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The Musical Citizen

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Many if not most societies believe that good music produces good citizens. In the Western tradition, we have been familiar with the idea since the time of Plato. The idea is an enduring one, certainly very much alive today. Many societies, over history, and across the world, have also believed that good music needs to be in the hands of the right people, because the dangers of bad music are obvious to them. Music can lead people astray; it can upset the natural order of things. Whose job is it to appoint the musicians, though? Who is to regulate what they do? The picture Plato paints is, as many have noted, an authoritarian one (Nussbaum 2003). It relies on the intellectual elites, and strong rulers. It relies the willingness of these elites, of these rulers, to purge the republic of its artistic troublemakers, and to censor those who displease them.

In modern, more democratic times, we have learned to regard such attitudes with suspicion. We have seen them at work in the totalitarian states of the twentieth century.[1] We note their continuing appeal to authoritarian rules around the world. Many of us in the West offer the support we can to authors and musicians banished, exiled or censored through such institutions as PEN and Freemuse (in Copenhagen), or through such agencies as the Nobel Prize committees (Kirkegaard, Järviluoma, Knudsen and Otterbek 2018). We are generally of the view that art is at its best, at its most noble, when it resists this kind of authoritarianism. We celebrate the dissidents, and deplore the artistic products of authoritarian states. So there is a distinction we habitually draw, and rarely question, as Kirkegaard et al show, between art (and music) that merely serves the state, and art (and music) that nurtures the citizen.

This distinction appears to us, today, to be obvious and unquestionable,

[1] A formidable literature exists on music and modern authoritarianism. For some important points of reference, varied in their approach and interpretation, see Pamela Potter and Celia Applegate on music in Nazi Germany (Potter and Applegate 2002), Paul Austerlitz on Trujillo's cultural policy in the Dominican Republic (Austerlitz 1997), Rice on Bulgaria (Rice 1994), Tochka on Albania (Tochka 2016), Moore on Cuba (Moore 2006).

but we should remind ourselves that this distinction has a history. In important regards, it is a French history, and it is, of course, much studied. Jan Pasler's important book, *Composing the Citizen* (Pasler 2009) works through this story, and shows how debates over musical citizenship changed shape. In the decades following the revolution, the role of art in the production of the revolutionary citizen was, as is well known, highly contested but regularly affirmed. As time when on, the revolution deviated from its original goals. The cultural and political power of Germany needed to be opposed. The centenary of the revolution in 1889 was a moment in which its achievements needed to be underlined, and (perhaps) redefined. The Exposition Universelle provided a stage for this act of redefinition. Those associated with it, as Passler shows, developed an argument for the *public utility* of the arts. The Third Republic would, later, extend this argument, and turn it into what we might now call state policy. 'Public utility', in the Third Republic, involved the composition and performance of large-scale works (for example those of François-Joseph Gossec) to animate public spaces. It also meant a growing pedagogical discourse surrounding music, and song in particular, as the maker of the French citizen (Bergeron 2010). Public education in the arts would not only teach people how to be French, but how to observe, compare, chose and thereby develop taste and judgment, and this would lead citizens towards, as well as safeguard, democracy.

Such ideas were fully in play at the Exposition Universelle, whose musical exhibits included the gamelan that so struck Debussy. The exhibition was to demonstrate pride in the achievements of the revolution, to demonstrate the virtues of democracy, and to argue for commerce as a globally progressive force. The display of other cultures and their music would both demonstrate the validity of the idea of scientific progress, but also the necessity of a sensitivity to difference, to knowing about others. These have been persistent ideas in France, and they continue to be at play in public arts initiatives in that country.[2]

But they are ideas that, even in France, have continually been redefined and repurposed. As Pasler shows in her book, ideas about the musical citizen in the Third Republic quickly became anxious and defensive. They sparked reactions. Baudelaire and the Symbolist movement, for instance, argued for

[2] One might point to the musical programming of the Centre du Monde Arabe in France as an example. A counter example is provided by Georgina (Born 1995). 's classic study of IRCAM, Boulez' centre devoted to high musical modernism, a World in which, at least at the time she was studying the institute, a sovereign disregard for questions of difference was on display. Clearly, questions of race and ethnicity, and with them questions about immigration, touch significant chords in France at the moment, so the situation might best be described as one of reactive and contradictory tendencies in which issues of race and ethnicity are simultaneously asserted and disavowed (Born 1995).

