Etnomüzikoloji Dergisi

Ethnomusicology Journal

About Journal

As the peer-reviewed scientific journal ***Ethnomusicology Journal (Turkey)*** published by ***Association of Ethnomusicology*** which is a non-profit organization in Turkey. Journal aims to publish advanced researches in the ethnomusicology field. Its articles represent current theoretical perspectives and research in ethnomusicology and related fields.

Ethnomusicology Journal has been published two times a year. The publication language of the journal is Turkish and English. The journal can include ethnomusicology and in other branches of musicology are articles on the basis of original research-based or theoretical articles, articles from postgraduate theses, interviews, reviews about published books and music recordings. Translations of previously published articles are not considered. Contributors do not have to be members of the association. Articles and interviews should be in accordance with the previously announced theme of the journal. Writings to be submitted to the journal must comply with the following writing rules. Writings sent to the journal will be examined with double-blind peer-reviewing system. The editorial order of the manuscripts is as follows: Editor in Chief and editorial board (general), technical editor (writing rules), referees (content), Editor in Chief and editorial board (final decision). Any manuscript that does not comply with the writing rules can be sent to the author for correction after a technical editor review. Written articles that are found to be corrected can be re-evaluated. The copyright of the texts published in the journal belongs to the Association of Ethnomusicology. The authors are deemed to have accepted it when they sent their writings.

İÇİNDEKİLER
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From The Editor

From the perspective of Tomislav Volek, music and politics are two completely different phenomena in essence. Political content is dependent on the word and different meanings can be imposed on the melodies by changing the words of the songs that defend different ideologies. The political elements in music only exploit a few things. The music is undefended to being shown in a political structure.

There are certain points, including even these words, that need to be discussed about the relation between music and politics. From the stylistic standpoint, it is certainly difficult for a work of music to have a political content. Just as we cannot easily comprehend the events or depictions which are desired to be expressed in a work the program of which we do not have much previous information about. Above all, it is wrong to restrict the relationship between music and politics only to Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Soviet Union, or McCarthy's America. This relationship stands vividly in front of us from the ancient Greece to the Ottoman period, from the Renaissance to the 20th century. Certainly, the 20th century symbolizes a period in which this relationship is much more intense. This is due to the emergence or development of some ideologies that influenced the century. The composers who have handled political events, those who openly rebel governments, those who place their political identities in their works, those who question the system, those who question the humanity, those who devote their works to the freedom of other peoples or the pioneers of other nations' wars of freedom…As you can see, it is wrong to restrict this phenomenon just as Volek said, but the importance of the words is still great. It was clear that Mozart's critique of the class concept could not be expressed in any symphony, so he preferred opera. Everyone was aware of the political power of the music, but it was composers and politicians who were the most aware. Music was one of the biggest weapons in fighting against the enemy. Only those who created political music appeared and they are remembered by their political identities. Some people were tortured and murdered for singing. In any case, it would be impossible for the person who made music to stay away from politics. At this point, some of them came forward while the political identities of some of them have never been mentioned along with their music.

When this topic is evaluated from the perspective of my country, we encounter a chain of unbelievable events. The intertwining of music and politics in different civilizations for centuries on this land has caused the subject to continue to be relevant from the times of Ottoman Empire to the Republic period. From performance to institutionalization and social engineering to music, the music-politics relation is a topic to which Turkish people are not strangers at all. Musical genres are prohibited, institutions are closed or permuted, people who are banned because of their music are either imprisoned or deprived of citizenship.

All decisions made about music in this country are political. The establishment of Western music conservatories is political, and the same applies to Turkish music conservatories. It's political to say what a composer should do. The story of writing the first opera, music policies of People's House, orchestras, music criticism, all are political. Everything that stands out as the Components of the Republican Period Music Politics; objective setting, strategy setting, ideological devices of the state and practices in this direction are all ideological.

That is the same evolution in many countries in the world as you see in this volume which contains seven articles.

Martin Stokes, is very known by Turkish readers. Besides of his popular books like *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey* and *The Republic of Love: Cultural Intimacy in Turkish Popular Music*, he had been in Turkey for many times. Martin underlies a very common belief which is still living in many societies in his paper: good music produces good citizens. And also have believed that good music needs to be in the hands of the right people, because the dangers of bad music are obvious to them. Martin focusus the problems of this subject and asking if the ethnomusicologist have a voice in this situation.

Antti-Ville Kärjä is telling us an interesting story. The Finnish Immigration Services (Migri) denied several residence permit and asylum applications from Iraqi artists in particular in the late 2016 and early 2017. In the decisions, the mortal threat posed by "certain extremist quarters" to especially musicians is noted and linked to Islam. There is a clear connection with Migri's decisions and evolution of Finland's domestic politics and Antti-Ville gives us a portrait of this situation.

As Michael Drewett says, accordingly, fighting in a war is not only a symbol of a man's patriotism but of his masculinity too. The two processes are integrally connected. At times of war, men ought to stand up and be real men by going off to fight. Women, if they are patriotic and true women, should wholeheartedly support their military men. Michael explores examples within popular music which illustrate the contest over gender roles and patriarchal patriotism in both the South African and United States contexts.

Claire Levy draws attention to a particular notion of "blackness", observed within Bulgarian ethno-jazz – a trend which emerged as a modern fusion between local folk music and jazz idioms. Roma musicians called "black people" and the music they perform as "black music. Levy asks if Balkan black music and African American roots of jazz might have in common.

I think blockchain is one of the weird phenomeon of this era. It's easy to define it as strange but as Jan Hemming says, it takes a while to understand what a blockchain is and what it was originally invented for. Do we need extra effort to follow up on some of the underlying technologies and to acknowledge its potential for creative industries and especially for music? Jan's paper offers a critical introduction and explanation (guided by his own experiences) and a review of the available literature complemented by a list of research questions and strategies to investigate and reflect current and future developments including pros and cons, dangers and corresponding demands to society and politics.

In the 1980s, due to the political circumstances of the Cold War, two separate German metal scenes arose. In focus of Wolf-Georg Zaddach's article will be the practices of the metal scene in socialist East Germany, the German Democratic Republic (GDR). It will become clear, that the socialist state understood metal as a threatening Western youth culture and tried to fight it. Nevertheless, metal became one of the most popular youth cultures during the 1980s, accompanied by a changing public discourse about heavy metal.

Timothy W. Ryback is searching the relationship between state power structures and popular youth culture in the Soviet Bloc from the mid 1950s to the collapse of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. He is asking the question: "What was primarily entertainment and commercial enterprise in the west, was a highly politicized and ideological activity in the eight member bloc dominated by the Soviet Union?".

I want to thank all my friends for accepting my call and sharing their works. I am honored to take part with them in such a study.

Fırat KUTLUK

Notes on Editor and Contributing Authors

Fırat Kutluk, professor of musicology, received his PhD on "Cultural Analysis of Popular Music in Turkey" in 1994. As well as participating in various conferences, he has given a series of lectures on "New Music" and "Music and Politics". Between 1991 and 2009, he made a number of music programmes for broadcast, and has published the books *Music History* (1997), *Music and Politics* (1997), *In Which Direction Is Music Heading; Cultural and Cognitive Studies in Turkey* (2015), *Illusion, The Adventure of Classical Music of Republican Turkey* (2016), *Sexuality and Gender in Music* (2016), *Music and Politics* (revised and update second edition, 2018). He is currently professor at the University of Dokuz Eylul and principal of Acoustic and Cognitive Musicology Research Centre.

Martin Stokes is King Edward professor of music at King's College London and head of department. Recent publications include Islam and Popular Culture (edited with Karin Van Nieuwkerk and Mark LeVine) and Theory and Practise in the Music of the Islamic World: Essays in Honour of Owen Wright (edited with Rachel Harris). He is fellow of the British Academy.

Antti-Ville Kärjä is adjunct professor of Popular Music Studies at the University of Helsinki. He is also Chair of the Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology and serves as Member at Large in the Executive Committee of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music. His research interests include the intersections of the popular and the sacred in music, music historiography, music and postcolonial theory, and audiovisual ethnomusicology.

Michael Drewett, associate professor in Sociology at Rhodes University, South Africa. He is co-editor (with Martin Cloonan) of *Popular Music Censorship in Africa* (Ashgate 2006) and (with Sarah Hill and Kimi Kärki) *Peter Gabriel: From Genesis to Growing Up* (Ashgate 2010) and is currently work-

ing on a book concerning popular music censorship in South Africa. He produced the documentary film *Stopping the Music* (2002) about an instance of South African music censorship. He is the co-ordinator of the Cutting Grooves Censorship of Popular Music in South Africa Archive.

Claire Levy, professor in musicology at the Institute of Art Studies with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. She received a post-doctoral Fulbright scholarship held in Bloomington, IN, USA, at the Department of African American Studies, Indiana University (1994–1995), and a short term specialization at the Institute of Popular Music in Liverpool, UK (1994). Her scholarly interests lie in the field of popular music studies and cultural theory of music. She is the author of the books *Dialogical Music: Blues, Popular Culture and the Myths of Modernity* (2005), *Ethnojazz: Local Prospects in the Global Village* (2007), *Musical Parody* (2012). In addition to numerous articles and reviews in national and international journals, she has contributed to major edited volumes, including *Jazz Worlds/World Jazz* (The University of Chicago Press, 2016), *Music, Space and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity* (Ashgate, 2004), *Modernism and Central and East-European Art and Culture* (Osaka University Press, 2007), *Music, Popular Culture, Identities* (Rodopi, 2002*), Global Noise: Rap and Hip Hop Outside the USA* (Wesleyan University Press, 2001). Levy has been active in IASPM (The International Association for the Study of Popular Music), where she served the Executive Committee as Chair (2003-2005), General Secretary (2001-2003) and Member-at-large (1999-2001). She also served several academic journals: as the Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Papers of BAS: Humanities & Social Sciences*, as member of the Editorial Board of *Bulgarian Musicology* and the International Advisory Board of *Popular Music*. From 2004 to 2014 she took the position of Deputy Director of the Institute of Art Studies with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Jan Hemming, professor for Systematic Musicology at the University of Kassel, Germany. Works at the intersection of popular music studies and music psychology. Dissertation on the development of popular musicians. Various studies on the 'earworm' (involuntary musical imagery), musical preferences, music and meaning, the notion of experience, and on music and technology. Textbook *Researching Popular Music: A Methodological Framework* (so far in German language) published in 2016.

Wolf-Georg Zaddach, studied musicology, arts administration and history in Weimar and Jena, Germany as well as music management and jazz guitar in Prague/Czech Republic. He teaches at the Department of Musicology at the University of Music Weimar as well as the British and Irish Modern Music Institute in Berlin, Germany (BIMM Berlin). For his PhD project

about heavy and extreme metal in the 1980s GDR/East Germany (2013-2017) he received a scholarship by the German National Academic Foundation (Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes) as well as the Federal Foundation for the Study of Communist Dictatorship in East Germany (Bundesstiftung Aufarbeitung). He frequently performs as a guitarist live and on records and works as a producer.

Timothy W. Ryback, author of *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*. Dr. Ryback is director of the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation, in The Hague, and former deputy director general of the Académie Diplomatique Internationale, in Paris. He also served as Vice President and Resident Director at the Salzburg Global Seminar, in Salzburg. He earned his Ph.D. at Harvard University, where he taught in the Concentration of History and Literature.

The Musical Citizen

Martin Stokes

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,

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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]

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[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.

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[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 to-day. 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 ap-pointing 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 pol-icies 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 prop-erty 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 stud-ies 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 Hol-son 1999), or perhaps Harvey (2012) than Young's eloquent but rather abstract de-piction (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/peo ple/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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Intersections of Politics and the Sacred in Music

Antti-Ville Kärjä

Introduction

In late 2016 and early 2017, the Finnish Immigration Services, known colloquially as Migri, denied several residence permit and asylum applications from Iraqi artists in particular. While the decisions are classified documents, some of them were brought into the open by the artists themselves; in the decisions, the mortal threat posed by "certain extremist quarters" to especially musicians is noted and linked to Islam, yet the negative decision was based centrally on the claim that if would be safe for the artists in question to return to Iraq if they changed their occupation, since musicianship, or being an artist in general, is not "a distinctive characteristic that is […] essential for a person's conscience or realisation of human rights." (YLE 2017; MS 2017; see also Freemuse 2017.)

Migri's claims violate both national legislation and United Nations' covenants, and they have been associated with the shift in Finland's domestic politics that took place in early 2015, as a result of which a government based on a coalition of conservative parties was formed. More specifically, the tightened policy of Migri and the dubious arguments caused by it have been linked to the openly nationalist, xenophobic and racist demands and doctrines of the political party Perussuomalaiset (known in English as the True Finns), who after the second significant success in the parliamentary elections in a row gained several seats in the Cabinet. In fact, in May 2016 the party itself celebrated on its website that the immigration policies designed by them we finally being fulfilled (Eerola 2016). A number of Migri's employees, in turn, have complained how they have to do hasty decisions and feel that there is an external pressure towards more rejections (Manner & Teittinen 2016). And, hardly by coincidence, at the same time the Finnish Aliens' Act was amended by revoking the statutes that concern residence permits given on the grounds of humanitarian protection, in order to "secure that the legislation and legal practice in Finland are not more propitious than in other member states of

the European Union and the minimum level set by the legislation of the European Union" (HE 2016).

I am using this episode in the recent history of Finland as an example of how different forms of sacred phenomena intersect with political aspects of life, and musical life in particular. To be sure, the episode in question is not an isolated one, and the ways in which the notions of politics and the sacred become conceptualised and amalgamated in it are by no means the only possible indications of the intersections in question. Thus it is my aim to delve deeper into these quandaries through a conceptual analysis that stems from the recognition of the multidimensionality of both politics and the sacred. Hence my treatment is mainly theoretical in nature, and I rely on existing scholarship and available musical examples in order to point out tendencies and possibilities rather than systematically proven facts.

The Multiple Forms of Sacred and Political Life and Music

As both "the sacred" and "politics" can be understood in myriad ways, there are issues of definition to be addressed. Regarding the former, the case of Migri brings forth first of all the association of the sacred with religions, especially in relation to Islamic interpretations of and violence against music. Second, one might discuss human rights and humanitarian protection as sacred phenomena. And third, regardless of the fancifulness involved, it is clear that for some it is of utmost importance to secure such sacred entities as national and regional ones against a perceived threat stemming from migration, particularly from Muslim societies. In order to comprehend such variety of sacred forms, I have found Gordon Lynch's (2012b, p. 29) definition of the sacred useful; according to him, at issue is "what people collectively experience as absolute, non-contingent realities which present normative claims over the meaning and conduct of social life" (see also Lynch 2012a, p. 32).

This stance is by and large adopted also in the recent *Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Popular Music*, as its editors Marcus Moberg and Christopher Partridge (2015, p. 7) suggest that the notion of the sacred might be of aid in overcoming the obstacles that are formed by "certain blinkered discourses within academia" or, to be more precise, by "the dominant ideological positions informing much critical theory and the study of popular music." While there may be some disciplinary need for recognition and even jealousy at work in the words of the two scholars of religion in question, their application of the sacred as a Durkheimian, sociologically more nuanced concept that is not limited to religious discourses, provides possibilities for a more sophisticated examination into "historically contingent expressions of particular cultures" and the given conceptualisations of absolute, ultimate concerns as well as "ideas which exert a profound moral claim over peoples' lives." (Moberg & Partridge 2015, p. 7.)

While religions provide some of the clearest examples, similar claims are arguably exhorted through the "sacred values of freedom, democracy, and justice" (Lynch, 2012b, p. 37), as well as the ideas about a nation state as the fundamental geopolitical entity and the contingencies surrounding child abuse. Indeed, it becomes paramount to acknowledge and recognise the moral ambiguity of the sacred, as "sacred commitments can be the source of much harm" (Lynch, 2012b, p. 48). Moberg and Partridge (2015, p. 7–8) for their part note with respect to this that the manifestations and cultural constructions of the sacred should be considered as relational phenomena that are connected particularly to that which is perceived as profane, or, "a threat to the sacred." Depending on the strength of the sense of the sacred and hence the strenght of the threatening profanation, they maintain, the revulsion evoked by the threat can lead to moral panics and even endorse extreme violence (Moberg & Partridge 2015, p. 7–8.) In conclusion:

> The threat of profanation must be expunged at all costs in order to limit its pollution within society and restore the authority and integrity of the sacred. In short, sacred forms communicate the core values of a society, those collective certainties that must be protected from profanation. (Moberg & Partridge 2015, p. 8.)

It is worth emphasising here that the collective certainties and conceptions of absolute, normative values in question vary not only in type but also in scale. That is, while in many cases there appears to be a tendency to equate the sacred forms of "a culture" with "a nation", without considering the latter as a particular (political) sphere conditioning the manifestations of the sacred and usually including diverse cultural spheres. For example, as noted by Heikki Ylikangas (2015, p. 37), a Finnish historian of some reverence, in all societal systems, whether authoritarian or democratic, treason is a crime most severely punishable – although he adds sarcastically that this is the case for unsuccessful acts of treason only, since successful ones become extolled fights for freedom. The differences in scale become further accentuated when such state-level manifestations of the sacred are juxtaposed for instance with the rights of indigenous and other ethnic minorities. When these ideas are transferred into the musical realm, alongside national anthems and indigenous Saami *joik* for instance, one can deliberate how such "subcultural" genres and communities as Goth, Techno and Metal with their non-religious, (super)liminal, neoshamanist and occult features and dimensions contribute to the multiplicity of sacred forms (see Van Elferen 2015, p. 316; St John 2015, p. 278–279; Granholm 2015, p. 198).

Moberg and Partridge (2015, p. 8) link these issues further to transgression, particularly in the context of popular music. In fact, for them popular music is transgressive by nature, as it "articulates the profane in the contested spaces of the modern world" and "has always, in varying degrees, constituted

a threat to the sacred centre" on the basis of being "[o]ften composed at the liminal edges of hegemonic culture, on the rejected periphery". Moreover, they maintain that "the liminal cultures of popular music" interrogate, challenge and even weaken hegemonic forms of the sacred, and thus the transgressive qualities of popular music invest it with a pronounced political significance. In their final estimation,

> the analysis of the cultural and social significance of popular music's relationship to the sacred can be usefully framed […] as a challenge to order and stability. Hence, whether it functions explicitly as a vehicle of protest […] or not, popular music tends towards transgression. As such, it often oppugns religious discourses and, more often, is perceived as a challenge by religious communities[.] (Moberg & Partridge 2015, p. 8.)

While the grounds to deem popular music fundamentally transgressive appear rather intentional and circular, the remark about the interconnections between transgression, the sacred and politics is a valid one. But if there is a multiplicity of sacred forms, the equally multifaceted nature of the notion of politics should be also recognised. As the case of Migri demonstrates, two to the most common threads in this discussion involve the sovereignty of a nation state on one hand and the internal arm-wrestling within a nation state by different political parties – not forgetting though that things usually are worse in countries where there is only one arm doing the wrestling. Through the emergence of such activist slogans as "the personal is political" since the late 1960s, also less institutional forms of participation in societal decision-making have been included in the discussion. Yet as John Street (2012, p. 6) in his book on *Music and Politics* notes, to claim that everything, including all music, is political risks emptying the notion of politics of all meaning and confusing "those activities that can affect the exercise of public power [with] those that cannot", even if the underlying idea is to point out that "in all aspects of our lives choices are being made and values being articulated." For Street (2012, p. 7), a situation counts as political when it presents people with a choice they can act and deliberate publicly upon, and whose outcome has a social impact. On the basis of these general points he approaches the relationship of music to politics by stressing the following:

> It is only when musical pleasure (or musical displeasure) spills over into the public realm and into the exercise of power within it that it becomes political. It is where music inspires forms of collective thought and action that it becomes part of politics. It is where music forms a site of public deliberation […] that we talk of music as political. (Street 2012, p. 8.)

The insistence of public deliberation as the basis of politics might at first appear incommensurable with the emphasis on experiences of non-contingent, absolute realities as the bedrock of the sacred. Yet as Lynch (2012a, p.

2) argues further, the sacred needs to be understood as profoundly social category: "human society is necessarily bound to collective notions of what is sacred that compel social action through powerful moral sentiments". For him, the sacred constitutes in addition "a particular kind of communication" about the absolutes and moral demands in question (Lynch 2012a, p. 11,34), and hence it may be suspected that the difference between political deliberation and sacred communication depends ultimately on historically situated ideas about the aspects of social life that are axiomatic beyond deliberation.

Lynch (2012a) does not discuss the political implications of his definition of the sacred in detail if at all, but the implications are clear enough for instance when he elaborates on the profane as "the evil that threatens to pollute and destroy the sacred order of societies", therefore providing self-evidently legitimate grounds, in the case of human beings, for execution, torture, incarceration or denial of human rights (Lynch 2012a, p. 27). Thus, echoing René Girard's (1977, p. 31) ideas about the fundamental importance of violence for the sacred, about violence as "the heart and secret soul of the sacred", Lynch (2012a, p. 26) maintains that if one wishes to find out what people hold sacred, one of the key ways to achieve this is to understand "what they believe can legitimize violence against other human beings". As national military and police forces all over the world attest, the legitimation of violence is a state business and hence political to its core – and, given the volatility of state boundaries, historically contingent beyond a doubt. Indeed,

> if we allow ourselves to recognize that things we treat as obviously sacred (such as the care of children or patriotism) are peculiarly modern phenomena, the sense of universal and timeless moral weight attached to these sacred commitments can feel less secure. Coming to see that something of such obvious sacred significance as the Holocaust only acquired these sacred meanings through a gradual process lasting many years after the concentration camps were liberated can induce a similar uneasiness. (Lynch 2012a, p. 13.)

Financial Freedom in the Age of Commercial Censorship

While religion and the sacred do not feature as headwords in the index of Street's (2012) book, one of his opening examples is linked to questions of sacred political violence as it builds on "the silence imposed on the Afghan people" by the Taliban regime between 1996 and 2002, relating it to not entirely dissimilar bans on music by Quakers, Trappists and the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier centuries. Furthermore, what connects the Taliban and the Russian church is "a tradition that [sees] the alliance of state and religion operating to deny all kinds of public festivity" (Street 2012, p. 4). Such an alliance is indeed not uncommon but manifests itself in myriad historical and local forms. With respect to the Taliban, Street (2012, p. 4) for instance

notes how definitions of music entered the conundrum, especially in relation to religious chanting, and how, in general, "the Taliban's strictures owed more to their politics than to any widely sanctioned reading of Islamic scripture." By this he means that for the Taliban, the primary reason behind banning music had less to do with music as such than its political associations with the former Soviet oppressors and their use of music to maintain authority (Street 2012, p. 13).

Whatever the case, it is undeniable that in certain Islamic states and societies to occupy oneself as a musician may be literally a matter of life and death, even if the fundamentalist interpretations of music are used for internal purposes rather than because of their assumed doctrinal content. Yet what is of equal importance in this discussion is to be attentive to the ways in which the extremist interpretations are utilised in allegedly secular Western societies, in their policy-making and mass media, to demonise all Muslim communities as music-haters and by extension, opponents of freedom of expression. Such Islamophobic practices and discourses disregard the empirical evidence about the variety of Muslim musical phenomena (see Otterbeck & Larsson 2015) and build on two loci of the sacred simultaneosly. On one hand, they rely on the conservative and restrictive Islamic legal interpretations about music as something that "draws people from the remembrance of God [and] might even be considered the voice of the Devil" (Otterbeck & Larsson 2015, p. 113). On the other hand, the Western criteria and ideals of freedom of expression emerge as fundamental sacred values in themselves, without any consideration over the restrictions and regulations posed on this freedom on capitalist economic grounds in particular.

