushed into the background for some time [Author's Note: the mother tongue of both Krása and Ullmann was German, which was dominant especially among Jewish people from bigger cities. For that reason, during this ignorant time, in Bohemia the history of Jewish people was considered a component of the culture of Germans –] ... Blanka Červinková returned to Krása years later and prepared a monograph on him, the publication of which she did not live to see ... (Reittererová 2020, footnote 150)

Červinková's other legacy also leads to the presentation of composers who were imprisoned at Terezín. She and her husband Stanislav published compositions by Krása and Haas (both imprisoned in Terezín) through the Tempo publishing house.

From the perspective of commemorating the cultural life at Terezín in Czech musicology, the 1970s "normalization" period was one of germination, especially in the form of academic literature and studies. In 1977, the composer and musicologist Milan Slavický published a study on the dazzling genius Gideon Klein (1919–1945), which became the basis for a brief monograph about him that was published subsequently. Jitka Ludvová, who had long paid attention to German music culture in the Czech lands, published a study on Viktor Ullmann in 1979. Milan Kuna, the author of the two monographs mentioned at the beginning of this paper, recalls that period as unfavorable to the publication of more extensive works: "... my

book *Czech Musical Life During the Nazi Occupation*, in which I also discussed the activities of musicians in Terezín, was not allowed to be distributed during the so-called normalization years, even though it was already in print" (Kuna 2000:5).

There was all but a boom in commemorating the culture of music-making at Terezín with the change of regime in 1989. In the 1990s and at the beginning of the new millennium, in addition to a number of academically published studies,⁷ several monographs were also released: The two already mentioned above by Milan Kuna (1990 and 2000 – the first of which contains just one chapter devoted to Terezín, the second of which is a monograph about the life of music-making in the ghetto); one by Ludmila Vrkočová on Verdi's *Requiem* (1993), and one on Klein by Slavický (1995). In 1999, the Brno-based musicologist Lubomír Peduzzi published his collected works, above all his criticism, entitled *O hudbě v terezínském ghettu* [About Music in the Terezín Ghetto]; and in 2003 Blanka Červinková's book *Hans Krása: Život a dílo skladatele* [Hans Krása: The Life and Work of the Composer] was published.

In the years 1994–2000, the biennial conference *Musica Iudaica* took place in Prague, focusing on Jewish influences primarily in Central Europe (including motifs from Terezín) and producing the conference proceedings *Kontexte. Musica Iudaica*.⁸ The event's main *spiritem agens* was Vlasta Benetková-Reittererová, who was working at Charles University's Faculty of Arts in the Department of Musicology in Prague. We will encounter her name again below.

At this point it is necessary to mention the characteristic feature of most Czech musicological productions, and not just those touching on the Terezín theme. Analysis of the music is usually combined with an historical perspective, to different degrees, in the work of Kuna, Červinková, Slavický, and Karbusický. Of course, this cannot be done without the use of academic terminology and excerpts from the scores, which makes their texts incomprehensible to readers who are not trained in reading music or in musicology itself. The Czech literature of musicology lacks, for all practical purposes, a genre aimed at an audience who is more deeply interested, albeit untrained. Therefore, when monographs focusing to a greater or lesser extent on the culture of music in Terezín and aimed at a broader audience finally appeared in Czech bookstores between 2008 and 2019, two-thirds of them (four out of six) were by authors who are not Czech. A year after Milan Kuna published his book about the composer Karel Reiner (1910–1979), who wrote the music for *Ester* [Esther], a famous production in Terezín, a biography of the then-oldest survivor, the pianist Alice Herz-Sommer (1903–2014), was released in translation from the German (Müllerová & Piechocki 2009). Another biography of this same remarkable figure was written by the American pianist Caroline Stoessinger (2012); considerable attention was paid to its Czech translation's presentation by Czech Foreign Minister Karel Schwarzenberg. In 2019, a biography of Zuzana Růžičková (1927–2017), the excellent harpsichordist mentioned here in my introduction, was also translated from English (Holden 2019), and a

7. In addition to Kuna, Červinková, Slavický and Peduzzi, who later transformed their articles into monographs, Karbusický (1993, 1997) and Benetková (Reittererová) (e.g., 2015, 2020) write on Terezín-related topics.

8. See the Conference Proceedings *Kontexte. Musica Iudaica*, published in 1995, 1997, 1999, and 2002.

comprehensive biography of Gideon Klein by British musicologist David Fligg was published in Czech translation that same year. Similar to Kuna's book on Reiner, Karel Berman. *Kronika života operního pěvce* (2014) [Karel Berman: A Chronicle of the Life of an Opera Singer] by Czech historian Martin Kučera is a detailed biography of an important figure of the Czech postwar cultural scene, with an extensive (70 page long) chapter on the war period and especially on Terezín, where Berman was one of the crucial figures.

Terezín onstage

Since the 1990s, both Prague and Terezín, with their specific genius loci, have seen music productions connected with this chapter in the history of Terezín. At first these frequently featured international performers, after which the number of Czech performers of such material increased. In 1993, the Austrian ensemble Arbos, led by Herbert Gantschacher, performed Ullmann's opera *Císař Atlantidy* [The Emperor of Atlantis], which had been written and rehearsed (but never performed) in Terezín during the Second World War. In 1995, the chamber stage of the National Theater in the Kolowrat Palace featured the first Czech production of this work. The following year, a CD recording of the opera was released by the Czech label Studio Matouš (Ullmann: *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*). However, the recording was of the Arbos production in Klagenfurt; the author of the liner notes was Vlasta Benetková, already mentioned above in connection with the *Musica Iudaica* conference. In 1994, under the baton of the Israeli conductor Israel Yinon, the Mannheim Opera and the Prague State Opera co-produced *Zásnuby ve snu* [Bethrothed in a Dream] by Hans Krása, the composer of *Brundibár*; its premiere in 1933 had already enjoyed significant renown.⁹ This generous Czech production garnered numerous responses not just in the domestic press, but also abroad.

The 1990s were also the period of the Hans Krása Foundation's greatest activity, founded and led by the German journalist Gaby Flatow, who lived in Prague at the time (Jurková – Flatow 2022). She was able to organize a big concert at Terezín in October 1994 commemorating the 50th anniversary of the final transports from there to Auschwitz, during which the main protagonists of cultural life in Terezín were forcibly sent out of the former Protectorate, mostly to their deaths. In addition, thanks to her husband's involvement with the German Embassy, Flatow not only got financial support from them, but also the symbolically significant participation of the German ambassador.¹⁰ Other events produced by the Foundation took place in coordination with the Office of Czech President Václav Havel, including its participation in the conference called *Fenomén holokaust* [The Holocaust Phenomenon] in 1999, organized by the Office of the President as an international event.

In 2009, the apocalyptically-themed *Pád Antikrista* [Fall of the Antichrist], Ullman's 1935 opera, had its Czech premiere at Terezín. It was next staged in 2014 by the Moravian Theater in Olomou. The Prague performance of that

9. For more detail, see Červinková 2003: 89–130.

10. This was the first trip by an ambassador of Germany to Terezín since the end of the war.

production, part of a review of various opera companies, took place in front of a fully packed National Theater, with program notes by Vlasta Benetková-Reittererová.

Another big concert event was the *Defiant Requiem* project, led by the American conductor Murry Sidlin, on 6 June 2013, featuring audiovisual recordings of several Holocaust survivors' testimonies. (This paper is named after one such testimony.) The concert was given in the Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle, i.e., a location of exceptional prestige with spiritual connotations. This was additionally confirmed by the VIP audience, including almost the entire diplomatic corps, who completely filled the cathedral's 900 seats, and by the fact that important soloists and institutions from both the musical and the diplomatic worlds took part in the project. Lastly, it should be mentioned that this magnificent production had been preceded by a more modest version at Terezín in 2006, where the choral parts were sung by students from American universities. Sidlin's second project connected with Terezín is *Hours of Freedom*, in which he presents 15 composers imprisoned at Terezín. It was performed at Terezín in May 2015 (Jurková – Sidlin 2017).

Another event that was generous and related to Terezín is worth mentioning: The concert and exhibition project *Viktor Ullmann, svědek a oběť apokalypsy 1914–1944* [Viktor Ullmann, Witness and Victim of the Apocalypse 1914–1944], organized by the Archive of the Capital City of Prague in 2015 at the Baroque showpiece of the Clam-Gallas Palace in the very center of the metropolis. The author of the concept and the texts was Herbert Gantschacher, mentioned earlier in connection with *Císař Atlantidy* [The Emperor of Atlantis]. The exhibition, which focused on Ullmann's experiences of the First World War and their connection with his musical work, was complemented by a three-day Ullmann Music Festival (*Viktor Ullmann, svědek a oběť ...* 2013).

While the big events connected with the commemoration of this chapter of history involving music at Terezín had been heretofore mostly initiated (or at least co-organized) from abroad, in 2018 a Czech organization called the Institut terezínských skladatelů [Institute of Terezín Composers] entered the scene. The initiator of its establishment was Jiří Polák (1953–2021), the son of a Holocaust survivor, who was equipped with managerial experience from abroad.¹¹ Thanks to this, he was able to secure the support of strong partners who, together with the Institute, could also fund the festival *Věčná naděje* [Everlasting Hope Festival], connecting the works of composers who had been imprisoned at Terezín with other domestic and international composers, especially Gustav Mahler. From the very beginning, the Institute and this festival, with important names on its board, had generous plans, including publications, educational activities, and concerts by top musicians (Jurková – Polák 2018). After this event's second year, the COVID-19 pandemic delayed its resumption, as did the death of its founder in the fall of 2021. However, their other activities show that the Institute's newly-formed team, led by the late Polák's wife, Martina Jankovská, does not intend to stop (*Věčná naděje* webpage).

11. Jiří Polák was also behind the publication of his father Erik's war memoirs, see Polák 2006.

The title page of the program for the Eternal Hope Festival's second year features the well-known soprano Irena Troupová who, after a period of interpreting Baroque music, has been focusing on 20th-century music in recent years. In addition to songs by Schulhoff and Winterberg, she mainly performed difficult songs by Viktor Ullmann in her showpiece concert at the Municipal House in Prague. She recorded the set for the double CD album *Schwer ist's, das Schöne zu lassen*. This set shows how the publishing practice of recordings by composers who were imprisoned at Terezín has progressed. In contrast to previous "collections", this is a dramaturgically precise title including a trilingual translation of all the songs and detailed liner notes by Vlasta Benetková-Reittererová. Troupová further emphasizes the credit due to this scholar: Benetková-Reittererová, at that time a librarian at Charles University, first drew attention of Troupová, a student of musicology there, to the Terezín topic. (Jurková – Troupová 2016)

For the 100th anniversary of his birth, the festival that year focused on Gideon Klein. It also represented a kind of continuation of the winter festival *Gido se vrací domů* ['Gido's Coming Home!'] (see Guidofest webpage). The main initiator of that festival was the above-mentioned British music-ologist David Fligg, author of Klein's biography published that same year. It was therefore nothing out of the ordinary for Irena Troupová to perform Klein's songs at the final concert, which took place in the newly-renovated Winternitz villa, which the young Klein may have visited during his own music studies in Prague – perhaps even to perform.¹² The evening did differ from regular concerts of classical (and Terezín-related) music in at least two respects. First, the audience – several dozen people – were dressed mostly in the style of the 1930s, as requested by the program. This was related to the participation of an American scholar of the theater, Lisa Peschel, who works in Britain and whose book on the Terezín Theater has also been published in Czech translation (Peschel 2008). Secondly, the choir of students from the *Přírodní škola* ['Natural School'], which systematically deals with Terezín themes, performed several songs from the repertoire of Klein's *Osvobozené divadlo* [The Liberated Theater], which was so significant in its day. The gala concert for this Klein festival, therefore, embodied a shift in the memory of Terezín. This was a complex event with several dozen sponsors, participants from the Czech Republic (as musicians) and abroad (Fligg, Peschel), and in addition to the very specialized musicians involved, it featured very amateur high school student singers. The audience was not just being instructed about this history, but were also themselves willing to engage in what was a kind of "happening".

Remembering Pavel Haas

The composer Pavel Haas (1898–1944) is counted among the four stars who were imprisoned at Terezín (alongside Ullmann, Krása and Klein). His place in remembrance is a specific one, though. Haas was from Brno, Moravia's capital, and he was one of the last students (and allegedly the most talented) of Leoš Janáček, who today is an almost mythological figure of Brno-based culture. (Pivoda 2014). Pavel Haas was also the brother of the famous actor

12. From the opening remarks by David Fligg at the concert on 8 December 2019.

Hugo Haas (1901–1968), who emigrated to the USA in 1939. He returned to Europe in the late 1950s and lived in Vienna until his death. Pavel's authorship of the opera *Šarlatán* [The Charlatan], which was performed in the interwar period at Brno's National Theater to success, as well as his connection to these two other Brno-based figures, secured him a certain popularity beyond the context of the cultural life at Terezín. For example, on the one hand, Brno-based musicologists have paid attention to Haas in his own right, including with an exhibition at the Moravian Museum in 2014.¹³ On the other hand, his musical language, which indisputably follows that of Janáček, is more audience-friendly than Ullmann's musical language. In 2002, the remarkable Pavel Haas String Quartet was formed in Brno, interpreting not just Janáček's and others' compositions, but also those by Haas, organically incorporating them into concert productions that are not framed by the memory of Terezín.

How was it possible?

In conclusion, I return to my initial question: How was it possible that I never heard about this chapter of musical life in the Czech lands in my youth? What circumstances proscribed such recollection of Terezín from entering the collective, public remembrance spaces prior to the year 1989? What circumstances and which stakeholders then brought it to light – beginning as community remembrance by survivors – so that it could later become a component of the national narrative of remembrance?

As indicated by authors from the field of *memory studies* (e.g., Erll – Nünning 2010, Tota – Hagen 2019), totalitarian and authoritarian regimes seek to control not just their citizens' present-day existence, but also their past and its public remembrance (at least as officially commemorated). In socialist Czechoslovakia, there was just one official narrative about the war, beginning with the German occupation and ending with the liberation by the heroic Soviet Army. There was no room for alternative or partial remembrance. As a survivor of Terezín, Toman Brod, has commented:

It was said during socialism that 360,000 freedom fighters fell during the war. That was an empty phrase, though: They just killed us, and not because we fought for freedom, but because we were Jews.¹⁴

This monolithic remembrance of the war also corresponds to the absence of any reminder of the culture of music-making at Terezín, with a few exceptions that emerged inconspicuously during the liberalization of politics in the mid-1960s.

With the end of the totalitarian regime in 1989, what had once been a forcibly unified narrative also disappeared from then-Czechoslovakia; consolidation in the democracy was going on, in Langenohl's (2010) terminology. Associated with this is pluralization of group memories (Langenohl 2010:171), including that of Holocaust survivors' memories, and as has been mentioned, the vanishing of those memories is considered one of the basic impulses for the development of memory studies by many

13. Haas was still remembered by Lubomír Peduzzi, a member of the older generation who met him in person.

14. See the Czech TV film *Paměť 20. století: Nesdělitelné*. Corresponding to this is the fact that the first Terezín memorial, which was erected in 1947, was called the Monument of National Suffering (Munk 2007).

researchers in that field, e.g. Astrid Erll (2011:4). Aleida Assmann's "canon and archive" concept of history is well-suited to explain this dynamic of group memory. According to her, collective memory has two modalities: archival and working. The archival one lies halfway between forgetting and the working memory: "The archive is the basis of what can be said in the future about the present when it becomes the past". (Assmann 2010:102) Thus, after the end of a forced narrative, Ullmann's works emerged literally from an archive at Charles University in Prague. In Brno, different forms of memories about Pavel Haas emerged, as did commentaries about *Brundibár* from all sides.

The support for this transition from the archival to the working modality is the framework of Holocaust remembrance worldwide and is, according to Langenohl (2010:166), one of the most important collective remembrance frameworks ever. Here is the indispensable place for a Gaby Flatow, Murry Sidlin, Herbert Gantschacher or David Fligg. However, as this same author points out, even as the pluralistic "past" is emerging, the ubiquitous danger of losing social cohesion intensifies (2010:177). That is why, as a citizen, I hoped that the memory of the fascinating chapter of the cultural life of music-making at Terezín would not just be considered "theirs" today, i.e., belonging to a group of which I am not a member, but that it would also be considered "our" national memory. The gala evening at the National (!) Gallery, which I mentioned above in my introduction, when a "national" minister declared that what until then had been a private/minority organization was now a state one – among many other matters – is, for me, such a testament. This act recalled not just the dynamics of the borrowing that happens between a minority and a majority, but symbolically, in the person of Iva Bittová, also recalled the dynamics between more than one such minority group (Jurková 2020). Above all, though, this gala evening has proven there is the will – and efforts are being made – to bring the (national) community together through remembrance.

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Music as an expression of Jewishness in contemporary Poland

Bożena Muszkalska

Abstract

Over half a century after the Holocaust, in Eastern European countries where the Jewish community remained only a small part of the population, products of Jewish culture (or what is perceived as Jewish culture), including music, have become vital components of the popular public domain. In Poland, there are festivals and concerts of Jewish music, more and more records with this music, Jewish museums, and renovated Jewish districts, with Jewish cuisine, and music that are offered to tourists visiting Poland as the main attractions. They attract enthusiastic – and often non-Jewish – crowds.

I consider how non-Jews involved in this movement in Poland perceive and implement Jewish culture, why they do it, how much it involves the recovery of Jewish heritage, and how this represents the musical culture of Jews in museums and at events organized for tourists. I also consider the relation of non-Jews as a majority group to Jews as a minority group, as well as the impact of the musical actions of the former on the musical culture of the latter.

The article is based on field research and observations I have made during more than twenty years, both among the remaining Jews in Poland and in mixed or non-Jewish communities where music perceived as Jewish is promoted.

Keywords: Jewishness, Jewish heritage, music, Poland, minority group

Elements of Jewish culture (or what is perceived as Jewish culture), including music, have become vital components of the popular public domain in Eastern European countries where the Jewish community remained only a small part of the population over half a century after the Holocaust. In Poland, there are now a number of festivals and concerts of Jewish music, records with Jewish music, Jewish museums, renovated Jewish districts, with Jewish cuisine and music for visiting tourists. All these attract enthusiastic – and often non-Jewish – audiences.

In the present essay, I will consider:

- the role of Jewish music festivals and concerts in the restoration of the memory of Jews,
- how musical performance opens up cultural spaces to think in new ways

about the identity of individuals and communities, as well as about the relationship between ethnic and national minorities and majority group.

My reflections are the result of field research and observations I have made during more than twenty years, both among the remaining Jews in Poland, and in mixed or non-Jewish communities, where music perceived as Jewish is promoted.

Recalling a shared history

The history of Jewish presence on Polish territory dates back a thousand years. The oldest source attesting to this presence dates from around 965. It is a travel account by Ibrahim Ibn Yakub, a Sephardic Jew from Cordoba, containing a description of the state of Mieszko I.¹ While throughout this millennium Poland was periodically even considered a “paradise for Jews” (Krzyżanowski 1975:329), during the Holocaust it actually became their hell. 90 per cent of the 3.3 million Jews living in Poland before the Second World War were murdered. After the war, the number of those who returned or stopped hiding was around 380,000 (according to Yad Vashem), but most of them soon left. The last wave left in the wake of the anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic campaign in March 1968. Today, there is a small Jewish community in Poland consisting mainly of Jews who did not emigrate and their descendants. Jews who stayed were often unaware of their Jewish origins, or did not think of themselves in terms of being Jewish out of fear or shame (Garbowski 2016:16).

Aleksander Hertz, a sociologist of Polish-Jewish relations, claimed in his book *The Jews in Polish Culture* that there were no Jews in post-war Poland, while at the same time stating that Poles would never be able to forget the Jews (Hertz 1988:5). His words turned out to be prophetic in a sense. In the past three decades the collective memory of Jewishness in the post-PPR country has been gradually returning. The increasing number of places where one can come into contact with various elements of Jewish culture, festivals of Jewish culture and publications in Polish introducing this culture, have become visible symbols of this process.² This memory persists not only in large centres, such as the community in Kraków with its Jewish quarter of Kazimierz, the best-known and most often described by researchers (e.g. Slobin 2000; Saxonberg & Waligórska 2006, 2013). Many events dedicated to Jewish culture also take place in smaller towns, inhabited before the war by large numbers of Jews, but now absent from them (Shapiro 2020). A special role in the process of refreshing memory is played by non-Jewish musicians who create and perform klezmer music, which is very popular in Poland. As “intermediaries” between past and present they, more than others involved in the transmission of Jewish traditions, influence how the Jewish part of their country’s history is perceived. Their music has also become an important means of dealing with the traumatic legacy of the Second World War and the Holocaust, with which the memory of people living in Poland is burdened. Particularly in small towns, such as Sejny, or Chmielnik, Lelów and Szczekociny, where Eleanor Shapiro conducted her research (Shapiro 2020), Jewish music

1. <https://sztetl.org.pl/pl/bio-gramy/2821-ibrahim-ibn-jakub> (last accessed 1 July 2022).
2. This is discussed at length by Magdalena Waligórska in the chapter “Klezmer as Simulacrum” (2013:5–8).

concerts contributed to break the silence of the Jewish part of the history of these places. The organisers of the concerts and the artists testify to this.

The spreading fashion for Jewishness in Europe and in Poland is not seen positively by everyone. It is controversial that art originating from a genre of an ethnic/religious group is being culturally appropriated by artists who do not identify themselves as Jewish. Ruth E. Gruber, for example, writes about the European klezmer scene as part of a “virtual Jewishness” that threatens to replace and overshadow “authentic” Jewish culture (Gruber 2002:50). Addressing the problem of “new authenticities” in later works, Gruber points out the analogy between the phenomena of “virtual Jewishness” and the “imaginary wild West”, having to do with the fascination of Poles (and other Europeans) with the culture of the Far West (Gruber 2009). She also points out that as a result of the rapid proliferation of social media and the recent lockdown caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, the boundaries between what is real and what is “virtual”, and between different identities, are becoming increasingly blurred (Gruber 2022). Indeed, the de facto absence of Jews in Europe has given impetus to the creation of a Jewish world by non-Jews living here, and the resurgence of this culture through them is sometimes seen as a misrepresentation of reality. One argument for the validity of such an assessment could be that Jewish culture (including music), which reaches the widest audience, has become an object of commerce. Negative emotions are also generated by associating the places where it is presented with persecution and extermination. Attention is also drawn to the fact that there are elements of kitsch in the efforts to promote Jewish culture, which is perhaps inevitable if one wants to cater to the tastes of mass consumers. Critical statements even include terms such as “Jewish zoo”, “fakelore”, “Jewish Disneyland” and even “cultural necrophilia” (Waligórska 2013:5). There is a less pejorative tinge to the term “phantom community” used by Mark Slobin to refer to the “lost population” whose music of “presumed authenticity”, the product of a fantasy shared by audiences and musicians of various sorts, is presented in Krakow’s Kazimierz. Slobin wonders whether the term “entertainment”, rather than “presentation”, is more appropriate for this situation, but on the other hand it seems to him an “equally strange” word to describe the way people spend their time in a place associated with Jews who are no longer there (Slobin 2000:83).

However, the renaissance of Jewishness in Poland can be looked at from a different perspective and seen in a positive light. Indeed, the growing number of events related to Jewish culture is apparently fulfilling a widespread desire among non-Jewish inhabitants of this country to change their ambivalent attitudes towards Jews, Poland’s historical Other. The educational and cultural activities undertaken and the involvement of the media in promoting Jewish heritage can be seen as an effort to strengthen a political option oriented towards supporting multiculturalism in a national environment polarised between populist and globalist worldviews. Magdalena Waligórska points out that the revival of klezmer and the boom in Jewish heritage in Poland can be

seen as a translation of this heritage and that cultural appropriation can be seen in terms of enrichment of one's own and adapted culture rather than mere deprivation (Waligórska 2013:8–15). Of course, as in any such process, Jewish music performed by non-Jews today cannot have the same form, meaning or function as music played by Jewish musicians in Europe before the Holocaust. It is only natural that it takes on new forms and acquires new meanings, relevant to the community in which it currently functions. It is worth noting at this point that this borrowing of elements of one culture by another is, in the case of most Polish artists, based not on an uncritical and unreflective adoption of the music of the Other, but on selective and creative adaptation. One could say that we are dealing here with hybridity, which would mean a dynamic and interactive process of borrowings and as a result the origin of some new, open eclectic and changeable culture. It should be noted that in Poland the cooperation between cultures seems to be supranational and supercultural rather than international and intercultural, which is the case in many other countries. This means that it takes place at a deeper level than that which would be determined by national or cultural conditions. Music serves as a metaphor for national identity, but the nature of the introduced changes makes it go beyond national borders, geocultural space and historical periods (Goldschmitt 2014).

Here, I will focus on the positive aspects of the resurgence of Jewishness in Poland thanks to Jews and non-Jews living here or coming from abroad. I distance myself from negative views that perceive this phenomenon as meaningless, driven purely by economic motivations and detrimental to "real" Jewish culture. I am particularly interested in how the music of the Jewish Other is being revived in Poland, what constitutes the Jewishness of this music, and how this revival contributes to the majority group's respect and understanding of Jewish minority culture, not the only minority group living in Poland.

The "new" Jewish tradition

Poland was once home to the largest Jewish population in the world and was one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse countries in Europe. Today, the Jewish minority makes up only a small percentage of the total population, and Poland is a relatively homogeneous country in terms of culture (quite apart from the situation in recent months, when refugees from Ukraine began arriving here in large numbers). However, even the Holocaust and its catastrophic effects did not cause the annihilation of the culture produced over the centuries by Polish Jews, although its transmission now takes place in different contexts and under different conditions.

An important role in the process of saving Jewish culture from oblivion and reviving it is played by the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, which has been operating in Warsaw since 2013. It differs from other Jewish historical museums in its philosophy and the way in which it presents its exhibits. It does not focus on the martyrdom of Second World War and the



Holocaust (as other museums of Jewish history do), but instead shows the contribution by Jews to the development of Polish culture, science and economy. This does not mean that the museum closes itself off to difficult moments in the history of Polish Jews. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Chief Curator of the Permanent Exhibition, sees the museum “as an act of recovery”:

There’s been a terrible break in this history. It is irreparable, and we have to acknowledge it. And the way I think about it is that we have to build bridges, fragile as they might be, across the chasm – this is expressed in the very form of the building’s main hall. “Po-lin”, which sounds like Hebrew for “here you shall rest”, conveys the message that Jews are a fundamental part of this place, in spite of some of the worst events in human history (Garbowski 2016:6).

While museums are traditionally regarded as repositories of tangible heritage, the collections presented in the Warsaw museum are largely based on intangible heritage resources. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that intangible heritage is an extremely important part of history, not to be underestimated when artefacts are missing, a situation we often face in the case of the history of Polish Jews (Dudek & Sikora 2016:38). Giving the example of a wooden synagogue ceiling in the museum, the researcher shows how, through its refashioning using traditional tools, materials and techniques learned from surviving documents, this intangible heritage, i.e. the knowledge of how to do it, was recovered.

Figure 1. Reconstructed wooden synagogue ceiling in the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews; <https://virtualtour.polin.pl/punkt/3-gwozdziec-synagogue/>; <https://virtualtour.polin.pl/punkt/3-gwozdziec-synagogue/> (last accessed 3 March 2023).

In doing so, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett emphasises that the objects created in this way should not be regarded as forgeries, reproductions or reconstructions. They are actual objects of a *new kind*, whose value is closely linked to this recovered heritage (Dudek & Sikora 2016:39; see also Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:25).

Although Jewish music is an intangible heritage, the way it has been restored in recent decades in Poland shows a certain analogy with the above-described procedure concerning the recovery of intangible heritage linked to lost material heritage. Many musicians who take part in such activities undertake research on Jewish music, study various types of surviving textual documents, musical notations, recordings and interview old Polish performers who remember this music.

It should be further noted that, despite the rupture caused by the Holocaust, “Jewish” music performed in Poland today has retained the ability which makes it remain in the space of encounter between Jews and non-Jews that it had before the war. Observing today’s musical practice, one could even say, following the late historian of Jewish origin living in Poland, Henryk Halkowski (2003:152), that both in the sphere of the profane and the sacred a “Jew profession” (“zawód żyda”) practised by non-Jewish musicians has been created here.

Although the term may seem to have a pejorative overtone, it is important to realise that non-Jewish klezmer musicians in Poland are generally professional musicians in the sense that they often have a musical education and earn their living by playing. They draw inspiration from Jewish culture and perform in place of Jews, providing a unique insight into their music and history. It is also worth recalling that older Polish folk musicians were often pupils of Jewish musicians. After all, before the war, Jewish music co-existed with Polish (and also Roma) music in many villages and towns. Jewish bands played at Polish weddings, and when there was a shortage of Jewish musicians, Polish colleagues were asked to help.

New hybrid musical genres as an outcome of cross-cultural dialog

Music performed as “Jewish” in Poland today is based on hybrid models. It should be noted that the adaptation of foreign melodies in Jewish music has been practised by Jewish cantors and klezmer musicians historically, in various forms and with varying intensity. Jewish musical genres, which had different functions and were often linked to specific ritual or social contexts, interacted with each other and drew inspiration from different musical traditions (Muszkalska 2008).

In the case of klezmer music, the models for musicians in Poland are the styles of playing known to them from recordings introduced in the U.S. of the 1910s–1930s by David Tarras, Naftule Brandwein, the Epstein Brothers and other musicians who emigrated from Russia, Ukraine and Poland in the early twentieth century. Characteristic of these styles is the blending of traditional

klezmer music brought from its homeland with big band and combo jazz. Giora Feidman's performances in the 1980s spreading hybridity in Germany, provided an important impetus for Jewish music performers in Europe, including Poland. Since the early 1990s and through the influence of the Krakow Jewish Culture Festival, Polish musicians also draw from American Jewish klezmer revival musicians, who absorb elements of blues, jazz, as well as pop and rock from the late 1970s. The influence of popular music is evident not only in klezmer music. It is also noticeable in other genres of music defined in Poland as Jewish, as exemplified by the songs with religious texts performed at concerts and festivals by Symcha Keller of Lodz.

Symcha Keller is a former chairman of the Jewish Community in Lodz and prayer leader at the local synagogue. He describes himself as a *hazan*, or synagogue cantor, who has taken over the traditional style of singing prayers from the cantor Isaac Froimovsky, who was already active before the war. The traditional cantillation of texts from the sacred books is preserved by Keller during services,³ while in songs sung outside the liturgy he reaches for different styles. His "Hasidic triptych" consisting of three CD albums *Gates* (2017), *Chojze – "The Seer from Lublin"* (2019), and *Chasidic Road – from Lublin to Kock* (2021), recorded with Jewish and non-Jewish musicians, contains, among other things, recordings of songs that date from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and even go back to the Middle Ages.

According to Keller, he tried to be as faithful as possible to the historical originals, while other songs were taken from traditional Hasidic music and performed in contemporary arrangements – with elements of reggae, rock, folk, and even punk.⁴ Keller is strongly influenced by a Hasidic rabbi, composer and musician from New York, Shlomo Carlebach, nicknamed "The Singing Rabbi", who visited Poland in 1989. Later Keller accompanied him on his tours of America.⁵ For Carlebach music was a medium providing an opportunity to reach Jewish and not only Jewish listeners of different backgrounds. The songs he composed were based on verses of prayers and easily catchy repetitive melodies, drawing on various musical traditions and styles of popular music, a characteristic of Hasidic *nigguns* (a form of Jewish religious song or tune). The synthesis of the aesthetics of cantorial music and American folk music, which incorporated various styles of popular music, became a model for synagogue song in America of the later 20th century (Kelman & Magid 2016).

The echo of the pre-war cross-cultural dialogue resounds in the projects of the Borderland Centre based in Sejny, carried out in cooperation with prominent American klezmer musicians beginning in 2001. In this case it is possible to follow the process of acquiring know-how in the area of Jewish music by Poles, which has resulted in the restoration of this music, albeit in a new shape, to the local soundscape. Sejny is a small town in north-eastern Poland, which before the Second World War was inhabited by a fairly large Jewish community. Today, only a few houses, a synagogue, a school, and *macevas* (tombstones) used to build roads and stairs in the town, are left. There is also a theatre group and a klezmer band formed by young people to better understand the world of Jewish beliefs and music.

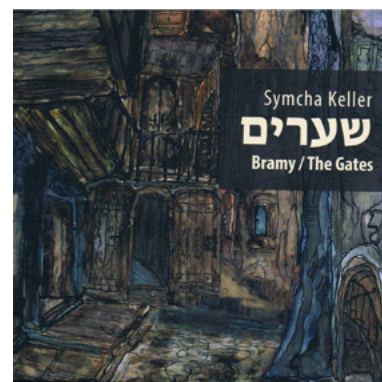


Figure 2. Cover of the album *The Gates* by Simcha Keller.

3. <https://incрудо.bandcamp.com/album/their-voice-goes-out-into-all-the-earth-music-in-the-religious-life-of-the-ashkenazi-jews>; no 37, 38 (last accessed 30 October 2022).
4. <https://www.e-kalejdoskop.pl/muzyka-a212/od-rock-mana-do-rabina-r6024> (last accessed 1 July 2022).
5. Interview with Symcha Keller 25 July 2002.

The klezmer ensemble in question began its activities with the production of the play *Dybbuk* by S. Ansky in 1996, which was preceded by deep studies of the city's multicultural heritage. When its members presented the play at the Jewish Culture Festival in 1997 in Krakow, they met David Krakauer, whom they invited to Sejny. The fruit of the meeting was a joint project called *Musicians' Raft*. Its aim was to find traces of Yiddish culture in Central and Eastern Europe, and to renew links with the lost past by establishing contact with people who had preserved Yiddish language and music. Since then, the *Musicians' Raft* has become Sejny's border music festival, held periodically in 2001, 2004, 2006, 2010 and 2017. The musical encounters looked different each time. It could be typical klezmer music workshops giving Polish amateur musicians the opportunity to play together with prominent representatives of the klezmer music revival movement from overseas, David Krakauer, Michael Alpert, Stuart Brotman, Jeff Warschauer, Deborah Strauss, Paul Brody and Frank London. At other meetings the aim was to gather musicians from all over the world representing new sounds of Jewish music in a creative way.