'art for art's sake', reacting to the instrumental logic of public arts discourse at the time. Progressive ideas about musical citizenship were hollowed out from the inside, transformed over successive decades. In the course of the next century, musical citizenship would first be thought of in terms of 'liberty-equality-fraternity', then 'people-nation-culture', and, today, 'identity-memory-heritage'. It is hard not to agree with her implication that this constitutes a kind of degradation, a bending towards the populism and commodity logics of the later 20th century.

This helps us identify one strand of the problem surrounding the musical citizen. We have started to question the political role of the western art music tradition – the symphonies, oratorios, operas, string quartets that have historically shaped our ideas of revolutions and the revolutionary subject. Our growing doubt is fed by many sources. In a democratic age of publicly funded art, there is the charge of elitism. We are all familiar with this criticism.[3] In a global – and postcolonial - age, in which we are encouraged to understand our place in the world, rather than simply assert our leadership in it, there is the charge of Eurocentrism. We are familiar with this criticism too. It is, after all, an old one. There is also, at least in the UK, a growing view that western art music institutions are corrupt.[4] The individualized and unsupervised teaching of piano, violin, voice and so forth allows teachers to get too close to students, and, in some now very public and well documented cases, to abuse them sexually. The institutions cover up the scandal, the cover-ups themselves become as kind of secondary scandal. Readers across the world will no doubt be familiar with these lines of thought, and critique.

We also find ourselves thinking about how the Western Art Music tradition has been made to serve the imperatives of neoliberal governmentality. This, too, is implicated in declining faith in Western art institutions in the production of citizens. By 'neoliberal governmentality' – a much used and

[3] Julian Johnson's book is an eloquent defence, but also a thoughtful analysis of the political stakes of the 'elitism' debate in and around contemporary music.

[4] Anna Bull's ongiong work has attracted growing attention in pointing to, and calling out, the often grotesque, and apparently growing, social inequalities perpetuated in music education in the United Kingdom. The *Classical Music as Contemporary Social Practice* conference she and Christina Scharff organised at King's College London on 23 May 2014 was an important gathering of minds on this issue (see https://www.kcl.ac.uk/artshums/depts/cmci/eventre cords/2014/socio-cultural-practice.aspx, accessed 20 July 2018). The scandal at Chets, in Manchester, continues to be a point of reference in discussions about sexual abuse and music teaching in the UK. See https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/elite-music-school-chethams-loses-pupils-in-backlash-at-allegations-of-historic-sexual-abuse-9091681. html for one of a great many newspaper reports (accessed 20 July 2018).

abused term - I mean, here, the global dominance of finance capital, its concentration in global cities, and its effect on the nation-state's traditional functions (organization of the economy, education, defense and so forth). Some time ago George Yudice referred to 'the expediency of culture' – to describe the idea of culture in neoliberal governmentality: culture not just as commodity, but also in the training of new kinds of citizens (Yudice 2003). We are talking about a global situation, of course. What country outside Europe is *not* building opera houses and symphony centres in the capitals it wants to designate as 'global cities', to attract global capital, corporations and skilled labour?[5]

Outside the West, the role of NGOs in teaching Western Art Music has been studied, somewhat critically, by ethnomusicologists in situations as diverse as Venezuela (for instance, the El Sistema project), or on the Palestinian West Bank (for instance, The Edward Said Conservatory in Ramallah) and elsewhere.[6] They have been interested in the ways in which such institutions get funding from the West in order to provide education, alleviate poverty, or to make peace. Who could disagree with such projects? Their aims are self-evidently laudable, from a liberal perspective. But our ethnomusicological colleagues ask us to question the underlying motives, the funding structures, and the broader cultural and political effects of such initiatives. They are convenient, the critics note, to the West; it is easier to fund a music center than think about, or assume responsibility for, the underlying political causes of poverty or violence.