Islam of course is not the only institutionalised religion within which music is being restricted and regulated, if not censored even. As Street (2012, p. 9) notes, "[t]he urge to censor music for fear of its effects is as old as music itself", and whether one focusses on ancient philosophers, state governments or religious authorities, congruent worldwide attempts "to silence certain sounds and performers" are demonstrable. Following from this, it is less sensible to ask whether or not a given religious authority or institution exerts censorship on music than to ponder what are the acceptable forms of music censorship in a given socio-historical situation (see Street 2012, p. 17–18). This points also to the multiplicity of the sacred, especially when approached in the Durkheimian sense by emphasising the restrictive and prohibitive mechanisms surrounding the sacred phenomena, in order to prevent profane pollution (Durkheim 1965). In this sense, the perceived acts of censorship indicate the presence of the sacred, in whichever form and regardless of the consensus over the matter. In other words, conceptualisations of the sacred and censorship both reveal a great deal about the fundamental social and societal values at stake.

The somewhat unreserved celebration of freedom of expression in liberal

Western societies provides a case in point. The right to express oneself freely in any medium, including also the right to receive information without the hindrance of a third party, is included in the constitutions of many countries and in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948, article 19). Yet on a closer examination, freedom of expression is not an absolute right but contingent on other constitutional rights; in the words of UDHR:

> In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society. (UN 1948, article 29 ¶ 2.)

The majority of relevant limitations may be found in the penal or criminal codes of given states. In the case of Finland, for instance, these include such potentially music-related phenomena as ethnic agitation, breach of sanctity of religion, criminal disturbance, distribution of depictions of violence and sexual obscenity, public obscenity, defamation, forgery, and copyright and intellectual property offences (RL 1889). Indeed, with the heightened importance of intellectual property rights within a capitalist, commercial system, some scholars of censorship have suggested that the Western democracies have moved from earlier forms of church and state censorship into so-called market censorship (Jensen 1988). Street (2012, p. 16), for his part, is somewhat suspicious towards this idea and deems such a broad definition of censorship practically meaningless, even if it were possible to conceive the capitalist music industry as "a censoring machine".

Yet whether the notion of market censorship is sensibile or not, it is impossible to deny the importance of the economic dimensions of both politics and the sacred. States are, by definition, political entities that govern and manage the variety of material resources within a given geographical territory, and quite often these resources have a monetary value, especially through taxation. Regarding the sacred in this respect, there are those who warn against serving Mammon, one of the seven princes of Hell, the god of material things and greed. This medieval biblical stance is echoed in some more recent rereadings of Durkheim's (1965) ideas about the elementary forms of religious life; sociologist Kenneth Thompson (1998, p. 101) for instance maintains that:

> The 'sacred' is that which is socially transcendent and gives a sense of fundamental identity based on likeness (kinship), constructed and sustained by difference or opposition over and against: (1) the alien Other (which may be another culture that threatens takeover or some other danger to the maintenance of its identity); (2) the mundane/profane i.e. the world of everyday routine, particularly economic activity and its rationality.

While the remark about the sacred as a fundamental aspect of identity construction finds support for example in Lynch's (2012a; 2012b) work, the suggestion that rational economic activity constitutes an opposing form of profanation deserves a closer scrutiny. Not only it appears to disregard the historical interconnectedness of religion, politics and economy, particularly within the Catholic Church, or with respect to the Weberian postulations about the affinities between protestant ethics and capitalism, it risks ignoring the emergence of consumerist identities. In their introduction to *Religion in the Neoliberal Age*, François Gauthier, Tuomas Martikainen and Linda Woodhead (2013, p. 4–5) posit that such a focus on the allegedly negative impacts of consumer culture on religion is haunted by either Marxist or nostalgic variants of cultural pessimism, or both. Less distrustful approaches in turn centre on questions about the changes stimulated by consumer capitalism within religious institutions, the impact of so-called prosperity religion on work ethics and social networks, and the collaboration between religious organisations and public authorities for the common good, for instance in terms of welfare provision (Gauthier et al. 2013, p. 6–8).

While Gauthier, Martikainen and Woodhead (2013, p. 8) do not pay any attention to music, in relation to prosperity religion they point especially to Pentecostalism with its promise of "salvation under the form of worldly as well as spiritual prosperity", one aspect of which is of course the highly influential and economically salient Hillsong megachurch with its own music production company and transnational dissemination. According to Mark Evans (2006, p. 94), the "juggernaut that is Hillsong" owes much to the role of music in the attempts to achieve the mission of the Hillsong Church "to reach and influence the world by building a large bible based church, changing mindsets and empowering people to lead and impact every sphere of life." Evans (2006, p. 96) further quotes Brian Houston, the co-founder and "Global Senior Pastor" of the church, whose vision in the early 1990s was "[a] Church so large in size that the cities and nations cannot ignore it." (See also Hillsong 2018.)

Some twenty years later, the church Houston visioned was "a global church", and there is a fair deal of evidence in favour of this. Yet it remains an open question to what extent Hillsong has empowered people "to lead and impact every sphere of life", to quote the church's mission again. In the sensation-seeking tabloids Hillsong has been associated with "allegations of homophobia, child abuse and financial greed" (Beal & Nauman 2017), and even on the basis of more credible scholarly sources there is an apparent tension between conservative values and social justice commitments within the community (see Hartje-Döll 2013).

Naturally National, Exceptionally Ethnic

Despite such global aspirations, the permanence and persistence of nations should not be ignored either. In many respects, it is the attribute "national" that provides the most potent examples of socio-cultural amalgamations of the political and the sacred. While the Latin etymology of the word refers to "birth", especially in the sense of family relations and a common lineage within a group of people, in the modern usage the national is frequently understood as a reference to "a political state" (OED 2018). Often there is moreover a conflation between the national frame of reference and the ones based on conceptualisations of ethnicity and cultural traits. This is particularly evident in public debates over multiculturalism, as the multiplicity of cultures involved is commonly conceived in the "narrow" sense that equates culture with ethnic, linguistic and religious differences alone (Modood 2007, p. 2). Despite their naivety, such debates nevertheless provide a useful point of departure when considering the sacred politics of music, as they foreground the amalgamation of political and ethno-religious aspects in cultural expression. To concretise, when hearing *adhān*, the Muslim call for prayer, on the streets of an average European metropole, one is immediately reminded of the presence of a religious community that in many parts of the so-called western world is a source of much anxiety, prejudice and even outright fear. In a similar fashion, the ubiquity of roots reggae provides the metropolitan inhabitants with an acoustic articulation of racial and sexual politics, Jamaican-ness and Rastafarian religiosity.

In the narrowly multicultural debates, to apprehend ethnicity primarily in terms of visible and religious deviations from the norm is to invest it with a certain degree of minoritarian politics. In this sense, ethnicity is a designator of a minority group, otherness, and hence always both oppositional to and constitutive of the majority – whose own ethnic qualities remain largely invisible and, in the musical context in particular, inaudible. If yet another etymological detour is allowed, one might note here how "ethnic", on the basis of the use of the Greek *ethnos* (ἔθνος) and *ethnikos* (ἐθνικός) in Biblical translations some two millennia ago, has come to imply foreign, heathen or pagan properties (as opposed to the Judeo-Christian beliefs) instead of its more neutral basis as a denotation of a nation or a people (OED 2018). Similarly, the notion of ethnomusicology was initially coined by Jaap Kunst (1950) as an indication of a field of study that deals with the metaphorically pagan types of music as opposed to the "righteous" European art and popular musics. While Kunst (1974, p. 1–2) duly notes the Western misunderstandings of "all exotic music, even it its highest forms, as nothing more than either expressions of inferior, more primitive civilizations, or as a kind of musical perversion", he nonetheless purports there is a "psychophysiological" – or racial, to a considerable degree – connection between music and its "organic" community:

> The position, after all, is that each race, each population group has its own manner of musical expression, and this special manner strikes a different race or people, on first acquaintance, as strange. This manner of expression, characteristic of a race or people, is not only bound to its specific psychic structure, but is also physiologically conditioned. […E]ach bird is known by its song. (Kunst 1974, p. 2.)

Since the 1950s, much has of course changed particularly with respect to the speed and profundity of intercultural connections, rendering it more difficult to recognise a bird by its song. More importantly, however, Kunst's (1974, p. 2) postulation – which in fact takes its authority from a musicological tract "with real German thoroughness" – reveals the ideological circumstances and premises of early ethnomusicology, which effectively was not much more than a neologism for the comparative musicology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (see Kunst 1974, p. 1). These premises were based on one hand on ideals of cultural sensitivity and relativism, as suggested by the above critique towards Western misunderstandings, yet treating cultural differences fundamentally racial in quality. According to Kunst (1974, p. 12), intervals, rhythm, formal structures and performance styles are all "characteristic of the manifestations of a race", exemplified for instance by "the passionately 'pinched' vocal sound of the Japanese and Chinese actors; the nasalized melodics of Indonesian women; the pathos in the vocal rendering of the American Indians; the vital jollity as well as the sonorous seriousness of the Negro singing".

On the other hand, the ideological basis of early ethnomusicology was founded on an unwavering belief on the existence of certain unequivocally national characteristics of music, particularly regarding European musics (and regardless of the fact that by 1950, European national borders had been redrawn and palisaded anew several times). Quite often, the national qualities of music were conceived in terms of singular ethnicity, even if the "e-word" was reserved mainly for traits considered as foreign and especially non-European. It is nevertheless worth noting that occasionally aspects of cultural hybridity were (inadvertently) recognised, as in the case of a particularly influential account on the formation and essence of Finnish cultural identity, namely *Maamme kirja* by Zacharias Topelius ('The Book of Our Country', originally written in Swedish as *Boken om vårt land* in 1875). In the book, Topelius (2018, ch. 2, par. 66–68) writes that while most of the inhabitants of Finland have "other nations' blood running in the veins of some family members", they nonetheless "have become one", as "God has conjoined inhabitants from different families on the same soil to live with same responsibilities" and branded them with "national character", or the sense of mutual communality. Regarding music, Topelius (2018) cites numerous "folk songs" representing different segments of the Finnish population, yet does not delve into the possible hybrid dimensions of these. Instead, he emphasises the age-

old love of Finnish people towards rune singing, to be found still only in Karelia, and to be distinguished from hymns and the artistic songs of the gentry, "as a forest is different from an artificial park" (Topelius 2018, ch. 2, par. 121–122). Birds of course reside in both.

The tendency to nationalise certain genres and ethnicise others is a common trend in the contemporary world of music, too. Quite often, there are obvious connections to marketing and promotion, as national epithets can serve as shorthands that are based on general knowledge (or stereotypes) about a given region's musical features – or, perhaps more crucially, on a reliance on the assumed difference between various national(ised) genres. This difference, especially in the guise of the uniqueness of one's own national musics, is linked to the idea of the sacred as based on experiences and assumptions about absolute realities and their associated normative assertions on social conduct (Lynch 2012b, p. 29). A case in point is provided by *iskelmä*, the allegedly quintessential form of Finnish popular music, canonised by the late 1980s as "the secret memory of the nation" (Bagh & Hakasalo 1986, p. 9) and, musicologically, as a unique combination of Karelian folk tunes, Russian romances, European classical music and African-American music (Jalkanen 1996). While these ideas may not be totally void of insights, doubts have been cast upon the canonising tendencies in question by pondering to what extent at issue are general musical characteristics of the minor mode instead of uniquely Finnish musical features (Henriksson & Kukkonen 2001, p. 127, 149), or whether all rests primarily on a translational act that through linguistic peculiarity downplays interconnections between regional and international styles. According to record industry historians Pekka Gronow and Björn Englund (2007, p. 299), the modern Scandinavian popular song, or *iskelmä* in Finnish, "is closely related to its German namesake ['schlager'] and the Tin Pan Alley song, and it lives both as original compositions and translations of international repertoire."

Indeed, one of the "unofficial national anthems" of Finland is the translated version of Toto Cotugno's hit *L'Italiano*, as *Olen suomalainen* ('I am Finnish/a Finn', 1983). In 2014, journalist Pekka Mykkänen coordinated a re-recording of the song with a group of people of recent immigrant background, or "Finns who deviate from the mainstream". In a feature article on the project, an incident is mentioned where one of the singers was accused of not being entitled to sing the song in a karaoke bar as one of the customers felt she was not Finnish enough. "Can singing depend on the fact that her father happens to be born in Senegal", Mykkänen (2014) asks in the article, "and that her skin is darker than the skin of an average Finn?" It is also pointed out that as the singer in question has lived all her life in Finland, she is "in fact more Finnish than the song *Olen suomalainen*."

All this serves as a reminder of the variety of reasons and agendas, more often implicit than not, behind the construction and maintenance of allegedly

national genres and pieces of music. It appears also that the actual musical details are most often less important than the mere need to deem a given musical style or genre national. In this respect, the nationalising tendencies in music attest to the pervasiveness of nationalism as an ideological formation, both in its explicit state-driven forms and the more subtle everyday and "banal" manifestations (see Billig 1995). Indeed, as a cultural, social and political unit the nation is an ambivalent one, particularly in relation to issues of ethnic differences and cultural raci(ali)sm (Hesmondhalgh 2013, p. 150–151). Furthermore, there is a need to remain alert to the institutional dimensions and interests involed, especially when it comes to education and commercial mass media, and their interrelations to the variety of musical practices at any given point of time. As David Hesmondhalgh (2013, p. 158–159) puts it, stories about genres such as jazz, blues and polka in the United States and tango and son in Argentina and Cuba, respectively, becoming "absorbed as symbols of national unity-in-diversity" are common yet problematic at least in two ways:

> First, they can distort our understanding of music in relation to nations by reproducing the state's own excessive focus on key genres, rather than looking at the complexity of the musical field as a whole. Second, they can set up a simple dualism where an oppositional music form is absorbed and pacified by the homogenizing, hegemonic nation-state. […T]he association of the original music with dominated ethnic groups and class fractions is no guarantee of political oppositionality; and incorporation by nation-states can be a complex matter too. (Hesmondhalgh 2013, p. 160.)

Indeed, as Hesmondhalgh (2013, p. 164) emphasises, to take this complexity into account has the benefit of avoiding the misleading dismissal of all relations between national identity and music as regressive. Instead, by concentrating on instances where music, even amidst of explicit nation-building projects, provides hints or reminders of more complicated aspects of belonging, one may discern "the utopian kernel in the idea of popular culture, where 'popular' might mean something like 'belonging to the people,' rather than 'commercialised homogenised mass.'" In Hesmondhalgh's (2013, p. 164) estimation, this has happened especially when music has prompted "listeners and participants to appreciate […] how poverty and lack of freedom can tear apart the supposedly collective enterprises of nationhood, and yet also how social suffering and marginalization produce a set of experiences that might be denied to the more priviliged."

Enriching Emotions, Exploiting Indigeneity

For Hesmondhalgh (2013, p. 164–165) the "utopian invocation of collectivity" that he detects in forms of popular music which derive from the creativity of deprived and marginalised segments of society, is fundamentally a

matter of making the world a better place, and the role and contribution of aesthetic experiences in this. In other words, he is interested in his "critical defence of music" in "music's constrained contributions to human flourishing [and] enrichment of people's individual lives" (Hesmondhalgh 2013, p. 6). What is more, and of particular relevance in terms of the notion of the sacred, is that in his "quest for ideal forms of communal existence" on the basis of "considerable evidence of rich music-related sociability", one of his key "routes" is based on "Durkheimian sociology concerning a primal need in humans for intense experiences of collectivity" (Hesmondhalgh 2013, p. 8–9). This entails acknowledging the possibility that music and dance might meet these primal needs "in modern societies in ways that are ultimately beneficial", and this is where Hesmondhalgh (2013, p. 118) also refers to the Durkheimian conceptualisation of the sacred as, "in essence, the intense social experience produced by collectivity."

Yet this is as far as Hesmondhalgh (2013) goes with the notion of the sacred explicitly. He does make occasional references to religious contexts, but does not dwell on the details; instead, he presents some unsubstantiated – or at least overly generalised – comments for instance about "the marked decline of church attendance" and how this signals that "religious singing has become less a part of people's lives" (Hesmondhalgh 2013, p. 105). Such remarks may of course be based on a rather conservative ways of thinking about the (Christian) church and religious singing, and when considered in relation to the proliferation of reformist Christian masses with metal and electronic dance music arrangements for example as well as to the emergence of Pentecostal music business, the people Hesmondhalgh (2013, p. 105) refers to might also deserve a closer specification. This notwithstanding, it is worth reiterating that the reliance on the Durkheimian ideas of the sacred provides possibilities for examining the multiple forms and manifestations involved (Lynch 2012b). Moreover, those scholars of religion who are inclined to "re-script the sacred" (Santana & Erickson 2008), as it were, will no doubt have no problems in connecting Hesmondhalgh's (2013) postulations about utopian dimensions, human flourishing and enrichment of lives to eschatological discourses of hope and redemption – even if he distances himself from "the redemptive hopes that post-Enlightenment thought invested in […a]esthetic experience" (Hesmondhalgh 2013, p. 171).

There is in addition an element of speculation or outright *belief* in the power of music in Hesmondhalgh's (2013) writing, for instance when he emphasises "music's seemingly special link to emotions and feelings" which "makes it an especially powerful site for the bringing together of private and public experience" by investing it with a "capacity to enrich our lives via the feelings and emotions it engenders" (Hesmondhalgh 2013, p. 2, 11). Likewise, when he asserts that music and dance, "more than any other kinds of communication, seem linked to sociality and community", one would expect to

encounter some evidence or at least a reference to relevant research in favour of such an assertion. This is not to say he would be misguided in his insistence on addressing questions about music's relations to sociality, solidarity, community and communality and hence to democratic politics that are based on the idea of the common good as a pivotal ethical principle, especially when faced with the "victories of neo-liberal forms of thought and policy [that] have surely strengthened the forces of competitive individualism." (Hesmondhalgh 2013, p. 84–85.) Nevertheless, to invest music and dance with somehow stronger links to sociality than is the case with other forms of art and communication risks mystifying the former with transcendental if not even sacred qualities. It is true that as non-verbal forms of communcation music and dance are useful for instance in collaborating with migrant groups – but so is also football, whose rules and forms of communication are in fact more universal than those of music and dance.

The limits of cross-cultural musical communication become clear in situations where debates and accusations over cultural appropriation arise. Such debates can become particularly heated when at issue is musical expression that is associated with a certain indigenous population. As a form of cultural categorisation, indigeneity in fact has pronounced significance in relation to both politics and religiosity. On one hand it refers etymologically to a native population in a country or a region (OED 2018), as distinguished from the population as a whole; on the other, a crucial aspect of this distinction is the presence of local belief systems and cosmologies that differ from the major world religions, Christianity in particular. What is more, the study of "indigenous religions" as opposed to world religions and new religious movements might be of aid in challenging the notion of religion to begin with. As Karen Ralls-MacLeod and Graham Harver (2000, p. 8–9) note in their introduction to *Indigenous Religious Musics*, discussion about "appropriate means of studying indigenous religions is worthwhile not only because they are the majority of the world's religions, but also precisely because they are diverse ways of being human and religious", forcibly revealing that "people do religion in particular places in particular, embodied ways." Indigenous religions also disclose a "considerably richer […] story of human creativity, agency, action and thought […] than a consideration of the dominant utopian (no-placed or dislocated) traditions of the world would suggest." Linking these issues explicitly to music, Ralls-MacLeod and Harver (2000, p. 10) refer furthermore to the non-existence of "music" as an abstract entity, separate from other social and cultural spheres, in many indigenous societies, as well as to ideas about the suitability of music as a communicative and expressive medium for religious experiences that often cannot be verbalised adequately.

The sacred politics of indigenous music acquire a more pronounced significance when considered in the context of ownership and intellectual prop-

erty rights. Regarding the interrelations between intellectual property and indigenous knowledge in general, Peter Drahos and Susy Frankel (2012, p. 2–7) point out how these two realms have had largely separate trajectories, largely due to European colonialism. As a consequence, while gradually becoming recognised within anthropology and the study of legal systems, indigenous or "folk" knowledge has been set against formalised scientific knowledge on one hand and codified systems of law on the other. With respect to the notion of intellectual property and the laws and rights associated with it, one may consider how forms of expression based on indigenous knowledge are often subject to "selective free riding" that aims at transforming them "into an innovation through some minimal intervention" (Drahos & Frankel 2012, p. 8). This is the case especially when cosmologically anchored ideas about ownership deviate from the Western intellectual property system:

> an owner of the indigenous knowledge may not be found because, for example, IP systems do not recognise an ancestor as a legal person or because the knowledge is regarded as having entered the public domain. There is, however, considerable evidence that the willingness of indigenous peoples to share their knowledge is not, from their perspective, the equivalent of placing it in the public domain. (Drahos & Frankel 2012, p. 9.)

Confusions over the public domain – or outright attempts to exploit it – become apparent for instance in musical situations where "indigenous" is taken as a synonym for "traditional", in the sense of a piece of music lacking an identifiable author. The Saami *joik* provides a case in point in this respect, as in terms of ownership, it is based on subject- rather than author-centred mode of thinking. That is, the author of a *joik* is not its owner, but it belongs to the person (or the event, or the natural phenomenon) depicted in it. A particularly perturbing example of irreverence towards and violation of Saami cultural ownership is constituted by the nonconsensual inclusion of *Normo Jovnna*, a *joik* to (and "owned" by) a deceased person, on the 1994 CD *Sacred Spirits – Chants and Dances from Native Americans*, affirming not only the pervasiveness of an Orientalist logic according to which all forms of indigenous culture are interchangable, but also through its multi-million sales figures the economic value of alternative spirituality based on indigenous cosmologies. In the estimation of ethnomusicologist Thomas Hilder (2015, p. 153), the *Sacred Spirits* incident suggests a persistence of "the configurations of power relations set in motion by imperialism" in the guise of "new-age" market where indigenous cultural traditions and spirituality have become exotic commodities and "experiences". Hilder (2015, p. 153) summarises the situation as follows:

> By symbolizing livelihoods, cosmologies, and traditions that somehow offer an escape from the excesses of capitalist modernity, indigenous cultures

have today ironically themselves become a profitable industry in a global market. However, voices from within indigenous communities have questioned these processes owing to fears of the lack of control source communities have over their cultural heritage, concerns over commercialization of sacred aspects of indigenous cultures, and anger at the economic gain of others. Such sentiments have ignited a wave of fierce critique within political, legal, cultural, and academic arenas, which assert that indigenous cultural appropriations are a form of "neo-imperialism." In these ways, indigenous cultural heritage has become politically charged field.

With respect to the possibility of multiple sacred forms, the aforementioned sacred aspects of indigenous cultures become, through a juxtaposition with heritage, commercialisation and economics, implicitly conceptualised as mainly religious in quality. Remembering Ralls-MacLeod's and Harvey's (2000, p. 7–9) remarks on the quandaries of defining "indigenous religion", the stress on the sacred instead of the religious may be taken as an indication of acknowledging the ontological and epistemological differences between "utopian" world religions and place-bound, located indigenous cosmologies. Elsewhere, Hilder (2015, p. 110–113) notes the interconnectedness of the sacred, place and environment in Saami culture and music, yet again treats the sacred as something that is associated with spirituality, shamanism, mythology, rituals, cosmology and, indeed, "indigenous religion". While the sacred remains in his treatment an undefined and largely a taken-for-granted appellation, he nevertheless points to the difficulties in separating the sacred from the secular in Saami music, as well as to the possibility to draw on the sacred "in a novel and special way" (Hilder 2015, p. 2, 111) – even if the latter assertion proves to be little more than a symptom of the researcher's own fascination with the topic.