In 2004, the title of the project, "A raft of musicians between New York and Sejny", included names of places with symbolic significance. Sejny symbolises the cities and towns in Eastern Europe where Yiddish culture lived and thrived, while New York symbolises the world where Jewish emigrants who left Europe at the turn of the 20th century settled and preserved the traditions of klezmer music. Since the third edition, the *Raft* formula has been expanded to include seminars, led by eminent specialists in Yiddish culture and the history of Eastern European Jews, and presentations of documentary and archival films. In 2017, the aim of *Raft* was also to create collaborative music and record an album by the Sejny Orchestra with guests, marking the next stage of innovative artistic and educational work to build a bridge between generations and cultures through music.⁶ As for the style of music taught to the Sejny youth by American klezmer musicians, it



Figure 3. Klezmer band of Sejny with Frank London in 2017; <https://www.pogranicze.sejny.pl/artykuly/orkiestra-klezmerska-z-frankiem-londonem-8-12-pazdzier-nika-2017/>; (last accessed 1 March 2023).

6. <http://www.pogranicze.sejny.pl> (last accessed 1 July 2022).



Figure 4. Kapela Brodów; <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=978226512233188&set=pcb.978228345566338> (last accessed 1 March 2023).

represents in part the old Eastern European tradition, and on the other hand creative arrangements often with elements of jazz.⁷ An additional bonding element for the groups in the music workshop were participation in Friday Shabbat evenings, after which traditional Jewish songs were sung.

Another example of a klezmer music project aimed at reviving Jewish music that had not been performed for decades, is the Muzikaim project carried out by Kapela Brodów. The members of this group studied persisting written and recorded documents, and interviewed people who remembered the music that they performed. The project resulted in the recording of a CD album with the same name (P002MO).

The idea for the project was inspired by the Kolberg Year celebrations to mark the bicentenary of the birth of Poland's most famous nineteenth century ethnographer. Although Oskar Kolberg did not devote a separate volume to Jewish music in his multi-volume work *Lud. Jego zwyczaj, sposób życia, mowa, podania, przysłowia, obrzędy, gusta, zabawy, pieśni, muzyka i tańce* (*The People. Their customs, Way of Life, Language, Folktales, Proverbs, Rites, Witchcraft, Games, Songs, Music and Dances*, published in 1857), the Jews are present in the background of his descriptions of Polish culture and transcriptions of Jewish music can be found in various volumes. They also formed the basis for some of the performances of the pieces presented on the album. On the cover of this album there is the following statement by Witek Broda, the band's leader, who describes himself as a "subjective researcher of tradition":

The songs on the album came from my wandering around the villages, paging through the works of Oskar Kolberg and the archives of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences. I heard Jewish sounds from village musicians – vivid, foreign, intriguing. Sometimes it was a phrase, sometimes a whole piece. Overheard under the window, learnt from a Jewish fiddler, then played for dancing at parties and weddings. I collected these motifs, glued the crumbs together. This is what Jewish music might have been like in the villages in pre-war Poland. (Kapela Brodów 2015)

7. A part of this repertoire was recorded on the unpublished CD 'The Musicians' Raft Concert Between New York and Sejny (for promotional use only).

The performers on the album point to elements of scale, cadential motifs and ornaments that distinguish Jewish from Polish folk music, notated by Kolberg and performed today.

A more dramatic example of foreign melodies and style incorporated into klezmer is the piece “Chopin’s Freilach” by the Krakow ensemble Di Galitzianer Klezmerim, performed with clarinet, accordion and double bass.⁸ Freilach is the name of one of most popular Jewish dances and the above-mentioned piece is based on three Mazurkas by Chopin: g-minor, op. 67, no. 2, a-minor, op. 68, no. 2, and C-major, op. 64, no. 2. It has been performed on Polish and foreign stages (among others during the 2006 Chopin Days in Salzburg), and has received numerous awards, including first prize in the 1st National Chopin Competition for All Instruments Except the Piano “Chopin Open”.⁹

The case of Wrocław

The place to which I will devote special attention in the context of the cross-cultural musical dialog and hybridity is Wrocław, a city where I lived until recently and with which I am still professionally connected. As a city located in western Poland, which belonged to Germany before the World War II, it is important for Jewish history and art and highly symbolic for the Polish and German national narrative. Over the past two decades, it has not only become a significant bastion of Jewish culture, but also an important destination for Holocaust tourism as a unique place due to its complex heritage.

Jews were already present in the city in the Middle Ages, proved by a cantor’s tombstone from 1203 in the Jewish cemetery. In the 19th century, German Breslau became one of the main centres of progressive Judaism. The new style of synagogue music associated with this trend was introduced here by Moritz Deutsch (1818–1894), cantor and founder of the cantorial school at the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary. He was a pupil and later assistant of the famous Salomon Sulzer, author of synagogue music reform, active in Vienna. In 1829, the synagogue “Under the White Stork”, still in use today, was opened in Breslau, where one of the first Reform services in the German-speaking area was held.

Hitler’s rise to power brought with it anti-Jewish laws that excluded Jews from Breslau community life. After Second World War, survivors from Eastern Europe began to arrive in the now Polish city. For many, it was an intermediate station on their way to Israel and other Western European countries. Those who stayed and felt Jewish were active in Jewish organisations as well as informal groups maintaining their Jewish identity.

Today, the religious and cultural life of Wrocław’s Jews and supporters of Jewish culture is concentrated in the so-called Quarter of Four Faiths, also known as the Quarter of Four Temples or Quarter of Mutual Respect, which overlaps territorially to a large extent with the former “Jewish Quarter”. Its boundaries are defined by streets in which a Catholic church, an Evangelical



Figure 5. Di Galitzianer Klezmerim; <http://www.klezmerim.pl/rameng.html> (last accessed 1 March 2023).

8. The piece was recorded on the album *Nokh Amol* (TCD 008).

9. <http://www.klezmerim.pl/rameng.html> (last accessed 1 July 2022).

church, an Orthodox cathedral and a synagogue nowadays belonging to the Orthodox branch of Judaism.¹⁰ “The district” has a symbolic dimension, reflecting the diversity and mutual tolerance characteristic of a city where followers of different religions and representatives of different cultures have lived in the past and live today. The faithful of the four denominations organise joint charity events, educational meetings for children, ecumenical prayers and concerts to bring the cultural and religious diversity of the city closer. The White Stork Synagogue, mentioned above, has a special function in this context. It is not only a place of worship, but also a venue for artistic events. Alongside it are restaurants, cafés and music clubs, where Jewish songs and klezmer music can be heard.

Cultural events, including Jewish music, taking place in the synagogue are under the auspices of the Pro Arte Foundation, established in 2002, whose mission is “understanding through art”. The Foundation cooperates with Catholic, Evangelical and Orthodox parishes as well as with Jewish communities in Poland and abroad. It creates and promotes programmes to discover common multicultural roots. It works for tolerance and ecumenism, as well as the restoration and protection of the European heritage of national and religious minorities. Its artistic and educational projects include festivals, concerts, exhibitions, workshops and lectures addressed to a wide audience.

One of the three largest Jewish cultural festivals in Poland under the patronage of the Pro Arte Foundation is the SIMCHA festival, which had its 24th edition in 2022. The festival is intended to remind people of history and allow them to learn and understand the diversity of Jewish culture. This is as important for the Jewish minority living in Wrocław as it is for the rest of the city’s inhabitants. The festival’s programme includes concerts with the participation of Polish and foreign artists performing works representing various genres of Jewish music, from synagogue music through klezmer to Yiddish songs, lectures about this music and Jewish dance workshops. It is worth mentioning that children are also involved in the festival events as dancers, musicians and singers.

Another cyclical event organised by the Pro Arte Foundation is the Havdalah concerts held in the synagogue, during which mainly klezmer music is presented. They have been organised since 1996 on the initiative of Stanisław Rybarczyk and are a continuation of the 19th century tradition connected with the person of the aforementioned Moritz Deutsch. Havdalah marks the ceremonial end of the Sabbath and the simultaneous beginning of a new week, a bridge between the sacred and the everyday. The concerts begin, according to Jewish tradition, one hour after sunset, every last Saturday of the month. They have become an important, high-impact cultural event that attracts artists and music lovers from Poland and abroad. The Quarter of Four Faiths is also home to a second foundation, set up by the Norwegian singer, actress and playwright of Jewish origin, Bente Kahan, who settled in Wrocław in 2001. The foundation was established in 2006 and bears the name of its founder. It began its activities by renovating and revitalising the buildings of the White Stork Synagogue and the adjacent *shul* (small synagogue).

10. Since the synagogue opened in 1829, it served the liberal faction of the Wrocław Jewish community, and from 1872 to 1943 the Conservative faction. After the World War II it was reactivated as a synagogue of Orthodox Jews.

In addition to holding services on major holidays, the large synagogue houses the Centre for Jewish Culture and Education, of which Bente Kahan is the director. It hosts exhibitions, film screenings, workshops, lectures, the annual concert series “Summer at the White Stork Synagogue” and educational performances written and directed by Bente Kahan. On the balconies of the synagogue you can visit the permanent exhibition “Recovered History. Jewish Life in Wrocław and Lower Silesia”. Bente Kahan places particular emphasis on educational activities in the belief that this is the best way to understand not only difficult history, but also what is happening in modern times, which is sometimes also not easy to understand.

Wrocław is not only a Mecca for outside artists fascinated by Jewish culture and music. It is also home to local soloists and ensembles such as the White Stork Synagogue Choir, founded in 1996 on the initiative of its conductor Stanisław Rybarczyk. The choir’s members are mainly students and graduates of Polish origin at the Wrocław Academy of Music. The ensemble performs Jewish repertoire a cappella or with instrumental accompaniment, much of it related to various moments in the liturgical calendar. Liturgical and secular works are mainly presented by the choir at concerts, but also at Jewish services. The choir’s performance during liturgy must be approved by the rabbi, and only the repetition of the prayer text by the rabbi or the *baal tefillah* (prayer leader) gives the verses sung by the choir the status of a prayer. Rybarczyk, the choir’s director, admits that when selecting singers he is guided not by their background, but by their abilities and skills to achieve a high artistic level of performance. Moritz Deutsch is a figure eagerly cited by the conductor, as he represents the link between the choir’s current activities and the past of the place where the choir is based.¹¹ The choir performs works from the composer’s published collection *Breslauer Synagogengesänge, Liturgie der neuen Synagoge, in Musik gesetzt für Solo und Chor mit und ohne Orgelbegleitung* (Leipzig 1880), created for the city’s newly established Reform synagogue. The ensemble’s repertoire also includes works related to Jewish tradition by other Jewish and non-Jewish composers. In addition, the choir collaborates with Piotr Baron, a jazz saxophonist, as well as with artists representing the popular music scene, such as the Polish singer Justyna Steczkowska, who was accompanied by the choir on the album *Alkimja* from the Ashkenazi and Sephardic tradition (Justyna Steczkowska 2002) or the aforementioned Bente Kahan. The White Stork Synagogue choir is undoubtedly widely perceived as a showcase of the Jewish community in Wrocław.

Among the soloists, apart from Bente Kahan, who performs mainly the repertoire of Ashkenazi Jews, mention should be made of Marek Eliezer Marossanyi, who has been leading prayers at the synagogue in Wrocław for several years, but also takes up collaboration with various musicians to present Jewish repertoire on stage. Outside the synagogue, the musician performs Sephardic music as well as music of Jews from Yemen and Morocco with texts in Ladino and Hebrew from prayer books and the Torah, among others. One of Marossanyi’s greatest achievements was the formation of a band in 2003 (the ensemble no longer exists) with Wrocław-based jazzman

11. Personal communication, Stanisław Rybarczyk. See also <https://proarte.org.pl/projekty/chor-synagogi-pod-bialym-bo-cianem/> (last accessed 18 February 2022).



Figure 6. The White Stork Synagogue choir; http://www.gaudemater.eu/2010/informacje/66/Artysci/Chor_Synagogi_pod_Bialym_Bocianem (last accessed 1.March 2023).

Andrzej Waśniewski. This band consisted of keyboards, saxophone, djembe, darabuka and other percussion instruments, which the musicians intended to give the old songs of oriental Jews the colour characteristic of electro-club music. The band performed not only in Wrocław, but also in various cities in Poland and the Czech Republic.

Conclusions

Music described as Jewish in contemporary Poland is an important subject of research in the context of the “Music and minorities” theme undertaken in this issue of the journal. After all, the Jewish minority along with its culture was an important part of Poland’s cultural landscape for nearly a millennium. One may wonder whether the manifestations of the revival of this culture, which can be observed in this post-communist state in last decades, should be interpreted as an expression of appreciation on the part of the majority group for the minority community, or rather as a cultural hijacking. Opinions among researchers are divided, but I chose to focus my reflection on the positive side of the minority and majority group relationship in relation to music.

As I demonstrated in my study music perceived as Jewish in contemporary Poland is one of the most significant forms of intangible Jewish heritage used to express what is referred to as Jewishness. The process of its transmission involves Jews and, to a large extent, non-Jews, which is a common phenomenon in contemporary Europe. The participation of non-Jews in restoring lost ties to Jewish heritage seems inevitable and necessary given the small number of Jews remaining in Poland. This cross-cultural dialogue leads to the emergence of new hybrid musical forms, showcasing a wide stylistic cross-section achieved through the fusion of music belonging to various Jewish traditions with classical, popular music and jazz. This is especially true of klezmer music, as in the projects *Musicians’ Raft* from Sejny or *Muzikaim*, but also of songs based on texts taken from the Bible or Jewish

prayer books, performed outside the liturgical context by Symcha Keller from Lodz, Marek Elizer Marossanyi, and The White Stork Synagogue Choir from Wrocław.

Music has become an important medium in restoring the memory of the Jews. Musicians who include music described as “Jewish” in their repertoires often undertake a search for surviving historical sources and among living people for knowledge of what it should sound like. And last but not least the experience of music opens up a space for mutual contact, facilitating the empathetic engagement of Poles in understanding the Other and making us remember Jews not only as victims, but also as people who created a rich culture and art through which they expressed their emotions. Jewish music in today’s Poland is at once a border maintaining mechanism, setting up, strengthening and showcasing the difference between Jewish and non-Jewish, and a mechanism or function that bridges over this border, inviting people of all sorts to pass over this bridge as musicians, activists and listeners. This is the function of all kinds of bridges, as Simmel showed in his short but extremely influential paper on bridges and doors (Simmel 1908). The role in building such bridges by the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Pro Arte and Bente Kahan Foundations from Wrocław and many other institutions in Poland, as well as festivals and concerts of Jewish music organizers cannot be overestimated.

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Musical communities of sexual minorities

The music of rebellion during the 10th Wrocław Equality March

Jakub Kopaniecki

Abstract

Wrocław, one of the largest cities in Poland, is full of events taking place in public space, including protests. Using examples taken from the 10th Wrocław Equality March in 2018, it can be shown that specific musical works become a weapon in the struggle for recognition of the proclaimed values. The study traces the auditory dimension of protests, the role of music in creating a community and the place of such events in the soundscape of a contemporary city. Then the study presents these mechanisms on selected musical examples. Particular attention is paid to the musical communities, because the sound not only accompanies the protests it strengthens the sense of solidarity between the participants.

The event is interpreted as a kind of spectacle that constitutes a space for self-expression and the articulation of the postulates of its participants, accompanied by a characteristic soundtrack. It consists mainly of popular music performed by artists either belonging to sexual minorities or being recognized as icons of the community. The study presents the role of disco music and club culture as well as the aesthetics of the camp as crucial for LGBT+ people seeking space for their expression, which is oppositional to the dominant system of values based on gender dualism. Seemingly simple or silly songs can have a deeper meaning and are a key element in shaping a certain community.

Keywords: Pride parade, protest, soundscape, popular music, camp

Poland has a long history of protests, most notably the strong mobilization of the population in the 1970s and 1980s. The trade union Solidarity initiated nationwide strikes by workers, which contributed to the overthrow of the communist regime in Poland, as well as the collapse of the entire Soviet Union. After regaining independence from the USSR in 1989, Poles began to take to the streets more willingly and often both on important and trivial issues, in a way erasing the subversive meaning of protests. The ideas of solidarity were not lost, however. Echoes of the events of the late 20th century continued to resonate in the Polish society. Pride parades have invariably polarized Poles for years, dividing them into total supporters and ruthless opponents. These parades began appearing in the calendar of annual urban events in 2001, with the first Equality Parade in Warsaw. Their legitimacy has been incessantly questioned, leading to cancellation of the Warsaw parades in 2004 and 2005, or to pacification by the police, as in Poznań in 2005 (Nowak 2013:255). However, this has not dampened the enthusiasm of the organizers

and participants, but rather the opposite. Similar marches began to appear in other large Polish cities, starting with the Tolerance March in Krakow in 2006.

Marches, parades, and festivals of equality are opportunities to manifest opinions, make demands, and above all, to claim one's identity publicly by means of dress, behavior, words, and music. The aim of my article is to demonstrate, using the example of the 10th Wrocław Equality March held in October 2018, how participants united in their common goals and the peculiar rituality of the actions undertaken, and how they became bound together in a community by the sounds of culturally specific music, a unique soundtrack.¹ In my opinion Wrocław, the capital of Lower Silesian voivodeship and one of the largest cities in Poland, is an excellent example of these processes. I emphasize the role of the March in the noisy soundscape of a modern European city and its relation to other types of parades. Furthermore, I introduce disco and camp as two notions characteristic of the LGBT+ [Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender +] community and in the empirical part I discuss how they were used and played out in the Wrocław Equality March.

Wrocław and the LGBT+ community

Wrocław is located in southwestern Poland, about 100 km from the Czech border and 150 km from the German border. It is the third largest city in Poland and one of the most important business, academic, and cultural centers in the country. The incorporation of the city and the whole of Lower Silesia region in Poland after the end of World War II resulted in an almost complete replacement of the population. Because of this, Wrocław became known for its multiculturalism and openness, which opened the way for a reinterpretation of cultural heritage, and an identity built on dialogue and tolerance. Today, Wrocław, officially promoted as “Wrocław – the meeting place”, attracts a large number of students, who not only enthusiastically enjoy the local amenities, but also contribute to the vibrancy and multiculturalism of the city. Wrocław is a well-promoted city, thanks to which it enjoys great interest from Polish and foreign tourists. The breakthrough moments for the city were 2012 UEFA European Football Championship (Euro 2012) and European Capital of Culture 2016, which attracted numerous tourists from all over Europe (Kędzior 2019:72–78).

Wrocław also offers numerous opportunities for nightlife – pubs, bars and dance clubs. However, access to LGBT+ clubs is very limited, especially considering the city's population of over 630,000 people.² There are two large gay clubs in Wrocław, HaH Art & Music Club and Surowiec, both located in the city center. Many LGBT-friendly venues were closed as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, including the Coffee Planet café and the techno club Das Lokal. This may be one of the reasons for the popularity of the equality marches in Wrocław – there simply isn't enough safe, conventional places to party. The LGBT+ community can however count on the support of the Kultura Równości [Culture of Equality] association, which organizes numerous events, training sessions, and workshops and provides

1. I took part in the full course of the march as a participant and therefore my main method of research was participant observation. In addition, I kept photographic and video documentation and conducted short interviews with random participants of the event. The audiovisual material recorded, and the field notes I took were used to prepare this section of the article.
2. Data from 2020, provided by Statistics Poland. <https://demo-grafia.stat.gov.pl/BazaDemografia/Tables.aspx> (last accessed 24 May 2022).



psychological, legal, and material help to LGBT+ people in Wrocław. In addition, the Wrocław Equality March has for several years enjoyed the honorary patronage of the Mayor of Wrocław, Jacek Sutryk, who has spoken positively about sexual minorities on numerous occasions. He is not an isolated example. The presidents of many other major cities, including Warsaw and Krakow, have also given their patronage to pride parades there. Such behavior can be seen as an expression of disagreement with the actions of politicians from the ruling political party.

Figure 1. The Wrocław Market Square. Source: Sławek Ilski, CC BY 3.0. No changes have been made to the image.

Current situation of LGBT+ community in Poland

Although this article is about the Wrocław Equality March in 2018, it must be emphasized that equality marches continued also in following years, gathering many thousands of attendants. In 2020, despite the COVID-19 pandemic, over 10 thousand people took part in the March, a record number in the history of the event. Thanks to the report *Sytuacja społeczna osób LGBT+ w Polsce. Raport za lata 2019–2020* [The social situation of LGBT+ people in Poland. Report for 2019–2020] prepared by the *Kampania przeciw homofobii* [Campaign Against Homophobia foundation] and the Lambda association, one can learn the reason for the growing interest in these events in recent years. Although they concern a more recent period, they represent phenomena that have been growing for many years, including in 2018, when the 10th March in Wrocław took place.

Since autumn 2015 the right-wing, fundamentalist *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* (Law and Justice) party is in power in Poland.³ 2019–2020, the period covered by the abovementioned report, there were three national election campaigns in Poland, for the parliament, the European Parliament, and the presidency. In the campaigns one could observe an increased use of hateful language and demands directed against LGBT+ people. Politicians, public figures, and representatives of the Catholic Church were involved in the discourse. Polish national television carried out a particularly intense campaign. From 2019 onwards, increased activity by fundamentalist organizations could be seen, resulting in the creation of so-called LGBT-free zones and an attempt to ban sex education. The effects of these actions soon became visible. The steady trend of increasing public acceptance of LGBT+ people and equality was broken in 2019. There have also been increasingly drastic examples of violence that were not present before: the attempt to place explosives at the Equality March in Lublin, the detention of a knifeman at the Equality March in Wrocław; or attacks by organized radicalized groups on participants of the March in Białystok (Wiśniewski & Świder 2021:7–9).

As many as 12% of LGBT+ people planned to leave the country in the coming months after being interviewed for the aforementioned report, with more than one-third citing the experience of discrimination in Poland as the reason (Makuchowska 2021:14). According to the abovementioned report, over half of those interviewed (53%) had experienced a hate crime based on sexual orientation or gender identity (Makuchowska 2021:37). 44% of the informants reported severe symptoms of depression in 2019–2020 – a period of particularly intense vilification of LGBT+ people (Makuchowska 2021:49). Compared to a 2015/2016 survey (Świder & Wiśniewski 2017:26–27), there was a decrease in trust in the government, police and courts and an increase in trust in LGBTQIA [Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual] organisations, other NGOs and the European Union (Makuchowska 2021:81).

October 2020 also saw the largest protests in Polish history after 1989. They were caused by the tightening of the abortion law, which in effect almost completely restricted access to abortion in Poland. About 100,000 people passed through Wrocław October 28, 2020, the most intense protests of all Polish cities (Kopaniecki 2021:68). The protests united most of the groups discriminated against or harmed by the government – including the LGBT+ communities, whose large presence was symbolized by rainbow flags flying above the marching crowd.

What is a pride parade?

Marsze równości, parady równości, equality marches or equality parades, are the Polish equivalents of pride parades. The terms are used interchangeably to describe the same kind of events. Their main aim is to fight for equal rights for sexual minorities, as well as equality in treatment by society. In Poland it is accepted that only the Warsaw Pride Parade is called a parade, since it was the first such initiative, taking place almost every year since

3. The President of Poland, Andrzej Duda, represents this party.

2001. In other cities the events are called equality marches, although their basic form is almost identical. Marches in Poland were inspired by similar events organized in cities in the United States and Western Europe, starting with the Stonewall Inn riots in New York 1969, considered the origin of modern pride marches.

A protest is constituted by a public, formal, and solemn declaration of dissent. It is a demonstration, an appearance in a public space (Stevenson 2010), carrying with it an extrajudicial and performative imperative of putting things to right. According to Dariusz Kosiński, Polish theatre scholar, the participants of a protest:

oppose the radically dominant discourse [...]. They are usually defined by concepts related to the act of entering the performance: manifestations, demonstrations, marches – all these terms refer to the same movement of emerging from the twilight and bringing into the field of view what was not there before (Kosiński 2010, no paging. Author’s translation).⁴

As such, a protest is therefore a performative act of public communication that aims to challenge existing power relations and the “rules of the game” dictated by those in power (Hayward & Komarova 2020:63). Importantly, such activities set in motion large groups of people who get a chance to take over the social scene in order to introduce forces that have been absent or insufficiently clear so far. Protests are not only about seeking recognition; protests try to disturb the existing political order. In this respect equality marches stand out and even specialize in “political performative battle”, by parodying conventions of marches or protests, by provoking and showing in full splendor what is considered unwanted, and by being grotesque and carnivalesque in their own way (Kosiński 2010). The ‘march’ or ‘parade’ of equality is in fact a party of the LGBT+ community members transferred to the streets.

According to the American performance theorist Richard Schechner (Schechner 2020) the social codes of ordinary daily life are more or less commonly adapted and that it is these codes that revolutionaries seek to break in order to achieve lasting change. Equality marches are revolutionary in this sense since they stand in opposition to the practices of everyday life and are ceremonial in nature. While the participants, the LGBT+ communities, perform themselves publically, in the context of culturally established norms they become rebels. By bringing their own music and soundscape out to streets and squares, they also break the ordinary course of sound events and challenge the sonic identity of the city’s public spaces.

Spaces, sounds, and values. Acoustic communities of modern cities

The physical space in which a protest takes place can be used as a tool for gaining visibility that shapes the audience. The visibility allows certain types of social activity to take place in certain locations and as such have a major influence on how power relations work (McGarry, Erhart, Eslan-Ziya, Jenzen

4. “[Uczestnicy marszu] przeciwstawiają się radykalnie dominującemu dyskursowi [...]. Zazwyczaj określa się je pojęciami związanymi z aktem wkroczenia w przedstawienie: manifestacje, demonstracje, wystąpienia – wszystkie te terminy odwołują się do tego samego ruchu wyjścia z półmroku i wniesienia w pole widzenia tego, czego wcześniej w nim nie było”.

& Korkut 2020:23). Cultural spaces are an accumulation of institutions; they concentrate the symbolic practices of urban communities, are functionally defined and are the subject of interaction between material, aesthetic and symbolic values and community (Rewers 2014:26–27). Cultural spaces are a record not only of the inhabitants' wealth but also of their cultural and social identity. According to Pazder (2008:22), cultural spaces that are the product of long social development are considered the most attractive. In Poland and other Western countries, the city center is in many cases the most important urban space, as it creates the framework for social life in which individuals can feel the individual character of the city, its scale and the rhythm of life (Pazder 2008:22). It enables the realization of leisure time, which plays a significant role in the context of creative class theory (Florida 2002).

Urban spaces can be organized by sound. The sonic quality of the space lasts over time, which allows us to recognize and remember it, but it is also not fully controlled and cannot be fully planned (Fischer-Lichte 2008:175, 201). The basis of the soundscape is event-related, by which it entails a certain unpredictability and dynamism, corresponding to the dynamic character of city life (Tańczuk 2015:19). Wrocław is considered one of the most creative cities in Poland, next to Warsaw, Poznań and Katowice (Florida 2002, Wojnar 2016). Its old town is considered by Robert Losiak, Polish musicologist and cultural scholar specializing in soundscape studies, to be the most representative and significant space, due to among other things, a high concentration of musical events and almost round-the-clock sonic activities, which are well-known and recognizable (Losiak 2008:261). Here's where the Equality March took place. Noise may be a problem in the human-environment relationship. To make a lot of noise is to make other sounds inaudible and meaningless, but also to draw attention to the intentions of those who emit the loud sounds.

In the spirit of the actor-network theory developed by Bruno Latour, French anthropologist, sociologist and philosopher, sounds can be treated as active non-human actants, fully fledged elements of a community that establish relationships between people and various non-human factors (Losiak & Tańczuk 2015:193). By sharing space, people co-create an acoustic community, which Raymond Murray Schafer, Canadian composer and soundscape researcher, defines as a human community inhabiting a certain space centering around the sound that dominates that space. This sound defines the nature of the community, its needs and preferences, and regulates its activities. Acoustic information plays a positive role in the life of a community, and its members are repeatedly linked by sound sentiment – pleasant sound associations as a result of certain stereotypes or memories (Schafer 1982:310).

A special kind of acoustic community is the musical community. Music and the social ties expressed through it is central in the everyday life of the community, generating a shared sense of belonging (Shelemay 2011:363–364). Scholarly discussions of musical communities are also focused on solidarity.

“Musical solidarity” can refer to music's ability to be a kind of a mediator of togetherness, or the existence of shared music in the absence of social unity.

The term captures optimism among the listeners who invoke it and the notion of solidarity resonates in analyses of protest anthems as catalytic sparks for unity against oppression (Bohlman 2020:4).

Is there queer music?

“Queers have used, and continue to use, Western popular musics and extra-musical style to express their gender and sexual differences, empower and transform themselves, form queer social alliances and mobilize social protest”, states Jodie Taylor in the introduction to *Playing it Queer* (Taylor 2012:3). Music can be queer. Through a sophisticated system of subcultural meanings, music creates a sense of belonging to a community. Music’s ability to situate the individual in society can provide marginalized people, such as queer people, with the means to transcend the public/private dichotomy that has long operated as a means of sexual repression (Taylor 2012:45). Music has become a platform for marginalized voices to be heard and provide them with opportunities to seek definition. Perhaps, to non-queer ears and eyes, this is difficult to see, but it is fair to say that there is no style or genre that does not contain elements of queerness (Taylor 2012:45–49) or that can be attributed to queerness.

A genre that is invariably associated with queer culture is disco. In the early 1970s in New York, queer people of African American and Latin-Caribbean descent, drag queens and heterosexual allies began to form small communities where they could be themselves, feel safe and do things that were not allowed in the patriarchal world. Music was an essential part of their gatherings – the soundtrack of these events eventually developed into disco (from discotheque, nightclubs dedicated solely to playing recorded music). Since then, disco music has seen a surge in popularity, infiltrating mainstream discotheques and gaining an international audience (Garcia 2018:4). After the spectacular popularity in the second half of the seventies, it nearly vanished as a genre, but had then already affected almost all popular music. Disco then and today is not only music, but also types of dances, fashion, movies, and a historically and culturally specific sensitivity.

Richard Dyer distinguishes eroticism, romanticism, and materialism as the qualities that constitute the essence of the genre (Garcia 2014:3). Disco’s romanticism is especially interesting. Dyer found in the musical texture an aesthetic figuration of emotional intensity, a romanticism that is primarily the result of the use of strings, emotive voices, intense expression, and textual layers of songs that focus on the experience of the moment. This means, in a sense, legitimizing, but not trivializing, fleeting relationships. This aspect of gay culture – deriving joy and excitement from fleeting love affairs, living in the moment, being aware of the impermanence of many relationships and exquisite pain associated with it – is legitimized by disco music. In the 1970s homosexual sex was still illegal in most US states. Long-term same-sex relationships still have no legal recognition in many countries, Poland included. Romanticism in disco can therefore open up the

divide between the banality of alienated life and something that transcends it – an utopian space (Garcia 2014:1–3).

Club culture is an area of experience in opposition to everyday life, a space of alternative experience that functions outside the system of social legitimization, as stated by Samuel Nowak, polish cultural and media studies scholar (Nowak 2010:55). “Disco is a hotbed of homosexual resistance. In the abstract space created by disco music, forbidden love and unspoken desire enjoy absolute freedom” (Gregori i Gomis 2006:1, author’s translation).⁵ Also, contemporary dance music, which draws heavily on disco, plays this liberating role, because when night falls and we enter a club, “the naked scene of our subconscious desires” appears (Gregori i Gomis 2006:1). It is a potential space of freedom for the ‘misfits’, queers.

Returning to Dyer, eroticism derives from the simplicity of the songs, focused on the dance rhythm and thus on carnality. The structure of disco music compositions is rarely closed. Often a phrase is looped endlessly, allowing you to “drown in the frenzy of sounds” and to experience a kind of ecstasy. “Disco music releases rhythm, plays with it, allows it to become the dominant organizing force of the disco experience. This is achieved by several means: delaying the rhythm, its sudden changes, the wealth of percussion instruments used” (Nowak 2010:55). The body is completely independent of the cultural division into masculine and feminine – it throws itself completely into the current of music. Also, the lyrics rarely camouflage a sexual subtext with sophisticated metaphors. Of course, this does not mean that disco songs are vulgar, quite the contrary. But they are not afraid to speak directly about the delights of the body (Nowak 2010:55).

Since around 2010 there has been a resurgence in the popularity of disco and early house music worldwide. Both styles are historically and imaginatively associated with racialized queerness in the Western culture. This brought a strong sense of nostalgia for the golden age of these styles, and this yearning for a charmed past has brought with it images (and imaginings) of the queer, racialized clientele that filled clubs in American cities (Garcia 2018:2).

Why do gay icons have to be camp?

For almost 60 years ‘camp’ has been researched, discussed, and analyzed, starting with the groundbreaking *Notes on the Camp* by Susan Sontag (1964). Instead of being a way of communing with popular culture, it has become a part of it. Camp’s relationship with the culture of homosexuals (especially gay men), as well as other ‘othernesses’ is undeniable. The phenomenon of camp is not only closely linked to homosexual circles, but actually derives from them. It is a form of aesthetic engagement on the side of indeterminacy (Mizerka 2016:28), an ironic distance towards the dominating popular culture, which, however, undertakes its criticism in a funny, exaggerated, and light way. Because popular culture, by using simple codes readable by the general public, is definitely a culture more lived than thought, it has a huge power to simplify and consolidate cultural dualisms, such as female–male or good – bad.

5. “Disco jest ostoją homoseksualnego oporu. W abstrakcyjnej przestrzeni kreowanej przez muzykę disco, zakazana miłość i niewypowiedziane pożądanie cieszą się absolutną swobodą”.