The other part of the problem is that the very concept of citizenship is changing. It has always changed, of course, according to the prevailing economic and political circumstances. It meant one thing in Ancient Greece, another in Ancient Rome, another in Revolutionary France, another in Third Republic France. Even within these historical moments, it has meant different things to different social classes. Today, under the prevailing conditions of neoliberal regimes – and the populist backlash that is, in many ways, connected to it – it is anxious and defensive. When the UK was poised to vote on

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[5] Historically, the construction of opera houses outside Europe for this purpose goes back to the early 19th century. For a study in Greece, rich in implications for how 'Western art music' has been constructed in the context of 'civilising processes', see Kokkonis 2008. The Gulf cities – Kuwait City, Doha, Abu Dhabi, Dubai in particular – continue, at the time of writing, to vie with one another in the construction of prestige concert halls, symphony centers, and opera buildings, alongside state of the art exhibition and museum spaces.

[6] Significant points of reference are the work of Geoffrey Baker on the El Sistema Project (Baker 2015), Rachel Beckles-Willson on the broader histories of musical philanthopy in Israel/Palestine (Beckles-Willson 2015), Yara El-Ghadban and Kiven Strohm (2013) on the funding of NGOs in the Palestinian West Bank.

leaving the European Union, Prime Minister Teresa May stated that 'if you believe you are citizen of the world, you are citizen of nowhere'.[7] This was her attempt to appeal to those who would like to see the United Kingdom standing alone, in defiance of the world. American President Donald Trump's slogan 'America First' has involved the same rhetoric, as we know. Many of us look to citizenship as a magical, symbolic defence against forces that we believe threaten us, forces that we scarcely understand. Like many symbols of political belonging, it works by exclusion, rather than inclusion. We may know little about what citizenship 'is' in the West, but we have a very sharp idea of who the 'non-citizens' are; those that must be excluded, or 'sent back', or must labour (or suffer) first to show that they 'deserve' citizenship.[8]

Anthropologists have done much to explain, recently, the new symbolic logics of citizenship. Usefully, they have stressed citizenship 'from below' – how everyday people, in everyday life, embrace and mobilize the concept of citizenship, particularly to make claims on one another, and on the state. They have looked at non-Western societies, because the questions are, of course, global questions. Usefully, they have understood citizenship in terms of symbolic logics that include emotion, affect, the senses, because citizenship is conferred not just by writing on a passport or a travel document, but in an array of feelings (a 'sensorium'). What does the citizen, the non-citizen, citizenship itself look like, sound like, smell like, feel like? So, today, we want to understand citizenship empirically (as what particular people in particular places believe it to be); we understand it as plural; we think of it in global terms; we think of it as a symbolic system involving feelings and emotions as well as abstract philosophical positions (see Berlant 2003; Benhabib and Resnick 2005; Kabeer 2007; Mandel 2008; Marcus 2003; Trnka, Dureau and Parkes 2013). We find ourselves attending to *citizenships*; 'flexible', 'insurgent', 'alternative', 'sentimental', 'consumer', 'pleasure', 'biological', 'differentiated', and so forth (see, for instance, Lazar 2013; Marcus 2003; Ong 1999; Plummer 2003).

So we face two problems today, thinking about the western art music tradition and its relationship to the citizen. Firstly, we have put western art music on trial. We are no longer confident it produces good citizens. The significance of this cannot be overestimated, or the anxiety it seems to generate. No doubt, in Western society, this particular domain of unsettled, sometimes angry questioning is connected to a broader popular critique of the cultural

[7] The full speech, given in 2016, can be located here: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/05/theresa-mays-conference-speech-in-full/ (accessed 20 July 2018).