Ecomusicology from the Underbelly of Neoliberalism

Be it as it may, the inextricability of indigenous cosmology from a particular physical, geographical location serves as an inkling of an ecological aspect of the sacred. Underlying this suggestion is the realisation that if "to be indigenous is to celebrate belonging to a place" (Ralls-MacLeod & Harvey 2000, p. 6), environmentalist issues of sustainability constitute key factors in determining the "absolute, normative realities that exert normative claims on social life", that is, the sacred in Lynch's (2012b, p. 6) formulation. This is not to insinuate that world religions would consider their physical surroundings irrelevant; as becomes blatantly manifest in the vicinity of any major cathedral, mosque, pagoda, synagogue or temple, there is a huge amount of both material and immaterial resources that have been spent on such edifices, as well as on the planning, building and maintenance of their elaborate musical contrivances in some cases. The crucial difference once again is that while the

structures and sounds of world religions reach to heavenly hights, the indigenous temples and shrines are often to be found in nature (and often exploited by tourism industry).

A related but somewhat reversed question concerns the extent to which nature is to be found in indigenous music, and how this might be linked to politics and to the sacred. Hilder (2015, p. 131–132), for one, marvels at the ways in which musical landscapes are "wonderfully brought to life" in contemporary Saami music through *joik* in particular:

> *Joik* performance, through evoking one's natural surroundings and communing with the spirits of nature, can establish an intimacy between people and their natural environment. […] These musical articulations of close relationship to nature can […] take on political resonances in light of disputes over land rights. Considering escalating concerns about ecological disasters, they can also be interpreted as articulating the politics of environmentalism.

Such environmentalist ruminations and interpretations of music have indeed become more common in scholarship in more general. Some have concentrated on the discourses and representations of landscape in a general manner (Mitchell 2015), while others have framed their investigations more explicitly in terms of environmentalism and "ecomusicology" (Dibben 2015; Allen 2011). In both strands, there are grounds for establishing a connection to the "extended" notion of the sacred (see Lynch 2012b, p. 18), either by emphasising the profanating tendencies in the possible musical exoticisation of indigenous or otherwise "remote" locations, or by stressing the ecocritical concerns over the role of music in securing the sustainability of fundamental living conditions. It has been pointed out that in the broader field of ecocritical art and fiction, there is a prominent apocalyptic orientation towards an immanent and irrefutable crisis, endowing the products with "political relevance [and] sublime terror" (Rehding 2011, p. 410).

The ecocritical music scholars further accentuate that the environmental crisis at hand is not only a scientific or political shortcoming but crucially also "a failure of culture" in the sense that it signals a breakdown of "holistic problem solving, interpersonal relations, ethics, imagination, and creativity" (Allen 2011, p. 414; see also Dibben 2015, p. 164). From a more detailed investigation into the ethical situations and arguments involved there is only a short step into the realms of politics and the sacred, inasmuch as all are linked to questions about the criteria and conditions of good life. Ecocritical studies of music bring an additional facet to this through a hightened awareness of the inherently activist qualities of all scholarship, and sometimes through explicit advocacy for, say, "sustainable forestry in the harvest of musical-instrument wood" (Allen 2011, p. 417). Instead of fiddling while the earth burns,

to paraphrase Aaron S. Allen (2011, p. 417–418; original emphasis), "eco-musicological approaches have the possibility to offer new *social critiques* about the intersections of music, culture, and nature – and, in general, about the world around us."

The ecomusicological concerns have a great deal in common with the study of musical paganism, especially if and when paganism is conceived as a form of ecological spirituality and a veneration of place (Weston 2013, p. 45). Once again, one is wise to remember the etymological root of "pagan" as arguably based on a reference originally to those who are "of the country, rustic", gradually developing within the context of early urban Christianity towards "heathen" (OED 2018). Alongside the political implications of eco-sensibilities involved in musical paganism (Weston 2013, p. 47), it may be argued that there are also connections to counter-cultural sentiments, especially as a continuation of resistance towards technocratic ideologies (Bennett 2013, p. 23). This is pronouncedly so in the case of so-called industrial paganism where the explicit aim was, during its rise in the UK in the 1980s, to bring about cultural and political change through "occultural esoterrorism" based on explorations of taboos, forbidden knowledge and all things grotesque, "in an attempt to create a free-thinking occult culture in which individuals were the resources with which they might be able to carve out their own future" (Partridge 2013, p. 206). Thus,

> Paganism, viewed through and "industrial" lens, becomes an approach to the world from below; it is a way of analysing society from its underbelly; an immersion in the dark side; the subversion of Christian hegemony, conservative politics and what nowadays might be described as neoliberalism. (Partridge 2013, p. 193.)

Hostile Gospels of Subcultural Sorts

As a bottom-up form of social critique, industrial paganism with its occultural and esoterrorist inclinations fulfils many, if not all, of the conventional criteria for a subcultural phenomenon: to the eyes and ears of the conservative mainstream, it bespeaks of aesthetic, moral and social deviance, corruption and degeneration. While such pathologising, labelling and stigmatising notions of subculture have given way to context-sensitive, interactionist, constructivist and intersectional approaches, elements of deviation, resistance and marginalisation have remained as core aspects of how to define a subculture. Yet as sociologist Ross Haenfler (2014, p. 15–16) notes in his dissection of "the basics" of the topic, instead of trying to identify concrete criteria for isolating "blocks" of people as subcultures, it is more useful to treat subcultural characteristics as continua that are based on an understanding of culture as "ever-changing symbolic blueprints that guide and give meaning to people's beliefs, values, behaviors, and material things." Thus, at issue are not

clearly demarcated subcultures but the "subcultureness" of given groupings. On the basis of this, according to Haenfler's (2014, p. 16; original emphasis) working definition, a subculture is a "*relatively diffuse* social network having a *shared identity, distinctive meanings* around certain ideas, practices, and objects, and a sense of *marginalization* from or *resistance* to a perceived 'conventional' society."

Issues of marginalisation and resistance are by definition implicated in social and societal power relations and hence politics, and with respect to the possible and probable intersections into the realms of the sacred, it is worth noting how Haenfler (2014, p. 17–20), for one, begins his elaboration on shared distinctive meanings by mentioning values, beliefs and rituals. Yet as his scrutiny proceeds, it becomes apparent that the conceptual fluidity of both politics and the sacred needs to be taken into account. Regarding politics, he distinguishes subcultures from social movements and countercultures on the basis of the "manifestly political" and oppositional character of the latter two. The sacred, in turn, emerges in its religious dimension when he likens new religious movements to subcultures due to similarities regarding norms, practices and marginalisation; yet he maintains that "NRMs are often somewhat more organized than subcultures, and […] their emphasis on the spiritual or supernatural make them distinctive enough to warrant their own concept" (Haenfler 2014, p. 21).

The legitimacy of the classificatory labels may well deserve further debate, but more pertinent for my purposes is the extent to which the similarity between subcultures and new religious movements provides a basis for a closer scrutiny into the multiplicity of sacred forms and their political implications. Here, one might also note the existence of explicitly music-based religious subcultures, such as Evangelical punk and hip hop, even if the political stances of subculturalists in question remain largely implicit at best (Abraham 2017, p. 5). It is nevertheless instructive to keep in mind that institutional churches may be described as "domesticated descendants of once radical movements", which in turn is not entirely dissimilar from the tensions between subcultures and the mainstream in music. Insights may be drawn also from sociological studies of countercultures as religious phenomena and theorisations of subcultural identity based on religious strength and resilience. (Abraham 2017, p. 17, 29–30.) In the case of Evangelical subcultures and their theorisation, though, there is an apparent tension between a marginalising resistance towards secular mainstream and a negotiation that is necessary to make one's evangelising understood. This mixture of cultural refusal and offering a cultural alternative may be conceived as a form of resistance in its own right, but usually as removed from the class-based forms of subversion and opposition more typically found in secular subcultures; as sociologist Ibrahim Abraham (2017, p. 33–34) puts it, the political approach in question,

"such that there is one, […] is less a policy platform than a subversive relational individualism evincing strong distrust of the normative social institutions and practices of secular modernity."

The ways in which politics and the sacred intertwine in subcultural musics may be further examined in relation indigeneity, ethnicity and racialisation. Again, different renditions of the *joik Normo Jovnna* prove to be instructive, as it has been recorded also by Áigi, a Saami metal band, thus giving grounds to contemplate over the amalgamations of subcultural transgression, indigenous cosmology and transcultural cosmopolitanism, and how such transformations and reinterpretations "might provide a model for alternative ways of reappropriating cultural heritage and resisting cultural dispossession" (Hilder 2015, p. 155). The overall importance of styles of metal music, beginning from the early "heavy" ones and culminating on the plethora of more recent "extreme" types, as evidence in favour of the inextricability of religious and subcultural susceptibilities should not be forgotten either. Stories and critiques abound about the blasphemous, immoral, violent and vulgar qualities and contents of metal music, and as a consequence, the genre as a whole has been surrounded by recurrent moral panics that have often been centred on accusations of Satanism. As there has been in addition a demonstrable fascination within metal styles with apocalypse, mythology, legend, occultism, esoterism and paganism, some are willing to claim that it is "no exaggeration to say that heavy metal's association with religion – whether emerging from within the genre itself, from the criticism of its detractors, or both – has developed into a defining characteristic of the genre as a whole" (Moberg 2015, p. 223). And, as one might expect, there are also metal subgenres that take their impetus from the major world religions, to the extent that one encounters such apparently self-contradictory labels as Muslim black metal. Moreover, whether explicitly religious metal styles are guilty of an "evangelical strategy of cultural infiltration" (Moberg 2015, p. 227) or not, the role of metal music – alongside other types of music – in the revolutionaly upheavals known as the Arab Spring has been recognised by scholars too. In the words of historian and scholar of Middle Eastern studies Mark Levine (2012, p. 795):

> The Arab Spring did not produce its own heavy metal anthem, but metal is an important strand of the DNA of the Arab uprisings. […] The foreign origins and do it yourself ethos of the metal scenes, the marginalization from the mainstream of Arab societies, the need to sustain small-group solidarity, the focus on noncommodified, internet-based networks for disseminating their art, and the inherently subversive messages of the genre (where themes of corruption, meaningless violence, and decay naturally called to mind the political realities of their societies)—all of these enabled metal scenes across the Arab world to function as incubators of political activism.

Levine (2012, p. 795) reports also about the centrality of certain rappers

in giving "voice to the despair and anger of a generation" in early 2010s, and in the reorientation of the broader "sonisphere" towards revolt instead of fear and obedience. Rap and hip hop as a cultural formation in more general have indeed received a great deal of attention in recent years as a prime site of sub-cultural politics; an indication of the peculiarity of rap and hip hop in this respect is that "hip hop studies" has emerged as a field of research and schol-arship in its own right, instead of considering such studies as a subcategory of subcultural studies. For comparison's sake, a quick search into the undis-criminated depths of the virtual world yields some 40 000 results for "hip hop studies", while the numbers for "punk studies", "metal music studies" and "reggae studies" are in the vicinity of 33 000, 16 000 and 13 000, respectively – and little shy of 60 000 for "chamber music studies", whether one considers the latter a subcultural phenomenon or not.

Within the broader field of hip hop studies, there has also been an increas-ing interest towards religious aspects of rap music. There are at least two ma-jor incentives for this. On one hand, as indicated by the Arab Spring events among other things, there is a realisation that the expressive techniques and styles of rap have been adopted practically world-wide and thus the genre exhibits also "non-Western" value systems and forms of spirituality. Of par-ticular interest for many in this respect has been Muslim rap, whether at issue has been its position in Islamic youth movements within conditions of (im)migration (e.g., Hafez 2017), its commingling with canonised forms of cultural heritage as well as conservative Islamic proselytism (e.g., Escobar Varela 2014), or "Blackamerican Muslim hip hop" that protests against white supremacy (Grewal 2013). On the other hand, it is precisely the racial societal and political system of the United States of America that has induced many to investigate the roles of and interrelations between hip hop and religion, and it may very well be argued that through the introduction of "race" into the equation, the politics of the sacred in music attain a dimension of a pro-found importance. The historical connections between Christianity, coloni-alism and racism aside, the everyday and structural forms of racism in the land of the free and the home of the brave have been examined in relation to hip hop and its religious aspects. Thus, Daniel White Hodge (2017, p. 24–25) for instance writes about "hip hop's hostile gospel" that derives from

> the nefarious social and living conditions of the urban context […] that breed frustration and hostility within the Hip Hop community such that […] Hip Hop creates a hostile form of theology which not only engages these issues, but also demands a voice at the theological table while it brings its frustration and hostility paired with a "good news" to get out of the current situation. […] The good news is not based on Christian values and theologies, but in a much broader view of social justice, social aware-ness, social consciousness, community mindedness, personal conscious-

ness, and a journey to a God who can help and will provide shelter. More-over, this gospel within the Hip Hop community is not always a sacred quest; the secular and profane are intertwined with weed, alcohol, sexual-ity, and 'living a good life/being successful.'

On the basis of such cogitation, it is very difficult if not outright impossi-ble to make a meaningful distinction between the political and the religious angles involved. Similarly, when such circumstances are approached in terms of socio-spiritual urban geopolitics that rest on racial oppression and eco-nomic asymmetry, the separation of the political from the sacred makes little sense. In the words of sociologist Michael Eric Dyson (2015, p. 61), the "ge-opolitics of such urban misery begin to constitute a ground for urban theod-icy" that accrues some of its most potent forms in rap music and hip hop culture in more general, as guidelines, explanations and evidence of overcom-ing societal destitution. Thus the commercial success of rappers may function for some as "a realized eschatology" (Dyson 2015, p. 62).

Conclusion

With such tensions and their sacred political implications in mind, I wish to conclude by stressing the importance of considering the sacred as an irrev-ocably political construction, as well as treating politics as a sphere of activity that is equally inescapably connected to the sacred, to that which "people collectively experience as absolute, non-contingent realities that exert un-questionable moral claims over the meaning and conduct of their lives" (Lynch 2012a, p. 32). Interestingly enough, in the treatises on religion in hip hop one may encounter a definition of religion that in many ways comes close to such a broader specification of the sacred. Anthony B. Pinn, a key figure in the research on hip hop and religion, and Monica R. Miller (2015, p. 3) for their part conceive religion not as a proxy for Christianity, Islam or any other world religion with their doctrines and institutions, but as "the manner in which the existential and metaphysical arrangements and rhetoric of meaning are developed, worked out, and (re)arranged." For them, this is tantamount to understanding religion as "a conceptual and taxonomical 'place holder' of sorts, a way by means of which human parse out and explore the social world, the self, and human experience, framework of meaning, or strategic acts of identification."

On the basis of such reconceptualisations, the conventional wisdom about the sacred as a transcendent entity beyond politics or mundane power-strug-gles, as the ultimate explanation and the eventual goal, when faced with the empirical reality constituted by an abundance of sacred forms, proves to be political to its core, as all public deliberation and action draws its final au-thority and justification from these ultimate sources. And, as suggested by

the diverse religious, ideological, legal, economic, national, ethnic, indige-
nous, ecological and subcultural manifestations of the sacred, there certainly
is more than one song to be written about all this.

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Stand Up and Be a Real Man: Patriarchal Patriotism in Songs About the USA's War in Vietnam and South Africa's Apartheid Border War

Michael Drewett

This paper focuses on popular music and gender constructs in relation to two wars on different sides of the Atlantic, both of which began in the 1960s: The USA's war in Vietnam which was fought in the 1960s and 1970s and South Africa's border war which spanned three decades, from the 1960s to the 1980s. The fierce contest over the legitimacy of these two wars has been well documented. Both wars were justified primarily in terms of cold war logic according to which citizens were expected to fight to protect the way of life of their country. In the South African context the threat was much closer to home, and the cold war argument for the most part obscured the fact that it was a civil war, contesting white minority rule. In both instances men were expected to demonstrate their patriotism by fighting for their countries (in the Vietnam War only men who were drafted were expected to fight, whereas in South Africa all white men were conscripted). However, a secondary form of persuasion was the argument that real men went to war, only cowards stayed behind. In other words, war was a test of men's patriarchal patriotism.

The focus of this paper is on how the struggle surrounding patriarchal patriotism in both contexts was reflected in (commercial) popular songs by musicians from the two countries in question at the time. As Terry Anderson (1986: 62) has observed, "popular music often reflects sentiments held by society, and certainly this was true during the Vietnam War." H. Ben Auslander (1981: 112) agrees, suggesting that "the songs and their lyrics do chronicle many of the ideals and attitudes held by America's youth during the Vietnam

War years, and as such should be included in popular culture studies of the decade." Popular songs about the USA war in Vietnam and the South African border war are important reflectors of beliefs, values, attitudes and ideals of those who sang them, regardless of how many copies they sold or how many people got to hear them. Indeed, Ray Pratt (1998: 170) asserts that "Popular music reflects the diversity of human experiences and views about the (Vietnam) war … Some reached the upper levels or very top of the pop charts. But even if a song did not register on the charts, it does not mean it was not meaningful. That it was heard and remembered is significant enough." This paper is concerned with views about gender and the military which were circulating in society, marking what Jeffrey C. Livingston (1992: 41) referred to as "musical battle lines" which "reflected the divisions within American society at large." And these views do not only relate to the USA, as I have previously argued similar battle lines were evoked by musicians singing about the South African border war, including gender battle lines, whereby "gender binaries indeed mapped out a clear gender border, separating masculine and feminine in relation to the idea of the 'war effort'" (Drewett 2003:88).

For the pro-war lobbies, the articulation of gender binaries was a critical foundation upon which to build support for the wars. In response resisters tackled not only the injustices of the wars in general but they often undermined the gender binary logic of supporters of the wars. This not only made support for the wars questionable, but also made resistance more acceptable and courageous. Morell (2001:7) has argued that "masculinities are socially and historically constructed in a process which involves contestation between rival and understandings of what being a man should involve." And indeed war resisters posited alternative forms of desirable masculinity, as opposed to the militarised masculinity advocated by the pro-war lobbyists.

While the gendered nature of support and resistance to war discussed here is characteristic of many war contexts, this paper provides a limited focus on the two aforementioned wars. The most apparent motivation for choosing these two particular conflicts is that at the time of the South African border war many South African soldiers and their supporters referred to the border war as South Africa's Vietnam, and several comparisons between the two wars have been made (see for example Baines 2003, Marx 2007, Rudham 2003 and Wolfswinkel 2002).

Whether or not fighting in wars is an appropriate form of patriotism, especially when there is strong sense that they are futile or unjust, has long been debated. This has been the dominant theme of several publications on popular music and the Vietnam War. For example, books including James Perone's *Songs of the Vietnam Conflict* (2001) which is divided into contrasting chapters on 'Anti-war songs' and 'Pro-government and plight-of-the-soldier songs'. Similar treatments of the war are provided in Andresen's *Battle Notes:*

Music of the Vietnam War (2003), Philip D. Biedler's *Last Thoughts on an Old War: The Legacy of Vietnam* (2004), Kevin Hillstrom and Laurie Collier Hillstrom's *The Vietnam Experience: A Concise Encyclopaedia of American Literature, Songs and Film* (1998) and in shorter pieces by Terry Anderson (1986), Ben Auslander (1981), R. Serge Denisoff (1990), David James (1989), and Christine Scodari (1994), to provide a few examples. In relation to the South African border war, Catherine Morrow's unpublished thesis *Selling the War, Surviving the War: The Use of Music During the Border War* (2009) considers how music was used by the state and soldiers during the war while Drewett (2003) considers the metaphor of the border in songs for and against the war, including a consideration of gender constructs in songs relating to the border war. However, little specific attention has been paid to the gendered narratives of songs for and against the two wars in question and certainly no connected study of the gender constructs and popular music relating to the two wars has taken place. It is the aim of this paper to provide an initial analysis of this important gender issue related to these wars.

Contesting Patriarchal Patriotism

In times of war, especially at the time of the wars dealt with this in this paper, it is customary for men to demonstrate their patriotism by fighting for their country. As Joshua Goldstein (2001: 10) notes, although there is cross-cultural diversity regarding gender and war, "these variations occur within a uniform pattern that links men with war-fighting in every society that fights wars." In agreement, Richard Godfrey (2009: 203) suggests that "the relationship between notions of masculinity and notions of militarism have been so closely connected that in many societies, throughout history, war fighting becomes a form of male rite of passage, to be a real men is to be ready to fight." Based on a historical sexist and sexual division of labour, men as protectors go off to war while women and children, the protected, stay at home. The patriotic duty of those on the home front is to support those in the military. These contrasting yet interconnected patriotic expectations reinforce hegemonic heteronormativity, through a practice of patriarchal patriotism. Accordingly, fighting in a war is not only a symbol of a man's patriotism but of his masculinity too. However, this does not mean that women were simply the passive protected back at home. Goldstein (2001: 301) argues that "male soldiers can better motivate themselves for combat if they can compartmentalize combat in their belief systems and identities. They can endure, and commit terrible acts, because the context is exceptional and temporary. They have a place to return to, or at least to die trying to protect – a place called home or normal or peacetime." This dichotomy between the frontline and the home front played a critical role in both wars considered in this paper. Both the USA and South African states and their supporters emphasized the

need for men to be protectors and for women to play an active protected role. This involved being loyal and supportive of soldiers, whether as mothers, wives, girlfriends, sisters or daughters. Soldiers needed to be reminded that back at home there were women who loved them who were waiting longingly for their safe return. Women, if they are patriotic and true women, should wholeheartedly support their military men in appropriate ways.

This paper now explores examples within popular music which illustrate the contest over gender roles and patriarchal patriotism. For the pro-war lobbies, the articulation of gender binaries was a critical foundation upon which to build support for the war. In response some resisters tackled not only the injustices of war but also undermined the gender binary logic of supporters of the war. Importantly, in terms of how this struggle penetrated society as a whole, the vast majority of these songs emanated from popular musicians within civil society, in other words they were not commissioned by the U.S.A. or South African governments or defence forces. Likewise, songs in opposition to the war were very rarely, if ever, commissioned by anti-war organisations, but were written by individuals expressing their own point of view. Furthermore, the songs considered here are in no way exhaustive but sufficient examples are provided to emphasize that the use of popular music in support or opposition to hegemonic gender roles was not uncommon amongst those writing songs about the two wars. In line with the gendered themes discussed, the paper takes the following form:

Pro-war songs
1) Promoted militarised masculinity
2) Ridiculed war resisters for their failure to be masculine
3) Encouraged women's role as supporters of soldiers on the battle front

Anti-war songs
1) Rejected militarised masculinity
2) Promoted war resisters as courageous (creatively masculine)
3) Questioned women's role as supporters of soldiers on the battle front

A.1. Promoting Militarised Masculinity

David Morgan (1993: 74-75) notes that the masculine body is constructed, among other attributes, to be a dominating and disciplined body. War and the military are extreme sites for such construction, so that the basic training of civilian men into soldiers is an extreme form of socialisation into dominant and disciplined masculine bodies. Militarised masculinity is not only essential to the military machine, but in societies at war it regularly becomes the hegemonic form of masculinity, the most desirable form of masculine body.