Camp is a tool of gentle emancipation and playful nonchalance intended to integrate queers into a 'healthy' society. It is also a way of dealing with the hostile dominant culture, allowing it to tighten the ties between the members of the subculture. It harmonizes with the queer project of going beyond one's own sexuality while undermining the hegemony of heterosexuality. Camp is characterized by theatricality, excessive splendor, irony and over-aestheticization. It is an undermining of certain norms, and the more given norms are stretched to the limits of good taste, the better. Therefore, homosexual circles, facing intolerance and patriarchy, adopted this aesthetics as a tool for their self-presentation, and at the same time as a specific code for them.

Gay communities are fond of big stars in popular music and film. The artistic creations of Madonna can be seen as "embodiments of the key assumptions and postulates of Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) – confusing and blurring the cultural identity of gender, fluid sexuality, transgressing the stereotypes of femininity and masculinity" (Nowak 2010:78, author's translation) The pantheon of 'gods and goddesses' of gays was included by, among others, the imperious and masculine Marlene Dietrich, the expressive Freddie Mercury, and in Poland the stage legends Maryla Rodowicz and Beata Kozidrak, whose exaggerated, lavish, dynamic image more than often was regarded as kitschy. There is the cult of gay divas with whom homosexuals identify themselves through their expressiveness and rebelliousness, but also the sensitivity, sense of humor and camp character they present.

Camp and the cult of divas are mainly associated with gay men in the Western world, while lesbians more often refer to women's music, created "by women, for women and financially controlled by women", eliminating the male factor. As Belgian scholars in Communication Studies Alexandra Dhoest, Robbe Herreman and Marion Wasserbauer have pointed out, alternative, independent genres (punk, folk, rock), although often described as more masculine and oppositional to the mainstream, are more readily chosen by lesbians. Their camp is a celebration of total femininity, without a male context, while gay camp is satire, a play on the mainstream (Dhoest, Herreman & Wasserbauer 2015:207). Although gay camp has entered pop culture for good (*RuPaul's Drag Race* TV show is a great example), lesbian camp still remains a niche.

10th Wrocław Equality March – songs that bind people together

The 10th Wrocław Equality March, organized by the Kultura Równości association under the slogan "Together in the name of love", began October 6, 2018 at 3:00 p.m. It was announced as an event for everyone, regardless of sexual orientation, age, race, or religion. Around 7,000 people attended the event. In addition, there were about 60 participants in the countermarch organized by the Rosary Crusade and a small group of counterdemonstrators from nationalist groups and fans of the Śląsk Wrocław football club. The groups were separated by a police cordon.

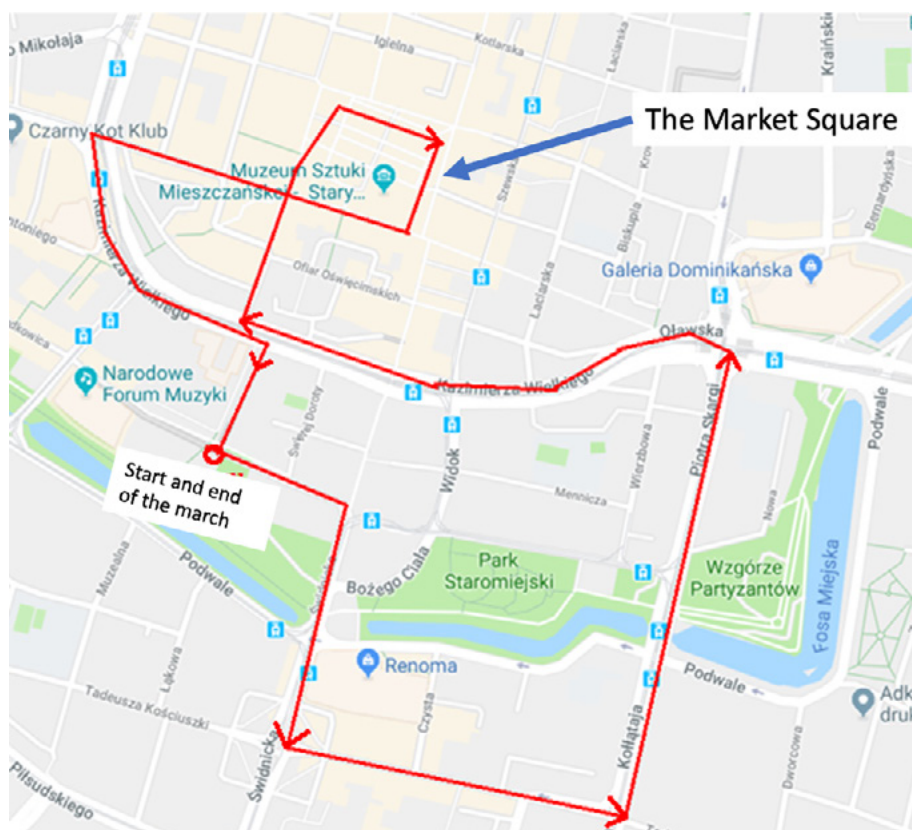


Figure 2. The 10th Wrocław Equality March route with start and finish marked. Source: Google Maps.

Music was played throughout most of the event, emitted from two vehicles in which the playback devices were placed. The first vehicle, located closer to the front of the march, was a van with two large loudspeakers mounted on the roof, playing popular music, mainly disco and pop hits from the 80s and 90s, as well as works by contemporary artists spreading content with which the LGBT+ community identifies, and which the community can identify as gay music. The second vehicle was a covered platform sponsored by the HaH Club, from which dance music was played.

Due to the much lower power of the speakers, the sounds in higher frequencies were drowned out by the songs played from the first vehicle and the prevailing noise. The songs from the platform were difficult to identify, less known dance music or significantly changed remixes of songs. The music played from this vehicle did not cause a stir among the participants. The assembled people danced and swayed to the rhythm of the songs, but none of the compositions led to euphoria, as was the case with the first vehicle. When asked about it, participants argued that the compositions were “too aggressive”, “not gay enough”, “not too joyful”, and “gloomy”. They also missed dance hits like those played from the first vehicle. This sometimes led to ‘scuffles’ – many marchers wanted to get closer to the first vehicle at all costs, believing that the music played there would guarantee better fun and be more of their taste. I therefore concentrated on the music presented from the first vehicle. Here, I will take a closer look at selected moments in the course of the march in chronological order, focusing on the songs presented, the reactions to them and their causes.

The route of the march covered the city center, the most significant space in Wrocław. For a few hours, sounds foreign to it, belonging to the usually muted acoustic community of gay clubs and discos, were included in its soundscape. Among the numerous songs, some evoked extraordinarily lively and specific reactions. These pieces clearly evoked a specific sonic sentiment, certain positive associations indicating the existence of a bond between the participants. Being recognized by and embedded in the culture of LGBT+ people, their presentation strengthened the solidarity between the participants, among other things by dancing, shouting, and singing together.

One of the first songs played was “Locomotion” by Australian pop star Kylie Minogue.⁶ It is hard to find a better song to start such an event – the hit released in 1988, sung by the then twenty-year-old singer, is a very cheerful, dance-pop composition, an invitation to have fun together. Her very girlish, infantile even, image in the early years of her career is not only reminiscent of, but simply camp. Minogue is also one of the leading LGBT+ icons, thanks to her open support for sexual minorities. The tune was accompanied by dancing, singing and the cheers of a group of about 100–150 people gathered in the square. This is usually a quiet, walkable area of Wrocław. The square occasionally hosts concerts or fairs, but is usually filled with the sound of strollers’ footsteps, the rustle of trees and the distinct noise of skateboarding. As the march began, none of the venue’s usual sounds were audible, due to the music and the escalating noise of conversations.

After 3:20 pm the march started to the rhythm of “I’m So Excited” by The Pointer Sisters. This 1982 hit song has strong disco influences, discernible in the expressive bass part and dance rhythm, as well as the song’s content about living in the moment and committing to feelings. It fits in well with the qualities of romanticism as well as eroticism in disco. The song not only encouraged the participants to dance, it also perfectly emphasized the prevailing moods. In line with the song title the excitement of the crowd was evident, expressed by cheers, shouts, singing and waving objects, especially rainbow flags.

The song “Like a Virgin” by Madonna caused euphoria among the marchers. Madonna is considered one of the most important figures not only in the history of pop music, but also in the history of the struggle for the rights of LGBT+ people. The artist has repeatedly supported sexual minorities, and also based her songs on elements of gay culture. In this particular song Madonna draws on the virgin–whore dichotomy. These are typical, yet oppositional, expectations of the heterosexual white woman as the object of male desire. In the case of the first role, desire has not yet been embodied; in the case of the second, the subject is fully absorbed and characterised by already embodied desire. Even though Madonna places herself in a patriarchal division of roles, she is the central object of visual attention, and it is around her that the narrative of the music video revolves. This seeming objectification is an important marker of postmodern feminism, according to which Madonna chooses to be an object of desire, thus having full control over the gazes directed at her (Kopaniecki 2022:227–230). The

6. A cover of Little Eva’s hit song “Locomotion” released in 1962.

over-exaggerated image of the singer in the accompanying music video, as well as her very high-pitched, mannered tone of voice, could be considered exaggerated, kitschy and thus camp.

Despite its rather multi-layered meaning, the song's dance-pop, carefree sound, especially the expressive bass part and clear pulse, effectively encourages people to play and dance. The song was presented on Świdnicka Street, a very busy street filled with the whirr of car engines, the noise of passing trams and the hum of moving people. Thanks to the complete stoppage of vehicular traffic, the music echoed clearly from the historic townhouses surrounding the road.

Another significant incident occurred at the intersection of Kołłątaja street, another of the main streets in the Old Town dominated by traffic sounds from cars and trams. The road crosses the Wrocław Moat, a popular walking route where conversations are usually heard from both sides, as well as the crunch of gravel underfoot and the laughter and sounds of children playing. This time a 'sonic warfare' came to the fore. A large group of counterdemonstrators with offensive banners shouted messages through a megaphone. In response to the provocation, the song "Testosteron" [Testosterone] by Kayah was played, and the crowd loudly cheered and invited spectators to participate. Kayah is one of the most popular singers in Poland who openly supports sexual minorities and opposes the current government. The song is a confession of a woman suffering from the cruel deeds of her man, and its key moment is the chorus that begins with the words "I accuse you":

I accuse you of tears, loneliness, betrayal and anger,
I accuse you of this suffering, of war, flames, of blood shed,
Testosterone.
(...)
You told me that fear is better than respect,
So you put your gun in his hand,
And keep telling him to run. (Author's translation)⁷

In a symbolic sense, the marchers accused the assembled men of the discrimination they experience, while demonstrating the courage to express their feelings in the face of the assembled men. This message was given an extra burst of energy by the sound of the track, which combines balladic stanzas with intense, danceable choruses containing elements of house music.

Kazimierza Wielkiego Street is the main street of The Old Town, encircling the south and west of the area. It is very noisy. In addition to numerous cars and trams, there are car horns, bicycle bells, the noise of moving people, and the sound of traffic lights. Half way down this street the song "Biała armia" [The White Army] by the Polish band Bajm caused a stir. A lot of people started to sing and squeeze themselves towards the van to hear the song better. Beata Kozidrak, the vocalist of the band, is one of the most popular Polish female artists among homosexuals due to her bright image. The singer is famous for 'predatory' styling, high-heeled boots, leather miniskirts and

7. Oskarżam Cię o łez strumienie,
osamotnienie, zdradę i gniew,
/ Oskarżam Cię o to cierpienie,
wojen płomienie, przelaną krew,
/ Testosteron. (...) Ty mówiłeś,
że strach lepszy jest niż szacunek,
Więc mu broń wkładasz w dłoń,
/ I wciąż każesz mu biec.



costumes emphasizing the female figure which, as I mentioned earlier, leads to think of it as camp. The song begins with the words "This is your flag, our young friend", which drew attention to the numerous rainbow flags waving over the crowd of 7,000. This is a high-energy song, combining rock with pop and an even, marching pulse that somehow metaphorically turned the crowd into marching "soldiers". In the song, Beata Kozidrak displays the full potential of her voice, singing primarily in loud dynamics and in the high register, thus further "warming up for battle". Its lyrics concerns the struggle for one's values, against all unfavorable circumstances:

This is your flag our young friend,
 You don't have to love its colors, oh no,
 It's your army and your life in constant rush,
 You'll never be alone again.
 (...)
 You are the rudder, white soldier,
 You wear pants, so fight,
 You are a sail, crazy wind,
 Your strength is treasure. (Author's translation)⁸

Figure 3. The moment when the song "Biała Armia" was played. Numerous rainbow flags are visible in the photo. Photo: Author.

8. To twoja flaga nasz młody przyjacielu, / Nie musisz kochać jej barw, o nie, / To twoja armia i życie w ciągłym biegu, / Nigdy nie będziesz już sam. (...) Jesteś sterem, białym żołnierzem, / Nosisz spodnie, więc walcz, / Jesteś żaglem, szalonym wiatrem, / Twoja siła to skarb.

Wrocław's Market Square and Plac Solny, the most significant and most sonically recognizable inner city spaces, are filled with the sounds from the numerous restaurants and pubs, the hum of conversations and the movement of pedestrians, the Town Hall bell that rings every quarter of an hour, and the music of street performers. The western frontage of the square is defined by the noise of a fountain, while Solny Square is defined by the slow movement of cars driving over the cobblestones and the sounds of conversation from the florists located there. But now, during the final part of the march, the Wrocław Market Square and the Solny Square were almost swarming with hits, among them "Let's Have a Kiki" by Scissor Sisters. This is a song about gay people, for gay people, by gay people, performed by a band of four homosexual men and one heterosexual woman. Moreover, the song was played as an invitation to a "Kiki", a social meeting especially for homosexuals, aimed at exchanging the latest rumors. The band has often been openly supportive of sexual minorities in their work and in interviews. Last, but not least, the song consists of rhythmically recited lyrics against a backdrop of techno and house fusion. This combination of sounds also makes it an excellent track for vogue dancing – a style of dance developed by sexual minorities in the United States in the second half of the 20th century. Some of the participants started doing vogue-inspired movements or simply started singing. During the march, this was perhaps the clearest example of 'transplanting' a soundscape into a new space, as well as breaking the cultural rules of the space.

Kylie Minogue's early work was presented once again. This time it was a song entitled "I Should Be So Lucky", which is an expression of the joy and fulfillment of experiencing love. By playing with the song and singing it, the participants expressed how joyful love is and how much they would like to enjoy it in an equal way to heterosexual people. Its cheerful, innocent, frivolous character acquires a bitter meaning in light of the situation of sexual minorities in Poland.

Non-musical sounds were also an important element in the soundscape. A special role was played by the drag queens, who interacted with the crowd through a microphone that they passed to each other, asking questions that the participants answered out loud. The drag artists were entertaining throughout the march, in the meantime willing to take pictures or converse with the gathered people, usually in a humorous manner. The crowd cheered loudly, almost deafeningly, and waved paper flags that had been handed out earlier, which gently rustled in response to their words.

The participants in the March can be placed within two distinct sound spheres. The participants walking behind the van spent most of the time singing, playing and dancing to the hit songs, while those walking behind or next to the HaH club platform were entertained by drag queens and other people on the vehicle. At their commands, the crowd cheered or chanted specific slogans, including "love, equality, tolerance", "thank you" directed to the police, and "come with us – we are the same" to the onlookers and counter-manifesters gathered along the route. Drag queens made sure to regularly

stir up noise with commands such as “Are you having fun?”, and “Show how many of you there are”. These are slogans and calls specific only to this march, present in public space just once a year, but which can regularly be heard in queer-safe spaces, clubs and pubs. The participants of the march wanted to bring the atmosphere of these venues to the streets, through the music played and the reactions it stirred.

Concluding discussion

Every year, the streets of Polish cities are filled with numerous demonstrations. They serve to proclaim views, celebrate, postulate, or express one’s opposition. Rebellion in public space seems particularly interesting if we consider its sound, as expressing dissent is primarily associated with noise and sonic aggression. There is an abundance of examples from events such as the annual Independence March in Warsaw or the Women’s Strike. In this context, it is tempting to refer to the Polish tradition of protest songs and their impact on social mobilisation, as Marek Payerhin (2015) and Andrea F. Bohlman (2020) have written about more extensively. However, a difference lies in the choice of songs. While in Poland many songs, especially rock songs, have been intentionally written as protest songs in specific political contexts, during the Equality March non-protest songs are attributed to a protest meaning in their new context.

It is also worth asking whether sonorous aggression and “forcible invasion” of urban space is the only way to reach one’s goal and manifest one’s views. The participants in the Wrocław Equality March, most of whom are members or allies of sexual minorities, undoubtedly demonstrated their power by their loud behavior, but they did not resort to aggression or violence. Instead of shouting vulgarities or resorting to physical force, they expressed themselves through slogans, colorful costumes, gadgets, dancing, and most of all – music. Observers, both supporters and opponents of the event were invited to participate, thanked for their presence, and were urged to change their thinking about “othernesses” and minorities, not just sexual. The entire march can be treated as a kind of spectacle, a performance, because its participants rejected the templates into which they are inscribed by everyday routine and social norms and gave themselves over to common fun. Out of the multitude of sonic phenomena filling the 10th Wrocław Equality March manifestation, music played a leading role – diverse and, as it turned out, not accidental, music with which participants could identify, music that evoked specific behaviors and reactions, music that participants enjoyed themselves to very consciously by readily choosing one of the two vehicles.

“Noise” [*hałas*], “commotion” [*harmider/zamieszanie*], or “hum” [*szum*] were the most common phrases used by participants to describe the sound phenomena around them. It is worth bearing in mind that the noise can be treated as a manifestation of power, a sound symbol of the Equality March, intended to have a specific effect, in this case to guarantee equal rights for sexual minorities. In addition, the emission of a wealth of sounds at high

volume during a structured event unites the participants, organizes them, and sometimes even elevates them.⁹ The hustle and bustle of modern cities, which also includes this type of event, should not be treated as a form of unpleasant noise, but rather as a kind of audio message that testifies to the specificity of the metropolitan soundscape (Gradowski 2004:58–61). Thus, the participants of the Wrocław Equality March became an acoustic community, or more precisely, a musical community. Music played a key role and determined the uniqueness of the acoustic expression of this community. It consisted of disco songs, or songs based on disco aesthetics, combined with free, expressive dances of the participants. The repertoire also included English-language and Polish songs that may not be directly related to disco but could be re-interpreted as addressing sexual minority issues ("Testosteron", "Biała armia"), or directly related to LGBT+ culture ("Let's Have a Kiki"). There were also compositions by artists considered as icons of the LGBT+ community (Madonna, Kylie Minogue). As a result, the songs played provided easy identification for marchers and symbolically represented their identity in the city's public space.

Music is played during many types of protests and parades, but it is the repertoire that distinguishes them from each other. The Wrocław Equality March is a specific sonic enclave. It is the sonic space of nightclubs and LGBT+ events transferred to the streets of the city, for nightlife provided and continues to provide queer people with a sphere of activity that is different from everyday life. It opens the imagination to play, experimentation and self-creation. "Partygoers invest time, energies, and resources into seeking out experiences that provide them with consolation, empowerment, validation, distraction, relief, ecstasy, or simply an escape from the difficulties of everyday life" (Garcia 2020:337–339). Thus, the specific soundscape with which the participants of the March identify themselves is transferred for several hours to an open public space with a usually different sound atmosphere – the old town of Wrocław. Of course, it should be kept in mind that the collective emission of loud sounds, including music, also creates spaces of separation. The city becomes, as it were, a sound battlefield, which evokes a sense of inclusion or exclusion – thus introducing a division between others and us. Sounds that unite some separate others, even if this is not the goal.

However, if one takes into account that Wrocław is a modern, creative city, gathering people of different cultures, nationalities, religions and beliefs, an event such as the Equality March may be expected, as it proves the social activity of the inhabitants, ready to express their opinion and take a form of protest for which this type of parade can be considered. The growing interest in participating in the Equality March and the increasing need to resist oppressive authorities will perhaps allow elements of LGBT+ culture hitherto less present in public space to emerge, such as lesbian camp and others. Perhaps we will once again see how powerful a weapon music can be.

9. Cf Kapelański 2016, on the use of noise during student demonstrations in Montreal in 2012.

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Performing in Sweden

Immigrant musicians' possibilities and impossibilities of musical participation

Jonas Ålander

Abstract

This study investigates how an Immigrant identification affects musicians' possibilities to perform in Sweden. This is investigated through a discourse theoretical analysis of interviews with seven musicians. The analysis shows several intersections where an Immigrant identification has affected the informants' lives and careers, hence contributed to shaping their working conditions. For example, the Immigrant identification can be related to the informants' possibilities of being granted access to the stage. Several informants have experienced discrimination because of their appearances and as a result taken preemptive measures to fit envisioned expectations by changing name or by avoiding performing at certain music venues. The Immigrant identity is also shown to be closely connected with music genres and ideas about authenticity, which limits the availability of musical pathways. This occurs, for example, when an artist considers which genre to engage in because of how the genre relates to an Immigrant identity. The study shows that when musicians' careers coincide with an Immigrant identification, participative conditions often prove immutable and hegemonic. There are however expressions of change and resistance toward prevailing participative conditions among the informants, but they do not perceive these conditions to be given enough attention in society or by the music industry.

Keywords: migration, immigrants, music, musicians, Sweden, participation, discourse theory

This study investigates how an Immigrant identification affects the practice of music artistry.¹ The focus is on musicians' experiences of such an identification and how this have affected their possibilities to perform in Sweden. To be identified as an Immigrant is to be subjected to an us and them thinking. Values, attributes and abilities are ascribed to those identified, and this may affect their possibilities of participation in various social settings (Darvishpour & Westin 2021).

The combination of working as a musician and being identified as an immigrant is often troublesome. An experience common to many immigrated musicians and other aesthetic professionals is that of being met with suspicion, exotification and exclusion when entering the cultural domain in a new society (Sievers 2014; Baily & Collyer 2006). Research shows that an immigrant identification may be an obstacle for persons struggling to be acknowledged as proper professionals. Hindrances referred to often include discrimination and disbelief in immigrants' aesthetic qualifications, but also fortified networks and a fear of change among

1. In the study, the term Immigrant (with capital I) is used when it refers to a specific identity.

organizers and arrangers (Martiniello 2015; Sievers 2014; for a Swedish context cf. Feiler 2010; Sernhede 2018; Pripp 2006; Ålander 2020).

Migration is a common and constantly debated topic within Swedish society and politics. The combination of music and migration is a rather small research field that gained momentum in the 1980s and has grown in scope over time, often in connection with national and international migration flows (Ronström & Lundberg 2021). Research has mainly focused on geographical or ethnic identifications or specific musical expressions, artists or constellations (e.g. Hammarlund 1993; Ronström 1992; Westvall, Lidskog & Pripp 2018). This study departs from the Immigrant identification and focuses on how such an identification could influence participative conditions. By describing and analyzing the experiences of musicians who also have experienced being identified as Immigrants, it is possible to show how an Immigrant identification affects the career as a musician. In addition to clarifying participative preconditions, the study may also contribute to a possible change of these preconditions.

Musicians and the Immigrant identification

In this study, seven musicians in Sweden are interviewed about their experiences of the intersection of the music profession and the Immigrant identification. The public understanding of what it means to be a working musician – judging from media representations (see Ålander & Volgsten 2021) – is often ambivalent. The profession is subject to both mystification and respect. Musicians are considered important in many societies, including Sweden, albeit their social status is at the low end. To be self-employed is a rule rather than an exception, and the economic situation for artists is often uncertain and unstable, despite the mythical image of “the wealthy superstar” (Lilliestam 2009; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2011). Furthermore, musicianship many times involves a balancing act where both respect and high economic status are sought for. These aspects are not always compatible, as “artistry yields dignity and respect, while status results from commercial viability” (Scarborough 2017:173–174). An uncertain employment situation might for instance mean that artists must renounce their artistic integrity and “give in” to economical necessities to retain a successful career (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2011; Becker 1951; Hoedemaekers 2017). Artistic integrity is closely connected to specific music genres, which in their turn are surrounded by more or less explicit ideas of what is right, wrong, good, bad, and so on. Criteria for the valuation of musicians oftentimes include authenticity, i.e. being “genuine” and “true” to something (cf. Moore 2002), a feature which may reach beyond the musical characteristics of genres and include aspects such as nation, class, race, gender, and sexuality (Brackett 2016:4). Finally, the music industry also plays its part and often takes advantage of the situation by exploiting “labour by keeping alive vain hopes of glory” (Toynbee 2000:33). The professional musician is thus often forced to balance on a knife’s edge to reach fame, respect, and a sustainable economy.

Being classified as an Immigrant or foreigner adds further complications. Individuals identified as Immigrants are often lumped together and classified as a homogeneous group (Bartram, Poros & Monforte 2014). Ideas about national, cultural, ethnic and racial belonging are often used to justify an Immigrant identification, which creates different sorts of societal memberships by separating Immigrants from “non-Immigrants” (Hübinette, Hörnfeldt, Farahani, & León Rosales 2012). The Immigrant is furthermore frequently associated with negatively denoted attributes and characteristics, which to a considerable extent may force individuals into conditions of both possibilities and impossibilities (Lundstöm 2018). In Swedish, the term *invandrare* (immigrant) denotes someone who has immigrated but is also commonly used to categorize individuals and groups assumed to be immigrated.² A foreign sounding name, skin color, area of domiciliation or parents’ origin may therefore be sufficient markers for the identification of someone as an Immigrant (cf. Ahmed 2007). However, the term is even further ambiguous, as persons who share attributes related to the Swede or the non-Immigrant are sometimes not considered *invandrare*, even though they have immigrated. Despite (or perhaps because of) the ambiguous character of the Immigrant identification, the term is widely used in everyday speech, in political manifests, by media and several other institutions and social domains in Sweden. Given the relational aspect of the concept of identity, the Immigrant identification ultimately functions to differentiate and strengthen identities such as Swedes and Others or Immigrants (Haavisto & Petersson 2013; Darvishpour & Westin 2021; Brune 2015; Ålander & Volgsten 2021; Lundstöm 2018).

Theoretical Perspective: Practices and Socio-Political Dimensions

The concept of identity is understood here as a contingent “differential position in a system of relations” (Laclau 1990:217). As such, identities are discursive positions that subjects are associated with, actively reach for, and identify with. Identities are shaped by surrounding discursive elements and thus contextually dependent. The meaning of an identity change when established in another discourse. However, the unstable character of identities also enables change and agency (Laclau 1990, 1996; Howarth 2013). For example, when a subject who identifies with the discursive position “musician” instead is identified and thus treated in accordance with the Immigrant musician position within a given discourse, the subject experiences a *dislocation* (Laclau 1990), an interruption of the normal and expected. When this occurs the subject acts to resume the identification of the desired identity, the “musician”. Identities can thus be both desirable and undesirable and always entail acts of differentiation and identification. As previous research shows, the Immigrant identity and subsequent identification of individuals and groups as Immigrants, is widely used and therefore repeatedly given meanings. In this study it is those instances of meaning production that are analyzed. As analytical categories, the concepts of identity

2. The term was introduced in official documents during the 1960s, but already then deemed problematic because of its widespread use and ambiguous meaning (Ds 2000:43). For an overview of the term, see Ronström 1989.

and identification thus allow for revealing and outlining certain discursive positions, their meanings, and the way subjects act and relate to these. To further analyze the empirical material and find out how an Immigrant identification traverses and affects musicians' professional careers in Sweden, the analytical concepts *practices* and *socio-political dimensions* are applied (Glynos & Howarth 2007:103f). A practice is predominantly social or political. It is considered social when uncontested and experienced as a continuation of the expected. When a social practice is challenged, routinized and when expected paths are disturbed or *dislocated*, the typical activities of the practice change. It now becomes characterized by action – in the name of something worthy to fight for – in order to prevent or accelerate the transformation of the practice. At such occasions, the practice turns political. A characterization of a practice as social or political provides an initial way of understanding its participative conditions, as both normativity and change are revealed.³

To demonstrate the relation between social reality and a subject's actions, an analytical model containing four dimensions of socio-political reality is applied (Glynos & Howarth 2007:110f). The dimensions are positioned along two traversed axes, where the *ethical* and *ideological* and the *social* and *political* dimensions are paired.⁴ The former pair capture a subject's responses when confronted with dislocatory events as either ethical or ideological. When a dislocatory event occurs, the subject either engages with and acknowledges it, which is an ethical response, or is inattentive, tries to conceal it and cover over the experienced uneasiness, which is the ideological response. The latter axis relates to subjects' reactions in the mode of *public contestation* (Glynos & Howarth 2007:111), which leads to either the political or social dimension of social reality. Public contestation refers to "the contestation of the norms which are constitutive of an existing social practice (or regime) in the name of an ideal or principle" (Glynos & Howarth 2007:111). The political dimension is foregrounded when a subject publicly engages and contests social norms and orders, and the social dimension when a phenomenon is left without public contestation, or when a subject actively avoids or conceals it.

When the Immigrant identification gives rise to a dislocatory event, the two-axis system provide means to relate the subjects' experiences and consequent actions. A description of such relations clarifies the participative conditions of a practice further, and partly explains why and how conditions are maintained or altered. However, even though a dislocatory event might seem fundamentally unpleasant, it is also a possibility for change and creation of new social formations and identities (Howarth & Stavrakakis 2000; Laclau 1990; Laclau & Mouffe 1985/2001).

Informants and Interviews

The informants for this study were selected according to two main criteria. The first was that music performance had been the main source of income for a period of life, which would identify the participant as a professional

3. The participants operate in multiple music related situations, which taken together are referred to as a singular music practice – the music practice of a musician. Consequently, as there are seven participants there are seven music practices (cf. Glynos & Howarth 2007:104f).

4. The terms *ethical*, *ideological*, *political*, and *social* are used in accordance with Glynos and Howarth (2007:113–120).

musician. The informants' music careers vary in length, stretching from the 1960s to present day. All were active musicians at the time of the interviews. As most of the informants have extensive national, and some also international, careers they are widely known to the public. The reason to include the specific participants was that they have long and well documented experience. None of the informants are dedicated to a single music genre and their primary music genre varies.

The second criterion was that the informants had experience of being identified as Immigrants. The reason for the criterion was the study's focus on the Immigrant identity, and the way such an identification affects musicians' life and profession, rather than foregrounding representations of specific music genres, nationalities, or ethnicities, which are common starting points in research about music and migration. This approach thus complements previous research, and therefore, music genres, gender, and national and ethnic identities *per se* are not in focus. Instead, such identities and expressions serve as *adjacent or integral parts* (discursive elements) when the Immigrant identity is outlined.

The inclusion of the Immigrant identification as a criterion for the selection of informants is furthermore based on the widespread use of the term in Sweden and the consequences it brings about for those identified. The point is not to sediment the Immigrant identity as a singular and positive identity, rather the opposite as its ambiguous character is unveiled through the narratives of the informants. The narratives of the seven musicians represented in this study thus stand as examples of how the Immigrant identity manifests throughout the Swedish music domain.

To find the informants, a so-called snowball selection was applied (Bryman 2012). To avoid that the informants would be aware of each other's participation in the study and to better control the selection procedure, different initial contacts (snowballs) were used. When contacted, the informants were informed about how the contact was established. Informants of different age, gender and from various parts of the world were searched for. Of the seven informants, two are females and five males. Their age span between 30–70 years.

The informants were informed about research ethics during the initial agreement of participation and during the interviews.⁵ The information included a description of the purpose of the study, that the participation was voluntary and could be withdrawn at any time without given reason. To further assure that the informants identities remain confidential, they were given fictive names.

The analysis was conducted by reading the material in search for situations and activities where the Immigrant identification and the music career intersected. Once identified, the notion of *practice* was applied to contextualize the music career and characterize a practice in accordance with the theoretical perspective. The identified situations were thereafter further scrutinized with a focus on described actions and consequences. In this procedure, the four dimensions

5. The interviews took place during 2017 and 2019 in private homes, cafés, and libraries. The interviews lasted an average of two to three hours and followed a themed script with question examples. The interview questions were divided into three main themes: early career, professional career, and immigration experiences. The themes often overlapped, which meant that the questions did not always follow the order in the script and that additional questions and sidetracks appeared. This was not interfering; it rather facilitated a more fluent narrative as the informants could describe their experiences as they happened instead of following the order of the questions.

of social reality was used to show how agency was expressed, based on the theoretical premises of dislocation and public contestation (Glynos & Howarth 2007). The analysis resulted in a thematic division of the empirical material into three primary areas where Immigrant identity was identified to have made a difference.

Identification and Music Career

In the following three sections, the interviews are thematically presented and analyzed according to three areas where intersections of the Immigrant identity and music careers was identified.

Towards the Stage

The informants – Matti, Assim, Yaya, Jean, Fred, Miranda, and Ndidi – have similar experiences of music during early childhood and teenage years. All but one was actively encouraged to pursue music activities and most of them participated in school music events. Matti and Assim studied music in higher education in Sweden whereas the remaining five were self-taught. One example of how the Immigrant identity manifested itself during the early career is stated by Matti, who during the early 1960s was bullied in school for being foreign and because his parents were poor and could not afford to buy instruments. “Over time you learned to endure, but then it disappeared.” As a member of a pop group, Matti became rather successful already at the age of 15, which for him meant that the bullying stopped.

When compulsory music education in Sweden is mentioned, it is not always described as particularly supportive, rather the opposite. For Yaya and Jean, the music classes almost made them lose interest in music, because the main content, Swedish pop and folk songs, was too different from their own musical interests. But school was also one of the first venues where many of the informants performed. School festivities and youth recreation centers were typical venues, and this continued throughout the school years as they were too young to perform in night clubs and bars.

Overall, the Immigrant identity did not manifest itself to a considerable extent during the early years and thus had insignificant impact on the music career development. In late adolescence, several of the informants started to establish themselves within more specific music genres and constellations and from then on, with an increase of public exposure, the Immigrant identification became more apparent.

The transition to a professional career is something the informants are quite specific about. In contrast to their relatively similar early career development, these events took place at different times. Although it often happened gradually, there were still decisive moments that primarily included recognitions by for example national TV, radio and news media, music magazines, official music releases or extensive touring. The Immigrant identification became increasingly perceptible in correspondence

with this shift. It was easier for the informants to recognize its existence and related consequences within their music practices, and the awareness of the probability of being identified as *different* grew.