[8] The main currents of anxiety about citizenship in this regard be traced back to Hannah Arendt's work (Arendt 1951) and, more recently, Giorgio Agamben (Agamben 1998). Both authors are central to the approach proposed here.

order, to be seen, in the United Kingdom for instance, in criticism of parliament, the BBC, the National Health service, the European Union, the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, and so forth. We have, secondly, become very unsure about what 'citizenship' itself might mean, under current political circumstances. This is perhaps less visible, but might be understood as the undercurrent of the Western world's current major populist movements. These, as is well known at this stage, are characterized by frustration with representative democracy, impatience with the redistributive and welfare mechanisms of the state, anger at corruption, 'elitism', and the growing gaps between rich and poor, and distrust of official media. Today's populist movements, like those a century earlier, offer no coherent diagnosis of economic and social problems beyond a demonization of imagined parasites and advantage-takers within and without the nation-state. The role of the citizen in such contexts has been reduced to nostalgic national identity, and contributions, primarily through social media, to an accumulation of anger that, at the moment, has very few outlets. The questions that surround constructions and deconstructions of citizenship around music these days could hardly be more pressing, falling, as they do, in the intersection of two toxic and more or less global areas of contemporary political and cultural debate.

Does the ethnomusicologist have a voice in this situation? Does the history of ethnomusicological disciplinary practice suggest still-useful lines of inquiry? Does it help us imagine alternatives to the mounting anger and growing polarization of today's populist citizenly imaginaries? This is a big ask, of course, and, as usual, we might have to content ourselves with a refinement, or a reshaping, of the questions rather than answers. The first task for the ethnomusicologist may be simply to note the complexity of the terminological field. The question of what, exactly, produces 'cohesion' in music (it is one that dates back to Alan Lomax and others in the 1950s and 60s) is an old one (see Lomax 1968). It is based on various structural-functionalist assumptions about art and music – that the social value of art and music can be judged to the extent that they produce social 'cohesion' and social cohesion itself judged by the extent to which it can be shown to have been produced by non-coercive, creative activities like art and music. These are entirely circular forms of argument, obviously enough, and we have learned to be wary of them. But the questions are persistent, and underpin ongoing arguments about music and violence (for instance the ongoing debates about UK Drill) or music and sectarian identities (for instance, the perennial arguments about musical 'tradition' in Northern Ireland, and the extent to which it includes or excludes its traditional 'others', Catholic or Protestant).[9]

[9] On UK Drill see https://www.theguardian.com/music/2018/apr/09/uk-drill-music-london-wave-violent-crime (accessed 20 July 2018); on sectarianism and music on the football terraces in the UK, see Stephen Millar 2016).

Our task is made considerably more difficult by the toxicity that surrounds debates over citizenship and the Western Art Music tradition. I have already referred to scholarship, and journalism, that is driven by an urge to demonstrate the complicity of Western Art Music in colonial violence, racism, misogyny and child abuse. The psychoanalytic point about abjection is almost too obvious to make – we should not be surprised, perhaps, that something so loved, and so depended on, should, the moment it starts to complicate one's self-image, trigger persecution fantasies and become an object of hate and revulsion. But it is only half the story at best, and neglects the politics of the situation, namely a populist rejection of elite culture that has become entrenched as political cultures, across the world, drift, or lurch, towards the far right.

A second, and equally basic ethnomusicology instinct is to try to consider something understood as a peculiarly Western issue in a broader global context. It has often been remarked that neoliberalism, in its populist manifestations, is a contemporary historical phenomenon, bought about by a electorate in the West stripped, progressively, of jobs, welfare, and credit, that has turned vengefully on what Tariq Ali refers to as the 'extreme centre' (Ali 2018). A global perspective, taking in much of Latin America and much of Asia, indicates a different history of neoliberal engineering, bought in by military coups and other non-democratic means, and dating from much earlier decades, as Ali himself shows. Far from the West leading, the 'rest' left "in the imaginary waiting room of history" (Chakrabarty 2000:7), the 'rest' has clearly lead on this particular issue, and the West has come late to the game. Globally speaking, citizenship in the arts debates have played out historically not across a field of democratic politics (and their purported moment of 'crisis'), but longer and more continuous periods of authoritarian populism in Brazil, Turkey, China, India and many other places.[10] An element of realism might be injected into these anxious debates about the Western European cultural heritage, and the 'global' responsibilities we load on to this if the West bears in mind other, and longer, histories, ones in which we (in the West) might weigh cause and effect relationships with a little more measure and a little more humility.