Cockburn (2008: 438) argues that "Gender relations are deeply implicated in what is done to turn ordinary people into soldiers, and shape them up for fighting. While the patriarchal gender order varies from society to society, and evolves over time, in most contemporary societies the roles and qualities imbued in boys and men include competitiveness, combativeness, physical strength and assertiveness, courage, and ambition. These qualities themselves, even in 'peacetime', incline males to fighting." In South Africa pro-war musicians regularly eulogized the process towards militarised masculinity which recruits would undergo when committed themselves to military service. In the song "The Recces", Lourens Fourie extols the strength of the brave soldier:

> Many men, many men, many men
> Have tried for the laurel dagger
> The wings and the compass rose
> Many men came for the test
> Many failed and some came close
> But only one got the compass rose

Similarly, in 'Troop Train' by Buddy Vaughn, the message from a sergeant to the new recruits' girlfriends is, 'Don't worry about your boyfriend cause we'll bring him back brand new'. According to a Bles Bridges in the song 'Tawwe Tienies', the new man would be a 'tough guy':

> Do you see each man, standing there
> Brave heroes each and every man
> There's a task to complete
> And with pleasure, it's our duty
> Because we're tough guys, the tough guys
> We do battle on the frontlines

In further examples George Bartlett claims that soldiers are brave heroes, in his songs 'Ons is Dapper Helde' and 'My dapper seun' ('We are brave heroes' and 'My brave son'). While Matt Hurter also upheld the tough guy image of the soldier in the 'Ride Safe' song recorded to promote a voluntary lift scheme for soldiers initiated by the South African Defence Force:

> He's just a boy in uniform trying to get home
> With a heavy kitbag and
> Not much hair to comb …
> If you pick him up and talk to him
> You'll find he's quite a man
> And he can tell you army stories like only a soldier can…

The song portrays an image of the soldier as a real man who is strong, has

short hair, and the hard-hitting army stories which separate him from civilian men who have not undergone army training and service. In line with heter-onormativity, military men were heterosexual men, defending women on the home front. Thus Hurter refers to the soldier receiving 'that perfumed letter in the post'. In 'Jungle Green', John Edmond sang of a soldier who had seen a beautiful woman while he was on a weekend pass. When he returns to service he is stationed on the border where he is killed. Edmond concludes that there is:

> No one to tell her that he fought and fell there
> Thinking of the blue eyes he was really fighting for

Dennis East also explores the same theme of a brave heterosexual soldier fighting to protect a woman in 'Love Manoeuvres', a comic song from the soundtrack to the film *Boetie op Manoeuvres*:

> He'll fight for the lady
> These are love manoeuvres

Here East incorporates a double entendre to imply that fighting in the defence force demands both military and sexual manoeuvres. Thus pressure was placed on white South African men to become strong, disciplined soldiers who were unambiguously heterosexual and masculine.

In the United States probably the most famous jingoistic patriarchal war song recorded during the Vietnam War was Sergeant Barry Sadler's "The Ballad of the Green Beret". It was certainly the most successful in terms of chart position and sales (Denisoff 1990) and clearly summed up the notion of the tough soldier prepared to fight and die for his country:

> Fighting soldiers from the sky
> Fearless men who jump and die
> Men who mean just what they say
> The brave men of the Green Beret

A similar message is part of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen's 'Gallant Men' (1966) in which he emphasises the strength of soldiers as:

> Brave gallant men who have died
> That others might be free

While these songs promoted the tough masculine soldier image, in their song 'So the prophets say' The Centurys warn of the consequences if young men do not opt to become fighting soldiers:

You may not like it if they hand you a gun,
before you turn 21 and say "now you've got to be a man!"
But when your freedom's bells stop ringing, and a Red slave song you're singing,
You'll wish you had a gun in your hand!

A2. Ridiculing War Resisters as Cowards (not masculine)

'So the prophets say' was one of a number of songs relating to the Vietnam War which supported Glen Campbell's (in Anderson 1986: 56) contention that "If you don't have enough guts to fight for your country, you're not a man." Certainly, the belief that opposition to the war was motivated by cowardice and that draft resisters were not real men was an important characteristic of songs by pro-war musicians, quick to ridicule men opposed to the war. Indeed, Daniel Conway (2008:427) stresses that the apartheid state's response to objectors drew from constructions of hegemonic white masculinity in South Africa and from powerful cultural discourses that defined white nationalism in virile, militaristic and defiant terms." Along with this idea, Hutchings (2008: 401) makes the point that "The crucial characteristic that is shared by all masculinity discourses is that they are not feminine." This is certainly exemplified by the tough fighting character in Merle Haggard's "Fightin' Side of Me' (which was later covered by Matt Hurter and applied to the South African border war context) refers to "some squirrelly guy who claims, he just don't believe in fightin.'" Perone (2001: 98) notes that "Haggard makes a strong point that it is *specifically* the protesters' running down of the nation that brings out his fighting side." Just as much as pro-military songs tend to endorse patriarchal patriotism, as Haggard's song reveals, they are equally able to condemn refusal to serve as equally cowardly and unpatriotic. This is illustrated in Jan Berry's 'The Universal coward' which was a response to Buffy St Marie's anti-war 'Universal soldier':

He's the universal coward, and he runs from anything
From a giant, to a human, from an elf
He runs from Uncle Sam, and he runs from Vietnam
But most of all he's running from himself

Similarly, in 'What's come over this world' Billy Carr mocks draft dodgers as unpatriotic cowards:

There's an army of cowards, see them marching in line
While the country's in danger, they just carry a sign
Look at them burning their draft cards and refusing to fight
While they talk about freedom, they're dimming liberty's light

While in 'Vietnam Blues' Dave Dudley provides a more serious attack on draft dodgers, suggesting that while real men are bravely prepared to stand up and die for their country draft dodgers simply crawl away from danger:

> Another held a sign that said we won't fight
> I thought to myself boy ain't that right
> To leave a lot of our soldiers die instead
> I said it's a shame that every man who ever died up there that far off land
> Was dyin' for that you wouldn't have to wake up dead ...

So all I mean to say is I don't like dyin' either but man I ain't gonna crawl

In 'The Ballad of Two Brothers' Autry Inman contrasts letters from two brothers, Bud. a patriotic soldier fighting in Vietnam and Tommy, an anti-war protester a student in university. The names 'Bud' and 'Tommy' evoke strength in opposition to weakness, which is further emphasized by Bud's description of how:

> We must've marched twenty miles today
> Through the rain and the mud

while Tommy is portrayed as weak, as he tells how they:

> Marched twenty blocks today
> And, baby, I'm beat
> I mean, like the sign
> I was carrying got real heavy

Not only is Tommy ridiculed for being weak but after Bud is killed in Vietnam he realizes his error and joins the military, going off to fight in Vietnam in an attempt to emulate his brother's supposed patriotic bravery. Perone (2001: 96) notes that "the use of an overabundance of ultra-hip expressions by Tommy, such as 'groovy,' 'out of sight' and 'my bag' ... paints him as nothing more than a caricature, with whom probably no one hearing the song in 1968 could seriously relate."

Setting up a similar caricature of a war resister and probably the most severe ridicule of draft resisters came from the Beach Bums, a group which included a young Bob Seger.[1] 'The Ballad of the Yellow Beret' was a send up of 'The Ballad of the Green Beret', using the same tune and structure to ridicule

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[1] Two years later Seger wrote the anti-war song '2+2 =' after a friend was killed. I a seemingly autobiographical song he later wrote 'Leanin' on my dream' a song in which the song narrator changes from being anti protesters to being a protester himself, after being called up to fight in Vietnam.

those who were not prepared to go to war:

> Fearless cowards of the U.S.A.
> Bravely here at home they stay
> They watch their friends get shipped away
> The draft dodgers of the Yellow Beret …
>
> Men who faint at the sight of blood
> Their high heeled boots weren't meant for mud
> The draft board will hear their sob stories today
> Only the best the yellow beret"

More startlingly, Pat Boone, in 'Wish you were here, buddy' accuses draft dodges of staying at home while leaving 'the fighting to us' and that 'when the whole damn mess is through … I'll come looking for you.' But on the bleakest of notes, in 'An open letter to my teenage son' Victor Lundberg threatens to disown and disinherit his son if he refuses to serve in the war:

> If you decide to burn your draft card, then burn your birth certificate along with it.
> From that moment I have no son.

A3. Encouraging Women's Role as Supporters of Soldiers on the Battle Front

Within the pro-war scheme of things, integral to the brave soldier fighting to protect his women and children at home is the expectation that the protected on the home front be supportive of the men who have gone off to fight. This entails openly showing support through reminding the soldiers that they support them and are waiting for them, and crucially, that they are waiting faithfully for them. It is critical in the battle front/ home front binary that the soldier believes that the people he is protecting do support him and that, in the case of girlfriends of wives, that they are being faithful; otherwise the desire to protect them would in all likelihood fragment. Accordingly, a common theme in pro-war songs in both South Africa and the United States was that women were there for their men, and completely supportive of what they were doing in difficult circumstances. Women musicians recorded numerous songs dedicated to their men, especially, but not exclusively, to those fighting in Vietnam or in the South African border war.

In the South African context the song "Vasbyt, Daar Op die Grens" (Hold tight on the border) by Min Shaw continues with theme of the brave soldier. The country music song,[2] punctuated with hints of militaristic brass,

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2   In apartheid South Africa country music was embraced by English and particularly Afrikaans conservatives. It was the favoured musical style of many die-hard army

is in support of her particular soldier on the border and promotes stereotypical ideas about gender binaries in war situations:

> I think of you so far away on the border
> I send to you my warmest heartfelt wish
> I send to you the love in my heart
> My brave hero, you stand trusting in higher powers
>
> I know that you always think of me
> And that one day we will find happiness together
> Because one day you will come back to me
> To come and stay with me forever
>
> Hold tight, hold tight on the border
> This is my message to you
> If you hold tight, hold tight on the border
> I send my greetings to you …

An important way of sending reassuring greetings and thereby showing support at such times was to write letters to ones loved ones on the border. This was a fairly common theme in South African pro-war songs. John Edmonds (In 'Forgotten Soldier') reminds his audience letters fulfil a vial link between soldiers and loved ones at home. In the song the soldier tells his girlfriend or wife:

> So when I feel like a forgotten soldier
> And when the night is extra long
> That crumpled letter is my inspiration
> The words they just push me on

An Afrikaans song called 'Soldier, Son' sung by Esmé Solms supported men on the border both practically and lyrically. The song was released in order to raise funds for the Southern Cross Fund (which supported soldiers serving in the military) and likewise perpetuated a binary between the brave male soldier as the protector and his family back home, protected because of his sacrifice: As was often the case with Southern Cross Fund projects, the song both promoted the idea of support for the men on the border and raised funds for the SADF Fund.

> At night as the stars shine so bright
> Then longing and danger is my sky above

---

recruits. Matt Hurter (in "Ride Safe") draws a connection between the typical army recruit and country music while Bernoldus Niemand (in 'Snor City') views the connection as being between country music and stereotypical Afrikaner males more generally.

> I miss you my son on the border
> As your wish is for me to fall asleep tonight

In yet another example of the protector/protected dichotomy, the woman in Marie Van Zyl's 'There's a Man on the Border', waits faithfully at home, with desire and respect for her man. Once again, a marching beat is deployed, represented marching in time, unquestioning conformity to the state's policies and to the propaganda behind the war effort. Marching music is also jingoistic, used to stir up nationalistic pride.

> There's a man on the border
> Don't know where on the border …
> I will wait for him
> Night and day for him
> My prayers will keep him safe
> And I'll wait until he's back on my side
> Oh my darling come back quickly

Likewise, in an overtly pro-war song the Four Jacks and a Jill accentuate the separation of soldier and his girlfriend or wife when he is away on the border. In 'Boy on the Border' the soldier's girlfriend or wife sings:

> Your home town's the same and your folks send regards
> And I'm still here waiting to be in your arms …
> There's a boy on the border and that boy's in my heart
> There's a boy on the border and we are far apart
> Come back home safely home
> When you do return my darling
> 'Cos I need you I need you and you need me too

A similar theme is dealt with in "Border Song" (translated by Gideon Roos 1980), although from the soldier's perspective. He sings:

> Lonely and long are the nights on the border
> Far from our family and home
> Sweet are the visions of dear ones we long for
> Under the night's black dome.

Songs portraying loved ones at home supporting their men on the battle front were also commonplace in the United States. Nancy Ames put her weight behind the war effort with her response to 'The Ballad of the Green Beret". In "He wore the green beret" the wife of the soldier sings about how her 'true love' wore the Green Beret to protect her and their son:

When there is peace
And men are free
We'll know he died
For you and me

But furthermore, the husband's death does not get in the way of the wife's patriotic duty. She nevertheless will encourage her son to grow up to wear the Green Beret:

Though my love died
I'm proud to say
His son will wear
The Green Beret

Similarly, in "The Soldier's Last letter", Ernest Tubb sings of a mother who receives a last letter from her son. It is incomplete and she realises that he died before finishing it. Although saddened by his death she turns to god to pray for the safety of the other boys fighting patriotically in Vietnam:

That night as she knelt by her bedside
She prayed "Lord above hear my plea and
Protect all the son's who are fighting to night
And dear God keep America free"

Dave Dudley in 'Hello Vietnam' sings of a soldier impressing on his girl-friend or wife to write to him:

Kiss me goodbye and write me while I'm gone
Goodbye my sweetheart, Hello Vietnam.

The soldier in John Michael Montgomery's 'Letters from home' places equal importance in letters from home. In response to a letter from his mother the solider sings:

I fold it up in my shirt
Pick up my gun an' get back to work
An' it keeps me drivin' me on
Waiting on letters from home

While the woman at home in 'Soldier boy' by the Shirelles provide a compelling show of support for the soldier in her life:

Wherever you go
My heart will follow
I love you so
I'll be true to you

Take my love with you
To any port or foreign shore
Darling you must feel for sure
I'll be true to you
Soldier boy
Oh, my little soldier boy
I'll be true to you

B1. Rejecting Militarised Masculinity

In response to the types of persuasion reflected in the pro-war songs (but not necessarily in direct response to the songs themselves) some musicians opposed to the wars considered in this paper became engaged in a struggle to reconstruct gender and war as fluid categories, thereby fracturing rigid binaries. Given the anti-war position which resisters adopted, the sex/gender position ascribed by war resisters was not in favour of women's combat, but rather against the idea that men needed to join the army in order to be truly masculine, or that women should support such notions.

One of the gender themes which comes across in anti-war songs is a contrast between mindlessly obeying military orders and creative freedom of expression. Amongst South African musicians opposed to the South African border war there was antagonism towards the dehumanising and conformist path which entering the South African Defence Force involved. The militarised masculinity referred to earlier in the paper was a threat to thinking, caring and independent South African men who did necessarily believe that joining the military was necessary to be a strong and brave individual, standing up for his beliefs. On the contrary, it was felt that the military broke down these attributes, threatening creativity, compassion and intelligence. This is clearly expressed in the Cherry Faced Lurchers' 'Warsong':

The old men in the top storeys
Organise another war
All this blood and guts and glory
Is this what life is for?
How can they make me feel like somebody else when I'm already myself?
How can they make me act like somebody else when I can act for myself?

Likewise, the Kalahari Surfers provide a parody of conformity and blind obedience expected of soldiers in the South African Defence Force. In 'Don't Dance' the singer calls on South Africans not to dance to the SADF's tune:

Hey white boy get your feet off the floor
The Lord gave you legs to march to war
Your leaders want you in a sporting affair

> So put on your boots and cut your hair
> Don't talk back or stop to think
> Don't dance

A mocking approach to conformist, militarised white South African males is adopted by the Aeroplanes in 'South African Male'. In the song they directly undermine patriarchal patriotism. The lyrics that appear in parenthesis are gormlessly uttered in a white South African accent. The last line is an order shouted out by an army officer.

> South African male, you're a South African male
> You've got a uniform
> South African male (I've got a new car)
> You're a South African male (And a big tape deck)
> South African male (Go out on Friday night)
> You're a South African male (Get pissed)
> South African male (Pick up some chicks)
> South African male (Wait for your next order)

"The song mocks the image of the stereotypical South African male who unthinkingly appropriates the dominant white South African masculine characteristics and waits for his next order. Given the equivocation of the lyrics it is not clear whether the uniform is the army uniform the South African male is wearing, or the dominant form of masculinity he has donned. The prevailing image portrayed in the song is of a conformist masculinity of which the singer is critical" (Drewett 2008: 111).

Moving beyond the changes which military training inflicts upon individuals by means of turning them into unthinking fighting machines, the Kalahari Surfers tackle the expectations of soldiers once they enter the warzone. A pro-military photo story book followed the exploits of a South Africans Rambo-type soldier named *Grensvegter* (Border fighter). In the song 'Grensvegter' the South African Defence Force hero is portrayed as a savage rather than a courageous solider. He is described as someone spat out amongst the weeds by 'some reluctant womb' who devolves into a soldier who fills hungry mouths with bullets.

In the United States, Leon Russell's 'Ballad for a soldier' also exposes the myth of the soldier as a gallant man, fighting for admirable patriarchal patriotic ideals:

> I had no understanding 'till I saw my mother cry
> When they told how many babies I had killed that night
> A dozen color photographs inside of a magazine

> Told the morbid story like a movie screen
> But I was not the hero I thought myself to be

Although not an overt protest song, Mel Tillis' 'Ruby, don't take your love to town' (most famously covered by Kenny Rogers with the First Edition) considers the plight of a paralysed Vietnam veteran who can no longer have sex with his partner, Ruby. As noted by James Perone (2001: 93), Rogers' version "conveys a sense of frustration, resignation and physical weakness" at no longer being 'the man I used to be'. The character's anger at being the victim of 'that old crazy Asian war'; which he fought as a 'patriotic chore' certainly paints a picture of resentment at the patriarchal patriotic ideal that lured him into the war in the first place.

While Mel Tillis expressed concern at lost masculinity as a result of a war injury, MC5 viewed the Vietnam war itself as a threat to the independence of masculinity. In 'Over and over' they suggest:

> Vietnam, what a sexy war
> Uncle Sam's a pimp, wants us to be whores
> I said no, I said I can't take much more of this
> You better let me outta here
> I said no, no

MC5's outlook on what the military will do to men going to war evokes the same threat to creative and independent masculinity considered earlier in songs by the Lurchers, the Kalahari Surfers and the Aeroplanes in the South African context.

In the most famous of anti-Vietnam war songs 'I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die', Country Joe McDonald also subverts Uncle Sam's call for men to prove their masculinity by fighting in the Vietnam War (According to Rick Andrews [in Marx 2007: 93-94], this song was also sung by conscripts in the SADF, with lyrics changed to suit the South African context). Through the use of a sardonic attack on the draft, McDonald suggests that patriarchal patriotism involves blindly following the government's call to arms without question:

> Well come on all of you big strong men
> Uncle Sam needs your help again
> Got himself in a terrible jam
> Way down yonder in Vietnam
> Put down your books and pick up your gun
> We're gonna have a whole lot of fun

> And it's one, two, three what are we fighting for?
> Don't ask me I don't give a damn, the next stop is Vietnam
> And it's five, six seven open up the pearly gates
> Well ain't no time to wonder why, whoopee we're all gonna die

While not quite coming home in a box, Mrs Reiley's son in Scott Walker's 'Hero of the war' does not return from the war as the hero he was supposed to be:

> He's a hero of the war
> All the neighbourhood is talkin' 'bout your son
> Mrs. Reiley get his medals
> Hand them 'round to everyone
> Show his gun to all the children in the street
> It's too bad he can't shake hands or move his feet

Just as the Kalahari Surfers did in 'Grensvegter' in the South African context, musicians in the United States questioned the type of masculinity soldiers would be expected to perform when fighting in Vietnam. Phil Ochs in 'Is there anybody here?' suggests that instead of bravely defending the United States they will be expected to commit murder:

> Is there anybody here proud of the parade?
> Who'd like to give a cheer and show they're not afraid?
> I'd like to ask him what he's trying to defend?
> I'd like to ask him what he thinks he's gonna win?
> Is there anybody here who thinks that following orders takes away the blame?
> Is there anybody here who wouldn't mind a murder by another name?

And Ochs explores this theme further in 'We seek no wider war':

> While we were watching the prisoners were tested by torture
> and vicious and violent gasses maintained the order
> as the finest Washington minds found slogans for slaughter
> but please be reassured, we seek no wider war

In 'The Willing Conscript' Tom Paxton juxtaposes the image of a willing patriotic conscript and the tasks he will have to perform to prove his patriotism and masculinity:

> To do my job obediently is my only desire.
> To learn my weapon thoroughly and how to aim and fire.
> To learn to kill the enemy and then to slaughter more,
> I'll need instruction, sergeant, for I've never killed before.

Now there are several lessons that I haven't mastered yet.
I haven't got the hang of how to use the bayonet.
If he doesn't die at once am I to stick him with it more?
Oh, I hope you will be patient, for I've never killed before.

Adopting a similar yet differently expressed naivety to the willing con-script, the protagonist in Frank Zappa's satirical 'I don't wanna get drafted' dismissively shows no desire whatsoever for militarised masculinity:

Roller skates in disco is a lot of fun
I'm too young'n stupid to operate a gun.
I don't wanna get drafted …

B2. Promoting War Resisters as Courageous (Creatively Masculine)

In holding up the image of the tough solider as an integral component of hegemonic masculinity, the pro-war lobby necessarily viewed war resisting males as unpatriotic cowards worthy of their scorn. In opposition to this, the anti-war protesters viewed war resisters in a positive light, believing them to be bravely refusing to serve, and demonstrating a different kind of admirable masculinity. Some songs anti-war songs carried this notion forward. In South Africa, Bright Blue wrote a song about the conscientious objector David Bruce, sentenced to six years in prison for taking a stand against conscription and refusing to serve. The song praised Bruce for his decision, regarding him as a hero, an icon of a new generation of white South Africans confronting the government over their conscription into the apartheid military:

And always, always remember your words have been heard,
We're on your side
Talking 'bout the word
Talk and we'll be heard
Talking 'bout the word
Over and over
Walking side by side
We're the rising tide

Meanwhile in the United States context, Steppenwolf's 'Draft resister' portrayed similar sentiments with regard to the Vietnam War, referring to a draft resister who had refused to serve in the army because it tried to crush his spirit:

He had joined to seek adventure and to prove himself a man
But they tried to crush his spirit 'til his conscience ruined their plans …

> Don't forget the Draft Resister and their silent, lonely plea
> When they march them off to prison, they will go for you and me
> Shame, disgrace and all dishonour, wrongly placed upon their heads
> Will not rob them of the courage which betrays the innocent

Songs like these made a strong case for alternative forms of (respectable and admirable) masculinity, based on different understandings of what it meant to be brave, and which proffered intellect and creativity as key components of alternative masculinities, rather than simple brute strength and non-questioning conformity.

In '2 + 2 =' Bob Seger suggests that those who question why they are sent to Vietnam and conclude that it is only because of the government's propaganda are labelled cowards. In a sense then, the song exposes the accusation as false and in contrast it strengthens the reputation of those who question the war:

> Well I knew a guy in high school
> Just an average friendly guy
> And he had himself a girlfriend
> And you made them say goodbye
> Now he's buried in the mud
> Over foreign jungle land
> And his girl just sits and cries
> She just doesn't understand
> So you say he died for freedom
> Well if he died to save your lies
> Go ahead and call me yellow
> 2+2 is on my mind

In 'An Open Letter to My Dad' Marceline responded to Victor Lundberg's 'An Open Letter to My Son' in which she made the case for a different kind of patriotic masculinity according to which men who burn their draft cards "are not anti-American. Simply pro-mankind … do not weep that you have lost a son. Rejoice. From this moment on, one less man will shoulder one less gun."[3] Dick Clair took the response to Victor Lundberg's song further in his "Hi Dad (An Open Letter to Dad)" in which he asks his dad why he released a song rather than writing a letter. Fortuitously, he said, he heard the song on the car radio and recognized his father's unmistakeable voice. In the song he undermines Lundberg's manliness by

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[3] However, after a complaint from a Maine radio station disc jockey Marceline apologized for releasing the record, saying that "we did a great injustice to all right thinking Americans by releasing such a record" (Vietnam War Song Project).

stating that 'There is no reason for us not to just sit down and have a man to man talk." In the song the draft dodger comes across as entirely sensible, bright and humorous as opposed to his unreasonable, bitter father who doesn't have the courage to man up to his son.

As much as pro-war songs promoted the difficulty of the soldier going off to war and leaving his loved one behind Tim Buckley, in 'I know I'd recognize your face', sings of the difficulty of the war resister leaving behind his girlfriend as he leaves the country to avoid the draft or prison sentence served on those who refuse to serve:

> I wouldn't fight or carry a gun
> I went far away
> To start a new life
> If I had stayed there
> You'd be my wife
> And I know I'd recognize your face
> Your memory keeps haunting me
> And I can't forget what time won't erase
> You know it's hard for me to come back now
> There's prison to face though the killing is done

Given that the song is an anti-war song, it unexpectedly shows the vulnerable side of the draft dodger, in revealing the difficulty of his decision to leave the United States and to stay away. It is no different in this sense to songs which recognize the fear of the battle situation for soldiers, away from their loved ones, who nevertheless, in terms of militarised masculinity, bravely travel to the dangerous battle front. The importance of the song is in drawing a parallel between that action and the difficulty of avoiding the draft, that it is not simply a cowardly act of running away without personal cost.