A common situation when an Immigrant identification affects the possibility to perform is when access to the stage is either granted or denied. There were three primary ways in which this could show. An explicit denial to perform because of an Immigrant identification has never been experienced by any of the informants. But sometimes, when opportunities to perform disappeared for no convincing reasons, such thoughts emerged. Overall, the experience was described as painful, but the question whether the identification was the reason of denial was never asked, because no organizer would presumably admit that anyway. Instead of knowing, the informants were thrown into uncertainty and pondering.

The second way also involves experiences of uncertainty when access instead has been granted. This is the most common experience. Both Miranda and Ndidi joined music groups as backup choir singers in their early careers. In retrospect, when they talk about how and why they got these jobs, they relate it to their skin color instead of to their musical abilities. In one case, Ndidi also replaced a Black singer:

She [the former backup vocalist] was about to do her own thing so the band sought for a replacement, and they wanted a Black girl, of course, don't know why, but I guess it was exotic. (Ndidi 2019)

Miranda shares a similar story about when she and another Black girl joined a band. She talks about the band leader, whom she believes thought that the band would become more “international”, and that it would look good to include some “chocolate pralines” by having Black female members. Did Miranda's and Ndidi's skin color influence their possibilities to get these jobs? They do not know and neither of them remember reflecting about this at the time, rather they joined the bands because they regarded it as valuable steps forward in their respective careers.

Another example is when Miranda considered auditioning for a musical, a genre she has extensive experience with. In the following statement, she preempts a negative response to the possibility to participate:

I called the production and asked if I would even bother to audition, I asked with my skin color in mind, and no, I was told it was probably no idea. (Miranda 2017)

Yaya describes a similar experience when he talks about participating in a popular music show on TV:

The combination of who you are and your music, is significant. [...] If one participates with singing and dancing, being Black, then that artist or group represents the “African” part. [...] It feels very much as if you have a function to fill, it is not about the music. (Yaya 2019)

Several of the informants have performed in similar TV shows. Fred has a similar experience to Yaya's, the feeling of being included primarily because of what he represents rather than of his music. Related to the accessibility of the stage, race and ethnicity are in these examples experienced as important manifestations of the Immigrant identity.

Assim offers an explanation to why this is happening and describes what he believes is a growing tendency among music venue organizers:

They have a naïve way of thinking about musicians who have a different music tradition in Sweden. Organizers think too much about the "façade". It is like they think "in this festival, we need an Immigrant music group". (Assim 2017)

These statements suggest that organizers and other persons in leading positions are well aware of questions about diversity, but that the justification of participative conditions and inclusion primarily seems to rest on the public appearance of music collectives and venues, rather than on aesthetic and inclusive motives (cf. Ålander 2020). What is shown here is that participative conditions at times are believed to derive from the Immigrant identification and that this seems to be accepted or overlooked by the informants. Among the informants' statements, there are no outspoken intentions to change the conditions, and there is no public contestation to mention. The idea of a possible relationship between the Immigrant identification and access to the stage appeared at times, but overall, the participative conditions were perceived as typical and expected. This positions the informants' actions as social-ideological, an acknowledgement of participative conditions as typical and a compliance to the same. This illustrates a normativity of the informants' music practices, which characterizes them as social (Glynos & Howarth 2007).

There are also a few examples of when access has clearly been granted because of the Immigrant identification, which represents the third way of accessibility. Assim described more than one occasion when he had found out that the funding of some of his shows was intended for refugees' social activities, rather than financing concerts with a Immigrant band. He was certain that he and his fellow musicians were only invited because they were identified as Immigrants:

It is a very bad feeling when you come to a venue and understand that it's for that reason you're there, but then it is too late to pull out. It feels wrong to perform and I would like to discuss it there and then, but I no longer have that energy or the time to engage in such things. (Assim 2017)

An example of when the Immigrant, or rather national, identity was the reason of musical participation is Jean's recurring invitations to perform at the venue of a diasporic association.⁶ He was invited because he was identified as an "ethnic" of the nation that the association represents and from which his parents emigrated. Jean, however, was born in Sweden and has never been there. These performances were acceptable to Jean, however mainly as gestures of good will.

6. During the interview, the question regarding participation because of the Immigrant identification did not refer to a national identity. The connection was made by Jean and gives an example of how intricately connected a national identity can be with the Immigrant identity.

This last example also concerns accessing the stage, but this type of music venue can in contrast to many of the previous examples be perceived as “closed” to the public. This shows that the Immigrant identification as a condition of participation does not solely refer to public venues. Both Assim’s and Jean’s examples resonate with the common idea of using music to manifest or maintain a nation or ethnic group’s cultural identity and heritage.

To summarize this section, it can be concluded that an Immigrant identification has been perceived as affecting the process of accessing the stage. It is difficult to know whether the Immigrant identification is the actual reason of access or denial. However, it seems clear that race and ethnicity emerge as significant aspects that affect the possibilities of participation. Recalling the difficult aspects of maintaining an artistic music career, the Immigrant identification is added predominantly as a burden— even though it generates opportunities to perform. The informants’ music practices are so far highly social (Glynos & Howarth 2007), and thus marked by a rather firm status quo, with little or no change over time. Conditions of accessibility are largely coped with in an ideological manner, that is, they are perceived as expected and acceptable and therefore not contested, at least not in public.

On and Beyond the Stage

Another area in which the informants experienced an impact of the Immigrant identification was in relation to their physical appearances. In the previous section this was discussed in relation to accessibility to the stage. However, the Immigrant identification also occurs in many adjacent situations in a musician’s professional life.

Fred, Ndidi, Yaya and Jean mentioned that they are highly aware of their appearances when they introduce themselves to new people. They think about how they are perceived when entering new spaces, for example when meeting music venue organizers, other artists and music industry representatives, such as producers and record company directors. Fred mentioned situations when various Swedish speaking people have insisted on speaking English with him, even though he answered in perfect Swedish. Fred was annoyed by this, and it had occurred repeatedly. It was thus something he knew might happen when entering a new context.

Another aspect of appearance regards naming. Before Miranda picked an artist name, being Black and having a Swedish name was conflicting. “It always got weird when I came out on stage, the audience was expecting a blonde ‘Swedish’ girl because of my name.” This stopped when she started to use an artist name. Finding a connection between name and appearance made life easier. Another example is Jean, who also uses an alias when performing. He did not think his real name corresponded with his music, and so he decided to use an American sounding name. He says his real name is African, but he wants to be associated with the USA when he performs.

At first, these instances point to the political dimension of social reality. At the same time one can ask what it is that is supposed to be changed. Fred’s’

reply in Swedish is certainly a political act of contesting the identification, while Miranda's and Jean's reasons to use artist names correspond with the prevailing social order than to change it.

There are also situations when the Immigrant identification has manifested through explicit racism, sexism, and other sorts of discriminatory expressions. Social media is mentioned as a space where such conduct thrives, but it has also occurred during performances. Occasionally some of the informants have experienced racist shout outs from individuals in the audience and other degrading treatment perceived to be results of an Immigrant identification. This has primarily occurred during events where the informants have been invited to perform but not starred as the main performing artist or activity. Corporate parties, night clubs, cruise ships and city festivals are recurring examples of venues where this has happened. Such experiences have been more frequent in the countryside and in smaller towns than in larger cities. Besides comments like "go back home", Ndidi summarized the commentaries as for the most part "brainless and disparaging in general".

The first reaction to offending treatment was usually surprise and anger. But during a performance, the most common response among the informants was to ignore it and go on with the show. However, after some reflection, the overall reactions were anger, sadness, resignation, and a sense of vulnerability, all summed up by Yaya saying "... yeah, such things hurt". When Yaya was younger, he used to get angry on stage:

I pointed towards those in the audience who made comments and talked back in the microphone in front of everybody, but I don't do that anymore, it just creates a bad atmosphere. (Yaya 2019)

Fred does not want to contemplate about such experiences too much. He thinks that it would only lead to a downward spiral where he would end up suspecting people to be racist: "it won't take me anywhere". Instead, he tackles such situations by thinking about how he behaves and what kind of energies he transmits. "Even if there are racists, they are the way they are, it is nothing I can change, the only thing I can do is to try my best".

Yaya's and Fred's experiences are similar, but their reactions vary. Fred usually does not interfere, but rather ignores the experience and acts in a social-ideological manner. Yaya, on the other hand, engaged in and confronted the situation and thus emphasized the ethical-political dimensions. However, it is important to notice Yaya's change in attitude over time. Today he ignores such dislocatory events, as it is likely that a confrontation would make it worse. He thus shifted to the same social-ideological position as Fred, a shift that corresponds to Assim's previous comment about lack of energy and time to engage in similar situations.

Most of these situations were envisioned beforehand as probable and therefore somewhat predictable by the musicians. They were aware of the probability of being perceived as different (Immigrants) and thus likely expected to behave and be treated thereafter, to be stereotyped. A compliance with such a

thought would present an option to act accordingly and preempt the chance of discomfort, at least as long as the consequence of such an action would be perceived as a more acceptable experience than the opposite.

Matti and Jean have not had similar experiences, which they both think have to do with their music. Jean, deeply involved in the hip-hop stage, offers an explanation to why he has not experienced racism on stage:

Rap stands out, it's a forum where racism doesn't fit. Pop is a more general stage whereas hip-hop is a closed stage. If you go to a hip-hop concert and say racist stuff, then you will get everyone against you. (Jean 2019)

Matti, who primarily has played *dansband* has a similar idea. (Dansband is a music genre influenced by country and schlager music mainly developed in Sweden.) The only complaints he recalls have been related to musical content, never to his personality and gives the explanation that "the audiences at dansband events are there to dance, that is what counts". He has never experienced any racist or discriminating treatment at all, that he can relate to an Immigrant identification, throughout his professional music career.

Another similarity between Mattis' and Jean's experiences is where they perform. They both primarily performs at closed venues, where only initiated participate, who share ideas about what it means to participate and "know" how to act and interact (cf. Brackett 2016). This explanation further resonates with the discussion above about appearance, where types of venues are mentioned as especially bothersome, venues that can be considered public.

The discussion about appearance stretches beyond race. As becomes apparent, the Immigrant identity also resonates with ideas about music genres and authenticity. One aspect of music genres as social phenomena is their connection with both individual and collective identity (cf. Brackett 2016). Both genre and authenticity come up when Assim recalls overhearing a conversation between his sound engineer during sound-check, when a couple in the audience asked what was going on:

I was close and heard, our sound engineer said there was going to be a concert with [Assim's band], and then the couple replied angrily – "no, that is not possible, it is midsummer's eve for heaven's sake!" (Assim 2017)

Later, the organizer told Assim that he had received letters with complaints, stating that a culturally diverse band was not acceptable on midsummer's eve, especially not at that venue. Assim felt unwelcome and uncomfortable, but it was not totally unexpected as he is very much aware of the increasing nationalist and racist movements in Sweden. The occasion and venue are both strongly linked with traditional and national celebrations, which means that they are likely to contain rather sedimented ideas about appropriate content and what is considered authentic. One might think that the Other, the non-Swede or the Immigrant are unwelcome at such festivities, but this is unlikely as diversity often is cherished there. This does however not

change the fact that Assim reacted the way he did. The complaints against his performance were most likely not aimed at him or the other members on a personal level, but rather to what they and their music were thought to represent. However, Assim related the complaints to being identified as an Immigrant. Besides feeling excluded, he also thought that his music was out of place because of the identification. This exemplifies how an Immigrant identification affects his musicianship.

The discussion about how music genres connect to the Immigrant identity was also mentioned by Yaya, Jean, and Miranda. They expanded the argument about music genres to include authenticity and credibility, signs of how the Immigrant identification affects an artist's choice of music genre. Yaya argued that when you perform in Sweden it is important to think about what you say because the reception depends on who you are and how you are perceived:

I can't go out on stage and sing explicit lyrics because it would be linked to my skin color, where I come from and so on. But when someone else does the same thing, someone who doesn't look like me, it gets a little cheeky and cool, it becomes acceptable and more like a statement. (Yaya 2019)

Miranda reflects about singing dansband music, a genre she feels distanced from. "I would never sing dansband myself, I don't think outside of the box, I put myself in categories" she says. If she would sing dansband, she thinks she would be questioned, and continues "but if I did a gospel record, then it would be accepted immediately". Miranda's worries show a preconception about what it would mean to engage in dansband, which hinders her to do it. According to her, a lot about being an artist is about "fitting genre, style of music, appearance and so on". She is aware of categorizations and complies to them, as to challenge them would be too unpleasant.

Another aspect of music genres that was discussed during the interviews concerns the identity of listeners. Jean believes that when Immigrants listen to hip-hop, they must justify and defend the music. They can't just listen to it, which he says the non-Immigrant can do.

Yaya also talks about the connection between the Immigrant identity, hip-hop, and authenticity:

Hip-hop and immigration are very interconnected, but this is dual, if you are an Immigrant it is taken for granted that you can rap, and if you are Swedish and rap then you are not genuine. [...] in the suburb, Petter [Swedish hip-hop artist] was illegitimate and The Latin Kings [Immigrant hip-hop group] genuine, the opposite of how they were perceived in society overall. (Yaya 2019)

In these quotations, Miranda, Jean, and Yaya use music genres to exemplify how individuals, identified as Immigrants are tied to discursive meanings, which reduces their freedom of choosing a music genre.⁷

7. For a discussion about the relation between hip-hop, race and identity, see for example Harrison (2015).

To conclude this section, it can be ascertained that the Immigrant identity manifests throughout the informants' music practices and that the Immigrant identification is perceived to affect their participative conditions. The informants think that appearance, music genres and authenticity are central to the identification. They also think that certain musical expressions are perceived as expected to be performed or used by persons that are identified as Immigrants. This exemplifies how one may be identified as an Immigrant both because of who someone seems to be and by what someone does.

Changing the Stage

This section describes how the informants experience their participative conditions in the music industry and how they engage in changing these.

During the interviews, the informants were asked how they thought the Immigrant identity was managed within the music industry. Fred summarized by saying "the subject is taboo, it is very hushed, the society looks like it does, everything is so tense". Except for Matti, the informants quickly got into discussing discrimination, racism, and similar matters – topics that were claimed to be debated far too little within the industry even though being recognized as problematic and important. The informants think this is problematic and that it should change, but specific forums and discussions for such topics are missing. When asked why this seems to be overlooked Miranda explains:

People [in the music industry] get scared because there are no prepared answers, you don't know who should be answering, and you are also afraid to answer, because if someone addresses it the focus will end up there.

(Miranda 2017)

Yaya has a similar thought. He thinks it is problematic to discuss participative conditions within the industry since there is no given platform. He feels as if it is not really "allowed" to talk about it and elaborates what it would mean to illuminate these issues:

You do not discuss it because you do not want to be the one who complains, because then you become a problem, [...] no one dares to take that path, because if you do, you run a lot of risk of being excluded. (Yaya 2019)

Yaya experienced this while being part of a music collective that decided to go against the record company's artistic demands for music sounding a bit "African". The collective lost their contract and soon after the record company had found another band that sounded very much like Yaya's. Without support from the record company, it became hard to release music and get gigs. "It was obvious that the new band was replacing ours, so the record company had 'Africa' represented again".

Assim mentions a hesitation within the music industry to approach these topics but takes a different stance and highlights the artist's role. He thinks that as an artist and Immigrant, it is important to try to see the full picture.

Such artists need to be attentive and, if possible, try to resist racism and discrimination. If they don't, "it will lead to a slow but sure exclusion, where you will end up in isolated venues, playing in private parties, weddings and for other Immigrants". Political involvement has always been important to Assim.

Ndidi recalls being more engaged when she was younger. She shares Assim's political interest and has as Assim also lost the energy to actively involve. Today she feels more afraid and needs to be careful about how and where she exposes herself. She then broadens the topic and says that the discussion in the Swedish culture sector about these issues is too narrow, not entirely absent but more needs to be done. She thinks it is growing and that new young musicians lead the way: "I see that it is changing, but it is mostly articulated within the Black community, and the transfer of the discussion to the overall society at large is unfortunately unsuccessful".

Fred and Yaya stress the importance of self-confidence. When you are new to the music business, it is hard to make your voice heard because of hierarchy "no one really listens to the new guy".

The informants' experiences show that there are ongoing discussions and struggles about the meaning and handling of the Immigrant identity within the music industry. Also, there seems to be a rather conscious lack of support of such discussions, which contributes to a hegemonisation of the informants' music practices. Such conditions would explain, at least to a part, why change and resistance seems so hard to achieve for the informants, and why their struggle declines over time. It also clarifies why what initially seems like political-ethical positions instead turns out to be positions where the informants find reasons to not contest or challenge prevailing social orders.

Matti and Jean do not talk about the music industry in the same way as the others do. For Matti, the music industry has never been problematic, rather it has met his expectations. Related to mainly being a dansband artist, he says he has never reflected about questions regarding migration or ethnic or cultural discrimination. Jean also says he has never experienced this in the music industry. To him these fights are fought in other areas, in society overall. Regarding the music industry he replies, "I have other things I think are more important to take care of, so someone else may take that battle".

Above, the analysis has focused on participative conditions in the informants' practices related to the music industry and overall music domain. In the next part, the informants' own efforts to change current conditions related to the Immigrant identification is analyzed.

A recurring topic is the perception of the Immigrant identification as an asset, or tool, which can be used to elaborate and transform social order. The informants do this from their positions as artists, from which they can connect their audiences to each other and "educate" them. This was not

apparent to them initially, but something they became aware of as their professional careers progressed. Being a musician means to perform on a stage from which many can be reached. Miranda remembers being part of a music show in which the theme was inbetweenness (*mellanförskap*), the feeling of being caught between different identities and therefore never being recognized as authentic enough to be fully accepted in a community. The show was successful and received a lot of positive response from media, and from persons in the audience, who expressed their appreciation as they could identify with the topic. Miranda felt “that it [the Immigrant identification] might not only be about skin color, but about exclusion”. For her, exclusion was previously heavily related to her skin color, but now it became related to the Immigrant identification. The response further meant that she became aware of the power position from which she apparently made some sort of difference.⁸

When Ndidi became successful, she realized that she was a role model for Immigrants and received similar comments as Miranda after shows where audiences expressed their gratitude for her “being in their lives”. She elaborates the purpose of being an artist, saying:

It is important to be able to show the way, and if I can do that through my music, then it is the most important thing I have, a damn responsibility, I realized that it is my duty to increase knowledge, understanding, respect and so on. (Ndidi 2019)

Yaya and Assim describe how they had used their positions as artists to talk about and educate fans and listeners about cultural diversity and integration. In the early days of Assim’s professional career, his band of mainly immigrated members decided that it was important to introduce the band in Swedish. They printed leaflets and various short texts about the band and its music to convey ideas about cultural diversity. Such actions derive from a call for change, in this case a lack of knowledge about cultural diversity, which leads to a political–ethical action.

Yaya thinks that his music educates because it “does not sound the way [he] look[s]”, and that this makes people confront their prejudices. When he sees everybody dancing together to his music he thinks about integration, and he always tries to share his thoughts: “during gigs I usually say something positive about cultural diversity, I do it to show that you can like each other even if you do not come from the same place”.

This last statement is an example of when the artist actively uses a perceived Immigrant identification to contest oppressive social norms. In this case, in the name of acceptance and democracy, Yaya makes his performance political, by using it as a forum to convey what he thinks is a social problem. This is a clear political–ethical position, which indicates that the informants’ music practices’ dominant social character is weakened as they also include clear political aspects, despite these not being as common or visible.

8. However, when the show was given at other venues, such as corporate parties and night-clubs, the reception changed. There was a different audience and atmosphere, which Miranda sometimes perceived as hostile.

Intersections and Consequences

The analysis suggests that the Immigrant identity manifests in the informants' music practices in ways similar to other parts of society (cf. Darvishpour & Westin 2015). There are multiple intersections where an Immigrant identification affects artist's lives and music careers. Hence, for musicians identified as Immigrants, the already harsh reality of working as a musician is supplemented with further concern.

A first intersection regards the process of getting access to the stage. The informants in this study cannot recall that they have experienced denied access with explicit reference to the Immigrant identification. Occasionally, they are given access to the stage with overt reference to it, but the most common experience is to be granted access without knowing whether it depends on the identification or not. Regardless, the very possibility that the identification might have anything to do with the reasons for stage access is generally perceived as burdensome by the informants, resulting in an uncomfortable condition of uncertainty and discomfort.

A second intersection concerns appearance with which the Immigrant identity is commonly connected (cf. Ahmed 2007). This causes artists to ponder about how they are perceived by audiences and the music industry, as the musicians are aware that the Immigrant identification might entail expectations of certain behavior associated with the that identity. As a response, to avoid or minimize the experience of such treatment, artists may take preemptive measures, such as using a "fitting" artist name or engaging in music practices that would not foreground the Immigrant identity.

A third intersection concerns the character of the venues and their geographical location. The analysis shows that the more specific or esoteric a venue is, the less the risk is of experiencing stereotyping and abuses, and that xenophobic experiences are more common at venues in smaller cities and in the countryside.⁹

The analysis also shows that the Immigrant identity is closely connected to music genres and ideas about authenticity (cf. Brackett 2016). Hence, a fourth intersection can be seen when artists consider whether and how the Immigrant identity is associated with a particular music genre before engaging in it.

When these intersections are viewed through the scope of *social* and *political practices*, an overall predominant social character appears (cf. Glynos & Howarth 2007). This suggests that the informants' music practices rather than being distinguished by transformation and change are characterized by routine, prejudice, and social reproduction. A reason why some of the informants have less adverse experiences of the Immigrant identification than others, may then be that they besides being the "right" people, play the "right" music at the "right" venues.¹⁰ Hence, the Immigrant must find his place and music, or find him- or herself to be constituting a "different" or exotic element in an alien context, and as such a reason for a dislocation

9. These locations correlate roughly with places where less immigrants live in Sweden (HübINETTE 2019) and where the support for stricter migration policies is stronger (VestIN 2018).

10. This underscores the ambiguous meaning of the Immigrant identity and show that there is a differentiation between Immigrants and Immigrants within the informants' music practices (and society overall). In this study, the differentiation is likely related to ideas about which music "they" perform, how "they" look and where "they" come from.

in the social order of the domain. The two clearest cases of when this social, or better, hegemonic order is upheld and participation is free of friction, are those active within the music genres hip-hop and dansband.

Despite these predominantly socially characterized music practices, the analysis also reveals certain 'political' acts instigated by the intersection of the Immigrant identity and the artist career. There are no predominantly politically characterized practices in this study. Instead, instances of political aspects are visible when for example stage access, physical appearance or the engagement in specific music genres are contemplated in relation to the Immigrant identity, or when artists reply to derogatory statements, or try to educate their listeners about cultural pluralism. Such actions share a political character, but the purposes are not uniform. This was evident when the socio-political dimensions were considered in the analysis. It then became apparent how certain responses to dislocatory events resonate with social and political aspects of informants' music practices, and thus how and why changes to current participatory conditions may occur or not.

The analysis shows two rather clear patterns. The first is a recurrent socio-ideological position, which implies that dislocatory events often remain publicly uncontested by artists despite being recognized. However, this does not mean that they do not want to resist, but rather that their will to resist remains hidden. This attitude towards dislocatory events remains unchanged over time and is the most prevalent in the analysis. An explanation of this pattern on a structural level may be that explicit and overarching problematizations about the domain's participative conditions – related to the Immigrant identity – lacks organized and public arenas. The reluctance to discuss participative conditions related to the Immigrant identity within the music industry also supports this explanation. An explanation at a personal level may be that a political response would lead to a worsened situation where the musicians would risk jobs and reputation. Yet another explanation may be a gradual sedimentation of dislocatory experiences to such an extent that they have become normalized and therefore no longer registered. A consequence of this is the preservation of a status quo, and as such, the position resonances well with the social character of the informants' music practices.

The second pattern starts out as a political-ethical position, but then changes into the previously described socio-ideological position, as the informants contested dislocatory events more frequently during their early careers than at later stages. This suggests that an acceptance of oppressive social structures and relations develops over time. However, this change is ambiguous since musicians who are new to the music business express that they do not have enough status to raise their voices, as they assume that no one will listen to them. In contrast, musicians with more experience instead say that they were attentive and engaged in problematic situations when they were younger, but eventually learned to live with such circumstances or have given up the fight. But with the socio-ideological position in mind, this points to yet another contradiction, since that position stays solid over time.

Hence, it is questionable if senior artists' efforts to change the domains' participative conditions had any effect. If it did, this suggests that it is necessary to be both new and rather famous to make your voice heard.

Discussion

From the viewpoints of the informants in this study, the Swedish music domain is distinguished as unchallenged and considerably hegemonic when it comes to questions of the Immigrant identity. Besides the usual tribulations associated to an artist career, the situation for Immigrant musicians is thereby further strained. There seems to be several interlinked reasons for this, the main being simply that resistance towards prevailing participative conditions rarely is expressed publicly. This can be put in connection with the lack of organized platforms and forums where issues related to migration can be articulated, and to the unwillingness to discuss such issues due to a fear of retaliation and exclusion, and finally, to the deficient communication between groups, such as the Black community and the "rest" or "musicians" and "industry representatives". The situation is deadlocked, and the struggle to change participative conditions, consequently, lacks traction.

The recurring socio-ideological position does not contribute to change but leaves musicians in a hegemonized position where exits are blocked, and change seems distant. However, hegemony assumes antagonistic relations. The music domain is not exempt from overall societal discourses and political trends, and neither is the Immigrant identity. The situation should therefore be discussed with reference to the overall society. But in this case the antagonistic relation is very indistinct as it is not possible to grasp the society as a single antagonist. This ungraspable antagonist can be viewed as an example of the outcome of structural discrimination, where societal policies and processes lead to the exclusion of "others" (cf. Behtoui & Jonsson 2013). Besides explaining the informants' experiences of subordination, a reference to structural discrimination shows that when participative conditions are contested, it does not primarily concern the Swedish music domain and musicians within it – but rather societal injustices toward Immigrants in society in general. This way of contesting participative conditions might seem to be a rather altruistic stance, but it can also be perceived as a key to how the consequences of the intersection of musicians' careers and Immigrant identifications can be handled and changed.

The meaning of Immigrant is an elementary starting point if one wants to change current participative conditions. To instigate change, however, the identity as a discursive position must first be recognized, since the current meaning of the Immigrant is constitutive of a new identity (cf. Laclau 1996:29–35). This also means that the hegemonic order must initially be upheld (although it may seem blatantly counterproductive) also by those who want to change it, in order to change it. However, all social orders assume some sort of organization, and the intersections revealed in this study may

serve as initial sites where change could be initiated. Resistance is visible when the informants publicly contest the Immigrant identification both on and off stage. This is an important remark, since such activities serve as concrete examples of how both identity, on which identifications rest, and participative conditions could be contested and changed. In conclusion, it can be stated that current participative conditions in Sweden are trouble- some for Immigrant musicians. There is resistance but it does not seem to be taken seriously or be given attention – not by the music industry, not by media and not in political discourses. Rather, it seems as if part of an Immigrant artist's career is to submit to discrimination and not to be listened to.

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Reviews

BOOK

Vad är det som förenar historier om sjungande strejkande skogsarbetare i Østerdalen 1928, 300 000 sjungande estländare 1988 med sjungande sup-portrar på fotbollsmatcher runtom i Norge? Bland annat dessa frågor ställer sig den norske musikforskaren Gjermund Kolltveit i boken "Sang som våpen. Historier om sangens slagkraft" där han exemplifierar sångens samlande och "samfunnsbyggande styrke".

Huvudrubriken med sitt fokus på sång som en form av vapen fick mig först att rynka pannan lite grann eftersom vapen oftast förknippas med försök att skada människor. Men Kolltveit sätter genom underrubriken fokus på sången, det sjungande kollektivets slagkraft och sången som verktyg för förändring. I introduktionen problematiserar han också förträffligt valet av rubrik(er) samtidigt som han också kommer in på situationer där sången som vapen inte bara är en "kuriös språklig metafor" utan bokstavligt talat varit demonstranternas enda vapen i icke-våldsliga kamper mot soldater med skarpladdade gevär (s. 10).

Introduktionen inleds med en personlig skildring om hur den populära sången om John Brown har spridit sig från 1800-talets Amerika till nutid. Boken fokuserar förstås inte enbart på sångers spridning utan hur de har använts och vad de har betytt: "sång som meningsfull aktivitet" (s. 8). Bokens många exempel är resultat av författarens egna val och intressen och de härstammar främst från Europa och Norge. I introduktionen väcks många frågor kring vad sång och sånger kan vara redskap för och vapen emot.

Kolltveit lyfter i slutet av inledningen fram att boken är "ingen avhandling" (s. 15). Detta tolkar jag som att boken är riktad till en bred läsekrets och förklarar också varför den ganska anekdotiska introduktionens många sångkontexter inte knyts till någon specifik teoretisk hemvist eller något uttalat teoribygge. Den röda tråd som styr urvalet är Kolltveits fokus på "deltakande, folkelig synging som har et formål og som skaper fellesskap og samhold" (s. 15). Med folklig sång avses här sång med låg tröskel, sång bland folk i de breda lagren och/eller sjungande folkmassor.

Genom de 11 kapitel som följer på introduktionen ger Kolltveit olika exempel på sångens slagkraft. De nio första beskriver olika sammanhang där sång ingått och tidsmässigt sträcker de sig från heroiska sånger i Rom år 98 till nutid. Kapitlen börjar med att förankra sångaktiviteten i en specifik tid och plats exempelvis "Molde, søndag 27. september 2009", vilket för tankarna till en (musik)etnologisk fältarbetsdagbok. Tidpunkten som markeras är dock bara en startpunkt: efter ett inledande exempel kopplas sångexemplen samman med besläktade sångfenomen.

Sang som våpen. Historier om sangens slagkraft

Gjermund Kolltveit

Fjellstrand: Ford Forlag, 2021

KAJ AHLSEVED

Efter dessa nio "analyskapitel" följer en intervju med tre aktiva och samhälls-engagerade norska musikpersonligheter. Boken avslutas med ett kapitel där Kolltveit knyter samman en del lösa trådar, blickar framåt och frågar sig vad sångens potential är idag och i framtiden.

I det första kapitlet tar Kolltveit sig an improviserad sång och poesi som metod för konfliktlösning och läsaren tas med på en resa in i hip-hop kulturens *rap battles*, inuiternas traditionella sångdueller på Grönland, sångdans på Färöarna för att till slut landa i den norska stevtraditionen. Redan i det första kapitlet visar sig Kolltveits förmåga att dra upp stora bågar mellan olika typer av fenomen i vitt skilda sammanhang. Ibland är det så intressant att man önskar att boken hade haft en tydligare notapparat så att man enklare kunde hitta de många spännande källorna och fördjupande vetenskapliga texterna som ligger till grund.

Det andra kapitlet tar avstamp i Tacitus beskrivning av Germanernas stridsrop från år 98 för att genom visiter till bland annat vikingatidens Stiklestad, bibelns Jeriko, dagens Syrien och Afghanistan till slut landa i ett "försök" (Kolltveits ordval) till en taxonomi av form och funktion relaterat till krigs-sång och kamprop.

Tredje kapitlet "Salmer, sanger och samhold" utgår från hur sånger var en utlösande faktor i två kända norska personers personliga omvändelser, nämligen evangelisten och sångförfattaren Aage Samuelsen och den norske lekmanpredikanten Hans Nielsen Hauge. Båda mötte frälsaren ensamma, den ena tjuvlyssnande till sången från ett bönemöte sommaren 1944, den andra med plogen i hand och en psalm på sin tunga 1796. Exempler fungerar bra som introduktion till den religiösa sångens två olika riktningar: inåt (vertikalt) som speglar relationen mellan gud och individen respektive utåt (horisontalt), det vill säga den mera utåtriktade och gemenskapskapande (församlings)sången. Psalmer, gregoriansk sång, reformationens kamp-psalm "Vår gud är oss en väldig borg", väckelserörelsesång, varvas med intressanta norska exempel som kanske inte är bekanta för läsare utanför Norge (exempelvis "Haugianerna"). Detta kapitel tilltalade mig på ett personligt plan eftersom den musikaliska igenkänningsfaktorn var hög.

Många kapitel spänner över långa tidsperioder men det fjärde kapitlet fokuserar på en mera avgränsad period, nämligen sångens, och inte minst revolutionssångerna "Ça ira" och "Marseljäsens" roll under franska revolutionen. Här illustreras också skillingtrycksvisan som masskulturellt fenomen och samhällslig säkerhetsventil. Resonemangen i detta kapitel behandlar något som kan ses som ursprunget till den politiska sångkulturen i väst och utgör en grund för även de följande kapitlen, framför allt de om sång i nationsbyggets tjänst (kapitel 5) och arbetarrörelsens sångtradition (kapitel 6). De övriga kapitlen behandlar den progressiva visrörelsen och protestsång i största allmänhet (kapitel 7), den sjungande revolutionen i Baltikum och dess kulturhistoria (kapitel 8) samt supportersång i fotbollskontext (kapitel 9).

Kapitlet om sång i nationsbyggets tjänst är intressant läsning speciellt för den som inte är så bekant med den norska frihetskampen och den patriotiska sångens historia i Norge. Läsningen skulle ha underlättats om centrala personer i kapitlet hade presenterats. Att spellistan som ska fungera som kompanjon till boken inte gick att hitta på de nämnda strömningstjänsterna

gjorde förstås inte saken bättre. En bättre lösning än att uppge vad spellistan heter på strömningstjänsterna hade varit att placera länkar på förlagets hemsida.

I kapitlet om arbetarrörelsens sångkultur för Kolltveit även en diskussion om begreppen "fellessang", "allsang" och "samsang" vilka ibland används synonymt i texten. Kolltveit reder här (s. 99–100) ut begreppen lite grann med hänvisning till musikvetaren Jon Egil Brekke, nämligen att fellessången är mer kopplad till den ideologiska sången medan allsång mera är nöje och underhållning. Även danskans fællessang dyker upp men diskuteras lite väl kort och skillnaderna mellan fellessången och fællessang blir åtminstone för en (finlands)svensk läsare lätt diffus. Här kunde det ha varit på sin plats med en referens till antologin *Fællessang og fællesskab* (red. Isaksen 2018) recenserad av Gunnar Ternhag i Puls 4 (2019).