And a third would be to insist on seeing music in relation to other spheres of cultural and artistic activity and not in isolation. The tendency to insist on music's separateness and specialness is a legacy of romanticism, as we well know, and musicology has consistently underlined it. This has significantly fuelled the anxiety over Western Art Music's 'special' relationship with the production of the modern citizen, and, as I have already stressed, this has introduced ahistorical and panicked reactions to the questions that come up.

[10] See, for instance, Stokes 2010, Manuel 1993, Turino 1993, Jones 1992, Treece 2013, Avelar and Dunn 2011.

Questions about cultural citizenship in music might more usefully be located and contextualized, for instance, in a broader set of questions in media history. In the regulation of theatrical life in Western European and American cities, and in the regulation of new media (particularly radio), much thought was devoted to the question of the 'citizenly audience', and how it might best be produced, and controlled. The fears here have always been about how to construct the *right* kind of solidarity. Theaters, and, later radio, have always been haunted by the fear of the unruly mob, on the one hand, and the anonymous, atomized mass on the other. There is a specific public discourse here about citizenship and the arts we might learn from. So a third suggestion, another one that springs from fairly traditional ethnomusicological habits of thought, is that we might attempt to see the question in ways that do not treat music in isolation, but that sees it connected to broader debates about the arts and media in public life.

If we place the question – the question of what, in music might stimulate 'the democratic emotions', and play a constructive role in shaping the modern citizen – within such broader political, historical and global frameworks, the question changes slightly. It becomes less normative (what *should* a citizenly musical practice look like?) and more comparative (*why* debates about citizenship and the arts take particular forms, and have particular consequences there and not elsewhere). It becomes more historical, and less driven by a sense of existential crisis. It disrupts some highly routine notions of cause and effect at play in these debates (the West leads, or *should* lead; the rest follows, or *should* follow). The question now becomes: how are citizenship and music debates framed in different places at different times, and with what consequences? What might we learn from one another, globally speaking? And how might scholarly practice intersect with musicking and other ways of *sounding* a new citizenly politics? In other words, how might we make what we learn matter?

The kind of global and historical framework I am proposing is very much under construction at the moment. As I move towards it, I would provisionally put forward the following three lines of inquiry, critique and argument.

Firstly, the formation of national musical cultures in the postcolonial non-west has usually looked to the countryside as the source of authentic musical culture. City musics have been degraded and marginalized, understood as hybrid and polluted. It is precisely this quality, many have observed (see Young 1986), that makes 'the city' an ideal for modern concepts of belonging and democratic participation. The city is where we encounter the stranger, where we encounter unfamiliar histories, where we must encounter other people's sense of space, and where we must find symbolic language – including music of course - to *mediate* these encounters. In doing so, we must definitively reject the language of authenticity and community that has preoccupied the

nation-state builders of the early twentieth century, and the populists of today. We must embrace the city, in other words.[11] We might then take note of national music culture building exercises that have had the city as their model, not the countryside; one thinks of Castro's Havana (Moore 2006), and of Nasser's Cairo (Stokes 2008). It is not for nothing that both became signs, in the 1950s and 60s, of liberation movements, of an explosion of eros and anti-imperialist energy on the non-aligned world's stage (Africa in one case, Asia in the other).

Secondly, we know that cities both constrain and enable the movement of marginal social groups – women, migrants and refugees, queer communities, the ill, the disabled. In certain parts of the city, for certain sections of the population, at certain times of day, the right to participate, consume, and have fun either increase, or decrease dramatically. We must study what musical activity does to these patterns of mobility.[12]

Music's domain in cities across the world is, typically, that of the night. What opportunities does music afford, then, for citizens of the night? The quality of nightlife is a preoccupation for the leaders of today's global cities, as you will know. The London major, Sadik Khan, followed others in appointing a 'Nightlife czar', Aime Lamee, to oversee the quality of London's nightlife.[13] It is not difficult to see why. Thoughtful zoning and licensing policies in entertainment districts, and improving lighting and public safety at night mean that more people can be safe, more people can participate, more can get to know one another, and more can have fun. There is something self-evidently democratic about that aspiration, even if some will always be left out.