B3. Questioning Women's Role as Supporters of Soldiers on the Battle Front

Having undermined militarised masculinity and offering an alternative form of masculinity, it follows that dominant notions of ideal femininity in relation to the war were also questioned by anti-war musicians. This involved questioning traditional role of women as supporters of men going to war. This tradition applied to socializing children to become fewer military men, supporting men in their decision to join the military, admiring military men as the ideal masculinity, supporting men while away on military service, waiting faithfully for their return and even patriotically and unquestioningly accepting their death as the ultimate sacrifice to them and their country.

In South Africa Jennifer Ferguson provided a severe critique of the role of women as supporters of soldiers, from letter writing to sending gifts and

being faithful to them in their absence. In a satirical song 'Letters to Dickie', each verse is a segment of a letter, so that as the song unfolds so does the story of her attitude towards him:

> Dickie baby
> This one's for you
> Wherever you may be
> Tonight sleeping cold
> Fighting for your country and for me

As the song progresses, the protagonist finds the burden of waiting for Dickie (whose name intentionally emphasizes his masculinity) too heavy and ends up dating another man and falling pregnant. On receiving the letter in which she tells Dickie the news, he shoots and kills himself. The singer insightfully believes that the bullet he used to shoot himself was really meant for her. The humour and delivery of the song provide a parody of the expectations placed on women (and men) during absences brought about by the border war. However, it also provides a critique of the gender stereotypes and related gender role expectations. As with all effective satire, the song delivers a sad and difficult truth which works as a sobering antidote to the humour of the unfolding song.

Another South African musician to poke fun at the relationship between men and women during the border war was Bernoldus Niemand (in 'Hou My Vas Korporaal' - 'Hold Me Tight Corporal') who, rather than turning to his girlfriend or wife for support, ironically asks the corporal to hold him tight, to help him through his army experience which he endures out of duty and not by choice.

The Kalahari Surfers turn around the expectation that women should be faithful, reminding us that soldiers themselves can be unfaithful. In "Guttered with the Glory", which cuts up the Lord's prayer and adds lyrics relevant to the SADF raid on Maseru, we are reminded that soldier's kill and rape with scant regard for faithful loved ones back home:

> ashes BE of THY NAME caught in the crossfire
> THY KINGDOM strewn across the floors of flames as they COME in
> her bed

And in "Caprivi Strip", Via Afrika, use a play on words to suggest that SADF soldiers occupying Namibia involve themselves in sexual encounters with local women, probably forcibly:

> Cross the border of anywhere
> Touch my machine gun

> If you dare
> Do it Caprivi strip
> Your camouflage
> It slowly peels
> Where you wound me
> It doesn't heal
> Slowly girls
> Bit by bit
> Let's do it Caprivi strip

In 'The Boys are in Town', Roger Lucey expressed the doubt of soldiers questioning the government's gender role rhetoric, not convinced that they were really protecting loved ones on the home front:

> They say 'think of your family
> Think of your friends'
> But he knows that sentiment won't make it end

In the United States a variety of songs subverted the ideal role of women as supporters of brave men going off to war. In "Billy don't be a hero' Bo Donaldson and the Heywoods sang of a young woman who pressured her fiancée not to sacrifice his life in the war:

> Billy, don't be a hero, don't be a fool with your life
> Billy, don't be a hero, come back and make me your wife
> And as Billy started to go,
> She said keep your pretty head low
> Billy, don't be hero, come back to me

However, Billy forgets her words and dies as a result of a brave sacrifice. Billy's fiancée is not impressed:

> I heard his fiancée got a letter
> That told how Billy died that day
> The letter said that he was a hero
> She should be proud he died that way
> I heard she threw that letter away…

Similarly, the women in Joni Mitchell's 'The fiddle and the drum' is not impressed with her 'dear Johnny's' decision to go to war, and implores him to follow an alternative form of masculine patriotism, based in peace rather than war:

> I can remember
> All the good things you are
> And so I ask you please

> Can I help you find the peace and the star
> Oh, my friend
> What time is this
> To trade the handshake for the fist

The wife in Loretta Lynn's 'Dear Uncle Sam' is patriotic but undermines hegemonic patriarchal patriotism by asking whether sending men away to fight in a war is the appropriate form of demonstrating this patriotism:

> Dear Uncle Sam I know you're a busy man
> And tonight I write to you through tears with a trembling hand
> My darling answered when he got that call from you
> You said you really need him but you don't need him like I do
>
> Don't misunderstand I know he's fighting for our land
> I really love my country but I also love my man
> He proudly wears the colors of the old red white and blue
> While I wear a heartache since he left me for you

Unlike the widow in Nancy Ames' 'He wore the green beret', the widow in Steve Goodman's 'The ballad of Penny Evans' regrets the loss of her husband and is thankful she has no son to similarly sacrifice in Vietnam:

> My name is Penny Evans and my age is twenty-one
> I'm a widow of the war that was fought in Vietnam
> I have two baby daughters - thank God I have no son
> They say the war is over but I think it's just begun

The woman in 'Playing war' by Martina Reynolds does have a son, but, in deference to hegemonic patriotic expectations, is insistent he won't be going to war:

> There's a nameless war in Vietnam
> There's war in many lands
> And my little boy in our back yard
> Has a toy gun in his hands
> And the big toymakers in Buffalo
> Are getting my boy set to go
> But I say No and the kids say No,
> We're playing war no more

Also questioning the idea that parents (mothers in particular) should sacrifice their sons in warfare, in 'I-feel-like-I'm-fixin'-to-die', Country Joe McDonald saves the most biting message until the last verse, when he ridicules the idea that parents should be proud to send their sons off to war:

> Now come on mothers throughout the land
> Pack your boys off to Vietnam
> Come on fathers don't hesitate
> Send your sons off before it's too late
> Be the first one on your block
> To have your boy come home in a box

Along similar lines, some musicians voiced the point of view of sons in opposition to war. Rather than blindly follow government rhetoric by going off to war these men take a stance based on the desire to live. In a reversal of the songs in which men go off to war to protect their parents and other loved ones, John Lennon sang "I don't wanna be a soldier mama, I don't wanna die" and in an irreverant satirical role reversal in 'Doin' all right', the Fugs sang:

> I'm not ever gonna go to Vietnam
> I prefer to stay right here and screw your mom

'John Brown' in a Bob Dylan song is a returning soldier, who questions and undermines his mother's expectations of him before he left for war:

> Don't you remember, Ma, when I went off to war
> You thought it was the best thing I could do?
> I was on the battleground, you were home . . . acting proud.
> You wasn't there standing in my shoes.
>
> Oh, and I thought when I was there, God, what am I doing here?
> I'm a-tryin' to kill somebody or die tryin'.
> But the thing that scared me most was when my enemy came close
> And I saw that his face looked just like mine ...
>
> And I couldn't help but think, through the thunder rolling and stink,
> That I was just a puppet in a play.
> And through the roar and smoke, this string is finally broke,
> And a cannon ball blew my eyes away.

On a more solemn note, Edwin Starr (in 'Stop the war now') questions what a parent really benefits from the death of a son at war:

> And what does a mother get in return
> For the life of the son she's lost
> A few measly pennies a month
> A medal, a grave and a doggone cross
> I said, stop the war now

In 'War' Edwin Starr similarly undermines war rhetoric by reminding us that far from protecting their mothers and other loved ones, soldiers are routinely killed, leaving thousands of mothers without their sons 'War':

> War means tears
> To thousands of mothers eyes
> When their sons go to fight
> And lose their lives
> I said, war, huh
> Good God, y'all
> What is it good for
> Absolutely nothing

'A Dear John Letter' by Skeeter Davis and Bobby Bare provides a similar take on the role expectations of women at home as Jennifer Ferguson does in 'Letters to Dickie'. While the song may not be an overtly anti-war song it probably fits into what Perone (2001) refers to 'plight-of-the-soldier' songs in which the negative aspects of war are commented on, but the song nevertheless underlines the difficulty of the faithful girlfriend or wife on the home front waiting patiently for her loved one to return:

> I was overseas in battle when the postman came to me
> He handed me a letter and I was just as happy as I could be
> Cause the fighting was all over and the battles have all been won
> But then I opened up the letter and that started dear John
> Won't you please send back my picture my husband wants it now
> When I tell you who I'm wedding you won't care dear anyhow
> And it hurts me so to tell ye that my love for you has gone
> But tonight I wed your brother dear John

Songs with these sorts of message assisted in the task of breaking down the myth of military service as a brave undertaking by males engaged in defending their country. On the contrary, such songs demystified the military, in a sense opening the way for a counter discourse in which meanings attached to sex and gender roles and military activities were open to wider interpretation.

Conclusion

Support for and resistance to the United States war in Vietnam and the South African border war often took the form of promoting and questioning traditional gender dichotomies. This paper has demonstrated that musicians reflected this contest through the songs they sang. The setting up and breaking down of gender expectations has formed an important part of the songs sung about these wars. While these songs did not directly cause audiences to

adopt the gendered positions posited in the lyrics, they did circulate such representations in society and in so doing reinforced hegemonic notions of patriarchal patriotism via military service and combat. They also serve as documents of the ideologies being contested at the time and therefore serve as an ongoing reminder of the difficulties confronting conscripts and draftees within these two war contexts.

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Exoticism, Hybridity and the Postethnic Perspective

Claire Levy

While studying the blues tradition in its home country, I found myself tempted to trace out some hypothetical parallels between what might be considered as the "black music" in various socio-cultural contexts. Music, of course, as Philip Tagg cleverly argued, has no colour, and the very term "black music" appears to be highly problematic (see Tagg, 1989). Even though, the term is still very much in use among journalists, scholars and listeners. Generally, the term relates to cultural traditions of African American people and to the roots of some major twentieth century developments in music, including jazz. But it is also generally interpreted as a sad metaphor for music made by people, who are considered to be "inferior" due to the arrogant understanding concerning the "white superiority."

My intention to draw the attention to another notion of "blackness" relates to the context of Bulgarian ethno-jazz – a trend which emerged as a particular fusion between local folk music and global jazz idioms still in the 1960s under the name of folk-jazz due to the music activities of Milcho Leviev – a key figure in the innovation of Bulgarian jazz. Stimulated by the 1980s novelties in Bulgarian wedding orchestras, the new phase of ethno-jazz activities turned to be widely contributed by local others, that is, by Roma musicians – the proverbial Balkan "black people" whose performing skills draw on the tradition of *chalgija*, a vernacular instrumental music developed in the context of urban folk music all over the Balkans.

Yet, why to refer to music of local Roma people as the "black music" of the Balkans? And what, on the other hand, Balkan "black music" and African American roots of jazz might have in common? Hypothetically, such a comparison suggests nothing more than some historical similarities in terms of unfavourable social fates of two otherwise geographically distant and musically completely different, completely distinct ethnic cultures. One common line between them reminds, however, that both of them are *expected to perform* the Exotic Other in the modern western world, and above all, are often

"cursed as people and honored as musicians" (Silverman, 2007: 36).

Interestingly enough, nowadays we clearly witness an accelerated pace of migration and crossing of musical languages, which seems to blur not only the boundaries between 'folk, 'pop', and 'art' as historically constructed domains, but also between notions concerning the issue of ethnicity and its relation to music and identity. And the Exotic Other, ideally imagined as the "charming primitive", seems to refuse imposed images and plays around multiple identities, as if to break down any stereotypes and to claim about inhabiting *simultaneously* different human and musical worlds. Such an assumption becomes quite evident while observing much of the music that today occupies particular trans-border zones and develops new forms of eclecticism observed under the label of world music, or, say, in locally developed genres like, for example, ethno-jazz or pop-folk observed within Bulgaria.
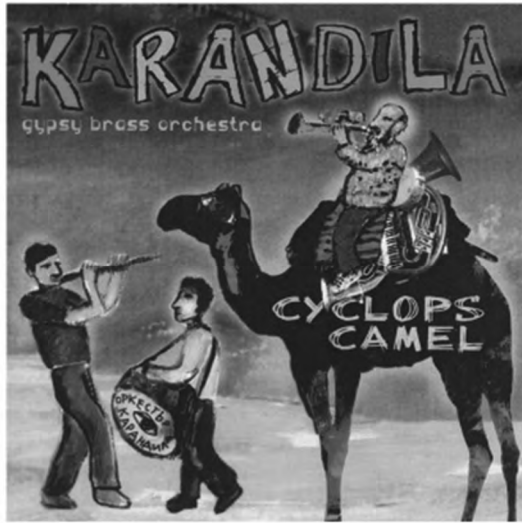

Fig. 1. Cyclops Camel. Front side of the album cover (2005, Messechina Music)

The notion of such a flexibility is clearly observed in the performing events of *Karandila* – the Gypsy brass orchestra from Bulgaria (leaded by tropmetist Angel Tichaliev), who at the end of the twentieth century actively toured all over Europe and gained popularity in local, national and international terms. As noted in the booklet of their album, entitled "Cyclops Camel", released in 2005, their music strikes with "an unusual stylistic diapason which ranges from swing and bebop to operetta and circus tunes, yet all of them spiced by traditional Balkan folk idioms…".

Even only the very design of this album suggests a notion of particular clash between seemingly incompatible cultural polarities. Images in the spirit

of naivety hint, in a joking manner, of particular exoticism – as if domestic, but yet "not quite from here". The allusion of Balkan affiliation of the musicians, bearing the traditional drum (named *daul*) and other instruments, attributed to the specific arsenal of the Balkan chalgija, is located in a space which apparently contrasts the typical geographical landscape of the Balkans (Fig. 1).

Looking at the flip side, one can notice a sign that shows two counter pointers: the one points to Sliven – the home town of *Karandila* musicians. The other points to New Orleans – the emblematic spot considered as the birth place of jazz. As to the figures on the pointers, they hint that the presumable geographical landscape is somewhere *in-between* these too distant from each other destinations: the one located in South-Eastern Europe, in the Balkans; the other – in the southern part of North America. In other words, the depictions on both sides of the cover seem to create a notion of an imaginable "third place" – a desert, located quite far away East from the Balkans (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Cyclop Camel. Flip side of the album cover (2005, Messechina Music)

Apparently, both the title of the album and the images on the CD cover play around *intentionally* on exotic symbols of three spots located in three different continents.

Why is this so? Is this parallel between the town of Sliven, considered as the informal capital of Roma people from Bulgaria, and New Orleans – "the birthplace of jazz", only a commercial trick? What might be the relation between the "black music" of the Balkans and the African-American roots of

jazz? Even in the sphere of the imagined comparison, such a parallel suggests, first of all, a certain doze of self-irony which somehow questions all theories devoted to the issue of Otherness. On the other hand, the intention here suggests those unpredictable windings in the process of hybridity, which indicates particular transnational and trans-ethnical traffic of musical ideas, associated to a great extent with multiple identifications in the context of diasporic cultures, which usually play a significant role in the intercultural communication.

Musically, these polarities are embedded in much of the music included in the whole album, by mixing idioms based on Bulgarian folk, classical American jazz, Oriental dance patterns, and, certainly, on the specific oriental melismatic manner of playing. Intended to fit what is nowadays considered as *world music*, this album seems to be quite symptomatic in terms of the process of hybridity – a concept, which is very much in use, when discussing issues of Diaspora, cultural difference and change, and the complex interplay between ethnicity, cultural politics and social identities in contemporary culture.

Why Hybridity? What is the difference between this concept and related terms such as, say, fusion, synthesis, and interaction?

Simon Frith notes, for example, that the concept of hybridity criticizes the old understanding of authenticity and brings a more sensitive reading of the relationship between musicians and producers. The term refers not only to the process of music creation or to the migration of given musics in the context of the international market for the exchange of sounds and images. It also points to a broader research perspective that can interpret world music not only in the sense of a market label on a deliberately packaged product containing "ethno music for sale" but also in the sense of particular "...space in which new (hybrid) signs are played in cultural identities ... " (Silverman, ibid). Regarding music, the term hybrid synthesizes a number of arguments related to issues of the relationship between the process of cultural globalization and its reflection on the forms of self-identifications.

The term appears as a convenient and challenging concept that describes *moments of communication across incommensurable polarities.* It has come to mean all sorts of things to do with mixing and combination in the moment of cultural exchange and signifies a key part of cultural modelling that proliferate in contemporary culture. Besides, it cut across traditional boundaries of nations and groups, giving rise to transnational spaces for a range. I'm not going to discuss on this matter but would only point out that the concept of hybridity presents an *alternative* model which can address the ambivalence towards fixity and mobility in contemporary culture.

My personal concern in relation to the productive effects of the term hybridity is motivated rather by the assumption that it might oppose the romantic nationalistic myth, still very much alive among Bulgarians, which take

for granted the notion of any cultural purity. Much of the music featured in "Cyclops Camel" clearly informs on how unpredictable the forms of cultural exchange might be and how a variety of musical vocabularies might interplay and cut across any boundaries. Without romanticizing on this matter I would suggest that – through its crossovers – the hybrid music of minorities, and especially the one of Roma Diaspora in Bulgaria, performs a particular impact on the dominant society and, potentially, on diversifying the notion of national identity. I would suggest that this impact may *pre-formulate* the traditional Bulgarian *ethnic* nationalism, which, as argued by Donna Buchanan, is rooted in the nineteenth-century Bulgarian state (Buchanan, 2006: 37). Insisting on traditional understanding of nationalism is symptomatic in terms of a mentality and sentiments, deeply seeded in the national consciousness, that might explain some of the frustrations, experienced nowadays by the dominant Bulgarian society while meeting demands of the socio-political doctrine of democracy, including in terms of understanding and conceptualizing cultural pluralism and cross-ethnic musical developments within the Balkan region.

Hot polemics concerning this process dated to the wedding bands boom in the 1980s when some folk musicians felt somehow encouraged to drew freely on the tangled regional skein of local Balkan roots, but also from a wide spectrum of globalized sounds projected onto the field of contemporary popular music. At approximately the same time, astounded Westerners were struck by the whirlwind tempi, complex metric and rhythmic patterns, passionate tunes and unusual (for the Western ear!) timbres and modal structures heard beyond the Balkans as early as the eighties – say, for example, in the playing of Bulgarian master clarinetist of Turkish-Rom origins, innovator of local wedding music Ivo Papasov and his orchestra Trakia. The West had begun to talk about the legendary performers of Bulgarian wedding music, described as a new phenomenon that in the 1980s transformed the East-European musical terrain with its mighty blend, woven from Balkan folk, spiced with jazz, rock, Gypsy, Turkish, and Indian music (see Silverman, 2005). Clearly, the Western world had noticed alternative impulses in the *new* ethnomusic from Bulgaria, touched as if by the wild blast and somehow irrational waft coming from those zones which, in the words of Richard Middleton, were formally abused but subconsciously desired in post-Renaissance Europe (see Middleton, 2000: 61). Connected mainly to the traditions of rural folk and urban vernacular music, such zones remind in a particular way of the Other in Europe, as well as of that "Dionysian" sensitivity presently observed in the ubiquitous mosaic of non-standard phenomena teeming along unknown paths in the variegated context of the global postmodern situation. At the end of the twentieth century, it appears that the West, shedding layered taboos and simplifying cultural interpretations, is looking for new stimuli in the notions of "roots" and "authenticity." Weariness with the mimicry

of rational and somehow sterile strategies in the creation of musical artifacts or boredom with the slick brilliance of the refined expression of pop culture has activated a taste for *difference*, for those not quite known but inspiring cultural spaces connected with the symbolic and enigmatic nature of regional traditions that ignite the imagination, although not always at a conscious level. The global craze for regional cultures created new prospects for the already innovative sounds of Bulgarian wedding music. Fitting, in a sense, the famous postmodern motto "Think globally, act locally!," it is these sounds that feed, to a great degree, the contours of the new wave in Bulgarian jazz, as well as colouring other non-traditional genre trends in the field of Bulgarian popular music that emerged in the beginning of the 1990s.

It is worth noting, however, that the flourishing of local ethnomusic, based on multi-ethnic fusions was perceived at that time as a peculiar novelty in the soundspace, not only by Westerners but also by Bulgarians. The paradoxes in the dynamic between concepts of "self" and "other" had pushed identification processes in such a way that, at the end of the 1980s, the sound profile of popular music within Bulgaria – at least the one that dominated the public media space and influenced an essential part of the Bulgarian musical mainstream – was related more to the vocabulary of a pro-Western oriented, *modernizing* sound lexicon than to the traditional *vernacular* language of the local self. Despite ideological restrictions of the then totalitarian regime, the result of centralized cultural politics that ran for nearly half a century, the leading trends in the development of pop, rock and jazz in Bulgaria during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s revealed an insatiable striving toward the acquisition of just such modernizing intonational orientations. In a sense, the view toward dynamically changing global fads prompted tendencies that reformulated local concepts of "everyday music," especially those which had a bearing on the attitudes and preferences of the generations formed in the context of urbanized Bulgaria during the second half of the twentieth century. In this way the local self, understood as a polyphonic set that ranged over musical traditions of different local ethnic communities, was for a long time pushed out to the periphery of the public space, mostly because of its Balkan flavor and of complicated sociopsychological connotations dominated by negative signs and the allusion of "backwardness" (see Levy, 2004).

On the other hand, the specific profile of folk music disseminated by the state controlled media, connected mainly to the institutionally encouraged "museum-like" or beautified and magnificently staged "concert" representations of Bulgarian folklore in the years after the Second World War, had distanced folk music from the expectations of a living and naturally functioning, naturally developing *vernacular folk* music with roots in local traditions.

The Bulgarian musicologist Gencho Gajtandjiev reflects on the character of the second, concert trend, marked by glossy stylistics in the spirit of the western Music Hall and a somehow distanced artistic vision that is intended

for the "big stage:" "Is there any truly 'folk' idea in the stage costumes, stylized more and more richly by famous artists and designers, in the songs arranged by professional composers, and in the glittering expensive panels in the folk style that cover the walls of the houses of culture?" (Gajtandjiev, 1990: 126). The author alludes to the predominantly ostentatious profile associated with the common practices of the state folk ensembles and sees the reasons for their alienation from "the music of everyday life" as a reflection of the widely represented view, sustained among some influential folklorists and academically oriented musical spheres, "...of the incompatibility between musical folklore and current pop and rock music" (Gajtandjiev, 1990, 120). On the other hand, the author does not fail to note the suspensory role of the long-cultivated romantic concept of preserving the "purity" of Bulgarian folklore. Contrary to this concept, he argues that folklore is a living organism and that musical traditions may be protected only by means of their constant renewal: "Do we realize that the folkloric legacy, like an organic whole, like a vital system... is part of a way of life,...which remains irreversibly in the history, the museums, the memories, the genetic code of a community?" (ibid).

Directing attention toward *folk as a process*, such a point of view brings a particular perspective. Although already distant from the semantics of the ritual-ceremonial tradition, the folk idiomatic, felt now more as a convention for a given artistic expressiveness, finds its place in the contemporary world. The most natural environment in this regard is the non-formalized sphere of life, long neglected in the public space of the Bulgarian situation. This is especially true for those of its niches in which the link between the intimate and communal experience is difficult to subject to external sanctions or forms of centralized control. Such a niche in the Bulgarian case turns out to be the peculiar cultural territory of the village wedding, a space in which, during the 1970s and 1980s, the sentiment toward folk tradition lived in the context of changed current conditions. Split between "past" and "present," between "traditional" and "modern," between "rural" and "urban," the cultural space of the village wedding outlines a new stage in the inescapable process of modernization, as well as in the revitalized contours of that eclectic feeling for semirural-semiurban living that to a certain degree has accompanied Bulgarian culture at least during the whole twentieth century.