Vad gäller allsångens historia skriver Kolltveit att en inspiration till allsångsrörelsen i alla nordiska länder var tyske musikpedagogen Fritz Jöde (s. 99). Det är nog ett ganska vågat påstående. Vad gäller den svenska kontexten vill jag påpeka att britternas *community singing*, exempelvis sjungandet av hymnen "Abide with me" i fotbollssammanhang (som nämns i ett annat kapitel i boken), i kombination med amerikanernas hejaramsor vid Stockholmsolympiaden 1912 var det som la grunden till den unika hejakultur som uppstod på de svenska idrottsläktarna på 1910- och 1920-talet. Så småningom myntades begreppet "allsång" genom en namntävling i *Dagens Nyheter* år 1927 (se exempelvis Hellspong 2013, 152–158; Jönsson 2008). Kända personer gick runt och ledde publiken i ramsor och sånger, inte minst under "federationskamper" i fotboll mot Danmark och Norge. Allsången på stadion stöddes av sånger och sånghäften med melodianvisningar och ramsor som spreds via den entusiastiska pressen.

Om man bortser från ovannämnda kritik så är kapitlet om arbetarrörelsens sångkultur väldigt intressant och bland de mest sammanhängande i boken. Exemplet på hur det inom arbetarrörelsen fanns instruktioner för planerandet av agitationsmöten med musik är mycket intressant. Kolltveit kommer även in på levandegörandet av arbetarrörelsens sångkultur och hur sångerna i vår tid kan klinga kamp och solidaritet med människor i prekära situationer. Här hade man gärna läst mer om Trond Granlunds arbetarsångskonsserter och "Tanken er fri"-skivan som en form av synliggörande forskning (jmf Rantanen 2018, 76–89).

Kapitlen om protestsång (kapitel 7) och den sjungande revolutionen i Baltikum (kapitel 8) är antagligen bokens kanske på förhand mest förväntade kapitel. I kapitlet om protestsång utgår Kolltveit från tanken att den progressiva visrörelsen inte är en bestämd genre av sånger utan den hänger samman med andra (folk)rörelser. Han illustrerar protestsångens historia från medeltid till nutid med både internationella och norska exempel. Man är nästan utmattad av all information när kapitlet väl kommer i mål. Det råder inget tvivel om att författaren lyckas illustrera att visrörelsen är både internationell och hyperlokal. Eftersom klimatförändringen är vår tids största utmaning hade det varit intressant ifall Kolltveit inkluderat ett kapitel om att sjunga för klimatet och knutit det till ekomusikologiska tankegångar. I kapitlet om den sjungande revolutionen kommer Kolltveit in på sång som kulturarv.

Kapitel 9 diskuterar "tribunesång", alltså supportrars sång på fotbollsläktaren. Kapitlet är till stor del baserat på den dokumentation som Kolltveit gjort för Norsk folkmusikksamling (2008–2009). Andra källor är bland annat Jon Roar Bjørkvolds text om Vålerengas supporterklubb Klanen samt Hans K. Hognestads artikel i Puls (nr 6, 2021). Supportersångkulturen som beskrivs är exempel på en kontext där kampsång bedrivs idag och den är, som Kolltveit skriver, varken primitiv eller vulgär om man inte på förhand har bestämt sig för att nervärdera kulturen. Samtidigt lyfter han även fram kulturens baksidor med rasistiska och xenofoba ramsor och sånger. Det hade varit väldigt intressant om Kolltveit i underkapitlet "Tribunesångens røtter" vågat dra lite historiska paralleller till andra kontexter och besläktade sångfenomen han beskriver i boken (exempelvis folkrörelsesången) som också bygger på en kultur med melodianvisningar. Nu blir det – likt många texter om supporter-kulturens klingande historia – ett stort glapp mellan det ofta förekommande Edward Elgar-exemplet från 1890-talet till det lyft läktarsången får i 1960-talets England. Denna lucka hade gärna kunnat fyllas med exempel på de "kamprop og sanger" från första halvan av 1900-talet som Kolltveit antyder har funnits i norsk fotboll (s. 149). I övrigt är det en fin och initierad skildring av den folkliga sången på dagens fotbollsläktare.

Kolltveit har också valt att inkludera ett kapitel där tre personer intervjuats under rubriken "Tre stemmer for sangens frihet", nämligen Erik Hillestad som via Kirkelig kulturverksteds skivutgivning strävat till att lyfta fram undertryckta röster, Jan Lothe Eriksen som jobbar med förföljda musiker inom organisationen Safemuse samt musikern och sjuksköterskan Marthe Valle som bland annat engagerat sig för flyktingars situation. Den sistnämnda intervjun lyfter på ett bra sätt fram spänningen mellan populärmusik som underhållning och samhällsengagemang.

I det avslutande kapitlet frågar sig Kolltveit om sångvapnet är dött idag. Ett inledande svar på denna fråga är ett nej, exemplifierat genom "balkongsången" under Coronapandemin samt diskussion om sångens hälsofrämjande effekter. Musikens samhällsbyggande och förändrande kraft på 2000-talet då? Här är Kolltveit mera försiktig och tvetydig: samtidigt som han konstaterar att det definitivt inte är samma tryck i den politiska sången som förut så lyfter han fram artister som kanaliserar sitt samhällsengagemang genom musik. Avrundningen innehåller många nya exempel och man bara väntar på vart detta är på väg. Till slut dras trådarna om musikens kollektiva kraft samman i en diskussion om vårt fragmenterade samhälle, musikkivet individualisering och gemensam sång som levande kulturarv.

Det är ett väldigt omfattande projekt Gjermund Kolltveit har lyckats dra i mål. "Sång som våpen" är intressant läsning och man rycks som läsare med i hans engagemang för ämnet. Det är inte svårt att låta sig övertygas om att sången har varit och fortfarande kan vara ett medel för samhällsförändring. Bokens styrka ligger i att Kolltveit i detta populärvetenskapliga sammanhang på ett bra sätt förmår dra paralleller mellan besläktade sångfenomen med sång som kampverktyg. Det är en imponerande mängd exempel som synliggörs och han kombinerar breda penseldrag med hög detaljrikedom. Ibland försvinner tanken om sångens slagkraft i de ganska tvära kasten mellan exemplen när de välavvägda kapitelhelheterna ska spjälkas upp i mindre underkapitel, men när det funkar som bäst är det väldigt spännande och informativ läsning. ■

BOOK

Voices of the field. Pathways in public ethnomusicology

León F García Corona & Kathleen Wiens
(eds)

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.

ALF ARVIDSSON

Frågan om "vad musiketnologi är" har mer och mer blivit en fråga om vad musiketnologer gör, och vad det innebär att vara musiketnolog. Inte minst har den allmänna antropologiska reflexivtetsdebatten från 80-talet och framåt bidragit till att se kunskapsproducenten som del av de fält som studeras. Inom musiketnologi mer specifikt kom antologin *Shadows in the field* (1993 och 2008) att tydliggöra detta perspektiv. När nu en antologi har fått titeln *Voices of the field* är det en tydlig hänvisning om akademiskt sammanhang, men här är det mer fokus på strategier för att överleva och forma en livskarriär inom samhällets olika fält med den musiketnologiska kompetensen som resurs. Utgångspunkten är möjligheter på ett individuellt plan, hur den nyexaminerade kan bygga en framtid utanför akademien, men en undertext som ganska ofta aktiveras är den om musiketnologins roller i samhället.

I inledningen formuleras några grundläggande tankar. Ett syfte med boken är att problematisera gränsdragningen mellan akademiska och icke-akademiska projektmål, som tydligt ordnar vad som ger akademiska meriter. Kompetensen i och erfarenheten av fältarbete handlar inte bara om att upptäcka musik, utan också om att etablera och odla kontakter med människor med andra agendor. Redaktörerna lanserar begreppet "public facing" för att poängtera vikten av medvetenhet om att det handlar om att rikta sig till en heterogen allmänhet.

Vad som inte kommuniceras särskilt tydligt är att de flesta författarna använder en livs- eller karriärberättelseform. En presentation av författarna, som brukar förekomma i många antologier, saknas i det här fallet. Nu får läsaren efterhand placera författarna utifrån deras texter.

Det återkommande budskapet handlar om att hitta användningsområden för sina kompetenser, i interaktion med allmänheten. Daniel Sheehy, tidigare verksam vid National Endowment for the Arts och skivbolaget Folkways, berättar personligt om sin yrkeskarriär. Han betonar vikten av personligt engagemang, att utveckla sina färdigheter, tacka ja till alla möjligheter och att ta vara på mentorers sociala kunskaper – i hans fall är det särskilt Bess Lomax Hawes som fungerade som förebild på NEA. Huib Schippers, som efterträdde Sheehy som ledare för Folkways, talar för konsten att samverka med finansiärer och organisationer genom att bedriva en maktutövandets etnografi – vilka ska ta beslut, vilken bakgrund, vilka drivkrafter och vilka mål har de, hur kan musiketnologen presentera sina idéer och ge ett trovärdigt intryck? Cullen Buckminster Strawn har ett liknande budskap utifrån universitetens administrativa apparat. Kathleen Wiens understryker vikten av att kunna samarbeta i grupp, medan Nancy Groce skriver om hur man förbereder sig för att vara frilansare. Jeffrey Summit talar för medvetenhet om "storytelling" i hur vi kommunicerar med allmänheten, där en nyckelformulering är "we present the stories of the peoples whose music we study". Marysol Quevedo går igenom kommunikationsstrategier och föreslår (bild-)mediemedvetenhet som inslag i musiketnologisk undervisning. León F García Corona har "sustainable" i sin artikeltitel, vilket här syftar på förmågan att få ut kunskap till så många intresserade som möjligt, genom att arbeta strategiskt med uppläggnings av databaser. Han poängterar också vikten av dialog över ämnesgränser och att ta vara på kompetens och erfarenhet från musiketnologer som inte etablerat sig inom akademien. Patricia Shehan

Campbell delar med sig av sin långa verksamhet för att utveckla "världsmusikpedagogik", ofta i form av sommarkurser för musklärare, där en femstegsmodell av att lyssna, härma, gestalta, självständigt producera och kulturellt integrera utgör den bärande idén. Jeff Janeczko resonerar kring vad rollen som "curator" kan innebära, utifrån sitt arbete vid en stiftelse som skapat ett virtuellt arkiv över judisk musik i USA. Kathryn Metz talar för utåtriktad verksamhet med socialt rättviseperspektiv, särskilt riktat till ungdomar, utifrån arbete vid Rock Hall i Cleveland (typ pop-kollo). Robin Moore argumenterar för musikutövande som del i musiketnologisk undervisning, och för större plats för musiketnologi i musikerutbildningar. Meryl Krieger diskuterar hur planering för en karriär med stor del av samverkan med allmänheten måste skilja sig från den rent akademiska karriärmodellen.

Flera författare hänvisar till Anthony Seegers formulering om "förlorade härstamningslinjer och negligerade kollegor". Det är också Seeger som får avrunda antologin med ett efterord. Där betonar han i likhet med flera författare hur faktorer som öppenhet inför andra, förmågan att utnyttja tillfälligheternas möjligheter och mångsidiga erfarenheter inte bara främjar lyckat fältarbete utan också är goda egenskaper för att lyckas i en yrkeskarriär utanför akademien.

En svaghet med antologin är att den i sin iver att utveckla samhället utanför akademien som musiketnologisk arbetsmarknad, tenderar att skynda förbi musiken till förmån för allmänna karriärråd som i likhet med de flesta humanistiska kompetenser handlar om att vara flexibel och uppfinningsrik. Det egna musicerandet och dess betydelse för positionering gentemot allmänheten (lärare, fixare, propagandist, stjärna) lyfts fram av flera författare men kunde ha fått större utrymme; där skapas mycken auktoritet och möjlighet att framstå som trovärdig. Diskussionerna handlar ofta om vad som är möjligt vid amerikanska universitet eller vilka självbilder som dominerar inom Society for Ethnomusicology, och det blir tydligt hur samhällsbilden i Sverige och USA skiljer sig åt på många sätt. Många av de nischer som identifieras i boken är redan institutionaliserade och kulturpolitiksorganiserade i kommunala musik- och kulturskolor, festivaler, folkbildningsverksamhet, folkhögskolornas många musiklinjer, länsmuseumsväsendet – men de kan också vara lyhörda för nya idéer och mer snabba i att agera än akademiska plattformar. Också här finns det många "negligerade kollegor" vilkas erfarenheter och kompetenser hade kunnat bidra till en musiketnologisk dialog i långt större utsträckning än vad de fått utrymme för.

Boken kan med fördel läsas tillsammans med ett par andra nyutkomna amerikanska antologier kring liknande teman, Timothy Lloyd, *What Folklorists do: Professional Possibilities in Folklore Studies* (2021) och Tim Frandy & Marcus Cederstrom, *Culture Work: Folklore for the Public Good* (2022). ■

BOOK

Music, dance, anthropology

Stephen Cottrell (red.)
2021

Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston Publishing.
2021

Occasional Paper No. 46 of the Royal
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KARIN L. ERIKSSON

Antologin *Music, Dance, Anthropology* har sitt ursprung i rekonstruktionen av den musiketnologiska kommittén vid Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) 2015. Totalt består antologin av en inledning samt elva kapitel. Bidragen har det gemensamt att de alla vid något tillfälle presenterats inom kommitténs seminarieverksamhet. I inledningen menar redaktören Stephen Cottrell att bidragen tillsammans visar på bredden och livaktigheten hos musiketnologi och dansantropologi som deldiscipliner inom det större fältet antropologi.

Vissa försök till tematisering har gjorts genom att dela in antologin i två större delar. Den första delen – "Histories, theories, concepts" – består av sex kapitel som behandlar relativt disparata saker. Först ger John Baily en historisk överblick över RAI och framväxten av musiketnologi i Storbritannien med särskild tonvikt på ett urval individer. Även Andrée Grau fokuserar på föregångare men i detta fall inom det dansantropologiska forskningsfältet. Särskilt intressant här är hennes diskussioner om kvinnliga, färgade dansforskarens bemötande i sin samtid. Martin Stokes resonerar i sitt bidrag runt möjligheterna att (om)värdera John Blackings *How musical is man?* samt bokens relevans i dag. Ett liknande anslag har Jerome Lewis i det efterföljande kapitlet, men här med fokus på den stora frågan om varför musik spelar roll.

De två sista bidragen i den första avdelningen lyfter fram exempel på hur andra forskningsfält kan inspirera det egna. Ann R. David diskuterar utifrån ett dansantropologiskt perspektiv olika områden såsom kognitionsforskning, performansstudier och sensorisk etnografi i relation till *embodied ethnography*. Det mest handfasta och metodologiskt inriktade bidraget i antologin i stort är dock Barley Nortons. Han för ett resonemang runt filmskapande som verktyg för att presentera och redogöra för musiketnologiska forskningsresultat.

Även om erfarenheter från fältarbeten förekommer i flera av bidragen i antologins första del, är dessa mer framträdande i den andra: "Regional insights". Betonandet av fältstudier till trots, är ansatsen i denna del också att lyfta mer generella frågor. Rachel Harris argumenterar exempelvis på ett övertygande sätt för vikten av att studera ljudlandskap, baserat bland annat på erfarenheter från fältstudier i uiguriska samhällen i gränstrakterna mellan Xinjiang, Kazakstan och Kirgizistan. Och i Carol Peggs analys av sina dokumentationer och erfarenheter av fältarbete bland nomader i Sibirien utifrån begreppet performativa kroppar, lyfts frågor om kroppslighet som ingång till utforskande av olika musikaliska praktiker upp till ytan. De båda följande artiklarna utforskar förändrade förhållandens påverkan på olika former av dans. Här diskuterar Catherine Foley irländsk *sean nós*-dans och de förändringar som den genomgått med särskilt fokus på nya arenor. Och varför frodas arenorna för grekisk traditionell dans trots kraftiga åtstramningar i landets ekonomi, frågar sig Maria Koutsouba. Svaret menar hon är scenens förmåga att sammanföra människor i tider av kris.

Sist i andra delen, och i antologin som helhet, kommer Peter Cookes personliga betraktelse "Music, power and patronage: The case of the king's musicians of Buganda". Genom hans egna erfarenheter av att bo och verka i Uganda från mitten av 1960-talet, beskrivs hovmusikens starkt skiftande förutsättningar i tider av förändring. Artikeln är lika mycket en beskrivning av musikernas ändrade förhållanden som – vilket han också själv påpekar – en historik över hans egna utforskanden av musiktraditioner i Uganda.

Några av bidragen har gjort ett större avtryck hos mig. Hit hör Graus kapitel "The legs that put a kick into anthropology": Forerunners of the anthropology of dance". Kapitlet påminner om vikten av att regelbundet återbesöka våra egna forskningsfälts förhistoria så att inte gamla "sanningar" befästs och förs vidare utan reflektion. Men även Peter Cookes användning av sina egna erfarenheter som lins för att beskriva omvälvande förändringar i Uganda, var tilltalande.

Av särskilt metodologiskt intresse har jag också med nyfikenhet tagit del av Barley Nortons resonemang i kapitlet "Ethnomusicology and filmmaking". Norton uppmanar musiketnologer att ta intryck av filmmediets berättartekniker för att presentera och diskutera forskningsresultat på ett mer intrikat och mångfacetterat sätt. Hans resonemang påminner mig om ansatser inom konstnärlig forskning, även om denna utblick saknas i kapitlet.

Mer fundersam blir jag av de bidrag som utifrån avgränsade fallstudier drar långtgående slutsatser. Särskilt gäller detta Jerome Lewis kapitel "Why music matters: Social aesthetics and cultural transmission". Lewis syftar till att föreslå olika möjliga ingångar till att studera musik som något allmänmänskligt. Ansatsen är bred men grundas framför allt i studier av Bayaka-gruppers musicerande. Han söker därmed svar på stora, universella frågor, långt större än det etnografiskt förankrade underlaget som presenteras. Svaren är lockande, ibland ofta också intuitivt välbekanta och familjära. Men är de rimliga?

Av antologins författare är Lewis den som tydligast gör generaliserande påståenden av detta slag. Han gör det dessutom skickligt genom en intrikat balansakt mellan det specifika och det generella. Liknande ansatser återfinns dock i flera andra bidrag, om än inte lika uttalade. De aktualiserar frågan om hur långt det är möjligt att utifrån enskilda i tid och rum avgränsade fallstudier – även när dessa är omfattande – dra slutsatser som antas gälla för långt mer än det den enskilda studien täcker in. Frågan uppfattar jag är både komplex och svår att besvara. Men den är också central för all etnografiskt baserad forskning då den utforskar var gränsen mellan det specifika och det generaliserbara går. Jag saknar en mer genomgående och återkommande diskussion om just denna gräns i flera av bidragen.

Antologins sammanhållande element finns därmed inte mellan bidragen utan i dess institutionella kontext. Mer specifikt dess koppling till RAI. Genom förankringen i RAI:s verksamhet, kan antologin betraktas som en del i att befästa och dokumentera men också motivera och legitimera den 2015 återetablerade musiketnologiska kommittén vid institutet. Legitimeringen stärks av de två inledande kapitlen där John Baily respektive Andrée Grau presenterar föregångare inom musiketnologi respektive dansantropologi.

Den institutionella inramningen och bidragens bakgrundshistorik har troligen också bidragit till att beskriva musiketnologi och dansantropologi som delområden inom det större forskningsfältet antropologi. Fram träder en bild av musiketnologi och dansantropologi som två omistliga men samtidigt underskattade deldiscipliner inom antropologisk forskning. I bidragen understryks vid flera tillfällen vikten av att antropologisk forskning bättre måste ta hänsyn till, dokumentera och analysera musik och dans. Relationen mellan antropologi och de båda deldisciplinerna är därmed relativt enkelriktad;

det är antropologisk forskning som har någon form av brist som delvis kan avhjälpas med en större kunskap om och hänsynstagande till det som musik- och dansforskningen kan bidra med. Resonemang som går åt andra hållet är sällsynta, med undantag av Davids resonemang om *embodied ethnography* och Nortons studie av filmskapande som uttalat säger sig hitta sin inspiration i *visual anthropology*.

Vad som utgör musiketnologi respektive dansantropologi tas däremot som självklart. Själv blir jag dock osäker. Om jag var tvungen att välja, hade jag då valt att se exempelvis flera av de fältstudier som redovisas i antologins andra del som musiketnologiska? Varför inte musikantropologiska? När blir ett antropologiskt forskningsprojekt musiketnologiskt? Och när är det inte det? Räcker det att det handlar om musik och dans, eller är det något ytterligare som ska till? Och varför är det självklart att se musiketnologi och dansantropologi som deldiscipliner inom just antropologi? Vilka alternativ ser författarna till denna uppdelning? Efter avslutad läsning är jag emellertid benägen att hålla med baksidestexten som menar att bidragen tillsammans visar hur studiet av musik- och danspraktiker alltid också blir ett utforskande som visar att "the performance of music and dance is always about more than just the performance of music and dance".

Men som framgår ovan, lämnas jag också med en känsla av att det är något som tas för givet i förståelsen av själva forskningsfälten i sig. Ett något som inte tydligt adresseras men som sannolikt kommer sig av antologins bakgrund i RAI. Jag tänker att jag fått mig till livs en av pusselbitarna för att skriva den brittiska musiketnologins och dansantropologins ämneshistorik, trots att bidragsgivarna kommer från fler länder än så. Och jag funderar över hur vi i Sverige och Norden skriver vår historik. Vad lyfter vi fram? Vad tonar vi ned? Vilka personer framhävs? Vilka syns inte alls? Och skulle vi överhuvud taget kunna säga att musiketnologi och dansantropologi så självklart är deldiscipliner inom en större disciplin och i så fall vilken? Jag är också osäker på om vi så enkelt skulle ställa musiketnologi och dansantropologi bredvid varandra, istället för exempelvis musik- och dansantropologi respektive musik- och dansantropologi? ■

Langeleiken er ett tradisjonelt musikkinstrument, ein avlang resonanskasse i tre, laga av ein eller fleire delar, med eller utan botn, og med eit hovud i ein eller begge endar. Strengetalet varierer normalt mellom fire og ni strengar, som er spente over ein notesal i kvar ende. I den eine enden er stillarne (stemmeskruarne) festa, i den andre er strengane festa til kroppen på ulike måtar. Ein eller fleire strengar kan vere avkorta, og ofte er dei festa til ein eller fleire stillepinnar som går gjennom kroppen. (Aksdal & Kværne, 2021:17)

Så inleds Bjørn Aksdal och Elisabeth Kværnes bok om Langeleiken, med en tydligt materiellt organologiskt influerad beskrivning av det norska instrumentet med rötter i medeltiden. På annat håll i boken ges vi dock en mer sociologiskt orienterad beskrivning, enligt dem själva inspirerad av Tellef Kvifte (2008):

BOOK

Langeleiken – heile Noregs instrument

Bjørn Aksdal & Elisabeth Kværne

Oslo: Novus, 2021.

DANIEL FREDRIKSSON

Enkelt sagt: Dersom spelemannen meiner han spelar på ein langeleik, ja, så er det er langeleik. (Aksdal & Kværne, 2021:315)

Boken *Langeleiken – heile Noregs instrument* är sannerligen inget snabbt tillkommet verk. Författarna berättar i inledningen om hur de på åttiotalet började samarbeta med en museiutställning om instrumentet, som på många sätt blev grunden till boksamarbetet. Utställningen följdes av olika inventerings- och kartläggningsprojekt där de registrerade hundratals instrument, den äldsta daterad till 1524. Arbetet väckte frågor – om ljudhål, skalor, utsmyckningar – som skapade en önskan om att skriva en bok om instrumentet. Sagt och gjort, en 517 sidor extremt grundlig genomgång av det norska instrumentet *langeleik*, på svenska ofta kallat långspel, har sett dagens ljus.

Bokens huvudfokus och inramning är det fysiska instrumentet och dess materialitet. Det är tydligt i texten att det är ett inventeringsarbete som ligger till grund för boken, då stora delar av texten utgörs av redogörelser för instrumenten, oftast uppdelat geografiskt efter fylke/region. Det sätt som författarna närmar sig instrumentet i stort, är en slags försök till kategorisering eller typologi över instrumentet, huvudsakligen grundat i dess materiella utformning och dess ålder. Till att börja med har de delat in instrumenten i "yngre" och "äldre" langeleikar, med år 1860 som en skiljelinje. Därefter har de klassificerat instrumenten utefter ett antal olika kategorier – längd, bredd, höjd och generell form, huruvida kroppen har sarg eller är ett urholkat trästycke, antal skruvlådor, antal strängar, stämskruvarnas placering, ljudhål, huvudtyp, förekomst av, och form på, *lokskegg*, ("lockskägg", en del av locket som på vissa instrument sticker ut), samt kroppens dekor och huruvida den blivit lackad, betsad och så vidare. Andra klassificeringsprinciper handlar om placeringen av de upphöjda banden av trä eller ben (på langeleiken kallade *notar*) och deras tillhörande skala, liksom inkludering av *stoppar* (krokar som fäster strängen underifrån och som fungerar som ett slags motsvarighet till gitarrens *capo d'astro*). Författarnas övergripande typologi har fyra huvudkategorier som baseras på antal skruvlådor och huruvida instrumentet är skapat av ett helt stycke eller flera delar. Varje kategori har fyra underindelningar beroende på kroppens form. Allt detta är relaterat till instrumentens geografiska proveniens, vilket redovisas grundligt i kapitlen om äldre och yngre instrument med utgångspunkt i Norges olika regioner/fylken. Denna form återkommer i flera av de andra kapitlen. Det presenteras ingen tydlig slutsats av inventeringen och typologin, men som jag förstår resultatet så visar det på en långt mer heterogen och varierad instrumentflora än vad exempelvis musikforskaren Erik Eggens antydde i sin indelning från 1922: en typologi baserad på skaltyp som direkt relaterades geografiskt (Hallingdal-typen, Sirdal-typen, Valdres-Telemarkske typen och Seljord-typen),.

Utöver detta redogörs i bokens kapitel för många olika aspekter av instrumentet. Ett kapitel fokuserar på historiska texter om langeleiken, från 1500-talet och framåt. Här redogörs för omnämningar av instrumentet i äldre dikter, brevväxlingar, sångtexter med mera. Ett annat kapitel berör akademiska skrifter och museologiska utställningar. Kapitlet "Frå hekseprosess til kongepokal" avhandlar langeleiken i samhället. Här diskuteras dess plats från senmedeltid via romantikens nationsbyggande till dagens samhälle. Särskilt intressant fann jag avsnittet om ockupationstiden och specifika spelmäns förhållande till ockupationsmakten (s. 383). Kapitlet "Levande

langeleik" berör instrumentets utbredning och användning inom dagens folkmusikscen i Norge, och här tas både revival-rörelser och nya utvecklingar av instrumentet upp, såsom Niels Jørgen Røines langeleik som har flyttbara band (s. 314). Kapitlet om "dansdockor" är också mycket intressant; belägg finns för att langeleik-spelmän har manövrerat en ledad docka upphängd i en ram, genom ett snöre fäst i lillfingret. Dockan har då "dansat" i takt till musiken. Liknande konstruktioner uppges ha förekommit kring finsk kantele och

mungigespel i Kirgizistan. Ett annat kapitel går in på speltraditioner, plektrumteknik (*snerten*, som det heter på norska), sittställning, stämning, skalor och tonomfång. Allt är grundat både i de inventerade instrumentens utformning och i de olika muntliga och skriftliga källorna, samt till viss del bildmaterial. I de två avslutande kapitlen lyfts blicken för en diskussion om langeleiken i relation till dess släktingar inom den så kallade *sheitholt*-familjen, från hummel till appalachian dulcimer. Dulcimern trakterades av amerikanska storheter som Joni Mitchell, men också av Jørn Jensen och Morten Bing i den norska folkrockgruppen *Folque*. Bokens avslutande kapitel gräver än djupare i formaspekter inom den instrumentfamilj som alla dessa instrument kan sägas tillhöra. Författarna presenterar här ännu en typologi, baserad främst på kroppens form, och har där delat in instrumenten i åtta olika kategorier, såsom rektangulära, trapezoida, avokadoformade, timglasformade, sammansatta former, med mera.

Boken har genomgående en form där det inventerade materialet genomgående ramar in kapitlet. Detta ger tydlighet och värdefull transparens till detta omfattande verk genom att bokens teman exemplifieras med hänvisning till specifika instrument. Men det skapar också intrycket att boken framför allt är ett slags (utmärkt) råmaterial eller en utgångspunkt för vidare studier. Detta förstärks av att många kapitel saknar sammanfattande avslutande partier, och det är väldigt sparsmakat med mer abstrakta diskussioner, slutledningar eller kulturteoretiska analyser, eller för den delen en övergripande tes eller större sammanhängande berättelse. Författarna försöker inte heller på ett tydligt sätt placera in sitt resultat i relation till internationell musikinstrumentforskning. Men boken bjuder trots detta på många intressanta ingångar till detta viktiga och spännande instrument, såsom dess funktion under ockupationstiden, aspekter av genus och kön, innovativa utvecklingar i samtiden, dess många släktingar, striden om folkmusiken i radion, och dess långa historia. Ur vetenskaplig synvinkel hade det varit väldigt spännande att få följa dessa resonemang lite längre, då mer ingående kulturvetenskapliga analyser om instrumentet som kulturell och social företeelse lyser med sin frånvaro. Samtidigt bjuds vi stundtals på insiktsfulla kommentarer och början till analytiska resonemang om langeleikens "sociala liv" (Bates, 2012) som hur dansdocke-traditionen motarbetades av langeleikspelmännen själva, då det uppfattades som en alltför bräcklig tradition med låg status, och det befarades att det skulle upplevas som att bekräfta folks fördomar om langeleiken som ett *småjenteinstrument*, eller den nämnda diskussionen om langeleikens identitet i förhållande till organologiska och sociologiska argument.

Att den här boken är ett resultat av många års arbete, dedikation och kärlek till detta instrument syns tydligt på bokens sidor. Det är över lag trevlig läsning (på norska), och den är mycket vackert utformad och rikligt illustrerad med

hundratals fotografier og teckningar av instrument, inskannade dokument og målningar samt annat bildmaterial i både färg og svartvitt. Sammantaget kan sägas att boken på det stora hela är en mycket imponerande sammanställning, som utgör en viktig grund för kommande forskning om detta mångsidiga og fascinerande instrument. ■

BOOK

Kingotone og brorsonsang – folkelig salmesang i Danmark

Fra salmebøger og lydindspilninger

Helen Rossil

Uppsala universitet 2022
Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis,
Studia Musicologica Uppsaliensia,
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INGRID GJERTSEN

I denne doktoravhandlingen behandles både omfattende og grundig et emne som tidligere er blitt mer dokumentert i faglitteraturen i Sverige og Norge enn i Danmark. Derfor er denne avhandlingen så viktig og velkommen. Den setter Danmark mer på kartet i et felles nordisk forskningsfelt. Avhandlingens tema er folkelig religiøs sangtradisjon i Danmark. Kingos salmebok (1699) og Brorsons *Troens Rare Klenodie* (1739) og *Svanesang* (1765) står sentralt i folkesangen der, som i Norge. Avhandlingen tar for seg folkesangernes bruk av disse salmebøkene og sangen som motstrøm til den offisielt standardiserte kirkesangen.

Undersøkelsens materiale er lydinnspillinger med De stærke Jyders kingo-sang gjort av Hakon Grüner-Nielsen i 1933–1934, Nils Schiørrings opptak med kingo-sang på Lyø 1953, Thorkild Knudsens opptak med De stærke Jyder 1958–1963, Carl Clausens opptak av brorson-sang i Harboøre 1959–1966 og Sigvald Tveits opptak av kingo-sang i Kristelig Lutheransk trossamfunn i 1995. Skriftlig materiale er relevante kirkesalmebøker, særlig Thomissøns salmebok (1569), Kingos salmebok, Brorsons *Troens rare klenodie* og *Svanesang* og salmebøkene melodiutgaver.

Avhandlingens formål er å analysere folkelig kingo- og brorson-sang i Danmark og belyse sosiale, historiske og religiøse spørsmål knyttet til de lokale tradisjoner.

Metoden er tverrdisiplinær, kirkehistorisk hymnologi kombinert med musikk-etnologi.

I søken etter forskningstradisjoner og teoretisk verktøy i krysningfeltet mellom musikk-etnologi og hymnologi, har valget falt på nyere tendenser innen amerikansk forskning, nærmere bestemt forskningsnettverket Christian Congregational Music. Musikken studeres her som sosial og religiøs praksis og ikke som en kunstform, og både samtidige og historiske tradisjoner studeres.

Salmebøker og tilhørende koralbøker og melodisamlinger og lyd materialet relevant for analysen blir grundig presentert og gjennomgått i to hele kapitler før analysekapitlene. Disse kapitlene utgjør et verdifullt grunnlag for analysen. Her vises salmebokens posisjon og betydning i sangpraksis både i kirken så vel som i forsamlinger ellers. Salmebokens rolle som materiell mediator drøftes, likeså vel som lydopptakene brukt som historisk kilde. Det redegjøres videre for den dobbelte medieringsprosess, relasjonen mellom salmebok og sanger og den klingende sang i disse sangtradisjoner. I presentasjonen av lydinnspilt materiale gis først et overblikk over innsamlingsvirksomheten fra dens første tid av. Her omtales også innsamlernes lydutstyr, opptaksteknikk, metoder, grunnlagsproblematikk, syn på tradisjon, o.s.v., kort sagt en nyttig innsamlingshistorikk. Innsamlerne med materiale brukt i doktoravhandlingens analyse, får en grundigere gjennomgang. Spørsmål gjeldende lydopptak som kildemateriale for forskning diskuteres ganske

inngående, noe som er ekstra relevant for denne analysen som bruker lydopptak fra årene mellom 1933 og 1995. Lydopptakene er fra en annen tid enn arbeidet med avhandlingen. Ikke desto mindre utgjør dette lyd materialet et verdifullt grunnlag for analysen. Man kan likevel spørre seg hva resultatet av analysen hadde blitt med supplerende feltarbeid og lydopptak foretatt nærmere i tid og direkte knyttet til undersøkelsens problemstilling. Det ville kanskje ikke vært mulig, all den tid mye av denne sangen ifølge avhandlingen er "dødd ut". På den annen side kan man i en folkelig tradisjonsprosess ikke være sikker på om noe har dødd ut. Et supplerende feltarbeid med opptak av nålevende kunne ha gitt interessante tilskudd til analysen og dens resultater.