Obviously, it is also a matter of boosting the nighttime economy, and for many what is important here is the cash, not the fun, or the democracy. Both Liverpool and Manchester show us what happens when nightlife becomes 'heritage'; rental and property values increase, the artists move out, and property speculators move in. Manchester's famous Hacienda club, a symbol of nocturnal hedonism and home of 'Madchester's' music scene in the 1990s is now a block of flats.[14] So we have to be cautious in our claims here. But studies on music in nightlife in Kinsasha, Havana, Istanbul, Shanghai, Berlin and

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[11] We should embrace the idea of the city, but not romanticise it. I have in mind here more the more historical city, and ethnographic, insurgent city of Holson (see Holson 1999), or perhaps Harvey (2012) than Young's eloquent but rather abstract depiction (Young 1986).

[12] The key critical move in this direction has been marked by music and disability studies. See in particular Howe, Jensen-Moulton, Lerner and Straus (eds), 2015.

[13] For the official London Assembly statement, see https://www.london.gov.uk/people/mayo ral/amy-lame (accessed 23 July 2018). For a field defining take on night, as an object of critical attention, see Straw 2015.

[14] On Liverpool, see Cohen's useful study (Cohen 2007). On the Hacienda's recent

many other cities, suggest a vital relationship between democratic participation and flourishing urban nightlives.[15]

Thirdly, we might consider the sound of the crowd as an example of an emerging space of global citizenship formation. Rousseau, as we know from the *Essai sur l'origin des langues*, was preoccupied with acoustics of the assembly – who could be heard in public space, and how, and by whom, and in what language.[16] By the mid-nineteenth century one might say such preoccupations were focused on the citizenly status of audiences – theatrical, musical and operatic. The sense of threat, already real to Rousseau, had grown. Where else, in the cities of Western Europe and North America, did people assemble in such numbers (Cavicchi 2011, Busch 2007)? Who was going to control them and how? The middle classes had begun to conceive of their citizenship in terms of self-cultivation and contemplation, nurtured in the private sphere, and not out on the street. Public space in the nineteenth century city was to be tamed, disciplined, in the belief that the home was a refuge and that everything outside of it was competition and strife (Sennett 1978). Large and noisy assemblies, formerly tolerated during carnival and charivari were increasingly regulated, and the well known, and much studied, bourgeois anxieties about the crowd in the cities of the West began to develop (Mazarella 2010).

On might notice, in the light of the kind of global and broad historical framework I am proposing, just how much of today's senses of citizenship – acts of collective rights claiming – take shape in the crowd. The citizen in the

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fate in Manchester, see https://www.theguardian.com/society/2002/aug/29/communities.arts (accessed 23 July 2018).

[15] See, on Kinsasha, White (2008); Havana, Perna (2005); Istanbul, Değirmenci (2013); Shanghai, Farrer and Field (2015); Berlin, Garcia (2015).

[16] The key passage, to be located in John Scott's translation and edition (Rousseau, 1998: 332), is worth putting on the page so it can be considered in the detail it merits as a provocation for thinking about the citizenly acoustics of public space. "Among the ancients it was easy to make oneself heard by the people in the public square; one could speak there a whole day without becoming uncomfortable. Generals harangued their troops; they could make themselves heard and did not tire themselves out. Modern historians who have wanted to put such harangues in their histories have gotten themselves laughed at. Imagine a man haranguing the people of Paris in French in the Place Vendôme. Let him scream his head off: people will hear that he is screaming; not a word of it will be made out. Herodotus read his history to the peoples of Greece assembled in the open air and all rang out with applause. Today the academician who reads a paper on a day of public assembly can hardly be heard at the back of the hall. If the charlatans in the public squares are less bountiful in France than in Italy, it is not that in France people listen to them any less, it is only that they cannot hear them as well…. Now, I say that every language with which one cannot make oneself understood by the assembled people is a servile language; it is impossible for a people to remain free and speak that language."