In this sense, the wedding orchestras' boom during the 1980s is not accidental. The existing vacuum in the sphere of locally-oriented vernacular music as well as the new sociocultural situation stimulated liberating impulses in the function of folk music, defined at that time usually as "wrong" and "distorted." It is also not accidental that wedding playing, that *other* folk music, is realized as a kind of underground—that is, as a tendency that has turned from the orthodox, from the "right" path, and from hidebound notions of the preservation of the folkloric heritage. Formed under the strong impact of

the romantic idea concerning the existence of "pure" folklore, the Bulgarian, eager-to-become-modern and Westernized, correlates wedding-music more with the concept of some kind of local "home-grown" exotic, understood in conjunction with the valued marks of cultural backwardness and ignorant primitivism. Even during the 1990s, when the dominant notions in the wide vernacular sphere and the already partially deregulated media space were largely influenced by the intonations and innovative artistic approach developed in wedding music, the majority continued to perceive the characteristic accents of this updated Balkan expressivity, rich as it was in specific and generous intonations of "Eastern" sensuality, as a "foreignism" in the vocabulary of Bulgarian music.

In a sense such an attitude is a reflection of public polemics, still undertaken "from above" in the mid-1980s, on the countenance of wedding music, which at that time was experiencing a powerful new development. The proponents of these public polemics criticized the "anarchism" that had swept through the folk instrumental tradition, that is, an artistic freedom sublimating a set of spontaneously arising innovations including a line of ostentatious, uncontainable virtuosity and improvisational approaches that crossed ethnodialects from different regions and also fused intonations with a far from local origin. In the critical words of Gajtandjiev, "arguments of a different nature are adduced in defense of a quite extreme, generalizing and completely non-pluralistic view, which might be summarized thus: these ensembles and the music that they spread... *distort and debase folklore*, because of which they occupy an undeserved place in the sphere of contemporary musical culture. And this is why, in order to exist in the future, they must 'cleanse' their music and place their production inside 'prescribed boundaries'." (Gajtandjiev, 1990: 128).

The call for the "cleansing" of "foreign" elements from wedding music by means of the exercise of a central control manifested itself in various ways. The intention to sanitize this type of music, to do away with the "warped" in relation to notions of the "right" folk music, projected itself finally into the sanctioned politics of specialized juries for the selection of groups for participation in the State-initiated national review of instrumental folk music ensembles that took place in Stambolovo in the mid 1980s. The idea of obliterating the "foreignisms" that characterized the capricious nature of this musical practice and which had assumed exceptional dimensions in the field of non-formalized music-making (especially in the territory of the village wedding), was declared more than once in different public forums. In the words of the chair of the jury, the aim was "to preserve authentic folk tunes in a manner attractive to young people," but "the other goal of the festival was to eliminate foreign elements from our neighbors in the music" (Rice, 1994: 255).

The comments of the American ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice, a long standing expert on Bulgarian folk music, are curious in this regard. Rice noted the *dual* behavior of the musicians during the reviews in Stambolovo (see Rice, 1994, p. 253). Describing his observations during the festival in 1988, the author directs our attention to a peculiar trick in the behavior of the orchestras, which practiced a double standard in presentation: one "right," *when in front of the jury*; the other free, *when in front of the people*. The latter style is dedicated to the unpredictable movements of virtuoso improvisation that involve the given conventions only as a prop and a moment in the building of music that flows, exactly like a club jam session, according to the caprices of the situational logic. The "right" way of playing is pro-forma, something that can secure a "passport" for the musicians to the Stambolovo festival stage, where the audience of many thousands, without a doubt, has flocked to hear the second, "incorrect" playing, which had acquired the aura of a kind of defiance and was a trade-mark of wedding music.

In his description, Rice also points out fundamental stylistic differences between the two types of playing, which are construed as a manifestation of a certain aesthetic profile. The author connects one tendency, encouraged by the jury, with stylistics marked by moderate volume, moderate tempi, tight rhythmic and melodic unisons, all subordinated to the idea of a "sweet" (that is, prettified or saccharine) sound. The melodies and improvisational moments, although they might include elements of contemporary wedding music (for example, chromaticisms and arpeggios) are restricted to four- and eight-bar phrases. This mode of playing reveals a type of self-control and self-discipline, cultivated to a large degree according to delineated notions of folk music, influenced by the aesthetic of Western-oriented models, and by standards connected to what might be called "radio-stylistics," which form a substantial part of folkloric music intended for media broadcast.

The other tendency, the antithesis to radio-stylistics and to controlled playing, reveals an approach, described most often by the expert members of the juries as "irritatingly aggressive" (and yet especially liked by the audience!). The sound here is "non-sweet" (that is, natural, non-saccharine), notable for sharper and louder acoustic characteristics, and for taking the path of unfettered improvisational music-making. This approach exploits the sound and technical potential of the instruments to the utmost limit, breaking the conventional four- and eight-bar structures and changing the harmonies in an unpredictable way. Usually, each performance on the stage in Stambolovo lasted around twenty minutes. Leading off most often with a song melody in a danceable tempo followed by a series of instrumental dance tunes typical of a given region, the musicians would then move into improvisations, breaking the model of the customary "radio" arrangements and finding their way by this means to the real stylistics of wedding music. In his description Rice also emphasizes that "some groups, particularly those that played for

Gypsy and Turkish weddings, dispensed with the sweet aesthetic all together and played with free passion from the beginning of their performance to the end" (Rice, 1994: 253).

According to Rice, the two approaches might also be construed as a manifestation of different aesthetic views of the tradition: one connected more to the "Bulgarian" point of view; the other to the "Rom" attitude in music-making. The attempt at control in relation to this style in wedding music making is revealed even in acts that, at first glance, have as their goal the popularization of musicians like Ivo Papasov. For example, the album of wedding playing by Papasov and his orchestra released by Balkanton (the state controled record company) at the end of the 1980s is nothing more than a flirtation with the popular artist's name. There is not even a trace in the album of the "aggressive" tendency that originally developed as a result of Papasov's innovative playing. On the contrary. Produced in the spirit of "correct" folk music, the recordings here have had the stylistics characteristic of "real" wedding music making surgically removed. The improvised moments are reduced to a minimum, the general sound more closely resembles that of the moderate, encouraged "from above," controlled radio-stylistics.

No doubt, following the innovative liberating activities in the late 1980s wedding orchestras, Karandila's instrumental music is among those contemporary examples which represent, revive and further develop the cultural legacy of the oriental past. Their artistic dialogism and adaptive mentalities, associated with the Roma Diaspora, are open (inevitably) to all possible surroundings, especially to those local folk musics which are part of the host culture. This is why Roma music in Bulgaria, Russia, Hungary or, say, Spain, deeply differentiate from each other. Since 1998 when *Karandila* made their first major crossover through the film entitled "Gypsy Summer: Tales of Surviving" and the CD release under the same name, the notion of exchange and transmission through *ethnically mixed* local practices seems to be flourishing home and abroad. Even so, obsessive fears about keeping the notion of "pure" national identity is still there. One can still hear aggressive calls and accusations that such developments *gypsify* Bulgarian folk music and damage the "authenticity" and the "purity" of Bulgarian national culture. Other voices insist on preserving the "authenticity", that is, the exotic image of Roma music, as if leaving aside the understanding that the category of authenticity is also a matter of changes. On the other hand, alternative viewpoints come from those open-hearted, sensitive learners, who appreciate their others and share the assumption that such developments point to particular aspects of democratization in the musical life in Bulgaria and the increasing understanding of "national" as multifaceted and changing category.

Such an alternative calls for recognition of multiculturalism and pluralism. But is that good enough to feel the subtle processes of cultural identifications? Can we refer to the musicians of *Karandila* as representatives of any

frozen idea concerning *gypsy-ness* while they apparently appropriate and inhabit different cultural worlds? On the other hand, how to look at those non-Gypsy musicians who nowadays perfectly use all these idioms once attributed to Gypsy music?

Dwelling on such issues, the American historian David Hollinger developed a *postethnic perspective* to argue that identity is not a stable category. Hollinger's reasoning is not intended to impose, with yet another fashionable "post", a notion of the profound terminology in the field of contemporary cultural theories. The author is motivated by the intention to take a next step in the critique of essentialist views on ethno-cultural identities in modern civil society. He posits a post-ethnic perspective that favours voluntary affiliations over fixed identities. According to him, "…a postethnic perspective recognizes that *most individuals live in many circles simultaneously*… (Hollinger, 2000: 106). "A postethnic perspective also tries to remain alert to features that are common to one or more other ethnic identities inclined to see each other as opposed" (Ibid: 107).

Even though Hollinger refers to the North American society, his theoretical model suggests perspectives that might be applicable to other modern societies. I am far from the idea to apply mechanically this model to other societies, yet much of its points relate to actual, and I would emphasize, *hot* problems concerning the understanding of modern democracy within the present Bulgaria.

Considering music as a dynamic category, which denies any static or frozen condition, the post-ethnic perspective seems to be self-obvious. Self-obvious is also the people's ability to embrace and enjoy a variety of artistic values. Years ago the ethnomusicologist John Blacking posed a rhetorical question. *How musical is the man?*, he asked. The question brings humanitarian notion which draws attention to the relative nature of cultural values – a notion that, according to Blacking himself, is systematically disregarded by Eurocentric views, implied in the western concepts concerning music and musicality. Following the pathos of this question, today we could ask: *how many musical worlds, after all, can co-exist in the mind of a man?*

Rather in this sense, the co-existence of different stylistic lines in the music of *Karandila* suggests not merely the profile of particular artistic fusion. It also suggests a particular internal freedom in the process of cultural self-identification – a freedom which refuses stereotypes locked in the prism of any essentialism.

Listening to one of the most emblematic pieces included in "Cyclops Camel" named *Peasant Dance*, one can hear that any single component in this hybrid form, no matter whether it brings an allusion of the steady pulse based on oriental dance patterns, of Bulgarian folk intonations, of particular virtuosity associated with the improvisational approach attributed to Bulgarian (Balkan) wedding orchestras, or, of classical jazz idioms that remind the

global impact of the swing big bands, none of these components work in any pure way; all of them interact under a particular cultural logic that conceptualizes music, according to the words of James Clifton, as "temporal, contested, and emergent" (see Clifford,1986). For the mastery of a "foreign" vocabulary and turning it into a part of one's own expressive arsenal is a process that recalls the eternal interplay between self and the other, taken not so much as oppositional categories, but rather as complementary aspects of personal identity. "The other in myself" or "myself in the other" – no matter how we choose to name this interplay, it from time immemorial indicates that music, as pointed out by Richard Middleton, is *not* a possession that one can lock away in one's own safe (Middleton, 2000: 60).

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Perspectives in Music Arising out of Blockchain-Technology and Its Corresponding Research Strategies

Jan Hemming

For a start, let us take a look at one of the new services listed when searching the web for "music and blockchain". Results typically include Ujomusic, Peertracks, Revelator, DotBC, PledgeMusic, Musiconomy and more, some predominantly offering music, others primarily promoting new services for musicians and creative artists. Of course, these need not be seen in opposition. I chose Ujomusic for the following examples. This was also the platform which hosted one of the earliest experiments simultaneously licensing and monetizing music from the British singer-songwriter Imogen Heap by using a blockchain. When preparing this article, the new album from the Portuguese musician RAC was on offer:

As I was planning to pay using a cryptocurrency, I had acquired an amount of Ethereum coins beforehand, but will not go into the details of how I did this here. These can be found elsewhere on the web and typically require a registration on one of the cryptocurrency-trading-platforms. For now, we only need to know that coins are stored in a virtual wallet which enables sending and receiving money similar to a regular bank account. You might also want to know why I chose Ethereum and not Bitcoin, for example. This will become obvious further down in this article.

Figure 1: Excerpt from the website https://rac.ujomusic.com/ [15.2.2018]

The next thing I learned at Ujomusic was that I would not be able to use the standard-wallet just mentioned, but that I would be required to make use of the Chrome-browser and install a specific plug-in called Metamask. Among further functions, it contains another wallet, which did not immediately make sense to me. Again, it will be explained further down. Thus, the next step consisted in transferring ether from the standard-wallet to Metamask. As this was my first transaction using cryptocurrencies at all, I learned that a service charge (called "gas" in the Ethereum world) would apply and that I would be able to influence the speed of the transaction by setting a slider to a higher fee. Seems fair, doesn't it?
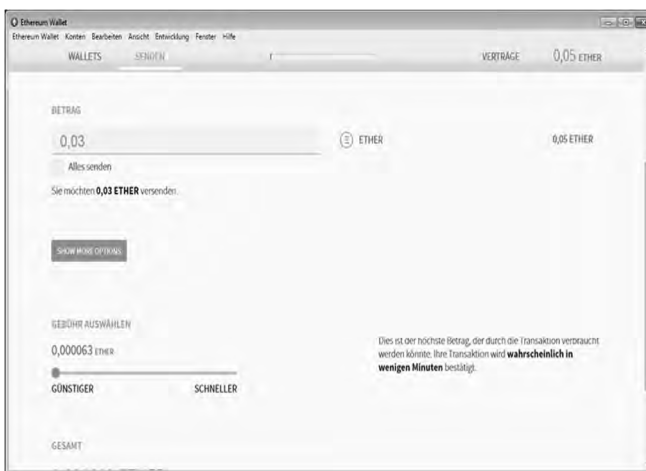

Figure 2: Transaction-window in the standard Ethereum wallet

0.000063 to 0.0021 ETH for (6.3ct to 2.10 EUR) for a transaction of 0.03 ETH (approx. 30 EUR) is equal to 0.0021%-7% of the total amount. Once the amount had arrived in Metamask, I was able to proceed with purchasing the album.
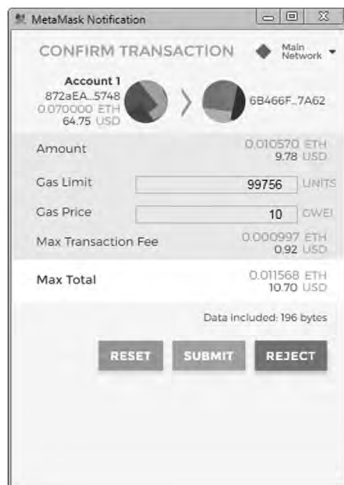
Figure 3: Popup of the Metamask-plugin for the Chrome browser [15.2.2018]

I received words of thanks from the musician and the platform congratulating me for being a pioneer (Ujo, 2017c) and next, the music was offered for download in four different file-formats (three of them lossless[1]) in a rather old-fashioned way.

I chose mp3, imported the files into my music player, which properly recognized the metadata for artist and song titles and was now ready for listening. It is noteworthy however, that none of the files seem to contain any form of protection (the only possible option being a watermark, but then again, I never personally registered with Ujomusic, so the only possible reference would be my Metamask account). In other words, having paid for the music made me trustworthy for the platform and the musician which seem to be confident that I would not pass on these files for free or upload them to a sharing-platform on the web.

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[1] This term refers to compression algorithms which do not reduce the sound quality.

Figure 4: Popup from the website https://rac.ujomusic.com/ after purchase [15.2.2018]

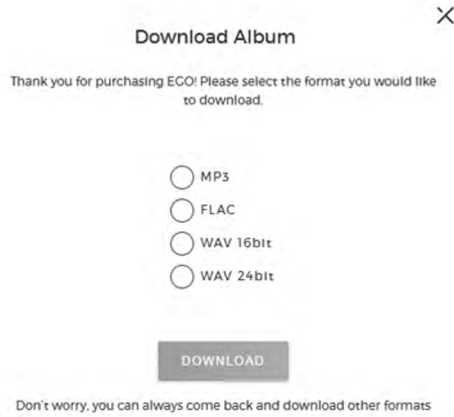Now, what is so special about the process just described, apart from the fact that a cryptocurrency was used for payment, and what does all of this have to do with music on the blockchain? The first answer to be given is that the according technology was developed to enable cryptocurrencies in the first place. However, paying a platform like Ujomusic with Ether instead of Euro or Dollars does not necessarily imply a change in conditions for the artists. It is most likely that the common practice of the music industry in the past decades will continue and only a percentage (be it large or small) will be passed on to the musicians. A second answer is tied to the musicians potentially being paid in cryptocurrencies themselves. It has been shown above that transaction-fees can be kept to a minimum; also, they require no minimum amount to be transferred. This is called "near-instant-micropayments" in the blockchain-world and could imply the musicians almost instantly getting paid once someone downloads or streams their music. Sounds promising, doesn't it? Now, the big issue related to this option is the question where the required licensing-information (copyright) and the according monetization agreements (contracts) will or can be stored. So far, it is mostly the national performance rights organizations (abbreviated below as PROs) / collecting societies which hold and maintain these databases. The contracts are typically part of the deal between the musician and a record label and/or a publisher (in fact, signing up with a major label usually requires the artist to also sign a second contract with the label's music publisher). So, the third answer lies in the fact that all of this information (and potentially increased in detail, see Heap, 2018, p. 4) could also be stored and secured on a blockchain, which in essence is a special form of a distributed and trustworthy database. Imogen Heap, for example, established the following distribution model for all income generated through her song "Tiny Human". Note that also session

musicians and studio technicians are included here which is not common practice as they usually get paid only once (there are exceptions in some countries such as Germany and its collecting society GVL which specializes in rights of performing musicians):

Tiny Human Distribution	
Across all Licenses	100%
Performer: **Imogen Heap**	91.2%
Performer: **Stephanie Appelhans**	1.3%
Performer: **Diego Romano**	1.3%
Performer: **Yasin Gundisch**	1.3%
Performer: **Hoang Nguyen**	1.3%
Performer: **Simon Minshall**	1.3%
Performer: **David Horwich**	1.3%
Performer: **Simon Heyworth**	0.8%

Figure 5: Popup from the website
https://imogen2.surge.sh/#/imogen_heap/tiny_human/tiny_human [16.7.2017]

If this kind of split is also saved in the blockchain, the above-mentioned micropayments could automatically be initiated. Sounds great, some might say, as it seems very fair. Then again, this implies a degree of transparency which might not be approved by all players involved. For example, successful business models must often be hidden from competitors. The musicians themselves might be uncomfortable if the percentage of their revenue becomes public: What if someone raised the issue that Imogen Heap is greedy and should never receive more than 50%? This could cause great damage, especially on social media such as fan platforms. One of the major issues in the future introduction of blockchain-technology in music will most likely be tied to the issue of who will actually advocate for and benefit from transparency, and who will not. But now, let's start over with greater detail and better systematization:

Basics of Blockchain Technology

In order to assess the relevance of blockchain technology for music and other creative areas, we need to make an attempt to at least partially understand what's behind this term (Tapscott & Tapscott, 2016). It might be helpful to relate it to its original purpose, which was to realize digital currency independent from governments, central or commercial banks or any other

intermediaries – with *Bitcoin* being the first and most prominent representative. The most crucial issue with a digital currency which doesn't have material equivalents such as coins and bills, is to prevent one single Bitcoin from being spent twice (or even more often). In 2008, a groundbreaking paper was published under the synonym Satoshi Nakamoto, where major solutions were presented and Bitcoin is introduced (Nakamoto, 2008). The problem is solved by storing all transactions and adding them to a chronological chain of connected data blocks – hence the term blockchain. Each block is summed up into a digital fingerprint called *hashcode*, which is created by a powerful and irreversible encryption algorithm. This unique hashcode becomes part of the next block containing the transaction information. By means of this digital fingerprint, a new block is linked to the preceding one. If someone attempted to manipulate a data block, its hashcode would change and all subsequent blocks would become invalid. In a way, the use of every single Bitcoin can theoretically be traced back to the very beginning, the mythical Genesis block. As the whole technology relies on cryptography, virtual currencies such as Bitcoins are also called *cryptocurrencies*.[2]

Figure 6: Screenshot from video at https://anders.com/blockchain/ [28.4.2018] with inserted arrows indicating linking blocks through hashcodes

Next, if someone gained access to the server hosting the blockchain, there might still be ways for manipulation and for example to spend one Bitcoin twice as outlined above. This is why a blockchain is realized independently from a single server and instead operates as a peer-to-peer network. There exist a large number of simultaneous copies of the blockchain file spread all over the globe – this is what is called a *distributed ledger network*, the broader term of operating a blockchain. To add a transaction respectively a new block

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[2] The site https://anders.com/blockchain/ contains very instructive videos to illustrate the operation of a blockchain.

to the chain requires huge calculating and encryption power, and formerly single users and nowadays almost exclusively specialized computer centers compete all around the globe to be the first one to find the new hashcode to verify the transactions. Once this is accomplished, the winner is rewarded by a relatively small amount of Bitcoin (this reward decreases over time); this is also how and why the total volume of the currency constantly increases (but is eventually limited to 21 million Bitcoins). I am pointing this out to make it clear that operating and making use of a blockchain is not for free, as some of the early enthusiastic comments on the technology suggested (Dickson, 2016). Another security feature of blockchains is the fact that they operate on open source software, so computer experts all around the world are able to identify and eliminate security leaks or ways of manipulation.

In the most recent years however, along with the Bitcoin-hype, the term blockchain has seen some erosion, so it has become a matter of debate how to define it. Characteristic for the Bitcoin-blockchain is its public availability and worldwide spread. As a matter of fact, the file is about 130 Gigabyte in size and currently spread on about 9500 nodes. Anyone can obtain a copy while most of the content is encrypted and thus not of much use. There are frequent reports in the media that banks and other companies are catching up on blockchain technology, which is quite easy as the required software is available for free. Many PROs have expressed interest (see section 5.5) and in 2017, Spotify even acquired the Mediachain-company presumably to experiment with its own blockchain technology (Sawers, 2017). But despite the encryption, we can imagine that a bank, a collecting society or a music streaming service running their own blockchain will not be equally interested in worldwide availability of their database, also since there remains some certain danger that computers of the future will be able to crack the encryption algorithms used. Thus, for the case of companies, distributed ledger will mean their blockchain is hosted on various computers in a number of places. As opposed to a central server, this also has security advantages. In addition, it will make use of similar validation strategies and the according open source software. However, it will then be up to the company if all the options mentioned in the case of the Bitcoin or Ethereum blockchain will also become available. Bo (2018) introduces and discusses various definitions in relation to current practices. Apart from the undisputed facts which Bo cites from Mike Orcutt "a blockchain is essentially a shared accounting ledger that uses cryptography and a network of computers to track assets and secure the ledger from tampering" (p. 1), Bo calls for an inclusion of the notion of disintermediation and the distinction between public and private blockchains into the definition. Xu et al. (2017) give the definition "blockchain is an emerging technology for decentralized and transactional data sharing across a large network of untrusted participants. It enables new forms of distributed software architectures, where agreement on shared states can be established

without trusting a central integration point." (p. 1) and provide detailed technical descriptions and comparisons as well as Valenta and Sandner (2017).

The Potential for Creative Industries and Especially for Music

Now, what does all of this have to do with creative industries? Well, some blockchains not only allow for financial but for many kinds of legal transactions. An example is the Ethereum blockchain which was in fact set up to enhance the limited functions of the original Bitcoin blockchain. This is why platforms such as Ujomusic draw on Ethereum (Ujo, 2017b) and other platforms such as PeerTracks even set up their own blockchains and cryptocurrencies (called "note" in this case, see Tschmuck, 2017, p. 33). Say you are an artist or a musician and wish to secure a *proof of authorship* for a new work you just created. Up until today, there is no central place for registering, and musicians typically make use of certain workarounds, such as sending the recording to themselves in material (e.g. a CD) or immaterial (e.g. an mp3-file) form, or by depositing it with a solicitor. Now, this proof of authorship could be placed on a globally available blockchain, linked to the artwork itself (if available in digital format) by means of digital fingerprint – a hashcode as mentioned above. Still, it currently remains an open question if this practice will prove fraud resistant and if it will be considered as evidence in case of trials in court. It is also noteworthy that this somewhat turns the principle of filesharing on its head. It is now the database holding the license information, which is realized in peer-to-peer format, while the cultural object it relates to – be it the Mona Lisa in the Louvre or an mp3-file – needs only to exist once. This could turn out to be an advantage when the decision is made that the files offered should be DRM-protected (see section 5.4).