En nærmere redegjørelse for det skriftlige kildematerialet omhandler salmebøker og melodibøker og den salme-kultur som utviklet seg i Danmark generelt og i de vakte miljøer spesielt. Vi får en oversikt over den kirkehistoriske utvikling som førte til dannelsen og utviklingen av de vakte miljøer som brukte Kingos og Brorsons salmebøker, og om vekkelse og splittelse, noe som får betydning for de ulike miljøer med hver sine sangidealer.

Kapitlet om tidligere forskning i folkelig salmesang i Norden bidrar med viktig kunnskap om forskere og publikasjoner, forskningshistorie og forskningstradisjoner, forskernes metoder og vitenskapelige ståsted. Religiøs folkesang utgjør en stor og viktig del av folkesangtradisjonen generelt i Danmark som i Norden forøvrig, og mange i Norden har skrevet om emnet.

I analysekapitlene (fra s. 127) trekkes ut følgende fem fasetter i salmesangen:

1. salmesang som praksis, 2. salmesang som handling, 3. salmesang som fellesskap og konflikt: den sosiale deltagelse, 4. salmesang som kollektiv erindring og 5. salmesang som trosutøvelse og religiøs erfaring. Her brukes blant annet forskere som Christopher Small (med boken *Musicking*, 1998) og Thomas Turino (med begrepet *participatory performance*) som begge legger vekt på sang som handling. Innenfor de fem nevnte fasetter analyseres salmesangen både historisk og i "nuet", i avhandlingen benevnt som henholdsvis den diakrone og den synkrone akse. Den diakrone akse setter fokus på sangens endringsprosesser, den sosiale og religiøse betydningsdannelse som foregår i et tradisjons- og erindringsperspektiv. Den synkrone akse tar for seg den deltakende musikalske interaksjon, den sosiale og religiøse betydningsdannelse som skjer sangerne imellom.

På Lyø var Kingos salmebok i bruk helt til 1912. Kingosangen der undersøkes ut fra lydinnspillinger gjort av Hakon Grüner-Nielsen (1934) og Nils Schiørring (1953). Kildematerialet gjør det mulig å analysere tradisjonsprosessen i et erindringsperspektiv.

De muntlige tradisjonenes endringsprosesser som vokal liturgisk og konfesjonell erindringspraksis undersøkes for å få et innblikk i den religiøse og musikalske erindringspraksis. Interessant ved øysamfunn mange plasser, som også på Lyø, er sterk tradisjonsbevissthet og samtidig åpenhet mot omverdenen. Undersøkelsen av Lyø-sangerne viser også et annet kjent fenomen, at en lærer og kirkesanger kan bringe nye idealer inn i sangen. Dette kan i noen fellesskap ha ført til konflikt, noe denne avhandlingen også gir eksempler på (s. 192 ff bl. a.). Undersøkelsen viser kingosangens funksjon som stadig gjenskapelse av fortiden. Det betyr ikke at melodiene synges slik de står i Thomissøn og i Kingos Graduale. I dansk kingo-sang, som i

Norden forøvrig, gjør fenomenet "variasjon", "nyskaping" seg gjeldende, der salmebok-melodien kan endre seg mer eller mindre i folkelig bruk. Ofte har melismatikken en viktig rolle i endringsprosessene. Som i avhandlingen, kan variasjons-fenomenet også hete "erindring som forvandlingens kunst" (s. 141 ff). Analysen avdekker flere trekk i selve sangfremføringen, blant annet at pulsen ikke består av eksakt tilmålte tidsenheter ("subjektiv puls"), men tilpasses utøvings-situasjonen.

I analysen av De stærke Jyders kingo-sang, som i analysen av brorson-sangen er den diakrone akse krysset med den synkrone for å få et innblikk i fellessangens mekanismer i den deltagende sang. Hos De stærke Jyder har kingo-sangen vært en hovedsak for opprettholdelsen av en kollektiv religiøs identitet. Helt fram til rundt midten av 1900-tallet ble kingo-sangen praktisert. Til sammenligning forlot man på Lyø tradisjonen uten protester i takt med moderniseringen i begynnelsen av det 20. århundre. Analysen gjør bruk av Thorkild Knudsens lydopptak med dem i tiden 1958–63 og Grüner-Nielsens opptak 1933. Knudsens materiale er det langt rikeste og mest omfattende. Analysen av De stærke Jyders kingo-sang har derfor i større grad kunnet konsentrere seg om den synkrone akse, og det har vært mulig også å studere fellessang og den musikalske kommunikasjon sangerne imellom. I deres sang høres eksempler på en deltagende heterofon menighetssang. Analysen inneholder gode drøftinger av sangens estetikk. De stærke Jyder kan ha visse felles trekk med Hauge-vekkelsen i Norge (leder Hans Nielsen Hauge 1771–1824), blant annet når det gjelder sangens sterke plass i samvær og levemåte, og ikke minst i motstanden mot rasjonalismen og Evangelisk-kristelig salmebok. Kingo ble foretrukket også blant haugianerne.

Siste kapittel med undersøkelsen av kingo-sangen omhandler Kristelig Luthersk Trossamfunn (lydopptak 1995), et samfunn i sterk sosial og konfesjonell isolasjon. Sangen her lyder massivt unisont, bl. a. med utstrakt bruk av glissando og en grundig innsunget melismatikk.

Brorson-sang og kingosang representerer to forskjellige tradisjoner. Brorsons salmebok var ingen kirkesalmebok, men ble brukt i samlinger og på steder utenfor kirkerommet. Brorson-sangen har tydeligvis vært en drivkraft i vekkelsen på samlinger i hjemmene fra tidlig 1800-tall og fremover. I Danmark finnes det likevel lite historisk kildemateriale av denne tradisjonen. Det kan skyldes at den ikke har røtter i kirkens messe, men har levd i muntlig tradisjon på lekfolkets samlinger. Avhandlingen tar for seg brorson-sangen i Harboøre og det nor-vestjyske området der denne tradisjonen var særlig livskraftig. Disse områdene er også best dokumentert i lyd materialet som finnes, Carl Clausens lydopptak av brorson-sang i Harboøre, 1959–1966. Brorson-sangernes strategi viser seg i sanguttrykk og valg av musikalske forbilder som er forskjellig fra Kingo-sangernes. I avhandlingen kalles dette treffende for "det andet hovedspor" i folkelig salmesang i Danmark (s. 249).

Foreningen for Indre Mission, grunnlagt i 1853 førte etter hvert til et mer organisert forsamlingsliv. De vaktet fellessang utviklet seg i et samspill mellom tradisjonelt og moderne. Brorsons og Kingos salmebøker ble flere steder brukt side om side.

I takt med økende organisering og lekmannsbevegelsens tettere kontakt med kirken, ble sangen mer ensrettet. Andre sangbøker med sanger i den

nye stil ble tatt i bruk. Fra siste del av 1800-tallet av gjorde den anglo-amerikanske vekkelsessang seg sterkt gjeldende, og deres musikalske uttrykk utkonkurrerte etter hvert den eldre brorson-sang. Et utvalg brorson-salmer blir analysert, for blant annet å avdekke sang-estetiske trekk og samtidig hvor melodiene er hentet fra. Kun få melodier følger melodihenviingen i Brorsons salmebøker. De fleste er visemelodier i muntlig tradisjon og nyere salmemelodier. Brorson-sangerne foretrekker et lysere og lettere uttrykk, og i tråd med dette varierer rytme og melodi, moll-melodier blir til dur, treklangs-melodikk og en langsom harmonisk rytme foretrekkes. Fellessangen er samstemt og samlende. Det er spesielt interessant å få innblikk i hvordan brorson-sangen i Danmark er forskjellig fra den i Norge på dette punkt.

Avhandlingens studie i sin helhet viser at den folkelige kingo- og brorson-sangen har styrket fellesskapet og vekkelsens utbredelse. Konflikten mellom kirkens offisielle syn og folkets sangpraksis som en kulturkonflikt synliggjøres. Kingo og Brorsons salmebøker fikk kanonisk status. De sterke Jyder og Kristelig Lutheransk Trossamfund kjempet for å kunne synges etter Kingos salmebok på gudstjenestene. Hverken Kingo-sangerne eller harboøres brorson-sangere var passive mottakere av sangen, uansett om kingosangerne gikk mot strømmen og harboøres brorsonsangere kan sies å ha gått med strømmen. De har likevel begge vist evne til selv å handle gjennom sangen. Kingo-sangerne er bevisste om melodienes betydning som bærere av ordene i den enkelte salme, "Å synges den rene lære". Dette vises tydelig i deres motstand mot Evangelisk-kristelig salmebok som de mente endret trossgrunnlaget, både teologisk og liturgisk, språklig og musikalsk. Avhandlingen ser dette som eksempel på "det profanes innbrudd i det hellige", i tråd med Eliades forestilling om det religiøse menneske og den mytiske tid til forskjell fra den profane. Gjennom Kingos salmebok og dens liturgiske funksjon i gudstjenesten, fikk det religiøse menneske adgang til evighetens hellige tid (s. 199–200).

Avsluttende kan det sies at analysen i denne avhandlingen ser ut til å ha utnyttet det tilgjengelige kildematerialet svært godt, og bidrar dermed med ny og viktig kunnskap om den folkelige kingo- og brorsonsangen. Noen spørsmål kunne fått et mer utfyllende svar dersom feltarbeid i nåtid hadde vært mulig. Det gjelder spesielt spørsmål angående sangens sosiale og religiøse rolle i utøvingssituasjonen. Med tanke på Kingo-sangernes bevissthet om melodienes betydning som bærere av ordene i den enkelte salme, er ikke bare melodien, men også teksten viktig for dem. Det vitner også deres motstand mot Evangelisk-kristelig salmebok om. Salmenes tekster kunne derfor vært koblet mer inn i analysen, men det ville kanskje ha sprengt avhandlingens grenser.

Lydeksempler som følger avhandlingen:

Eksempler på Nils Schørrings, Thorkild Knudsens og Sigvald Tveits innspillinger pluss opptak med en amerikansk sanger finnes på cd-en som er innlagt i avhandlingen og på <https://musi.uu.se/forskning/kingotone-og-brorsonsang>. På s. 125 i avhandlingen står henvisninger til hvor man kan finne andre lydopptak brukt i analysen. ■

BOOK

Rimdrottningar, folkmusiker och rockband: Om deltagandets och lärandets villkor i musikkivet inleds med ett förord av redaktörerna som beskriver antologin och dess sju artiklar. Artiklarna har det gemensamt att författarna samtliga studerat deltagande i musikkivet på olika sätt. Författarna kommer från olika vetenskapliga discipliner som musikpedagogik, musikvetenskap, sociologi och etnologi och utgångspunkten tas i deras respektive avhandlingar. Målgruppen för boken, menar redaktörerna, är alla som på något vis arbetar med kulturfrågor och musik.

”Gissa vad som händer när beatet går på? Jag rhymer som en queen – jag är på högsta nivå” av Camilla Jonasson handlar om musik, teknologi och pedagogik. Fokus är på det hon kallar för musikskaparhybriden, en beskrivning av hur människa och teknologi samverkar i musikskapande. Hon resonerar kring fem olika typer och dessa diskuteras bland annat i relation till jämställdhet och lärande. Hon har studerat tre olika musikmiljöer, alla bestående av enbart tjejer eller transpersoner. Slutsatsen är att i hennes undersökningar tar kvinnor makt över teknologin, men det behövs både mer handledning och bättre pedagoger. En annan sak hon framhåller är att musiktexter, både deras innehåll och funktion, är viktigare än vad som visats tidigare och behöver därför få ta mer plats i musikundervisningen. Överlag ett intressant kapitel med lite nya ingångar.

I ”Om trovärdighet i hiphopmusicerande” av Andrea Dankić diskuteras hur trovärdighet skapas, förvaltas och påverkar musikskapande i hiphop samt hur det praktiska musicerandet hänger samman med detta. Undersökningen är gjord utifrån tre hiphopraktiker: musikläger för tonårstjejer, battlerapscenen och DJ:ar som spelar på nattklubbar. Hon utgår från tre förståelser för hiphop: som subkultur, som politisk kamp samt som en estetisk konvention. För hiphop som subkultur menar hon att det ingår en autentisk förståelse av att leva ut hiphopraktiken genom att ägna sig åt alla delar av hiphop. Detta skapar en gräns mot dem som enbart lyssnar på musiken. Hiphop som politisk kamp handlar om en intim relation till det afroamerikanska samhället. Här talar författaren om ett slags utanförskapets och de stigmatiserades musik. Hiphop som estetisk konvention handlar om att förhålla sig till det regelverk som finns för musikandet (Smalls begrepp). Hon skriver sedan om en idealtypisk hiphopposition som hon definierar som ”en ung (ofta) arg och kriminellt belastad man som rasifieras som icke-vit och är från en miljon-programförort” (s. 57). För att komma bort från denna stigmatisering säger några av de DJ:ar Dankić intervjuat att de väljer att inte berätta vilken musik det är som de spelar utan istället gör omskrivningar som musik som får dansgolvet att gunga. Författarens resonemang om hiphop som underdog-perspektiv anser jag går hand i hand med hur man resonerat om subgenrer i tidigare forskning. Hon för också ett resonemang om rättvis representation kontra konstnärlig kvalitet som jag upplever som långsökt och något otydligt. Hon avslutar med frågan: ”vilka konsekvenser kan det få att hiphoppositionen, som bygger på en förståelse av trovärdighet kopplat till stereotyper, fyller en så central roll i den mest populära musiken bland dagens unga?” (s. 67) Jag menar att detta är samma diskussion som funnits i alla tider där man förfasat sig för dagens musik och dess påverkan på ungdomarna. Man behöver läsa mycket mellan raderna för att förstå helheten av artikeln vilket ger ett tydligt exempel på att författaren är mer insatt än läsaren.

Rimdrottningar, folkmusiker och rockband. Om deltagandets och lärandets villkor i musikkivet

Karl Asp & Susanna Leijonhufvud (red.)

Stockholm: KMH. 2022.

EVA KJELLANDER HELLOQVIST

”Rockbands utmaningar och lärprocesser” av Tobias Malm handlar om hur ett rockbands verksamhet fungerar, orsaker till de utmaningar som kan uppstå samt hur bandmedlemmar hanterar dessa utmaningar. Syftet är att ”bidra till förståelse av de sociala processerna i ett rockband” (s. 71). Han utgår bland annat från att en person kan ha flera olika identiteter som den sedan behöver laborera med för att hantera verkligheten och menar vidare att när det uppstår konflikter mellan de olika identiteterna kan man tala om identitetsdilemman. Kapitlet baseras på tre delstudier varav en intervjustudie och två fallstudier. Den första studien utgår från sex intervjuer med personer från tre olika band. Den andra studien, fallstudie ett, görs med det han kallar Popbandet. Den tredje studien, fallstudie två, görs med det han kallar Rockbandet. Popbandet var väl förankrat nationellt medan Rockbandet var förankrat internationellt. Författaren har identifierat sex olika identiteter i banden: entreprenör, hobbyutövare, kollega, kreatör, proffs och vän. Det är i dessa olika motsatspar som han menar att identitetsdilemman uppstår. Dilemmat mellan entreprenör och kreatör blir tydligt i Popbandet där produktionsfaserna blir längre än vilofaserna och insikterna om att det krävs mycket arbete för att ”komma någonstans” skapar en tveksamhet för några av deltagarna. Här talas det om vikten av att alla vill samma sak. Kollega och vän är ju av naturliga skäl en svår balansgång. Att arbeta ihop med, och dessutom driva företag tillsammans med sina vänner, är inte lätt och kräver en stor öppenhet hos alla parter. Proffs- och hobbyutövardilemmat visar sig tydligt i Rockbandet där en av diskussionerna rör hur mycket de ska ta betalt för en spelning. Här handlar det i förlängningen om att antingen kunna försörja sig på sin musik eller att ha andra arbeten vid sidan om. Författaren menar att dessa dilemman har mening för de lärprocesser som bandmedlemmarna genomgår. I dessa finns utvecklingen av banden. Om graden av flexibilitet minskar så finns det stora risker att banden inte överlever. Sammantaget intressant men jag är inte helt med på att vi har olika identiteter. Kanske handlar det snarare om identitetsroller som vi antar utifrån den kontext vi är i.

”En riktig musiker” av Daniel Fredriksson handlar om musik och kulturpolitik i Dalarna. Författaren har intervjuat aktiva musiker om hur det är att vara musiker i relation till frågor om kulturpolitik och kulturbidrag. Han pratar om kulturpolitiken både som möjliggörare och som villkorande och identifierar i detta olika logiker. Han har genomfört intervjuer med musiker samt med företrädare för kulturinstitutioner i Dalarna och menar att där kulturpolitikerna pratar om samverkan pratar musikerna om kvalitet. I artikeln resonerar han om ovanstående logiker där ett exempel är svårigheten att tänka sig att ett musikprojekt både kan anses hålla hög konstnärlig nivå och samtidigt anses ha låg kvalitet. Detta såg han till exempel i hur olika ansökningar var utformade. I spänningsfältet nyskapande och tradition var det viktigt att veta vad som skulle tryckas på i en ansökan och det nyskapande gav större utdelning. Ytterligare ett spänningsfält var betydelsefullt, det mellan centrum och periferi där det fanns en uppfattning om att det var i Stockholm den bästa musiken med de bästa förutsättningarna skapades, detta grundat i historiska maktförhållanden. I detta kapitel är det tydligt att resonemanget om kommersialismens negativa verkningar lever kvar. Det handlar inte så mycket om ifall musiken eller det som skapas är bra, bara det går att söka medel för det. Strategierna är viktigare än det konstnärliga.

”Villkor och förutsättningar för högre folk- och världsmusikutbildning” av Ingrid Hedin Wahlberg handlar om hur normer och makt är verksamma inom folk- och världsmusikutbildning inom högre musikutbildning. Författaren undersöker skärningspunkten mellan makt, musik och kunskap. Hon har intervjuat, observerat och följt studenter och lärare vid tre högre utbildningar. Det presenteras ett antal exempel på hur musik används i utbildningen och utifrån dessa resonerar hon om makt och normer. Ett exempel handlar om hur vissa studenter måste lära sig själv om det inte finns någon mästare att lära från. Konstmusiken används som jämförelsegenre och författaren menar att musiken anpassas till konservatoriet och de normer som finns där och att det därför skett en akademisering av folk- och världsmusikutbildningarna. I texten finns det flera sidor med genomgång av vad folkmusik och världsmusik är och hur det historiskt sett ut. Detta känns lite onödigt eftersom det är mer intressant vad författaren kommer fram till i sin avhandling. Det känns som att författaren har en egen agenda här. Jag menar att det finns styrdokument och annat att förhålla sig till inom högre utbildning och det fungerar inte som till exempel i ett spelmannslag eller en folkmusikensemble. Det kan inte finnas en pedagog för alla instrument och det egna repeterandet behöver inte betyda att det är lärlöst.

”Att bryta reproduktion i kulturskolan” av Cecilia Jeppsson handlar om hur man kan få underrepresenterade grupper att komma till kulturskolan och författaren menar att en grundläggande utgångspunkt är den sociala skiktningen som finns i samhället. Kulturskolan, menar hon, ”i oproportionerligt hög grad attraherar och engagerar svenskfödda flickor med välutbildade föräldrar” (s. 153). Kulturskolechefernas uppfattningar undersöktes utifrån deras sätt att förhålla sig till att det finns ett ojämlikt deltagande. Författaren hittade sex olika positioneringar i sitt material: omvärldspanaren, den progressiva pådrivaren, implementeraren, kameleonten, vän av långsiktigt lärande och ifrågasättaren. Därefter visar hon på olika strategier för att locka underrepresenterade elever, till exempel genom att sänka avgifterna eller ha kortare kurser där eleverna får prova på. Hon skriver också en del om hemövning och problematiken i att många elever inte har den möjligheten. Hemövning krävs för att man ska bli bra på sitt instrument. Hon menar att det kanske skulle vara möjligt att istället anpassa förväntningarna utifrån elevernas ambitionsnivå istället. I slutänden rör det sig om att alla ska få samma möjlighet, något som också är stipulerat i Barnkonventionen. Förvisso, menar jag, är det mycket viktigt att alla får samma möjligheter men det kanske inte behöver betyda att alla behöver gå i en kulturskola. Tidigare forskning visar till exempel att pojkar musicerar i högre utsträckning tillsammans med kamrater på studieförbund och liknande (se Bergman 2009). En sak som sällan diskuteras är också det utbud av instrumentundervisning som kulturskolan erbjuder. Kanske är de underrepresenterade barnens instrument inte ens tillgängliga.

”Tankar om musikaliska handlingar och social hållbarhet” av Anna-Karin Kuuse avslutar antologin och författaren börjar med att slå fast att ”musik uppfattas som ett viktigt socialt och kulturellt fenomen som aldrig går att isolera endast till ett kunskapsämne” (s. 175). Därefter presenterar hon El Sistema och hur det etablerats i världen. Hennes avhandling tog sin utgångspunkt i El Sistema och deras pedagogiska idé. Avhandlingen drog sedan mer åt vad en sådan idé gör med synen på musikundervisning i stort. Utifrån Agenda 2030

skriver författaren om social hållbarhet och vad det kan innebära vad gäller rättvisa och demokrati i skolans musikundervisning. Därefter talar hon om musikalisk agens och om vilka möjligheter individer har att utveckla sociala kompetenser genom musik. Hon sammanfattar resultatet med att visa att en socialt hållbar musikundervisning består av: "retoriska förutsättningar, elevers individuella, relationella och multimodala möjligheter samt lärares kritiska reflektioner kring praktikens retorik, struktur och relationer" (s. 189).

Sammantaget menar jag att antologin är intressant som en översikt över några nyare avhandlingar på temat musikaliskt lärande och deltagande. Men, det känns lite som förlängda abstracts och hade därför tjänat på att de fördjupade någon aspekt av sin avhandling istället för att ge en översikt över den. Vi får till exempel veta vid flera tillfällen vad en sammanläggningsavhandling är och Bourdieus teorier presenteras på flera olika ställen, även i inledningen av Carina Borgström Källén, alla helt oproblematiserade. Det är kanske inte rimligt att en sådan här antologi ska innehålla ett större djup, speciellt inte eftersom alla är nydisputerade, men det hade varit mer intressant. Vissa av artiklarna förefaller något oreflekterade, något som säker inte stämmer med deras avhandlingar. Men eftersom alla ger upphov till följdfrågor tror jag att artiklarna var för sig kan vara bra ingångar till fördjupade diskussioner, framför allt inom grundutbildning. Men att sträckläsa en antologi är kanske inte att rekommendera, inte i detta fall i alla fall. ■

De visor som på norska kallas "skillingsviser", på svenska "skillingtrycksvisor", är visor som trycktes på enkelt papper, vanligtvis ett enda stort ark som veks ihop till passande format. I båda länderna förknippas de främst med 1800-talet, det århundrade då sådana tryck publicerades i en större omfattning än både förr och senare. Namnet kommer av att de kostade en eller ett par skillingar, ett pris som de flesta hade råd med.

I Sverige inleddes en systematisk forskning på 1950-talet av Ulf Peder Olrog, initiativtagaren till Svenskt visarkiv, ett arkiv som har fortsatt att vara landets viktigaste forskningsinstitution rörande skillingtrycksvisor. I Norge ökade det vetenskapliga intresset för dessa visor markant efter millennieskiftet, och i dag finns det ett nätverk av forskare som är spridda över hela landet. Siv Gøril Brandtzæg, försteamanuensis i litteraturvetenskap vid NTNU i Trondheim, är ledare för projektet *Skillingsvisene i Norge 1550–1950: Den forsømte kulturarven*. Hon är redaktör för två volymer med studier kring skillingtrycksvisorna som båda kom ut 2021. I den första, vars titel är identisk med det ovannämnda forskningsprojektet, har hon haft Karin Strand vid Svenskt visarkiv som medredaktör. I den senare, den bok som ska granskas närmare här, *Arven fra skillingsvisene*, heter medredaktören Bjarne Markussen. Han är professor i litteraturvetenskap vid universitetet i Agder, och man noterar att ytterligare två av bokens bidragsgivare har en tjänst vid samma universitet. Ett annat centrum för forskningen är Nationalbiblioteket i Oslo där Norsk visarkiv ingår som en del; tre av bidragsgivarna är forskningsbibliotekarier där.

I sin inledning vill de båda utgivarna utvidga definitionen av "skillingsviser". De tycker att den även ska omfatta visor som delar estetiska och tematiska drag med de gamla skillingtrycksvisorna men som har förts över till

BOOK

Arven fra skillingsvisene

Fra en sal på hospitalet til en sofa fra IKEA.

Siv Gøril Brandtzæg & Bjarne Markussen (red.)

Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, c/o Spartacus forlag AS. 2021. 454 s. ill.

BENGT AF KLINTBERG

nya medier som kabaréer, radio och grammofonskivor. Kontinuiteten kan bestå i att de är nyskrivna texter till äldre melodier, det som i internationella sammanhang kallas *contrafactum*, eller att de vänder sig till samma breda sociala skikt som skillingsvisorna eller att de liksom dessa återger nyhets-händelser på ett sätt som vädjar till publikens känslor. Inledningen avslutas med korta presentationer av de elva bidragen.

Ole Karlsen, professor i nordisk litteraturvetenskap vid Høiskolen i Innlandet, har redan tidigare gett prov på sitt intresse för Alf Prøysens författarskap. År 2015 utkom hans bok om Prøysens lyrik, *Vakkervisa hu skulle søngi*, där Karlsen står som redaktör och författare till en stor del av de texter som ingår. I sin artikel i "Arven fra skillingsvisene" gör han en grundlig genomgång av Prøysens förhållande till den vistradition han växte upp med. Prøysen fick tidigt en viktig roll som vissamlare och hade i många år en fast spalt i en veckotidning där han tog emot insända skillingtrycksvisor. Efter hans död gavs de ut i fem volymer. I sina egna visor, där omdiktningar av gamla välkända visor ingår, för han traditionen vidare på ett personligt sätt som har gjort att Alf Prøysen i dag räknas som en betydande poet, hyllad av bl.a. sin yngre diktarkollega Jan Erik Vold. Jag läste Ole Karlsens visanalyser med intresse och har nu lärt mig att namnet Prøysen kommer från stugan där han växte upp. Flera av stugorna i trakten hade storståtliga namn efter riken i Europa, i hans fall Preussen, uttalat Prøysen.

Svein Slettan, professor vid Institutt for nordisk og mediefag, universitetet i Agder, tecknar ett levande personporträtt i artikeln "Elias Akselsen – tatersanger i skillingsvisetradisjonen". Det som genast slår en är att han använder ordet "tater" i stället för "resande". Men Elias Akselsen presenterar sig själv som "tatersanger", och andra resande i Norge har i stigande grad börjat åter-använda denna benämning som tidigare har uppfattats som starkt nedsättande.

Slettan visar att Einar Akselsens repertoar är sammansatt av sånger från många olika genrer. Förutom sångerna som skildrar de resandes liv i gamla tider ingår även religiösa sånger och nyare sentimentala schlager. De senare vädjar till känslor som publiken ofta värjer sig mot. Men när de framförs med Akselsens intensitet, inpassade i hans livshistoria, gör de intryck. Med sin egenkomponerade repertoar bidrar han till en revival av själva tatar-identiteten. Ett litteraturtips för fortsatta studier inom detta spännande forskningsfält är etnologen Magnus Bergs *Romanen och tattaren. Bilden av resandefolket i svensk skönlitteratur 1842 till 2018* (2020).

Ett liknande exempel på en kategori skillingtrycksvisor som har upplevt en revival är rallarvisorna. De behandlas av Johan Magnus Staxrud, doktorand i kulturstudier vid Universitetet i Sørøst-Norge, i artikeln "Rallarvisa som rallarpop". I rallarvisorna skildras järnvägsbygget i Sverige och Norge under 1800-talets senare hälft och början av 1900-talet. Flera av dem återupplivades under 1970-talets visvåg. Ännu en revival kom så sent som 2015; då gav den norska musikgruppen Grove horn ut skivan "Rallarpop".

Staxrud har stött på en annan förklaring till ordet "rallare" än den vanliga, nämligen att det går tillbaka på ordet "ralle", ett svenskt ord för "trillebår", skottkärra (s. 84). Det är en förklaring som jag föreslår att han stryker om artikeln är ett förarbete till doktorsavhandlingen. Något ord med betydelsen finns inte i Svenska Akademiens ordbok (SAOB) eller i någon av de dialektord-böcker jag har sökt i.

På s. 87 räknar Staxrud inom parentes upp några namn som står bakom norska och svenska samlingar av rallarvisor: (Lund, Hedemann, Ström, Ahrab). När jag sökte efter det sistnämnda namnet i litteraturlistan kunde jag inte hitta det. Några sidor senare fick jag förklaringen: Björn Arabh (vars namn stavas just så) har aldrig varit inblandad i någon tryckt samling av rallarvisor men gav 1973 tillsammans med Pierre Ström och Ragnar Olsen ut ep-plattan "Rallare: Visor från Malmbanan/Ofotbanen".

Större delen av artikeln ägnas åt en ingående analys av arrangemangen i skivan "Rallarpop" och av innehållet i två av de visor som ingår, "En rallare dør" och "Prostvisa på banan Gällivara-Ofoten".

Anne Sigrid Refsum är anställd vid Institutt for språk og litteratur på NTNU i Trondheim och arbetar med den första doktorsavhandlingen i Norge som är baserad på skillingtrycksvisor. Hennes artikel "Sinklarvisa. Skillingsvisa som samlet Norge til ett rike" är en verklig läsoplevelse, men den har också mer än något annat bidrag väckt min förvåning. I artikeln levandegör hon hur det kan ha gått till när normannen Edvard Storm sent på 1700-talet (troligen slutet av 1781) under en vistelse i Köpenhamn skriver "Zinklars Vise", den första patriotiska sången i det nyligen självständiga Norge. Den handlar om hur en här av skotska legosoldater under ledning av överste George Sinclair besegras av en norsk bondehär vid Kringen (en händelse som ägde rum 1612).

Anne Sigrid Refsum går igenom visan strof för strof och visar hur skickligt Storm har utnyttjat stildrag som kunnat elda den norska kampviljan i tider av krig – exempel på detta finns så sent som från 1940-talets nazistiska ockupation. Visan har inspirerat konstnärer till historiemålningar och fick Henrik Wergeland att författa dramat "Sinclars død". Hon redogör också för de olika melodier som den har sjungits till. Flertalet av melodierna från 1800-talet är varianter av den spanska folkmelodin La Folia (s. 148).

Det som förvånar mig är att Refsum inte någonstans i sin artikel nämner att det finns en svensk Sinclarsvisa som också den har sjungits till Folia-melodin. I sin bok *La Folia. En europeisk melodi i svenska musikmiljöer* (2008) tar Margareta Jersild och Märta Ramsten upp denna visa (s. 96 ff). Den handlar inte om en skotsk här i Norge utan om en händelse som upprörde många i Sverige, mordet år 1739 på det svenska sändebudet Malcolm Sinclair. Han var på väg från Turkiet när han mördades av ryssar. Den svenska skillingtrycksvisan trycktes i sammanlagt ett hundratal upplagor mellan åren 1739 och 1910.

Jag kan inte tänka mig att Refsum har varit okunnig om visans existens. Förklaringen till att den inte nämns måste vara att hon velat koncentrera sig på Edvard Storms dikt, utan tillbakablickar på eventuella äldre inspirationskällor. Självt tycker jag att en diskussion av förhållandet mellan visan om Malcolm Sinclair och den om George Sinclair (som var det namn som bars av en av den skotske härförarens kaptener, inte av härföraren själv) skulle ha gjort artikeln ännu mera läsvärd än vad den är nu. Och den hade på intet sätt förringat värdet i den norska visan.

Nu finns visan om Malcolm Sinclair ändå med i *Arven fra skillingsvisene*. Karolina Westling som är musiker, både vokalist och fiolspelare, har särskilt intresserat sig för framförandep Praxis av vokal folkmusik. I "Fra musikkmanuskript til konsert. Skillingsviser i ett utøverperspektiv" gör hon på ett ställe

en fin analys av den bohusslänska sångerskan Lena Larssons framförande av just Sinclairsvisan.

Trond Haugen, forskningsbibliotekarie vid Nasjonalbiblioteket, har upptäckt ett nytt och utforskat område för visforskningen: det tidiga 1900-talets kabarévisor. Titeln på hans bidrag är "Skillingsvisas övergångar. En studie av en kabarettvisa från 1920-talet". I den försöker han spåra ursprunget till en sångtext från skillingtryckens avslutande fas med titeln "Skyggen av Karl Johan". Visans tema hör till de klassiska: en ung kvinna sviks av sin älskade och hamnar i alkoholism och prostitution. Den enda upplysningen på skillingtrycket är att den har sjungits av Frida Selberg.

Olika källor som kulturhistorisk Oslo-litteratur, inspelningar i NRK:s radioarkiv och nottryck leder Haugen fram till såväl tonsättaren som textförfattaren. Den senare hette Rudolf Mjølstad och var skådespelare och revyförfattare. Som läsare låter man sig med nöje dras in i detektivarbetet.

I *Arven fra skillingsvisene* berättas åtskilligt om nostalgien i ett föränderligt samhälle. Det kanske bästa exemplet är Astrid Nora Ressems och Hans-Hinrich Thedens artikel "Frem fra glemselen. En historie om Norges mestselgende plateserie". Båda författarna är knutna till musiksektionen på Nasjonalbiblioteket.