crowd is a different kind of political subject – collective, not individual; public not private; masters of the ear, not the eye. Steven Connor, who loves inventing new words, calls them 'choralities' (Connor 2016), assemblies born of sound, but the idea can surely be traced back to Canetti and his famous study of the crowd (Canetti 1984). Connor fears their tendency to obliterate difference. We, with Canetti, might be more hopeful of the democratic potential of these protest crowds on the streets of the world's cities over the last few decades. Examples might be: the noise of pots and pans in Argentina during its economic crisis to protest austerity; the use of social media (Facebook in particular) to weave music into the spaces of protest in the Arab Spring and the Gezi Park protests in Istanbul; the 'human microphone' techniques developed in the 'Occupy' movement in New York (see Grief 2011); the irruption of politics in chanting on the football terraces as Liverpool football fans in protest at the corruption that surrounded the Hillsborough disaster inquiry. Wherever we look, we find forms of democratic experiment associated, I would suggest, with music, or, following Connor, the 'choralising' of the crowd. To get a sense of what we might look at for an idea of how music might produce new democratic emotions, new configurations of citizenship, look there.

To conclude, the question of what it takes to produce the modern citizen has been on the agenda for several decades. Recent critical thinking on the subject, which is to say an emphasis on the cultural, historical and political contingency of citizenship debates, is increasingly drawn to questions of practice: where scholarship and activism might connect and make a difference. Music has always been a complicating factor in these discussions. One the one hand, we – writing and reading in a journal such as this- are the inheritors a long and contradictory legacy of thinking that regards music as special and different, at once a zone of other-worldly detachment, and of weighty social responsibilities. On the other, musicologists have (unlike art historians) never, in their institutional practice in university and conservatory, completely separated thinking and doing. Almost everywhere, the musicologists (and ethnomusicologist) come from of a background in performance and for many of us it continues to be a vital adjunct and stimulus to our thinking and writing. I have suggested that this has introduced an element of panic, hysteria perhaps, in our thinking about the connection between music education, the democratic emotions, and citizenship. It has introduced a normative element. We are so preoccupied with what *should* be the case – in our music educations systems, in government policy regarding music and the performing arts – we have difficulty seeing what actually *is* the case. It has meant a preoccupation with the specialness of musical experience in ways that make it difficult to locate our questions in broader soundscapes, and broader cultural fields of representation, embodiment and mediation.

The first step, then, is we stop treating music, and the musicologist's vantage point, as special. We need to de-escalate the anxieties, we need to see where music and other sound arts flow in and out of others, and we need, in particular, to de-couple the question of musical citizenship globally from the question of the spread of the Western Art Music tradition. The argument here is for a kind of methodological modesty, but the difficulty of this is not to be underestimated. A second, which has been implied throughout, and is, I believe, a direct consequence of the arguments being pursued here, is that we might rethink the relationship between scholarship and practice. In artistic fields in which doing and thinking/writing are held firmly apart, there is an obvious question about how ideas, forged in words, perhaps in the quiet of a library or at a computer screen, perhaps in more collective spaces of discussion, might make themselves visible, present, felt. In the most conservative university music environments across much of the world, the lines separating writing, talking, and thinking about music and *making* music are often quite porous. Many of us not only enjoy, but feel – intellectually, emotionally and politically - committed to inhabiting this kind of border zone, even if it greatly complicates our relations with university administrative systems. Here I believe we do have an advantage. In our different ways, those of us who work in these kinds of environments have considerable experience of turning academic thoughts into public actions. Ethnomusicology has, historically, from an institutional perspective, added other ways of imagining musical participation. Above, I have suggested that we, as ethnomusicologists, find new ways of locating and participating in the sonic ebb and flow of cities, at night, in crowds, and in everyday spaces of recreation and protest as well as more formally defined places of music making. We might quickly, as a consequence, find news ways of engaging and growing the sound of the emergent citizenship practices around us.

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