In addition, the proof of authorship can be directly linked with licensing models that seem appropriate to the artist or rights holder. Typical collecting societies have a fixed model here requiring the authors to accept their terms and conditions upon registering. For example, making use of the flexible modes outlined in the creative commons license model is often not supported. All of this can be realized on a blockchain. Next, you might be a newcomer to the market and willing to offer your creation for free to receive the most recognition. At the same time, you might consider it unfair if some company stepped up and made use of it say in a television commercial or in a monetized YouTube-video. These sorts of things can be handled by so called smart contracts (Stark, 2016; Heap, 2018). You may thus define the first 1000 streams, downloads or other uses are for free, but require a payment once this number is surpassed.

Now to the side of the consumers and other users: You might own a bar and need optical and acoustical enhancement for your place. An example given by O'Dair (2016) is a person running a taco place in the south of the

US, willing to play only the music of one local band to give them special support. However, the PRO requires him "to buy a blanket license that gives him the right to play anything in the PRO's catalogue" ((Howard 2015b cf. O'Dair, 2016, p. 16). However, if the appropriate cultural products are administered via the blockchain, the terms of use will be flexible and even more important; the payment in whatever cryptocurrency might go directly to the artist with almost no time lag. Sounds tempting, doesn't it? It is also an option for optimized remuneration of musicians being featured on streaming services. Common practice is they receive only fractions of cents each time a title is streamed (Cooke 2015 cf. O'Dair, 2016, p. 7). Not getting paid much – which is the regrettable reality in most cases – is one thing. Even more important might be the lacking transparency, so the artists need to trust their company for the numbers. If their licenses are placed on a blockchain instead, artists themselves would be able to track how much use is being made of their work. However, this also touches upon issues of total control, so it will need to be carefully adjusted who gets access to which information, even more so if it will be used for improving marketing and sales strategies.

Next, you might not have created the cultural product all by yourself. However, typical collecting societies for music only register the names of the composer and the lyricist and the according rightsholders, while the performing artists and many other people involved (such as the producer) did at best get listed on the cover sleeve in the old days. Placing a proof of authorship on the blockchain would allow for precise tracking and preservation of all this information, including an agreement among the artists on how to share possible income generated (Heap, 2018, p. 4). In addition, quite some perspectives arise for research on creative processes. Remember many of the early Beatles songs were both credited to John Lennon and Paul McCartney (mostly out of convenience and/or partnership, but also out of a missing awareness for the juridical and monetary implications), although most of them were written individually? In comparison, doing retrospective stylistic analyses in musicology – my home discipline – to identify the factual authors seems like a strenuous and error-prone task (Headlam, 1995; Flender & Heuger, 1996).

There are even more benefits of the blockchain. If you don't like or need the painting you licensed or bought a while ago, you are now able to place a reference to it and its license on the blockchain again and find a subsequent customer or owner. Maybe in a hundred years, it will have become something like a highly valued van Gogh and also an object for research. As the blockchain cannot forget, it will preserve all information on provenience, something, that is otherwise very hard to achieve in art history (to be fair, other databases, even paper files, don't forget either, if they are well-preserved. However, Blockchain technology with its large amount of simultaneous copies of the distributed ledger is much more resilient against manipulations and

destruction).

Review of Music and Blockchain Related Sources and Literature

a. Articles and Books

Up to this point, academic writing on blockchain and music is scarce and only seldom properly published as book-chapters or articles. Since the whole area is rather new, most of these texts do not incorporate much original research and rather provide introductory knowledge complemented by assessments of the potential of the new technology. Around the year 2016, many of these comments were euphorious and made frequent use of terms like "disruption" and "disintermediation". An example is chapter 9 on music in the prominent introduction on the whole potential of blockchain-technologies by Tapscott & Tapscott (2016, p. 226-252). The overall idea was that if musicians make use of the blockchain-database themselves, they would be able to handle copyright, publish music, grant permissions and handle payments all on their own. This would mean that the established institutions for these kinds of purposes like copyright offices, record labels, music publishers, PROs, collecting societies etc. would become obsolete in the future. However, given the complexity of managing (even traditional) copyright on the one hand and the technical challenges of placing entries such as smart contracts on a blockchain on the other hand, more recent literature is now skeptical about the notions of disintermediation (Tschmuck, 2017) and disruption (Raine, 2017). Similarly, Remus (2016) makes it clear that the PROs have no need/requirement to move their existing databases to a blockchain.

Other articles and book chapters available are useful for background and context information. My own chapter addressing the mp3-phenomenon contains the argument that the massive losses the music industry faced in the early 2000s were primarily caused by burning CDs instead of illegal filesharing (Hemming, 2004). By means of investigating creative commons licenses and their acceptance among musicians, Schwetter (2015) makes it obvious that these prefer to devote their time and energy into creative work instead of digging deep into the details of licensing. Another chapter of mine (Hemming, 2016) extended the notion of "Mediamorphosis" (from Blaukopf, 1996) to clearly distinguish the digital stage (which started around 1982 with the introduction of the CD, and which is characterized by the remaining need for material objects) and an immaterial stage (which we entered with the advent of music-streaming and the disappearance of physical carriers). A recent article from Blocher, Hoppen, and Hoppen (2017) shows what the technical realization of placing licenses on the blockchain (for the case of software) actually looks like. A short essay by Leistert (2017) combines critical and optimistic aspects of blockchain-technology for society as a whole and hints at the similarities between smart contracts and DRM.

b. Working Papers and PDFs

To quickly circulate knowledge, quite a few useful sources on blockchain and music have been published in the form of working papers and/or PDFs on websites. The most prominent of these is the aforementioned paper circulated under the pseudonym of Nakamoto (2008) which simultaneously started Bitcoin and its blockchain. A useful but now slightly outdated set of working papers is provided by O'Dair, Beaven, Neilson, Osborne, and Pacifico (2016). They are written in academic style and contain a useful list of references. Another single PDF from O'Dair (2016) can be considered the most profound assessment of music and the blockchain of its time with a specific focus on monetization. A comprehensive treatment of music-related blockchain options is contained in Silver (2016) which features theoretical perspectives as well as a number of interviews with relevant people in the field. A similar source in German language is Voshmgir (2016).

c. Websites

Quite regrettably, many relevant and up-to-date-sources on blockchain and music, even from prominent figures like Imogen Heap or the Ujomusic-platform, are contained within regular websites. They are of limited academic suitability as they are often compilations themselves, only sometimes include author names and never contain page numbers. However, this article could not have been realized without drawing on these sources. If an author's name was given, I printed these sites into a PDF which gave me page numbers for proper referencing. All other websites are referenced in footnotes.

Dickson (2016) is one of the examples for the early tendency focusing on the disruptive potential – he calls it "silver bullet"– of blockchain-technology for the music industry and advantages to musicians. GEMA (2016) features Benji Rodgers from industry-near DotBC-media to promote his new integrative file format for music (see section 5.3). The site also includes a useful demo-video regarding blockchain-technology. Stark (2016) is not a music-related paper. The author is a lawyer and holds a blockchain consulting firm. It is outlined that Smart Contracts are specific to the Ethereum blockchain and a number of not too technical examples are given, mostly relating to the internet of things. The next three sources are short summaries of panel discussions. The first one was about creating a blockchain-based global database for music rights holders. The potential was acknowledged, but some current problems will remain. For example, the proper identification and remuneration of phenomena such as samples, cover versions or Mashups can and will not automatically be solved by the blockchain (Fink, 2017). The second

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[3] This term relates to tools and products such as vacuum-cleaners or body scales which already existed before the age of the internet, but which are now connected to the web for additional functions.

discussion referred to the Imogen Heap / Tiny Human-experiment introducing Ethereum as an alternative blockchain enabling smart contracts. Other topics were the wish for more transparency and for more details in music rights databases (Perusich, 2017). The third discussion addressed the role of intermediaries, fairness and transparency in the light of blockchain-technology. It was confirmed that some music services such as Spotify have a problem with licensing due to poor data quality. Here, PROs could play an important role in the future, when it comes to providing and verification of the data, possibly on a blockchain. Accordingly, PROs and major labels as intermediaries will then not become obsolete, but transform into service providers. Also, the requirement for new file formats such as dotBC were discussed. All participants agreed that current processes in the music business are lacking transparency and efficiency (Spiegl, 2017). The single most useful source stems from de la Rouviere (2017), who is a member of the Ujomusic-team. It is almost an internal paper addressing all music and blockchain-related issues from the practical-technical point of view, especially when placing rights and distribution models on the Ethereum blockchain. It again becomes obvious that new intermediaries will definitely be needed in the future. Finally, Imogen Heap (2018) herself takes up the word for smart contracts and provides many more details, for example on the division of royalties, than were known so far. She also points out that music industry people are scared by the notion of "disruption" and that we should be speaking of "augmentation" (p. 2) instead.

By subscribing to relevant forums and platforms or simply performing an internet-search, new and relevant sources pop up almost daily. It will be a specific challenge for research to follow up on these developments.

Research Questions and Strategies

a. Changes in the Music Industry

To address this topic, please ask yourself if you have either full music albums in your collection, which you once downloaded illegally, or if you have self-burned copies of commercial music CDs. If you were at least a young adult by the late 1990s, I would assume the latter is true, but that you will hardly have downloaded full albums illegally in the past. I am saying this to confront an often-heard issue when it comes to the decline of the music industry around the turn of the millennium. Both actions described have the consequence that none of the people involved in creating, playing, recording or distributing music have received revenue for the cultural product you might have enjoyed (not even by blank media tax, as the blanks mostly used were sold as data carriers). And while self-burned CDs might have caused the greater damage compared to filesharing (Hemming, 2004, p. 117; also supported by Briegmann & Jakob, [2005]2009, p. 89), the losses the music

industries have faced are almost exclusively blamed on services like the early Napster (Knopper, 2018). Students from Boston had set up this platform in 1999. In the literature, Napster is often called a *peer-to-peer network*, thus similar to what *blockchain* technology relies on. However, Napster held a central database of all available files on all computers connected to the service, while it did not host any mp3s by itself. This is also why the service could barely be declared illegal in those days. At the same time, it did require a central server and ceased to operate once this was shut down in 2001. It was only up to subsequent filesharing platforms such as Gnutella or Kazaa to fully establish peer-to-peer networks. Once you connected to these, your own computer became a *node*, a part of this network, and hosted mp3s as well as (parts of) the directory. These kinds of networks cannot be shut down without eliminating a significant number of nodes. This is why they are resilient against manipulations say from authoritarian political regimes, something that is also true for blockchain-networks and which might gain additional importance given current global developments.

The music industry typically does not embrace new developments but tries to oppose their effects. Instead of offering their own, legal download-platforms to counter the illegal ones in the early 2000s, their strategy consisted in successful copyright-enforcement and the introduction of rather unsuccessful protection-mechanisms to prevent copying of CDs or audio extraction. Only with considerable delay and by the pioneering role of the computer company Apple, the iTunes Music store was introduced in 2003, the first one to offer music-files for legal and paid download. The music industry never even realized the impact of this step and for a while focused on selling music-DVDs and ringtones for cell phones instead. Similar things can be said about the advent of streaming. It sounds like a miracle that a Swedish startup around Daniel Ek was able to launch Spotify in 2006, one of the most successful music-streaming-services up to this day. While it has meanwhile become obvious that the large players of the music industry act as shareholders in the background (Knopper, 2018), their official strategy is again sideways. For example, they are said to greatly influence the recommendation-system in Spotify and other streaming-platforms to prioritize their own products (Benn, 2017). In spite of a massive sales decline for physical carriers, it is quite likely that the music-industry will react in a similar fashion towards the advent of blockchain-technology and downplay its potential instead of saying "this is exactly what we have been waiting for". This kind of argument is also contained in chapter 12 of Gerard (2017).

Considering the arguments outlined above, the following research strategies and questions emerge:

1. Follow-up media reports and all available figures regarding current developments in the music industry: fusions, sales strategies with back catalog in relation to new releases, identification of overall

revenue and profitable areas.

2. Try to identify who owns what, especially when it comes to streaming services and new licensing platforms in case they emerge.
3. Follow-up media reports and other sources on the tendency of incorporating blockchain-services into traditional companies.
4. Do qualitative empirical research, e.g. try to individually connect to one of the new platforms such as Ujomusic and be granted access to developments for academic purposes from an inside perspective (participant observation/ethnographic fieldwork).
5. Does the advent of blockchain-technology support the idea that we have entered a stage of immaterial mediamorphosis? (Hemming, 2016, pp. 409-410).

b. Potential Disintermediation and Monetizing Music with Cryptocurrencies

The notion of disintermediation has accompanied the increasing availability of the Internet since the 1990s and is not specific to blockchain-technology (Gellmann, 1996). With regard to music, it can be seen as a first example for disintermediation when bands started to place their music on homepages around the same time. However, as webspace was expensive and up- and downloads were time-consuming, this practice never had a strong effect, except that it probably attracted more visitors to concerts or made some people buy CDs from a regular store. Secure transmission over the Internet and direct payment options only gradually became available, so no one thought of switching to self-promotion, at least not if a recording contract was within reach. With the early Napster, someone could place their own MP3s in the filesharing network, but since there was no means of promotion other than the mere filename, this had a very limited effect. All of this changed when platforms such as SoundCloud, MySpace and Bandcamp entered the stage after the mid-2000s. Initial storage-space was for free and handling for musicians and bands was greatly improved. They could set up their own internal sites, provide visuals and additional information and thus reach a large number of listeners. So, these platforms might serve as examples for effective disintermediation, as record labels or stores were not needed anymore to get the music from its creators to its listeners. Once Blockchain-technology gets introduced, labels will no longer need to acquire rights by themselves, and artists in turn will not need the labels for collecting payments. However, a more precise view makes it obvious that, while some of the traditional intermediaries became obsolete, they were replaced by new ones, so it is actually inappropriate to speak of disintermediation. Section 5.5 contains further information on the role of old and new institutions and services.

Perhaps a more important notion of disintermediation refers to the modes

of payment. As demonstrated above, paying for music with a cryptocurrency requires some technical setup, but is otherwise – on the side of the user – not much different from paying with other Internet services or simply by entering credit card information. Musicians such as Björk get mentioned in the media since they also allow their music to be purchased using cryptocurrencies. In her case, this is realized by a meta-payment-platform called World-Pay, which offers almost any available payment option including Bitcoin. However, the cryptocurrency value is likely to be converted into a traditional currency and all payments down the line will be processed in a conventional fashion. This in turn means that hardly any of the original benefits will remain for the musicians.

The real difference and disintermediation only happen if a payment using a cryptocurrency is automatically split up among those entitled to a share, and the according amount is just as automatically transferred to the person's virtual wallet. As especially international money-transfers involving traditional banks or services such as Western Union cause high fees sometimes even on both sides, this option is unsuitable for small amounts. In the past, a failure of keeping track of author's postal addresses and bank account numbers has even led to lawsuits (Toynbee, 2009). With cryptocurrencies, the transaction costs can be adjusted to a tiny fraction of the value to be transferred, which itself can amount to only fragments of cents. At least, this was a frequently encountered point of view until the end of 2017. With the rise of public interest in Bitcoin and the advent of cryptocurrency speculation, the limits – known as the scalability problem – of the whole system became visible. As each block added to the chain is of limited size, it cannot contain and validate (!) an unlimited number of transactions. At the same time, the exchange value of one single Bitcoin climbed above $15,000. This meant for a while, that transactions of even the smallest scale would amount to $20-30, which of course is completely unsuitable for the initially praised near-instant micropayments. Meanwhile, due to adjustment processes also upcoming for Ethereum, the transaction-fees are back down to acceptable levels. However, it seems, that near-instant micro-payments would either require specialized blockchains and cryptocurrencies such as the "Note" or else remain out of reach. Still, it is crucial that payments (they might not always be small) can be passed on to the musicians instantly and without a significant reduction. This option should be held up in the future. Otherwise, the situation will persist that "it can sometimes take 2-3 years for the money to come, especially if it's international money" (Heap, 2018, p. 10).

Research strategies:

6. Follow up developments in the established cryptocurrencies and innovations regarding simplified validation strategies. Consider separate and/or specialized cryptocurrencies as serious alternatives and track developments and their acceptance.

7. Explore the technical requirements of smart contracts and their functionality.
8. Empirical research II: Interview musicians and other artrepreneurs about their readiness to accept cryptocurrency-payments, their satisfaction with existing and their requests for future services.
9. Investigate into the volatility (a measure of the risk in a financial instrument) of cryptocurrencies and its effect on the acceptance among musicians.

c. File Formats, Rights Databases and Tracking Provenience

When the CD was introduced as a joint venture from Philips and Sony in 1982, it was primarily promoted with its greatly improved audio quality, duration and handling when compared to vinyl-LPs. No one thought of including metadata on a medium which is in essence a data carrier. At best, this kind of information was printed in very small font on the booklet like on the record sleeve in the old days. So, while displaying this information could have been an interesting option for high-end CD-players even in those days, a great opportunity was missed to provide reliable data on authorship, performing musicians, rightsholders etc. along with the music. When extracting music from CDs as uncompressed (e.g. WAV) or compressed files (e.g. MP3) became available in the late 1990s, no metadata could automatically be included and needed to be added manually. This is how independent and notoriously unreliable and incomplete databases such as GraceNote[4] emerged, which are still in use today. As a matter of fact, the earliest versions of WAV or MP3 never even included the option to contain metadata themselves, this was only added later by internal upgrades of the file standards. In the beginning, it was again only the filename.

"Global Repertoire Database", "International Music Registry" or "Open music initiative" (OMI) are names for attempts to introduce file formats and databases containing enhanced and verified metadata. All of them are said to have failed for diverging interests of the players involved (Raine, 2017, p. 9; Tschmuck, 2017, p. 33; Heap, 2018, p. 1). Benji Rogers from dotBC has sought a different approach and developed a new file format ".BC" in close contact with traditional and new institutions of the music industry:

> "Rogers' team is developing a new blockchain-based file format. BC, which would replace MP3 and WAV files as the industry's digital standard. These .BC files would exist on a blockchain, could be uploaded to streaming services like Spotify, and work as both audio files and smart contracts with embedded information on rights holders and more. If adopted as the new standard, Rogers says dotBC could solve major issues,

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[4] http://www.gracenote.com/

such as broken metadata, which dam up the revenue stream, thus making royalty collection more transparent and efficient." (Raine, 2017, p. 5).

"The final crucial point about Mr. Rogers' idea is that the VR application of the .bc codec is really a Trojan horse for a broader application. As more content holders embrace this codec in order to have their music used in VR applications, the codec will gain traction in other applications as well. At that point, music users/consumers of all stripes will have a choice to make: Do we use music that we know – because of the .bc codec – is authenticated by the artist/rights holder, and that stipulates how and at what rate it could be used, or do we ignore this, and recode it in whatever way we choose." (Howard, 2015, pp. 3-4)

It remains important that DotBC is not aiming at incorporating cryptocurrencies – or is this a strategic advantage, given the public's mistrust, the volatility of cryptocurrencies and the industry's conservatism? In any case, this kind of database remains a desirable aim for the near future:

"All usage rights. It's so frustrating to have a record out there and get endless emails about 'Can I put [this] thing into my wedding video? Can I remix this?' or 'I have remixed it, I sampled it,' and then trying to backtrack and figure out percentages and all that stuff later. And just contact info and license data. " (Heap, 2018, p. 6)

"At the moment it's really, really difficult to do business with songs. There's no database of songs to show you how to do things. So people just do things because they want to do things; and they haven't got time and money to go and find out how to get permission to use the thing, so they just use it. Most times people just use it and they don't tell us, because they're afraid that we might say no, but actually 99.999% of the time I say yes, because I want people to make other babies with my music, collaborate and do remixes and whatever". […] " each streaming company has to literally pay 200 organisations for one artist around the world." (Heap, 2018, pp. 9-10).

"We [at Ujo] hope to see things like a young duo build an innovative radio service over a weekend without having to go knock on the doors of the record labels. We hope to see stems automatically uploaded and available for remixing from your favourite DAW (Digital Audio Workstation). We hope to see the first AI [artificial intelligence] artist license their samples, Under The Hood and then be used in the latest vlog of a YouTube star that is yet to arrive. We hope to see decentralized bands reimplemented on this infrastructure". (de la Rouviere, 2017, pp. 2-3).

I already mentioned the long-term-option that a blockchain would enable for complete tracking of the provenience of an artwork if its copyright information initially gets stored. However, it remains an issue to be resolved how the information provided can be verified, and who will actually be in charge

and trusted for uploading. As many services are currently competing, it is almost impossible to decide as an artist which one – in addition to offering an optimum service for present needs – has the best future options. So, it is encouraging to hear that transferring information from one blockchain to another seems to be a problem which can be solved if this is needed for the future:

> "Swarm and IPFS's Filecoin are building incentivization layers that will allow users to replicate this data across the globe, so there would be no reliance on specific institutions for this open license ecosystem to exist." (de la Rouviere, 2017, p. 7).

I would like to add that the bigger problem for the future might not be properly indexing new releases (and how and where to store this information), but to convert existing databases from the PROs or the back catalogues into the new standard.

Are you familiar with the case of Cornelius Gurlitt? In 2012, a huge collection of 1280 seminal paintings from the early 20th century was discovered in his Munich apartment. He had inherited them from his father Hildebrand, who had acquired them in questionable circumstances during the Nazi era. Shortly before his death, Cornelius Gurlitt was able to entail the whole collection to the Museum of Fine Arts in Bern, Switzerland. But it will take decades before the collection can be put on display, because the provenience of each work needs to be resolved, first (Cano, 2017).

Research strategies:

10. Follow up the development of services offered and critically discuss their pros and cons.

d. Digital Rights Management (DRM) and the Need for Public and Political Intervention

Napster is nowadays a legal music-streaming service. One thing I like about it is the option to also download and store the music on your local computer (if it runs on Windows). The music can only be played back if your Napster-account is paid-up and valid. In the past years, Napster made use of DRM-protected WMA-files (Windows media audio) for this purpose. These need to be opened in Windows media player which then connects to a server to verify and grant the license needed for playback. This process is hidden behind the opaque message sometimes visible for a short moment when opening Windows media player "media changing" and next "downloading media usage rights". Over the years, quite a few of those files have piled up on my hard disk. Somewhere in the middle of 2017 however, I was suddenly returned a strange error message through which I actually realized for the first time that a server-connection had been attempted:
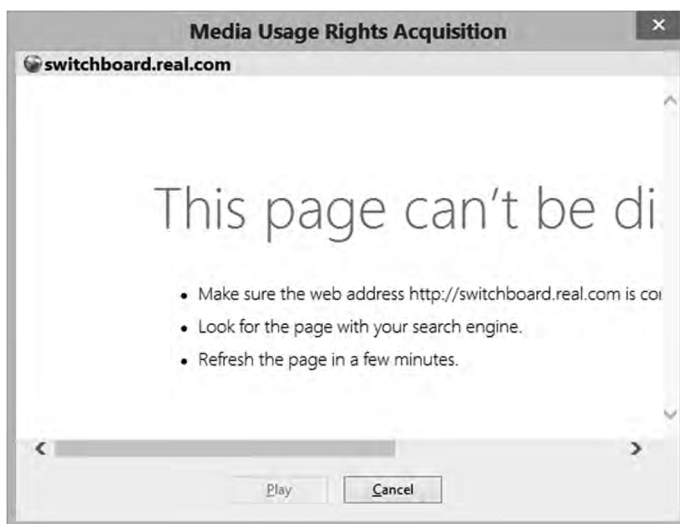
Figure 7: Popup from Windows Media Player after July 25, 2017

As the problem persisted, entries started popping up in the Napster user forums. Deleting the file and downloading it again would not help and the only workaround would be to go back to streaming. It was only after a while that it became obvious that Microsoft had stopped operating the WMDRM-licensing server on July 25, 2017 along with the introduction of the anniversary update for Windows 10. However, neither Microsoft- nor Napster-users were properly informed about this issue; apparently the service should silently go to sleep. I already thought Microsoft would be giving up DRM altogether and was surprised I could not find any media-reports about it. Next, Napster support advised me to install the latest software version which would enable downloads again. Sure enough, this now required the Windows 10 operating system including the anniversary update. This is when I learned that Microsoft had switched to a completely new DRM-management called PlayReady. Again, I could hardly obtain any information on what made this necessary. To my knowledge, DRM-protected WMA-files implement a strong encryption algorithm and it is impossible to 'crack' them. I admit, I gave it a try. But the only tools available, e.g. for re-recording using a 'virtual audio cable', always require at least one server connection. So, the only thing left to do was to move the files to the trash bin. While this is inconvenient for me, it is acceptable as I was never promised anything else, and I can now start over using the new software version.