LP-serien "Frem fra glemselen" är den bästsäljande skivserien i Norge någonsin; den första skivan från 1974 såldes i 130 000 exemplar, och framgången höll i sig i många år. För en del musikkännare kom framgången som en överraskning; innehållet var gamla skillingtrycksvisor, framförda på ett rättfram sätt av en kvinnlig och en manlig sångare i arrangemang som lånats från countrymusiken. De båda författarna beskriver i detalj alla steg i framgångssagan, alla medvetna musikaliska beslut som togs av de inblandade och musiksmaken i Norge på 1970-talet. När jag läste den täta väven av information gick mina tankar osökt till antropologen Clifford Geertz begrepp "thick description". Som författarna skriver: "Frem fra glemselen" är ett kapitel i norsk musikhistoria.

En världsberömd sångartist som har hämtat inspiration från skillingtrycksvisorna är Bob Dylan. Michael J. Prince, professor i amerikansk litteratur och kultur vid universitetet i Agder, tar hans sång "John Wesley Harding" som exempel. Den är titelsången på LP:n som kom vintern 1967. I likhet med många skillingtrycksvisor handlar den om en social bandit som heroiseras – prototypen är Robin Hood, ett annat amerikanskt exempel är Jesse James. Artikeln ger många intressanta ingångar till Dylans bruk av traditionen. Michael Prince sätter sången i relation till amerikansk "moral panic" vid denna tid. Trots det sociala vänsterperspektivet står den för en välkänd tradition, den är inte psykedelisk, innehåller ingen flummig drogromantik utan knyter an till ett äldre amerikanskt Westernideal.

Under läsningen av boken har jag flera gånger tvingats inse att jag har missat åtskilligt av intresse på den norska musikscenen. En vissångare som jag gärna hade lyssnat på men som jag möter först nu är Ole Paus. Om honom och hans viskonst skriver Bjarne Markussen i "Paus-posten. Nyhetsviser som politisk satire". Under 1970-talet gav Ole Paus ut tre CD-skivor som han presenterade under rubriken Paus-posten. De innehåller sånger som medvetet knyter an till skillingtrycksvisornas funktion som nyhetsorgan. Med ett lätt arkaiserande ordval ger Ole Paus där sina satiriska kommentarer till dags-

händelserna, alla med rubriker hämtade från dagspressen. På mig verkar det som om skivorna har en viss likhet med Cornelis Vreeswijks "I stället för vykort". Såvitt jag vet fick Paus-posten inte något genomslag hos en svensk publik. Det är synd, han är en originell röst som har fått mig att tänka på både Cornelis och Finn Zetterholm.

Ytterligare ett bidrag av Bjarne Markussen följer direkt efter hans artikel om Ole Paus. I det återger han ett samtal som han hade med den nyligen bortgångna radiorösten, författaren, samhällsdebattören och kabaréartisten Else Michelet (1942–2021). Titeln är "Forutsetningen for å ha noe på hjertet er at man har et hjerte å ha noe på". Bjarne Markussens frågor gäller främst det satiriska radioprogrammet "Hallo i uken" och ett antal av de satiriska vistexter som Else Michelet är författare till. Hennes kommentarer kommer att vara en värdefull källa för den som i framtiden vill skriva om Else Michelets insatser på den norska kulturscenen.

Bokens sista inslag står redaktören Siv Gøril Brandtzæg för, och i det möter läsaren äntligen den visa som finns omnämnd i bokens undertitel: "Fra en sal på hospitalet til en sofa på IKEA". Ämnet knyter an till den coronapandemi som ännu inte är överstånden; titeln är "Syke sanger. Fra epidemiske skillingsviser til pandemisk pop". De äldsta skillingtrycken är en visa om födseln av ett deformerat barn och en prosatext om ett pulver som ger skydd mot pesten, åtföljd av en psalmtext. Från ungefär samma tid är en visa som diktats "til Skræk og Advarsel" och verkar handla om en kvinnas död i syfilis. Den kända visan "I en sal på hospitalet" (som fortfarande sjungs av barn i Sverige, men där ligger flickan i en sal på lasarettet) låter som en skillingtrycksvisa men har faktiskt aldrig funnits i svenskt skillingtryck. Bland Brandtzægs exempel från vår tid finns sångtexter utlagda på youtube av prästen Bjørn Eidsvåg för att vara till hjälp i krishantering. Avslutningsvis ges exempel på utdrag ur talade nyheter om pandemin som har vrängt till sånger och lagts ut på nätet. Det material som redovisas är ganska heterogent, och man kan fråga sig om skillingtrycket om ett deformerat barn och prästen Eidsvågs sånger har särskilt mycket gemensamt. Ämnet *Syke sanger* har uppenbarligen valts för sin aktualitet, inte därför att det ägnar sig speciellt väl för en diakron analys.

Boken *Arven fra skillingsvisene* är ett glädjande tecken på att forskningen kring skillingtrycksvisorna och deras sentida motsvarigheter är vital i Norge för närvarande. För en svensk läsare fungerar boken som nyttig information om händelser som har tilldragit sig i vårt västra grannland. ■

BOOK

Ett försummat kulturarv – så betecknas skillingtrycken i den omfattande skriften *Skillingvisene i Norge 1550–1950: Studier i en forsømt kulturarv*. Det är förvisso sant att skillingtrycken länge slumrat i arkivens och bibliotekens hyllor och varit både svåråtkomliga och, dessvärre också, med några få undantag ointressanta för forskningen. Det gäller inte bara de norska trycken, utan skillingtrycken och deras motsvarigheter i hela det nordeuropeiska området.

Under 2000-talet har intresset vaknat för dessa små kommersiella vardagstryck – eller "street literature", som genren kallas i engelskspråkiga studier. Bland annat publicerades 2014 en antologi under rubriken *Street ballads in nineteenth-century Britain, Ireland, and North America. The interface between print and oral tradition* (red: Atkinson & Roud), vilken följdes två år senare av *Media and print culture consumption in nineteenth-century Britain* (red. Rooney & Gasparini, 2016). I Sverige tog Svenskt visarkiv och Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien initiativ till ett tvärvetenskapligt seminarium med tema "Skillingtryck som källmaterial", vars inlägg publicerades 2015 i *Tryckta visor: Perspektiv på skillingtryck som källmaterial*. Möjligen kan denna utgåva ha inspirerat till den nu utgivna norska antologin, som får ses i ljuset av det nyvaknade intresset.

Skillingvisene i Norge 1550–1950 är den första stora vetenskapliga utgåvan i Norge i denna genre. Det är fråga om en antologi med 14 artiklar av författare som representerar olika ämnesområden: litteraturvetenskap, språkhistoria, historia, idéhistoria, mediehistoria, musikvetenskap, konstvetenskap, biblioteks- och arkivvetenskap. Artiklarna visar på den stora forskningspotential som finns i dessa enkla vardagstryck. De inte bara speglar sin historiska samtid, de är också direkta historiska källor – låt vara förmedlade med avsikt att kunna säljas. Skillingtryckens visor rymmer i stort sett allt som rör mänskligt liv och beteende, högt och lågt, andligt och världsligt. Detta blir rikt illustrerat i antologins artiklar, ofta i fallstudier, i vilka vi möter mycket av det som ofta förknippas med skillingtrycksvisornas innehåll, som olycklig kärlek, hemska olyckor, brott, bråd död, men också rasfördomar, övernaturliga händelser och Guds bestraffning. Utöver det lämnar flera av artiklarna information om den så viktiga "infrastrukturen" kring skillingtrycken, dvs. förlags- och tryckeriverksamhet, distribution och tryckens vidare öden i samlingar. Artiklarna har alltså sammantaget stor bredd, vilket också gäller tidshorisonten med exempel på tryck alltifrån 1500-talet till ett stycke in på 1900-talet, då utgivningen av skillingtryck började ebba ut.

Siv Gørel Brandtzæg, verksam vid NTNU i Trondheim och en av redaktörerna för utgåvan, har i en ytterst välskriven och innehållsrik introduktion försökt spåra skillingtryckens plats i norskt kulturarv. Hon konstaterar att skillingtrycksvisorna nästan aldrig nämns i litteraturhistoriska eller kulturhistoriska översikter och sammanhang, medan de i själva verket utgör den äldsta litteratur som tryckts i Norge. Skillingtrycksvisornas hybrida position i skärningspunkten mellan skriftlig och muntlig tradition har också gjort dem svårtolkade i forskningssammanhang. Med sin funktion som både nyhetsmedium, underhållning, tröst och moralisk lärdom har skillingtrycken rotat sig djupt in i människors vardag, samtidigt som de setts över axeln av forskare och kulturelit, eller som Brandtzæg skriver: "i visene kan vi høre

Skillingvisene i Norge 1550–1950

Studier i en forsømt kulturarv.

Red: Siv Gørel Brandtzæg & Karin Strand

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MÄRTA RAMSTEN

klangen av stemmer som sjelden blir hørt når historiebøkene skal skrives". Brandtzæg understreker att den forskning som redovisas i antologin har möjliggjorts genom digitalisering och webb-publicering av de stora skillingtryckssamlingar som finns i bibliotek och arkiv i Oslo, Trondheim och Bergen.

Antologins artiklar är uppdelade i två avdelningar: visornas texter och skillingtryckens kontexter. Under den första rubriken ryms alltså de artiklar som utgår från skillingtryckens texter. Här möter vi vismonografier som "Visan om Riddar Brynning", vars förekomst i skillingtryck under mer än 200 år får författaren Anne Sigrid Refsum att fråga varför en sentimental kärleksvisa på 105 strofer kunde bli "en superhit" hos många generationer skillingtrycksköpare, inte bara i Norge, utan i hela Skandinavien. Bjarne Markussen, professor i litteraturvetenskap vid Agders universitet, har tagit sig an vistexter om död och sorg – en stor genre – och analyserar texterna bland annat utifrån psykologisk sorgteori.

Om människans möte med övermakten skriver historikern Sarah Dahle Hermanstad och utgår från vistexter om skeppsbrott och olyckor till sjöss, ett slags aktualitetsvisor, som framför allt såldes och sjöngs bland befolkning i kusttrakter. Katastrofvisor ägnar sig också litteraturvetaren Siv Gørel Brandtzæg, tillika antologins redaktör, åt i sin artikel, företrädesvis tidiga sådana texter som fungerade som nyhetsförmedling innan tidningspressen fanns. Som exempel tar hon visor om lerskredet i Trondheim 1634, jordskalvet i Lissabon 1755, de stora bränderna i Oslo 1624 och i Bergen 1756 samt det våldsamma ovädet på Foldahavet 1627 då 210 fiskare omkom. I undersökningen av visorna använder hon "korrespondenser" som ledord. I visorna kan man se hur religiösa och tematiska sammanhang skapas i förmedlingen av de olika katastroferna. Likaså finns en förbindelse mellan visorna såväl tryckhistoriskt som i bruket av motiv och melodianvisningar.

Övernaturliga händelser, inte minst himlafenomen, har förundrat och satt skräck i människor i alla tider och därmed varit utsatta för samtidens tolkningar. Idéhistorikern Siv Frøydis Berg har noterat att just kometer varit ett givet ämne i skillingtrycken framför allt i äldre tryck från 1580-talet och framåt. Artikeln blir en gedigen och intressant genomgång av hur tidens idéhistoriska och religiösa strömningar påverkat synen på kometen som varsel och tecken, vilket återspeglas i skillingtryckens texter.

Som föregångare till vår tids sensationsjournalistik kan man se de skillingtryckstexter som handlar om mördare och andra förbrytare. Litteraturvetarna Even Igland Diesen och Silje Haugen Warberg drar linjer från vistexter om och av kriminella till dagens "true crime"-poddar och självrepresentationen i raplyriken. Randi Neteland, verksam vid universitetet i Bergen som språkforskare med specialisering i sociolingvistik, reder i sin artikel ut språkliga variationer i en känd rallarvisa återgiven i norska och svenska skillingtryck.

Antisemitism är ett återkommande tema i framför allt 1800-talets skillingtryckstexter, ofta i formen av satir eller nid i kombination med elaka karikatyrer. Om dessa texter och även texter med rasistiska inslag skriver litteraturvetaren Gerd Karin Omdal i en artikel med titeln "Föreställningen om 'den andre' i skillingtryck". Hon påpekar att vistexterna ingår i en lång tradition i Skandinavien av att förlöjliga och omyndigförklara personer som inte passar in i den skandinaviska "vitheten".

Det är alltså högst olika ämnen som behandlas i denna första avdelning av skillingtrycksantologin. I den andra delen är det själva trycksaken som står i fokus, till att börja med den viktiga förlagsverksamheten och försäljningen av skillingtrycken. Forskningsbibliotekarien vid Nationalbiblioteket Astrid Nora Ressem har tagit sig an detta stora och intressanta ämne och i hennes artikel möter vi både småhandlare som till nöds försörjde sig på försäljning av skillingtryck och storkrämare som öppnade egen handel med bok- och skillingtrycksförsäljning.

Även en svensk författare finns med i antologin, Karin Strand, chef för Svenskt visarkiv och författare till flera skrifter med skillingtryck som gemensam nämnare. Hon är också en av redaktörerna för denna antologi. Strands bidrag utgår från ett skillingtryck från 1697 innehållande en visa om ett tyskt massmord. Skillingtrycket är unikt så till vida att det har huvudrollen i en domstolsförhandling – själva skillingtrycket finns inhäftat i rannsaksprotokollet. Strand låter oss följa rättegången som detta skillingtryck har givit upphov till – en spännande läsning!

Litteraturvetaren Øystein Tvede har i sin artikel utnyttjat sin beläsenhet genom att framhålla de många litterära belägg om skillingtrycksförsäljning som döljer sig i norska författares alster. Framför allt hittar han många åsikter om kolportören som säljare av skillingtryck. Den artikeln följs av en konstnärlig blick på skillingtrycken. Åtskilliga tryck är nämligen illustrerade med träsnittsbilder, alltifrån små dekorativa blomsterkorgar till makabra mordillustrationer. Konsthistorikern Ingrid Lunnan Nødseth visar hur tradition och återbruk präglar tryckens bildsättning. I hennes synnerligen läsvärda analys av den absurda illustrationen "monsterfisken" avslöjar hon dess bruk och återbruk i olika tryck under flera århundraden. Den har sänt ut både religiösa och politiska signaler till skillingtryckspubliken på den europeiska kontinenten. I Gunnerusbiblioteket i Trondheim återfinns monsterfisken i ett tryck redan 1694.

Många av de skillingtryckssamlingar som återfinns i större arkiv och bibliotek har ursprungligen sammanförts av privata samlare. I Sverige, till exempel, skapade under 1800-talet George Stephens, forskare av brittisk härkomst, en stor samling av svenska skillingtryck som numera återfinns i Växjö bibliotek. Den största samlaren av böcker och tryck i Norge under 1800-talet, var juristen Thorvald Boeck, vars stora samling – däribland skillingtryck – så småningom hamnade i Gunnerusbiblioteket i Trondheim. Den brittiske forskaren i bokhistoria, Yuri Cowan, verksam i Trondheim, tar i sin artikel upp Thorvald Boecks samlargärning som en del av det europeiska intresset för antikvariskt boksamlande.

Sist i antologin har placerats en artikel av tre universitetsbibliotekarier i Bergen. De beskriver det viktiga arbetet med de fysiska trycken: bevarande, datering, digitalisering och webbpresentation.

Sammanfattningsvis kan sägas att antologin är imponerande i sin bredd och ett välkommet bidrag till den skandinaviska skillingtrycksforskningen. Så vitt jag kan bedöma är den också med sina olika ingångar till källmaterialet ett pionjärarbete inom norsk humaniora. Säkerligen kan den locka till mer interdisciplinär forskning med utgångspunkt i skillingtrycken.

Här bör också nämnas att parallellt med denna utgåva publiceras en annan antologi som är avsedd att komplettera ovanstående, nämligen *Arven fra skillingsvisene: Fra en sal på hospitalet til en sofa fra IKEA* (red: Siv Gøril Brandtzæg & Bjarne Markussen). ■

BOOK

Ballader, skæmt og skillingstryk

Fortællinger om dansk sanghistorie frem til 1900

Kirsten Sass Bak. Under medvirken af Lene Halskov Hansen.

Herning: Videncenter for sang. 2022.

INGRID ÅKESSON

Kirsten Sass Bak är en dansk sångforskare, tidigare verksam vid Århus universitet, som har stor kunskap om de folkliga sångtraditioner som är mer eller mindre gemensamma i de skandinaviska språkområdena. Hon har bland annat skrivit om folklig psalmsång och om medeltida ballader; dessutom om det danska fenomenet "fællessang", det gemensamma framförandet av komponerade sånger som kom att dominera sjungandet för människor i allmänhet i Danmark från tidigt 1800-tal till mitten av 1900-talet. I denna bok vänder hon sig, enligt förordet, till en läsekrets som i första hand känner till fællessangen, för att berätta om folkliga vistraditioner som både tidsmässigt föregår och existerar vid sidan av denna.

Sass Baks bok omfattar fyra avdelningar av mycket olika längd. Den första, som utgör ungefär halva boken, har rubriken "Balladen – den gamle folkevise" och utgör en genomgång av balladens ursprung, källmaterial, genrer, utövande-praxis med mera. Den andra behandlar på ett 25-tal sidor "Skæmteviser som tradisjon og synet på dem". Den tredje avdelningen på cirka 80 sidor är betitlad "Yngre viser" och tar upp olika aspekter (innehåll, källmaterial, förmedling) på flera olika visgenrer. En kort fjärde avdelning belyser Kingosången, en dansk folklig psalmsångstradition.

Både bokiteln och bokens indelning kräver en kommentar för en svensk läsekrets. Begreppet "ballad" är inte entydigt, inte ens när man syftar på den traditionella, episk-lyriska visformen med troligen medeltida rötter. 1800-talets ledande danska balladutgivare tillämpade en praxis där skämtvisor i balladform uteslöts, eftersom dessa vid den tiden inte ansågs uppfylla de kriterier som då ställdes på begreppet ballad – samt ansågs vara för grova för att utges. Begreppet ballad, i flera sammanhang synonymt med folkevise/folkvisa, har därmed i den tongivande utgåvan *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (DgF) kommit att i första hand omfatta *kæmpeviser*, *trylleviser*, *historiske viser* och *ridderviser*, vilka behandlas i bokens första avdelning. Dessa går i Danmark ibland under beteckningen DgF-ballader. Senare har skämtballaderna räknats till genren i hela Skandinavien, tillsammans med legendvisorna med kristna motiv. Samtliga grupper ingår i såväl katalogen *The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* av Bengt R Jonsson med flera (1978) som i de svenska och norska vetenskapliga balladutgåvorna. I Sass Baks bok behandlas alltså skämtvisorna enligt äldre dansk praxis. Skillingstrycken i bokiteln tas upp som spridningsmedium för både de äldre balladerna och de yngre visorna.

Författaren framhåller i förordet att de olika sångområdena inte tidigare har behandlats i samma bok på danska. Hon betonar också den musikaliska sidan av sången – boken innehåller rikligt med sångtexter och noter – samt sammanhangen mellan muntligt och skriftligt, mellan samhällsklasser och tidsskikt. Huvudavdelningarna föregås av en prolog med författarens tankar om hur olika slags sång har uppstått och använts under mänsklighetens historia.

Avdelningen om ballader inleds med en översikt över genrens karakteristika, episka och lyriska drag, formelspråk, framförandemiljöer, tradering och källor. Skildringen är sammanfattande, med textexempel, och ligger i stort sett nära tidigare forskning, företrädd av Axel Olrik, Otto Holzapfel, Thorkild Knudsen med flera. Någon utveckling till senare forskning från hela det skandinaviska området hade kunnat öka textens aktualitet; enstaka boktitlar nämns men tas inte upp i diskussionen. Sass Bak bidrar dock med egna kloka reflektioner kring begrepp som "melodityp" och "version/variant". Det korta, illustrerade avsnittet om tolkningar av musikaliskt källmaterial är viktigt och kunde gärna ha fått svälla ut mera.

Två av kapitlen i den första avdelningen har författats av folkloristen och sångforskaren Lene Halskov Hansen. Det första av dem utgör en koncis men perspektivrik och nyanserad sammanfattning av det omstridda området "Balladernas alder, herkomst och tillblivelse". Författaren presenterar huvuddrag ur den danska och skandinaviska balladforskningens historia, inklusive ståndpunkter som efterhand har övergivits, fram till de olika teorier som senare decenniernas forskare har omfattat. På liknande sätt går Halskov Hansen i det andra av sina korta kapitel igenom frågeställningen huruvida man i Danmark har dansat kedjedans till balladsång, ett område som hon har specialstuderat, med slutsatsen att svaret beror på hur man tolkar olika källor.

I några följande avsnitt går Sass Bak igenom insamlingen av ballader i Danmark med fokus på 1800-talet. Utgångspunkten är dels det mönsterbildande insamlingsarbetet i andra europeiska länder, dels de *landboreformer* under 1700-talet som – i likhet med skiftesreformerna i Sverige – medförde stora förändringar även i landsbygdsbefolkningens kulturutövande. Författaren återkommer i ett kort avsnitt om de upptecknade sångerna till hur reformerna upplöste den gamla bystrukturen och bygemenskapen som naturlig miljö för musicerande och berättande, vilket försvagade balladtraditionen; även den inre missionens påverkan omnämns. Detta avsnitt hade gärna fått vara längre än en kort översikt, eftersom det mig veterligt inte har undersökts i någon större utsträckning hur skiftesreformerna kan ha påverkat musicerande i Skandinavien i relation till andra delar av Europa. Vidare presenteras och kommenteras de stora insamlarna och utgivarna: Nyerup, Grønland, Grundtvig, Tang Kristensen med flera. 1900-talets insamlare med bandspelare, där även intervjuer med sångarna finns med, nämns senare i boken.

I kapitlet "Balladens musikalske univers" redogör författaren för den diskussion av balladmelodier och deras uppbyggnad som har förts i Danmark, och sammanfattar i första hand Finn Mathiassens respektive Thorkild Knudsens tämligen komplicerade teorier och modeller för äldre tonalitet, illustrerade med notexempel. Nästa kapitel omfattar kommenterade exempel på ballader ur grupperna *kæmpeviser*, *trylleviser*, *historiske viser* och *riddervis* med texter och melodier. Bokens avdelning om DgF-balladen avslutas med en intressant analys av hur en enskild visa, "Moderen under mulde" (svensk titel "Styvmodern") har förändrats av en lång räckta – i just det här fallet kvinnliga – sångare från tiden kring 1600 fram till mitten av 1960-talet i Thorkild Knudsens och Carl Clausens inspelningar. I detta fall går skildringen alltså utöver tiden fram till 1900 som bokens undertitel markerar, vilket också gör den korta studien särskilt intressant.

Kapitlet om skämtvisor omfattar både skämtvisor i balladform och andra skämtvisor. Sass Bak framhåller, liksom andra som har behandlat ämnet, det

karnevaliska elementet i genren. Hon pekar också på de tre huvudområden som skämten rör sig inom: det groteska och överdrivna eller satiriska, det grova som har med kroppsutsöndringar att göra samt det "osedliga" som rör sexuella handlingar. Skämtvisor i balladform karakteriseras av oftast långa nonsensomkväden som i sig kan gömma "fula" ord och dessutom bryter upp balladformen. I nyare visor förekommer ibland, liksom på andra skandinaviska språk, så kallade "snyderim", bedrägliga rim, där delar av texten antyder ett erotiskt innehåll men där rimord har bytts ut mot något neutralt (till exempel kan rimmet på ortnamnet Køge bytas ut från det förväntade "skøge" till "skønhed"). Kapitlet avslutas med text, noter och kommentar till fyra skämtballadvarianter samt en kommentar till det stora antalet melodier i durtonalitet.

Kapitlet om yngre visor rör traditionella visor som inte har balladform men som kan vara belagda så tidigt som 1500-talet och har sjungits fram till 1900-talet. Av Sass Baks skildring framgår att fokus på balladformen har varit starkare bland danska än till exempel svenska insamlare, så att de "nyare" visorna tycks ha dokumenterats i mindre utsträckning. Hon tar upp några viktiga visutgåvor. En är Grüner-Nielsens *Danske Viser fra Adelsvisebøger og Flyveblader 1530–1630* (1912–1915), som innehåller en rad olika visgener. En annan är Nyerups och Rasmussens *Udvalg af Danske Viser fra Midten af det 16. Aarhundrede til henimod Midten af det 18de, med Melodier* (1821), vilken var upplagd i avdelningar på ett sätt som bildade mönster för senare visutgåvor. En tredje samling är Sneedorff-Birchs *Danske Folkeviser og Melodier* (1837). Den sistnämnda utgivaren samlade in ett bredare spektrum av nyare visor, bland annat sjömansvisor. I kapitlet skildras också motsättningar och konflikter inom gruppen av folkmusikinsamlare, bland annat olika inställningar till den seglivade myten om medeltiden som en guldålder.

Sass Bak kommenterar de lyriska kärleksvisorna och deras stil samt de som hon benämner "hemska" visorna om mord, gengångare och övernaturliga väsen (något oväntat exemplifieras denna delgenre bland annat med en ballad, "Edward"/"Sven i rosegård"). Kapitlet fortsätter med en ganska detaljerad genomgång av två typer av källmaterial för de nyare visorna, nämligen skillingtryck och handskrivna visböcker. Avsnittet utgör en god introduktion till dessa båda medier, så vanligt förekommande även i Sverige. Skillingtrycken presenteras kronologiskt, deras form, funktion, illustrationer, melodi-hänvisningar samt typen av repertoar och deras växelverkan med muntlig tradition och handskrivna visböcker. Ett avsnitt behandlar vistryck från det slegsvigiska kriget 1848–50. Även de av vanliga människor handskrivna visböckerna får en god introduktion. Författaren betonar de sånghistoriska elementen i ett material som sträcker sig från andra hälften av 1700-talet till tidigt 1900-tal: ägarnas sociala ställning, repertoarens profil i enskilda böcker, vilka nya typer av visor som läggs till, samt gränsoområdet till den rent litterära visan. Kommentarer om melodierna (mestadels durartade) bygger dock på senare källor.

Bokens sista avdelning ägnas den folkliga psalmsången knuten till *Kingos Salmebog* från 1699. Folklig psalmsång med andra musikaliska drag (till exempel heterofoni) än kyrkosången finns, som författaren påpekar, i flera europeiska länder. Just denna tradition har haft starka rötter i en jylländsk väckelserörelse och har varit omstridd i samhället med samma typ av

argument som har brukats om den folkliga koralsången i Sverige: bristande enhetlighet i klangen, påstådd bristande koncentration på Ordet.

Ballader, skæmt og skillingstryk utgör inspirerande läsning även för en svensk visintresserad läsekrets, och det märks tydligt att Sass Bak äger stor och ingående kunskap om ämnet. Upplägget är dock lite ojämnt i strukturen och läsintrycket är inte helt lätt att sammanfatta; somliga intressanta aspekter, som den ovan nämnda om skiftesreformernas inverkan på människors musicerande, riskerar att drunkna i mängden av fakta. Undertitelns begränsning till tiden före 1900 följs inte helt, utan 1900-talets insamlare och ljudkällor kommenteras; detta är kunskapsmässigt en fördel men en smula förvirrande på struktur-nivån. Boken innehåller en utförlig litteraturlista med både äldre och nyare verk. Danska författare överväger; nyare litteratur på skandinaviska språk eller engelska inom bokens områden förekommer mycket sparsamt, vilket är lite synd, då Sass Bak ofta framhåller att visgenrerna finns även utanför Danmark. Författarens hemvist är just sånghistoria – därmed saknas i stort sett teoretiska begrepp från till exempel musiketnologi. Inte minst beträffande balladen, vilken som Sass Bak också påpekar är en gränsöverskridande europeisk genre, saknar jag i viss mån en vidare utblick, ut över Danmarks gränser, med skandinaviska och andra europeiska referensramar och inslag från en senare tidsperiod. Till exempel skulle den refererade danska forskningen kring balladmelodier ha kunnat kompletteras med referenser till den litteratur om folkmusikalisk tonalitet som har producerats i olika skandinaviska länder under de senaste decennierna.

Emellertid har författarens ambition nog främst varit att sammanfatta och kommentera dansk, och i viss mån äldre, forskning, samt att göra denna mera tillgänglig för dagens danska läsare. Det målet har självklart sitt eget värde – detta är den första bok som omfattar så många olika slag av vissång och som vänder sig till en läsekrets som inte känner till de traditionella visorna. Sass Baks kommentarer och reflektioner, byggda på hennes egen långa forskargärning, utgör guldgrubba som jag gärna skulle se ytterligare utvecklade. Ett värdefullt inslag är att hon hela tiden betonar melodierna och den sjungna visan. Sass Bak skriver dessutom på ett levande sätt som drar in läsaren i den berättelse om dansk sånghistoria som är bokens undertitel. Skildringen innehåller en mängd idéer och uppslag som lockar till vidare undersökningar. ■

Conference Reports

RE:22, 35:e Nordiska etnolog- och folkloristkonferensen i Reykjavik, 13–16 juni 2022

ALF ARVIDSSON & SVERKER HYLTÉN-CAVALLIUS

Musiketnologins närvaro vid de nordiska etnologkonferenserna är slumpartad och varierar i omfång och inriktning. Vid den förra, i Uppsala 2018, var den största sessionen ägnad åt musik och avsatte så småningom ett temanummer av tidskriften *Nätverket* kring "[The Social and Political Dimensions of Sound and Music](#)" redigerat av Oscar Pripp och Maria Westwall. Vid årets konferens som hölls i Reykjavik ingick både fascinerande *tvisöngur* i invigningsceremonin och karaoketävling under en av konferensdagarna, så musikens självklara närvaro i sociala sammanhang manifesterades återigen. Men som ämne för vetenskaplig perspektivering och diskussion var det glesare med inslag, vilket stundom krävde en noggrann läsning av programmet för att kunna identifieras. Temat för konferensen var det i vår tid allestädes närvarande prefixet "re-", som i revival, rekonstruktion, repetition, reparation, restaurering, remix, osv, något som öppnade upp för en mängd spännande och dagsaktuella perspektiv.

De två plenarföreläsningarna hade båda, med en välvillig inställning, indirekt musiketnologisk relevans. Tine Damsholt utgick från Covid-19-epidemin som transformerat "vardagens rytmer" och diskuterade hur den sociala struktureringen och kulturella förståelsen av tid blivit synliga och möjliga att problematisera just när vi inte kan praktisera tid som vi brukar.

Terry Gunnell diskuterade 1800-talets utgåvor av sägensamlingar och vad bildmaterialet säger oss om populariseringen av en viss typ av förståelse av folketro. Här går att göra en direkt parallell till musikutgåvor och hur de illustrerades med bilder av de föreställda miljöerna för folkmusiken.

Insprängt i olika paneler fanns också enskilda musikorienterade presentationer. Viliina Silvonen från University of Eastern Finland utgick från sitt forskningsprojekt om nutida framföranden av gråtsånger i Finland (delvis professionell, bygger på karelska och ingermanländska traditioner), och diskuterade anklagelser från unga karelska aktivister om appropriering, spektrat av former, och frågor om berättigande till forskning.

Emilie Paaske Drachmann, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Köpenhamn, diskuterade processen när immateriellt kulturarv identifieras och paketeras för att kunna nomineras till Unesco för inkludering på dess listor, med utgångspunkt i hur gosskörer har börjat lanseras som ett alleuropeiskt kulturarv. En poäng här var hur de administrativa rutinerna och kategoriseringarna slår igenom i arbetet och tänkandet.

Lotte Tarkka, Helsingfors universitet, presenterade Martiska Karjalainen, en av nyckelinformanterna bakom Kalevala. Han beskrivs av Elias Lönnrot som suput och rentjув och hans sånger är fragmentiserat utspridda i den stora SKVR-utgåvan, men i en självbiografisk sång med karaktär av "meditation i exil" träder han fram som ett subjekt som sätter stöder och slagsmål i ett större politiskt sammanhang.

I sessionen "Revisiting folklore theory" diskuterade Venla Sykäri från Finska litteratursällskapet utifrån samtida improviserad poesi hur formelartad improvisation egentligen är i olika sammanhang. Exemplet hämtades från mallorkinska *glosadors* (ett slags sångtävlingar), baskiska och spanska rap battles. En viktig poäng var att även om arenor och medier, stilar och inlärningsformer är nya, så handlar det fortfarande om muntlighet och upprätthållande av poetiska språk, som används för att återupprätta subkulturell autenticitet och hålla traditioner levande. I samma session talade Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius om hur deltagare på kommentarsfält tillsammans framför memes om klassisk musik. Samarbetet fungerar som kollaborativa performances, där deltagare tillsammans bidrar till att lyfta fram, vända på och spinna vidare på poänger.

I sessionen "Revisiting place" diskuterade Annukka Saaristo, doktorand vid Helsingfors universitet, hip hop och hemmahörande i Esbo i termer av kontext, autenticitet och performance. I det här sammanhanget utgör kunskap och förståelse nycklar för att få tillträde till en värld definierad av en vit arbetarklass. Autenticitet handlar då å ena sidan om värden, beteenden och kunskaper, å andra sidan om "being real", att kunna förkroppsliga äkthet. I samma session skildrade Elina Gailite från Lettlands universitet hur dansare inom folkdans respektive scenisk folkdans förhåller sig till det urbana rummet: där de förra ses på offentliga platser och förhåller sig till och interagerar med platsen, så har de sceniska dansarna egna lokaler som därmed skapar en annan relation till staden.

Slutligen så presenterade Than Brown, doktorand vid Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador, sin undersökning av "digital folkies", användare inom den del av TikTok som kallas FolkTok. Här delar och bygger användare vidare på varandras framföranden, i en transatlantisk hybridisering av keltiska, nordamerikanska och skandinaviska element. Låtar flyttas från scener till skärmar, och skämtande pågår i allt från filmer från dansevenemang till kommentarsektioner, på ett sätt som bryter mot invanda föreställningar om platslighet, identitet och tradition.

Härutöver innehöll konferensen sessioner som fokuserade arkivpraktiker och digitaliseringsprojekt, berättande i olika genrer och inte minst immateriellt kulturarv. Konferensen var ovanligt välbesökt, kanske ett resultat av pandemiårens brist på fysiska möten, och under vissa sociala punkter kunde det bli mycket trångt. Glädjande var också att det kom många deltagare från områden utanför Norden, främst övriga Europa och Nordamerika. ■

Seventh International Rhythm Changes Conference: Jazz Then & Now

Conservatorium van Amsterdam 25–28 augusti 2022

<https://www.conservatoriumvanamsterdam.nl/en/>
<https://rhythmchanges.net/>

TORBJÖRN GULZ

Den första internationella Rhythm Changes konferensen hölls 2011 i Amsterdam och var resultatet av

ett samarbets- och forskningsprojekt mellan olika europeiska länder på temat: "Att skapa samarbetande, transnationella forskningsmöjligheter med nya insikter gällande humanistisk forskning för att kunna hantera de stora sociala, kulturella och politiska utmaningar Europa står inför". De ledande länderna var då som nu, Storbritannien, Nederländerna och Österrike och den ursprungliga kommittén för konferensen är intakt. Konferensen har under åren haft olika teman och i år var undertiteln "Jazz Then & Now". Cirka 150 deltagare från över 30 länder deltog varav de flesta var från Europa men förvånansvärt många från USA och även någon så långväga ifrån som Australien. Eftersom denna konferens liksom många andra blivit inställd/framflyttad två gånger på grund av pandemin togs beslutet att inte ha en hybridkonferens för att lättare kunna återknyta de sociala kontakterna.

Det var min första medverkan på en Rhythm Changes konferens och jag var mycket positivt överraskad efter tre dagar i Amsterdam. På en framträdande plats i programbladet presenterades en "code of conduct" som behandlade hur deltagare och arrangörer förväntades uppträda under konferensen. Det var tydligt att konferensteamet hade lagt ett stort arbete på att få alla känna sig välkomna och inkluderade, vilket de verkligen lyckades med. Det var också imponerande hur programmet, trots att det var forskningspresentationer från många olika discipliner, hela tiden lyckades sätta jazzen i centrum. Jazz och improvisation väcker globalt ett stort intresse och här fick vi se forskare med ursprung inom musikvetenskap, musiksociologi, musikteknologi, musikpedagogik, musikpsykologi, musiketnologi, filosofi och konstnärlig forskning tillsammans redogöra för intressanta vinklingar. Jag upplevde inga positioneringar eller motsättningar mellan olika metodiska angreppssätt, i stället syntes ett gemensamt intresse i att ta fram mer kunskap om jazz. Här har Sverige en del att lära.

Då jag själv presenterade under rubriken improvisation var det också de angränsande ämnena jag främst hann med att följa. Iwan Wopereis gjorde en mycket strukturerad och intressant presentation om sätt att identifiera och kategorisera expertis inom improvisation. Föredraget utgick ifrån ett flerårigt projekt där han intervjuat flera framstående europeiska jazzmusiker. Ádám Havas, sociolog från Budapest, gjorde en mycket entusiastisk genomgång av jazzens utveckling under 1900-talet i Ungern, vilken han menade gällde generellt för de forna öststaterna. Han uttryckte det som att musiken då befann sig i en "twilight zone" mellan öst och väst. Detta tema berörde även Indrikis

Veitners, saxofonist och ledare för jazzinstitutionen vid Latvian Academy of Music i Riga, då han presenterade en jazzfestival i Lettland som på ett spännande sätt överlevde Sovjets bannlysning av jazz, denna attack mot jazzen som föranledde att Tallinns jazzfestival förbjöds efter 1967.

Då en av konferensens uttalade mål var att förstärka den europeiska jazzens ställning i förhållande till den amerikanska var det förvånande hur stort utrymme dels medverkande forskare från USA, dels den amerikanska jazzen ändå tog i diskussioner och under presentationer. Överhuvudtaget var de olika sätten att presentera mycket intressant att iaktta. Man kunde iaktta skillnader utifrån landstillhörighet men också utifrån disciplin. De forna öststaterna håller fast vid färdigskrivna manuskript medan fler forskare i väst provar varierade presentationsformer. Dock är det anmärkningsvärt hur lite klingande musik som generellt användes vid presentationerna.

En av konferensens keynote-talare var Lucas Dols, kontrabasist, utbildad i Amsterdam. Han berättade på ett oerhört medryckande sätt om sitt projekt att på plats i flyktingläger i utsatta områden utbilda lokala pedagoger i musik. Ett imponerande projekt som satte improvisation i centrum, något som öppnade för många praktiska möjligheter i arbetet samt även stärkte barnens vilja att utvecklas.

Konferensens deltagare bestod till stor del av män i övre medelåldern och därför bör initiativet från André Doehring vid University of Music and Arts Graz speciellt nämnas då han inkluderade sju studenter på konferensen. Det centrala musikinslaget på konferensen var också mycket väl valt. Det var åldermannen och trumnestorn Han Bennik som i huvudsak helt improviserade fritt tillsammans med den ekvilibristiske basklarinettisten Joris Roelofs.

Sammantaget var det en mycket lyckad konferens och jag skulle gärna se mer av liknande disciplinöverskridande diskussioner i Sverige där målet är att stärka kunskapen om jazzmusik och dess utövare. ■

The European Seminar in Ethnomusicology (ESEM), 37:e årliga mötet

University of Music and Performing Arts i Graz, Österrike 12–16 september 2022

DAN LUNDBERG & KARIN STRAND

ESEM skapades 1981 i Belfast av musiketnologen John Blacking och är ett europeiskt alternativ till de större internationella nätverken för musiketnologer. Idag har ESEM status som forskningsnätverk inom EU och är anslutet till International Music Council och Unesco. ESEM organiserar ca 250 forskare, främst musik- och dansetnologer, och dessutom ett stort antal musikstudenter inom högre utbildning. Organisationen träffas en gång per år på olika platser i Europa. ESEM:s sekreteriat finns idag i Cagliari på Sardinien.

Mötet arrangerades 2022 av musiketnologiska institutionen vid University of Music and Performing Arts i Graz, Österrike. Det övergripande temat var kunskapsproduktion och samarbeten inom forskningen (*Joint Knowledge Production and Collaboration in Research*). Konferensen var ett hybridmöte med talare som deltog på plats (dessa var glädjande nog i majoritet) samt via videolänk (ett tiotal). Sammanlagt bidrog 61 föreläsare, i huvudsak från Europa, men även från Nordamerika, Asien och Afrika.

Vid ESEM:s möten ges alltid en föreläsning till minnet av John Blacking. Detta år var det den kinesiska musiketnologen Tan Sooi Beng som öppnade konferensen med ett föredrag som tog utgångspunkt i temats själva kärna: "Democratizing Collaborative Research: Socially Inclusive, Equitable and Critical Approaches". I den mångfald inlägg som sedan följde belystes olika slags samarbeten, deras möjligheter och utmaningar ur en rad perspektiv, ordnade i sessioner med ämnesingångar som *Collaborative Listening*, *Joint Authorship* och *Cultural Diplomacy and Education*.

Flera talare tog upp förhållandet mellan forskare och informanter, en relation som traditionellt varit ojämlig genom att forskaren är den som har kontroll över dokumentationsprocessen och också har tolkningsföreträdet. Kan dokumentationsarbete göras jämlikt? Hur ser ett samarbete ut där båda parter har inflytande över såväl dokumentation som analys? I ett rundabordssamtal diskuterade Marko Kölbl, Ursula Hemetek och Ioannis Christidis den speciella

problematik som uppkommer vid dokumentation av flyktingar, med exempel hämtade från deras egna fältarbeten bland syrianska och afganska flyktingar i Österrike. Många av dessa människor befinner sig i en utsatt situation med ständig oro för att inte få sina uppehållstillstånd förlängda. En stor andel av flyktingarna har också dåliga erfarenheter från kontakter med myndighetspersoner i hemlandet. Det innebär att den ojämlika relationen mellan forskare och informant blir än mer uppenbar. Samtidigt är denna typ av samtidsdokumentation oerhört viktig för förståelsen av musikens roll för människor i utsatta situationer.

Ett av konferensens underteman var *Curating and Archival Work* där flera representanter för europeiska ljudarkiv talade om spänningar och intressekonflikter kring tillgängliggörande, däribland etiska överväganden och upphovsrättsfrågor. I dessa fall belystes temat "samarbeten" utifrån interaktionen mellan informanter, insamlare och arkivarier. Ett exempel på utmaningar är när privata insamlare, som har stor betydelse för ljudarkiven, begär inflytande över hur materialet ska användas och tillgängliggöras. Detta kan vara svårt att tillmötesgå för arkiven, särskilt för statligt finansierade institutioner där uppdraget att bevara och förmedla måste jämkas med lagens begränsningar.

På samma undertema bidrog även undertecknade med presentationen "Sounds of Meaning: Reflecting on a Multi-disciplinary Understanding of Historical Ballads". I föredraget diskuterades hur textforskning och musketnologi kan befrukta varandra i förståelsen av äldre visor, men också vilka analytiska vinster som kan finnas med att som forskare växla perspektiv från "vetare" till "görare". Resonemanget tog sin utgångspunkt i en bestämd subgenre, avrättningsvisor i skillingtryck, som båda har erfarenhet av att både studera och gestalta. I föredraget skisserades vilka dimensioner av betydelse som framförandet, eller "iscensättningen", kan bidra med i studiet av historiskt material.

En annan ingång i seminariets tema var samverkan mellan forskare och utövare. Så till exempel i Ammi Kuittinen och Viliina Silvons presentation av sitt pågående projekt om den karelska och ingermanländska traditionen av klagovisor (*laments*). Denna funktionella genre av text, musik och känslor (sorg) har i dessa regioner levt kvar långt in på 1900-talet och de senaste decennierna fått en ny synlighet, inte minst genom bildandet av Lamenters Association 2001. Förutom att studera genren som den har gestaltat sig och föränd-

rats genom historien ingår som en del av projektet sångerskan Silvons nyskapande av lamentationer. Hennes lamentationer är i traditionell stil men med aktuella ämnen. Som en del av föredraget demonstrerade Silvonen en sådan nyskapelse på det brännande aktuella temat Rysslands angrepp på Ukraina. För att försätta sig i den känslomässigt krävande stämningen som genren kräver redogjorde Silvonen för sin metod: att hitta känslan i kroppen snarare än att mentalt försöka suggerera känslan av sorg. Under framförandet kunde auditoriet sedan bevittna hur framsjundandet av denna klagovisa stegvis växte till ett uttryck av bottenlös förtvivlan. Framförandet blev en stark illustration av samarbetet mellan forskare och utövare, men också av hur traditionella former kan samverka med dagens angelägenheter.

Forskningssamarbeten och kunskapsproduktion över expertgränser är förhandlingsytor med bäring på såväl metodfrågor som forskningsetik och maktförhållanden. Att det var ett konferenstema som engagerade de många deltagarna är inte att undra på. Hur och på vems villkor vi kan dokumentera, analysera och beskriva levande traditioner är frågor som griper in i musketnologins själva kärna: den komplicerande, berikande tvärvetenskapligheten. ■

Rapport från ICTM-konferensen 2022

De 46:e världskonferensen för medlemmarna i International Council for Traditional Music ägde rum den 21–27 juli i Lissabon, Portugal, med Institute for Ethnomusicology vid New University som värd. Konferensens program och abstracts finns för nedladdning på <http://www.ictmusic.org/past-world-conferences>.

KRISTER MALM

Konferensens teman var:

- Engaging Global Health and Climate Crises through Music and Dance
- Dance, Music, and Human Rights: Coexistence and Inequalities in the Contemporary World
- Approaches to Archival Practices
- Connected Communities: Ocean Trajectories and Land Routes
- Music and Dance Cosmopolitanisms
- Music and Dance Industries
- New Research on Other Topics

Konferensen var i hybridformat med både deltagare på plats och via länk. Totalt deltog 712 personer, 64% på plats och 36% via länk. Många som var med via länk var från länder som fortfarande var föremål för reserestriktioner på grund av covid19. Förutom undertecknad deltog bara en till svensk på plats, nämligen Daniel Fredriksson.

Konferensens lokaler i universitetets huvudbyggnad var bra och organisationen med en mängd studenter som värdar fungerade fint. Även tekniken fungerade i regel bra. Programmet var digert med upp till tolv sessioner samtidigt, det vill säga hundratals presentationer av forskningsresultat, samt dessutom möten med ICTM:s många study groups, vilket gjorde att man tyvärr hela tiden måste välja vilken av de samtidiga sessionerna man helst ville ta del av. Minst sagt frustrerande ... Det var dock lätt att förflytta sig mellan de olika lokalerna och tiderna hölls, så man kunde ta del av presentationer som ägde rum på olika tider i parallella sessioner. På grund av det stora antalet parallella sessioner var det ganska få deltagare i många av dem. De många presentationerna visade en mycket stor ämnesmässig och metodologisk bredd inom forskningsområdet.

I programmet ingick även en bokutställning, ett antal instrumentbyggare som presenterade sitt hantverk och många framträdanden med traditionell musik, bland annat varje dag på universitetets gård i samband med lunchuppehållet. Dessutom var det ett antal "social events" med musik och dans med mera.

Det hölls även några så kallade plenary sessions i en större lokal. En av dem var en presentation av den nya omfattande boken *Celebrating the International Council for Traditional Music, Reflections on the First Seven Decades* (474 sidor i folieformat) med Svanibor Pettan, Naila Ceribašić och Don Niles som redaktörer. Undertecknad har bidragit med ett antal kapitel i boken. Idén föddes under konferensen i Limerick 2017 då organisationen fyllde 70 år. Under den konferensen hölls fem så kallade "celebratory roundtables" med bland andra undertecknad som deltagare. I dessa skissades en del av ICTM:s historia. När bokprojektet väl var igång växte det och blev ganska omfattande med mycket grävande i källor, vilket i sin tur förde det goda med sig att ICTM:s röriga arkiv blev ordnat och delvis digitaliserat. En del dokument är också numera tillgängliga på nätet, till exempel alla bulletiner genom åren.

En annan plenary session handlade om eventuellt byte av namn på organisationen. I många år har

dansforskarna påpekat att ett stort antal av medlemmarna i ICTM forskar om folklig dans och att ordet dans borde vara med i organisationens namn. De flesta verkar instämma i detta, men problemet har varit att hitta ett nytt namn som en majoritet kan enas om. Frågan om namnbyte kommer att tas upp vid nästa generalförsamling.

"Music research and war at home" var ämnet för en plenary session som samlade så många deltagare att alla inte kunde få plats i lokalen. Diskussionen blev stundtals mycket livlig. Panelen bestod av Scheherazade Hassan (Irak), Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona (Sri Lanka), Olha Kolomyets (Ukraina), Ahmad Sarmast (Afghanistan) och Jasmina Talam (Bosnien och Herzegovina).

Daniel Fredriksson bidrog med presentationen "Musical Storytelling across Space and Time: Streaming Liveness, Cultural Heritage and International Collaboration", ett av många exempel på innovativa metoder. Där presenterades en musik/berättelseföreställning han utvecklat tillsammans med musikern och berättaren Chris Rippley, som framfördes digitalt i split screen från Falun och Lafayette, Colorado. "The spatial and temporal interconnectedness of the performance, combined with the narrative's and some of the music's provenance in historic archival sources, created for us as performers an interesting experience of interconnectedness with history. It created a sense of not only interculturality, but interchronology".

Konferensen i Lissabon skulle egentligen ägt rum 2021 och för att behålla den ursprungliga periodiciteten äger påföljande konferens rum redan i år den 13–19 juli 2023, i Legon, Ghana, med följande teman:

- African Music and Dance: Past, Present, and Future Approaches to Research
- Decolonization in Music and Dance Studies
- Music, Dance, and Well-Being: Impacts from and Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic
- Gender and Sexuality in Global Music and Dance
- Popular Music, Dance, and Activism
- Conflict and Peace-Making through Music and Dance
- Exploring the Materials of Music and Dance: Instruments, Bodies, Technologies
- New Research ■

Svenska kommittén av ICTM

International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) är den största internationella sammanslutningen av musik- och dansetnologer. Den är uppbyggd av dels nationella kommittéer eller kontaktpersoner i 121 länder (2022), dels 27 så kallade Study Groups (SG:s) specialiserade på olika aspekter av musik- och dansetnologi. ICTM har ett sekretariat i Ajdovscina, Slovenien, och är bland annat formellt knutet som rådgivande organ till UNESCO i frågor kring immateriellt kulturarv. Den svenska kommittén har ett 30-tal medlemmar från olika universitetsinstitutioner och

andra kulturvetenskapliga institutioner som Institutet för språk och folkminnen, ISOF, och Musikverket. Ordförande är för närvarande Madeleine Modin, Svenskt visarkiv, Musikverket, och vice ordförande Mats Nilsson, Göteborg. Flera medlemmar av ICTM är aktiva i Puls redaktionsråd och vetenskapliga råd. Medlemmar i den svenska kommittén deltar regelbundet i internationella symposier och konferenser som arrangeras av ICTM centralt samt olika Study Groups. Den svenska kommittén arrangerar också digitala seminarier, doktorandträffar och workshops.

Aktiviteter under 2022:

Årsmöte 9 maj 2022, Svenskt visarkiv, Stockholm. I samband med årsmötet föreläste Kaj Ahlsved om sin pågående forskning under rubriken "Mandom, mod och idrottsmän. Sångpraktiker inom den organiserade idrotten i Sverige (ca 1875–1939)".

Digitala seminarier

29 september:

Mats Nilsson och Staffan Folestad: "Participatory Polska and the Missing Perspective"

Karin L. Eriksson: "Att dokumentera en instuderingsprocess: diskussion om insamlingsmetoder inför kommande projekt"

29 november:

Eva Sæther & Markus Tullberg: "Meningsförhandlingar för lärande spelmän – om en peer review process i ett pågående forskningsprojekt"

Owe Ronström: "I periferins periferi – musik och livsvärldar i en gotländsk socken vid mitten av 1800-talet"

Planerade aktiviteter 2023:

Digitala seminarier 2 februari, 2 maj, 3 okt och 30 nov. För information kontakta karin.eriksson@lnu.se.

Flera medlemmar i Svenska kommittén planerar att delta i 47th World Conference of the ICTM som går av stapeln i Legon, Ghana, 13–19 juli 2023. Information om konferensen finner du på <https://www.ug.edu.gh/ictm/>.

För ytterligare information, se <http://www.ictmusic.org>.

Presentation of Authors

Kaj Ahlsved är post-doktoral musikforskare affilierad till Åbo Akademi och Forskningsföreningen Suoni rf. Ahlsved är för närvarande gästforskare vid Umeå universitet (etnologi). Inom ramen för Suonis forskningsprojekt *Musikforskare i samhället: Aktivistisk musikforskning för främjande av social rättvisa* (2020–2024) har han ett eget delprojekt där han med ett historiskt grepp studerar sammanhang där musik och idrott som två samhälleliga förändringskrafter möts. Forskningen finansieras av Konestiftelsen (Koneen säätiö). Våren 2021 erhöll han Kungl. Gustav Adolf Akademiens Bernadottestipendium.

Alf Arvidsson är senior professor i etnologi vid Umeå universitet. Han har bland annat skrivit *Musik och politik hör ihop: diskussioner, ställningstaganden och musikskapande 1965–1980* (2008), *Jazzens väg inom svenskt musikliv* (2011), *Bilder från musikskapandets vardag* (tillsammans med Dan Lundberg, Marika Nordström, Ingrid Åkesson, 2014), redigerat *I rollen som spelman* (2009) och *Jazz, Gender, Authenticity* (2014). Arvidsson är särskilt inriktad på kultur- och diskursanalytiska perspektiv på musik, musik som social process, lokalt och regionalt förankrade uttryck samt svensk jazzhistoria. Ett pågående arbete uppmärksammar den skriftliga jazzkritikens former och grundläggande principer.

Karin L. Eriksson är professor i musikvetenskap vid Linnéuniversitetet. Hennes forskning är främst inom det musketnologiska fältet med särskilt fokus på historiska såväl som samtida perspektiv på traditionell musik i Sverige. Av särskilt intresse är forskningsfrågor som knyter samman ideologi och praktik på olika sätt, alltifrån insamlingsverksamhet till nutida musikutövande. Inom detta fält har hon exempelvis studerat den organiserade spelmanns rörelsen och kurser i folkmusik för vuxna amatörer. Just nu studerar hon förlagsverksamhet för svensk folkmusik utifrån en fallstudie av musikförlaget AB Nordisk folkmusik.

Daniel Fredriksson är universitetslektor i Ljud- och musikproduktion vid Högskolan Dalarna. Han disputerade 2018 i etnologi vid Umeå universitet på

en avhandling om musik- och kulturpolitik i Dalarna. Därefter har han i flera mindre forskningsprojekt undersökt musik i relation till bland annat integration, teater, genre och arkiv. Han är intresserad av gränslandet mellan konstnärlig och vetenskaplig forskning. Fredriksson är verksam som musiker inom vitt skilda genrer från folkmusik till extreme metal. Han driver tillsammans med forskarna Toivo Burlin och Totte Mattsson ett VR-finansierat forskningsprojekt om Carl Jularbo och musikgenren gammeldans.

Ingrid Gjertsen er forsker i musikkvitenskap med spesialområde folkemusikk/etnomusikologi. Til 2011 var hun associate professor ved Griegakademiet – Institutt for musikk, Universitetet i Bergen, der hun var faglig leder for folkemusikksamlingen Arne Bjørndals samling. Hennes spesielle forskningsfelt er vokal folkemusikk, der hun har arbeidet mye med den religiøse tradisjonen. Hun har deltatt i flere forskningsprosjekter både i Norge, Norden og Baltikum og har publisert en rekke artikler. Til hennes viktigste publikasjoner regnes boken *Kom du min Sulamith – sang og mystikk i haugiansk fromhet* (Oslo 2007). Noe av det hun har vært opptatt av i sin forskning er sangen i utøvingssituasjonen, forholdet mellom sang-uttrykk og sangtekst, sangen som uttrykk i det kultiske liv, sangens estetikk i vid forstand. Eget feltarbeid utgjør en viktig del av hennes kildemateriale.

Torbjörn Gulz är jazzpianist, lektor i jazzteori på Kungl. Musikhögskolan i Stockholm och doktorand på Kungl. Tekniska Högskolan. Han har verkat som professionell jazzmusiker sedan tidigt 90-tal, medverkat på mer än 35 skivproduktioner och turnerat över hela världen samt även gett ut en bok i jazzarrangering (2001). Bland de jazzgrupper han turnerat med kan nämnas Fredrik Norén Band, Fredrik Ljungkvist Kvartett och Jonas Kullhammar Quartet. Hans doktorandprojekt på KTH fokuserar på strategier inom jazzimprovisation och inkluderar såväl transkriberade inspelningar som intervjuer.

Ursula Hemetek is the director of the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology as well

as of the Music and Minorities Research Center at the University for Music and the Performing Arts Vienna. In 1987 she earned her Ph.D. in Musicology 2001, followed by her habilitation in Ethnomusicology, both at Vienna University. She has published widely in the field of ethnomusicology and Music and Minorities (focus on Roma, Burgenland Croats and recent immigrant groups, refugees). She has been the chair person of the ICTM Study Group "Music and Minorities" since its establishment in 1999 till 2017 and served as ICTM Secretary General 2017–2021. She received the Wittgenstein Award for her research on Music and Minorities in 2018.

Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius är docent i etnologi och verksam som forskningsarkivarie och forskningssamordnare vid Svenskt visarkiv. Hans forskning handlar om musik och kulturella former för åldrande, populärmusik och kulturellt minne, men också om interaktion i sociala medier och om naturhistoriska museers arbete med att levandegöra utdöda arter. Hyltén-Cavallius är ordförande i Svenska kommittén av ICTM.

Zuzana Jurková, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University Prague, is the Head of the Anthropological Studies program. She focuses on researching minority music (*Voices of the Weak* 2009, *Sounds from the Margins* 2013), especially Romani music (e.g. *Romani Musicians in the 21st Century* 2018), the history of Czech ethnomusicology, and, in recent years, urban ethnomusicology, including the research of music as a medium of collective remembering in an urban environment (*Pražské hudební světy* 2013; *Prague Soundscapes* 2014; *Music – Memory – Minorities: Between Archive and Activism* 2020).

Eva Kjellander Hellqvist är lektor i musikvetenskap vid Linnéuniversitetet och disputerade 2013 på avhandlingen *Jag och mitt fanskap – vad musik kan göra för människor*. Hennes huvudsakliga forskningsintressen rör sig inom det musiksociologiska området, och framför allt det som berör fanforskning, identitet och hur musik används i vardagen. Bland publikationerna finns titlar som *Musik och idoler: om att vara fans till lågstatusband* (2014), "Spellistan som husapotek" (2019) och "Don't Stand So Close to Me: Musik som medel för att hantera en pandemi" (2021).

Bengt af Klintberg, fil.dr h.c. vid Stockholms universitet 2000, professors namn 2006, är folklorist och författare till ett stort antal böcker om muntlig berättartradition, däribland *Råttan i pizzen*. *Folksägner i vår tid* (1986). Han undervisade 1967–1987 i de folkloristiska

kursavsnitten vid etnologiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet.

Marko Kölbl is a senior scientist at the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna. He is specialized in music and dance of minorities and migrant communities, in particular Burgenland Croats and Afghans in Vienna, with a focus on intersectional, queer-feminist and postcolonial perspectives. Marko Kölbl serves as chair of the ICTM Study Group of Music, Gender and Sexuality.

Jakub Kopaniecki is a PhD student at the Institute of Musicology, University of Wrocław. Currently, he is preparing a doctoral dissertation entitled *Popular music in the sonic space of contemporary Wrocław*, dedicated to the contemporary popular music scene in the capital of Lower Silesia. Among other things, he has published articles on video game soundscape and local music scenes in the journal *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology*. His research interests include popular music, soundscape studies, cultural urban studies, and ludomusicology.

Dan Lundberg is Director General of Statens musikverk (Swedish Performing Arts Agency) and Associate Professor in musicology at Stockholm University and Åbo Akademi University. His research focuses on music, identity, cultural heritage and ideology, and Swedish and European folk music. He has published several books and articles in the field of ethnomusicology. Recent publications: *Sounds of Migration. Music and Migration in the Nordic Countries* (2021) (anthology, with Owe Ronström), *Singing Through the Bars. Prison Songs as Identity Markers and as Cultural Heritage* (2018) and "Archives as Applied Ethnomusicology" in Pettan, Svanibor & Titon, Jeff Todd. *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology* (2015).

Krister Malm, FD och docent i musikvetenskap, har varit president för International Council for Traditional Music samt chef för Musikmuseet (nu Scenkonstmuseet) och Statens musiksamlingar (nu Statens musikverk). Han har bl. a. studerat och publicerat om musik och medier, musikindustrin, musik och mångkultur och musik i Karibien och Östafrika. Bland de större forskningsprojekten kan nämnas *Music Industry in Small Countries samt Media Policy and Music Activity* tillsammans med Roger Wallis och *Musik, Medier, Mångkultur* tillsammans med Dan Lundberg och Owe Ronström.

Bożena Muszkalska works as a professor of ethnomusicology at the University of Wrocław. She has been realizing many projects associated with on-the-spot research in Poland, Sardinia, Portugal, Belarus, Lithuania, Romania, Ukraine, Siberia, Brasilia, Turkey, Australia and Guatemala. She is the author of several books, i.a.: *Traditionelle mehrstimmige Gesänge der Sarden* (1985), *Tradycyjna wielogłosowość wokalna w kulturach basenu Morza Śródziemnego* [Traditional polyvocality in cultures of the Mediterranean Basin] (1999), *“A jednak po całej ziemi słycać ich dźwięk”*. *Muzyka w życiu religijnym Żydów aszkenazyjskich* [“And yet, their sound is heard all over the earth.” Music in the religious life of Ashkenazi Jews] (2013), *BodyMusicEvent* (eds with Regine Allgayer-Kaufmann, 2010) and of many articles concerning musical cultures of Polish diaspora, traditional polyphonic singing in Mediterranean basin, music in religious contexts with a focus on Jewish music and methodological issues.

Märta Ramsten är docent i musikutvetenskap och f.d. chef för Svenskt visarkiv. Hon har framfört allt ägnat sin forskning åt lokala och regionala folkliga musiktraditioner i Sverige. Hennes avhandling (1992) behandlade förändringsprocesser inom svensk folkmusik 1950–1980. Hon var ansvarig för den inspelningsverksamhet som knöts till Svenskt visarkiv från 1968 och framåt och mycket av hennes forskning och publika verksamhet har just fältinspelningarna som utgångspunkt. Bland senare utgåvor märks: *Kungl. Musikaliska Akademien och folkmusiken. En musikutvetenskaplig undersökning* (2016), *De osynliga melodierna. Musikvärldar i 1800-talets skillingtryck* (2019) och *Framför mikrofonen och bakom. En personlig återblick på Svenskt visarkivs verksamhet med inspelningar av folkliga musiktraditioner* (2022).

Owe Ronström är professor emeritus i etnologi vid Uppsala Universitet, Campus Gotland och docent i musikutvetenskap vid Åbo Akademi. Han disputerade 1992 med avhandlingen *Att gestalta ett ursprung. Dansande och musicerande bland jugoslaver i Stockholm*. Ronström har publicerat ett stort antal arbeten om musik, dans, etnicitet, mångkultur, åldrande, kultur- arvspolitik, ritualer och öar. Han har producerat många hundra program för Sveriges Radio P2 och är också verksam som musiker. För sin forskning har han tilldelats Hilding Rosenbergpriset och Gösta Bergs pris. För verket “Klockrent – En Mycket Stor Konsert” fick han Prix Italia 2013. Han är ledamot i Kungliga Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur och International Folklore Fellow i American Folklore Society.

Mark Slobin is the Winslow-Kaplan Professor of Music Emeritus at Wesleyan University and the author or editor of many books, on Afghanistan and Central Asia, eastern European Jewish music, film music, American music, and ethnomusicology theory, two of which have received the ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award: *Fiddler on the Move: Exploring the Klezmer World* and *Tenement Songs: Popular Music of the Jewish Immigrants*. He has been President of the Society for Ethnomusicology and the Society for Asian Music. He retired in 2016 after 45 years at Wesleyan and lives in Manhattan.

Karin Strand är fil. dr. i litteraturvetenskap, visforskare och chef för Svenskt visarkiv. I sin forskning intresserar hon sig för den folkliga och populära visans textvärldar, mediering och samtidssammanhang, i synnerhet skillingtrycksvisor i svensk och skandinavisk kontext (Strand 2016, Strand 2019, Brandtzaeg & Strand 2021).

Ingrid Åkesson är musikutvetenskaplig med huvudinriktning på vokala traditioner i Skandinavien, nu fristående forskare, tidigare vid Svenskt visarkiv. Hon disputerade 2008 och hade 2010–2012 en postdok vid Umeå universitet samt har publicerat böcker och en mängd artiklar. Hennes forskning rör bland annat textliga och musikaliska uttryck, musicerande som process, kreativitet, genus och relationen mellan muntligt och skriftligt. Hennes senaste projekt lade fram nya perspektiv på balladforskning.

Jonas Ålander, Ph.D. in musicology, is a senior lecturer in education at Örebro University, Sweden. His research interests include political aspects of cultural expressions, mainly concerning music and migration. In his dissertation (2022), he studied Immigrant’s participative conditions in the Swedish music domain. Related publications include studies about organization of music venues in Sweden (2020) and media representations of music and Immigrants in Swedish news media (2021). He also studies diversity in educational settings and policies related to learning materials, digitalization and inclusion.

Information

Puls – musik- och dansetnologisk tidskrift är en öppen e-tidskrift från Svenskt visarkiv (<http://musikverket.se/svensktvisarkiv/>) som utkommer en gång per år.

Tidskriftens inriktning är bred med utgångspunkt i musik- och dansetnologi men omfattar även angränsande ämnen som andra delar av musikvetenskap och dansforskning, folkloristik, litteraturvetenskap och andra kulturvetenskaper. Den sammanhållande idén är att *Puls* ur ett brett vetenskapligt perspektiv ska belysa musikens och dansens uttryck, roller och funktioner i samhället.

Puls innehåller artiklar på de skandinaviska språken samt engelska. Artiklar granskas före publicering enligt vetenskaplig praxis.

[Inbjudan till författare för Puls nr 9 finns här.](#)

Deadline 21 augusti 2023.

[Författaranvisningar finns här.](#)

[Tidigare nummer och mer information finns här.](#)

Svenskt visarkiv är ett forskningsarkiv som bevarar, samlar in och publicerar material inom folkmusik, visor, äldre populärmusik, svensk jazz, folklig dans, spelmansmusik och framväxande musiktraditioner.

Svenskt visarkiv är en enhet inom Musikverket, <https://musikverket.se>

Puls – Journal for Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology is an annual, online open access journal published by Svenskt visarkiv/Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research, Stockholm, Sweden (<https://musikverket.se/svensktvisarkiv/?lang=en>).

The main focus of the journal is ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, but the journal also embraces adjacent disciplines, such as other aspects of musicology and choreology, folkloristics, comparative literature, and related studies of traditional and popular culture. The journal focuses on discussion of the expressions, roles and functions of music and dance in society.

In *Puls*, articles are published in the Scandinavian languages or in English. Articles are subject to a peer review process prior to publication.

[Call for contributions for Puls no 8 can be found here.](#)

Deadline 21 August, 2023.

[Guidelines for authors can be found here.](#)

[Earlier issues and more information are available here.](#)

Svenskt visarkiv is a research archive specialised in collecting, preserving and publishing material in the fields of traditional music, early popular music, Swedish jazz, traditional and social dance, and emerging traditions.

Svenskt visarkiv is a department within the Swedish Performing Arts Agency, <https://musikverket.se/om-musikverket/?lang=en>