But actually, this happened to me for the second time. When the first legal music-downloading platform called 'Phonoline' was introduced in Germany in the mid-2000s, I became a customer and learned to handle protected

WMAs for the first time. For example, those were tied to a specific device and needed to be re-licensed after upgrading your computer. Now guess what: the server and the whole company ceased to exist and the music-files are lost. This time, I felt somewhat betrayed, because I had paid for the music and had never been advised there would be an expiry-date.

Sure enough, this will not happen to the music from RAC which is distributed in an open file-format as I mentioned in the introduction. At the same time, I do understand that – for the sake of fair use – musicians and companies alike may require a kind of protection. Nowadays, the most prominent examples are e-books, which are typically not circulated in open PDF-format for the same reason. I was thus surprised to hear a rather one-sided talk from Molly de Blanc (2017) about DRM at last year's Chaos Communication Congress in Leipzig. In her view, DRM is a mere instrument of power exerted by rightsholders. If society does not oppose to the growing use of DRM, we are supposed to lose the following eight options: 1. accessibility; 2. art; 3. convenience; 4. education; 5. free speech; 6. repairing and not replacing devices; 7. sharing experience as human connection; 8. translations. Of course, I support the notion that all these are desirable options for the public. Then again, the very history of copyright itself makes it clear that there needs to be a balance in interests between creators and users of works. If the former do not get rewarded by the latter, they lose their motivation and the result is a decline in innovation and originality. So, in the light of DRM, which can be seen as the latest tool of copyright-enforcement, the argument should be that again the interests of creators/rightsholders and users need to be carefully balanced. In my view, this would mean we need international agreements and/or laws which impose expiry-dates on the DRM-restrictions themselves instead of the objects protected. In other words, after a defined period of time not dissimilar to the classical protection terms from copyright, DRMs should dissolve automatically and the object would become freely usable. This would be the moment to dig my WMA-files out of the trash bin!

In the context of this article, it is easy to guess what I would like to suggest. If – as the examples have just shown – it can be assumed that companies and servers handling DRM-licenses have a certain half-life-period, it would make a lot of sense storing these in the form of smart contracts on publicly available blockchains instead. As I said before, a blockchain cannot forget. This would mean, we are out of danger that artistic or technical objects digitally go dead without external reasons. We have already heard of cars being trashed not for rust or engine damage, but because there was no one left to unlock the obligatory service-intervals or theft-protection in old-timers…

Research strategies:

11. Write a history of DRM and its general legitimation.
12. Describe the various techniques involved and how these could be implemented in smart contracts on a blockchain (possibly include

experts for this purpose).

13. Add to the public awareness of the danger that art- and non-art-objects could digitally be going dead and the need for updated copyright laws on this issue. Address the media for this purpose.

14. Inquire deeper into the mechanisms of smart contracts, e.g. the limitations of re-adjusting prices or modes of usage once the contract has been placed on the blockchain.

e. Licensing Models and the Role of Performance Rights Organizations (PROS) and Collecting Societies

It is now time to devote more attention to collecting societies or performing rights organizations and their future role in the light of blockchain technology. If artists themselves in fact became able to secure rights and terms of licensing for their creations on the blockchain, and to also receive the before-mentioned near-instant micropayments, it seems there will be no more need for collecting societies in the future. And if the establishment of cryptocurrencies continues, we might eventually not need banks anymore, at least not in the traditional sense. Early commentaries on blockchain technology almost celebrated the fact that these kinds of intermediaries could soon become obsolete. Weren't those the ones chipping fixed percentages off our money transactions or off artist's royalties while both we and they would have deserved to keep more if not all of the original amount? Well, this argument is only partially true, as collecting societies and banks alike did and do, I should add, offer valuable services and are of course entitled to charge according fees. This is why collecting societies were set up by composers themselves starting in the mid-19th century (Hemming, 2016, pp. 384-386). Many of the traditional collecting societies including the German GEMA (Remus, 2016; Spiegl, 2017), the Canadian SOCAN (Raine, 2017) as well as the American ASCAP, French SACEM and British PRS (Levine, 2018, p. 8) are already aware of the new challenges and many of them are experimenting with blockchain-based services for the future. For them, the technology could be useful for many of the transactions because administrative fees could be reduced. As some of them built up their catalogs over centuries, it remains uncertain if they will make these available on publicly accessible blockchains. This relates to the question of the value of the information stored on a Blockchain. At the same time, since most money in the music industry is currently not made with new releases but with the "long tail" in the back catalog (Hemming, 2016, pp. 419-420), it is unlikely that building up new databases along with the introduction of new file formats with much-improved handling of metadata will be successful without the support of the PROs. This relates to the questions of who will actually be sustaining the blockchain? Who will pay those who administer and verify the transactions? Even if they do receive

a percentage of the cryptocurrency, its value is currently not stable at all. In addition, some claims (e.g. regarding so-called orphaned works) can only be handled by collecting societies, and some forms of usage cannot be licensed by smart contracts.

In fact, many of the traditional institutions of the music industry continued to act rather stubbornly and in a conservative fashion, given the changes the music industry already had had to face since the early 2000's. It is only recently that their set of services is being offered on a more liberal basis with various options to choose from, and the standard-royalty-deal (Byrne, 2012, pp. 213-253) is not the only available model. Similarly, some collecting societies such as the German GEMA have resisted opening up for new licensing models usually referred to as 'Creative Commons'. While those are static, they for example enable authors to grant licenses for the free use of their work as long as their name gets mentioned (known as the 'cc-by'-license) or if the purpose is non-commercial ('cc-nc'). An introduction into creative commons licenses can be found in Klein, Moss, and Edwards (2015, pp. 60-61).

While there has long been a coexistence of the two PROs ASCAP and BMI in the US, most countries have only one PRO which as a consequence acts as a monopoly. A large initiative in Germany saw the need for change here and acquired €119,000 in a crowdfunding campaign and the support of many institutions including the European Union. In 2013, the 'Cultural Commons Collecting Society' (C3S) was set up as an alternative to the GEMA, eventually aiming at becoming a European collecting society. The main difference to existing PROs was the inclusion of the aforementioned creative commons in the license model. While all legal and administrative tasks were successfully completed, the C3S still hasn't begun to operate. The reason is that it was too high of a risk for many musicians making a living on royalty payments to switch from GEMA to C3S, and overall, too few musicians, as well as musicians with no significant economic potential remained in order to be granted permission by the German Patent and Trademark Office. Meanwhile, this has become known as the 'critical mass problem' affecting many startups. It is quite likely that music and blockchain-related initiatives will have to take the same hurdle in order to be successful. However, people like Imogen Heap are in no way discouraged by this restriction:

> "So all those people who were like, 'Haha, she's trying to change the music industry and she didn't even sell 200 copies…' that was the point where it was, 'Look, it is possible — let's think about the future.'" (Heap, 2018, pp. 9-10)

As a matter of fact, the existing collecting societies and their databases may play the key role regarding the introduction of blockchain-services into the music industry. Eventually, instead of becoming obsolete in the near future, there have been rumors in the air that a new age of collecting societies is about

to begin.[5] Another idea is that new collecting societies acquire licenses from the traditional ones to obtain the critical mass. Those could be the ones transforming the internal lists of works, authorship and rights into a blockchain, not dissimilar to many banks which are working on implementing blockchain services into their business models.

The same might be true for new services. As will have become clear from the above, blockchain technology is quite complex, so placing one's own rights management there directly is not within reach for most artists. This is why we have seen the emergence of a number of competing blockchain-based services such as Ujomusic, Peertracks, Revelator, DotBC, Musiconomy etc. Other than in the age of monopolized collecting societies, the customers – music users, but creating artists first and foremost – will then be able to choose the service which offers the best conditions and which best matches their needs. Also, musicians will be able to keep track of their rights, royalties and payments even if they decide to switch to a different service provider (see section 5.3).

Research strategies:

15. Inquire about the readiness of PROs/collecting societies to adopt these services (e.g. by attending panel discussions or PRO's main assemblies).
16. Try to reveal internal strategies, e.g. through interviews with relevant people.
17. Look out for upcoming political initiatives aiming at further alignment of the PRO's practices within the European Union.

f. Crowdfunding: Turning Social Into Economic Capital

In the past decade, crowdfunding became a widely accepted and sometimes very successful way of fundraising for all kinds of projects. It was already mentioned that the initiative for an alternative collecting society in Germany was largely based on this mode of financing. The difference between a simple donation campaign is that a reasonable target sum needs to be set for a specific project first, which only gets started if the required money can be raised. In the opposite case, it is returned to the donators. Crowdfunding is typically administered by Internet-services such as Kickstarter, Indiegogo or PledgeMusic, which can again be identified as new intermediaries and services in the music business. An outstandingly successful project by the American singer-songwriter Amanda Palmer is reported by Medeiros and Dias (2017). She had requested $100,000 from her fans to release and distribute her latest album, which had already been recorded. More than 10 times

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[5] Personal communication with Wieland Reißmann, long-year member of the GEMA-advisory council and my colleague at Kassel University.

of this amount was able to be raised by about 24,000 fans within the defined period of time, and the project was successfully completed. For one thing, this shows that Amanda Palmer has a large base of true and faithful fans. Next, these people were addressed in specific modes not only by personal contact at concerts but also through a specially created video and all kinds of social media activities. The campaign itself offered various kinds of rewards depending on the height of the donation, of course, only if the whole project would turn out to be successful: from $5 for the "deluxe download" of the album, $25 for a limited edition of the CD, $50 for the vinyl-album, etc. up to $10,000 for "art-sitting and dinner" with her.[6] However, it remains an open problem what to do with surplus donations as in the current case or if an album turns into a huge commercial success.

The idea to become independent from established structures of the music industry has been around at least since the late 1970s and formed the basis for the DIY-movement, which originally relied on independent production and mail-order distribution (Strachan, 2007). Crowdfunding appears to take this one step further by including the options the Internet has to offer. From the perspective of cultural studies, successful campaigns make it obvious what the whole idea is really about: the transformation of social into economic capital (D'Amato, 2016). And the process can also be reversed to increase the faithfulness of fans once they actually do spend money. When I purchased the album from RAC, I was rewarded with the following words:

> "By participating in a seminal moment in both music and technology, you've firmly planted your stake in the ground as a pioneer. Exploration at the edge has led to the discovery of a one-of-a-kind EGO badge to commemorate your tireless pursuit of an open music platform — for this, we thank you. An Ethereum ERC-20 token, it can never be duplicated or destroyed, and before long, the EGO badge will never be found in the wild again. This record of purchase will be claimable by early supporters' MetaMask wallets within a week of the release.
>
> In supporting the RAC x UJO project, you've identified yourself as someone who believes that a better world for creators exists somewhere out there and isn't afraid to venture out into the digital frontier in order to find it [...]" (Ujo, 2017c)

At the time, I didn't really have an idea what this token-thing was to be all about, and the idea is still only building up in my mind. Again, Ujo offers further explanations of the system on their website:

> "Possession of this token in your Ujo Music persona lets Andre [i.e. RAC] know that you are a bonafide supporter of his work, signals to NinjaTune

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[6] https://www.kickstarter.com/projects/amandapalmer/amanda-palmer-the-new-record-art-book-and-tour [26.04.2018]

that you are a supporter of one of their artists, and lets other fans know that you have similar tastes in music. Wouldn't it be exciting if you could skip the line at the next RAC show in your local city or access a special Ninja Tune tent at the next festival with this badge? How cool would it be if, upon meeting a stranger at the show, you were able to view each other's music badges and trade them? What if RAC could send a message to all holders of both EGO and Strangers badges to clue them in on the after-party?" (Ujo, 2017a)

I think there is no need to again hint at the fact that a blockchain would of course be a useful tool in handling these kinds of rewards – tokens, as they are now called – for customers and fans (de Filippi, 2016, p. 11). While Ujo has already begun to do so, I am sure that many of the services offered by the generic crowdfunding-platforms mentioned above will be equally effective. Other platforms such as PeerTracks make use of internal currencies called "artist coins" in this case. Then again, PledgeMusic is run by the same person that stands for the ".BC"-initiative: Benji Rogers. This makes it clear that there is more than one interconnection between the idea of crowdfunding and the possibilities offered by blockchain technology. I would like to sum this up in the sober words of Imogen Heap: "when you clean up the value chain, then fans could become your investors or patrons." (2 Heap, 2018, p. 12).

Research strategies:
18. Follow-up the development of crowdfunding-platforms suitable for music
19. Is the usage of crowdfunding for realizing music projects a growing or declining sector?
20. Will the existing crowdfunding-platforms be implementing block-chain-technology, and in turn, will existing blockchain-based ser-vices be adding crowdfunding-functionalities?
21. What is the perspective of the traditional institutions of the music in-dustry on this development?

g. The Debate About Transparency

We now need to return to the issue of transparency. It might have to be brought to mind again that a blockchain by itself is no warrant for transpar-ency. First of all, as was outlined in section 2, blockchains can be operated in a closed circle by authorized companies and institutions only – a blockchain is not automatically or necessarily open to the public. Next, recorded trans-actions need not but can be encrypted and thus become invisible for those not holding the corresponding keyphrases. For the case of Bitcoin, while all occasions when a specific Bitcoin has been used in a financial transaction can theoretically be traced back, it remains invisible who actually 'owned' this

specific Bitcoin and what she or he spent it on.

Music-related payments and transactions can and will be processed in a similar fashion. The degree of transparency is then up to the various players involved. It has already been stated that not all musicians will be opting for complete transparency, just as many companies in turn might have a genuine interest in at least revealing ownership-rights in order to enable proper processing of royalties. Thus, somewhat similar to the treatment of DRM in section 5.4., the debate around transparency needs to consider both sides of the coin to eventually balance interests. Imogen Heaps speaks of an "Internet of agreements" here. This includes her vision to reverse user data to the artists to adjust their work: "I would like to have things like number of streams, maybe the regions or countries they're in, and roughly the age group could be useful, to help… Services get this data anyway, so if they could pass that on…" (Heap, 2018, p. 11).

It is true that those currently benefiting from a lack of transparency could turn out as the major obstacles in the further integration of blockchain-technology in the music industry (Raine, 2017, p. 7). So, we will need to ask who this could be, and if their own arguments are appropriate. Benji Rodgers proposes the following persuasion-strategy: "Those who currently profit from a lack of transparency, slowing down, or the diminishment of payments to artists, will find that that becomes more difficult […]. But if they add value, they will make 10 times more money from the efficiencies in the system than they will from the lags in legacy." (cf. Raine, 2017, p. 9). In any case, blockchain-technology incorporates the democratizing potential for more transparency and simply more fairness in the music industry. We will soon see on what degree of transparency the parties involved agree upon.

Research strategies:

22. Keep monitoring the debate about transparency in the music industry, also when it is not blockchain-related.
23. Critically evaluate and comment on the future degree of transparency not adopting a one-sided view, but considering the interests of all parties involved.

Conclusion

At the moment, no one is able to tell if Blockchain-technology will be integrated in the music business at all, or if at least some of the many options discussed here will prove to be relevant in the future. At least within academia, it seems a critical mass has already been reached, given the many researchers from all kinds of disciplines addressing blockchain-topics. Still, the primary task for researchers will remain to critically monitor, dig deeper and discuss the current developments. This may require an interdisciplinary as well as a cumulative approach, to be able to publish results without too much

delay. The main research questions are as follows: How will the music industry change when blockchain-technology is implemented? Which services do exist, and which ones should be developed with regard to the overall needs of authors, music users and rightsholders? What do authors and artists know about blockchain-technology and/or cryptocurrencies and are they willing to make use of them? Finally, I think many people advocating for blockchain-technology in one way or the other can be considered a kind of digital hippies, sometimes dreamers, but all aiming at a better and fairer world, now with the means of the 21st-century. I am one of them.

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Breaking the Law? Heavy Metal in 1980s Socialist East Germany

Wolf-Georg Zaddach

When In 1987 a cultural functionary of the "Central Working Group on Dance Music" described heavy metal as the "current magic formula in popular music" of the 1980s socialist East Germany, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), it may be surprising that cultural politics is at all concerned with this musical phenomenon. The official further stated that heavy metal is a "legitimate part of the socialist music culture". This positive attitude towards metal is in general rather surprising in the 1980s, since the debate about heavy metal in Western countries was dominated by the so-called moral panics (NACHWEIS). Unquestionably, in socialist East Germany heavy metal was a popular youth culture in the 1980s. At the same time, however, as an originally Western youth culture it was quite problematic. The quoted expression therefore reflects a general change of heart in the second half of the 1980s and the attempt to accept and integrate the popular youth culture with the aim to not lose the connection to youth completely. However, this did not mean that heavy metal and its fans could develop freely in the GDR.

Heavy Metal in the 1970s and 1980s

Heavy metal is a form of music that has developed since the late 1960s, first in the Anglo-American area from blues rock and hard rock (Walser 1993, Weinstein 2000). The musical language differentiated during the 1970s, especially in Britain (Elflein, 2010: 97-172), but quickly spread beyond. The youth culture was characterized by an enormous dynamic. In the 1980s, an intensive and rapid differentiation into other sub genres such as thrash metal or death metal took place. Parts of this evolution of heavy metal can be described as extreme metal, as it marked a prolonged transgression not only in musical terms (Kahn-Harris 2007).

Today, the 1980s are considered the golden era in the world of heavy

metal, which is also related to the continuing popularity among former ado-
lescents (Walser, 1993: 3; Zaddach 2015). In the 1980s, heavy metal inspired
many young people alike in Europe, North and South America, and Japan,
supported by both the music industry and locally rooted Do-It-Yourself
practices by fans and musicians (Wallach & LeVine, 2011: 120; Walser, 1993:
3-7; Weinstein, 2000: 145-198). Despite the Iron Curtain and the conse-
quences of the political block confrontation of the Cold War, heavy metal
was also widespread in the GDR. By the example of heavy metal the ambi-
guity and ultimately instability of the late state socialism in the 1980s can be
traced and discussed.

Perspective of the State and Public Discourse

At the beginning of the 1980s, when the music increasingly spread into
the GDR, it was initially referred to as "Heavy Metal Rock" or "Heavy
Rock", proclaiming that heavy metal would not have any peculiarities, as
Hans Peter Hofmann wrote 1983 in the third edition of the very popular lex-
icon *Rock. Interpreten, Autoren, Sachbegriffe* [Rock. Interpreters, Authors,
terms] (Hofmann, 1983: 105). The first officially classified heavy metal band
of the GDR – classifying and registering bands and musicians was a standard
procedure and instrument of censorship – was the Berlin-based band Formel
1. They were heavily influenced by the at the time very popular New Wave
of British Heavy Metal and bands such as Iron Maiden and Judas Priest, and
were initially also described as "Heavy Metal Rock" group (Hofmann, 1983:
85). Without question, varieties of rock, as promoted intensively by the state
since the 1970s, could be more easily legitimized than the new term "Heavy
Metal", even though the music was quite different.

However, the Ministry of State Security (MfS), which had been particu-
larly interested in observing the developments of youth since the 11/66-order
of 1966, quickly became convinced that heavy metal was a threatening West-
ern youth culture. The music and its followers in the GDR were classified as
a Western and thus "negative-decadent" youth cultural movement. From the
point of view of the MfS it was used as a weapon of political-ideological di-
version (PID), an ongoing ideological influence by the enemy with the aim
of destabilizing the state socialism. As a result, heavy metal was regarded as a
"genuine product of PID" still in the mid-1980s (MfS HA XX 6015: 57). In
the archive of the Federal Commissioner for the documents of the State Se-
curity Service of the former German Democratic Republic (BStU) there are
numerous files of the MfS for the entire decade, which document the obser-
vation and counting as well as harassment such as regular personal checks or
the recruitment of informal staff ("Informelle Mitarbeiter"). The most obvi-
ous is the hostile attitude in the objectives of so-called "decomposition" and
"liquidation", standard MfS-jargon, meaning the forced dissolution of bands

by withdrawal of the license, the ban or closure of fan or youth or individual consequences such as prevention of career paths. In parts of the country, this hostile perspective of local MfS district administrations lasted until the collapse of the state in 1989/90 (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: A confiscated fan-picture, used to identify fans and gather further information about them such as family background and private life, school/work and compile them in files (source: BStU, MfS, BV Berlin, Abt. XX, Nr. 3111, Bl. 138).

Opposed to this was a changing public discourse in particular driven by journalists, who from 1984/85 onwards offered a different perspective of heavy metal. Besides few appearances of foreign heavy metal bands such as the British Angel Witch on TV in 1981 and the mentioned early career of the Formel 1, there was a clear tendency to discuss and accept the music and its scene. Since 1985, the popular music journal "melodie und rhythmus" [melody and rhythm] had become an essential vehicle for this development. With the March issue of 1985, the magazine launched a two-part feature titled "Heavy, Hard and Wild: Heavy Metal" by journalist Anja Böhm. Subheadings such as "hair-raising", "in war with Satan" or "ghost train and nonsense" (Böhm, 1985b: 14), the article picked up widespread prejudices. On closer reading, however, it becomes clear that the informed author creates a certain distance to these prejudices. She classifies them in the sense of the rather harmless "traditional bourgeois function" (Böhm, 1985b:15). By doing that she benevolently weakens the threat scenarios and offers a different and affirmative perspective. For the scene, the article could be very helpful due to

its list and stylistic classification of more than 40 international bands. The author provided important and hard-to-reach access to knowledge. In fact, in this and many subsequent articles, for example in the youth magazine "neues leben" published by the FDJ in August 1985, widespread stereotypes about youth culture are taken up and tend to be weakened. This development culminated in the interview with the director of the ZAG Tanzmusik (Central Working Group at the Zentralhaus für Kulturarbeit, Leipzig) quoted at the beginning. At this time, heavy metal already was and widely accepted music scene in the GDR besides the secret investigations by the MfS. That's why the director could emphasize the high degree of "artistic perfection" with an empathic look and certify the music a "vital, activating charisma", finally proclaiming, that heavy metal has a "legitimate place in socialist musical culture.

Fandom Behind the Iron Curtain

For the heavy metal fans themselves, the music and the community were the main focus. Hard rock and heavy metal were hardly represented in the five-year plans of the GDR planned economy, which also set the annual production rates for popular music, as well as the few licensed publications of Western recordings. However, this did not prevent the dissemination of the music. To deal with these limitations and the shortage people developed unofficial practices of exchange on black markets, sharing and selling records, band merchandise, magazines or posters of popular bands mainly from the Western countries. The prices, which were called for used LPs e.g., could reach quite half of the monthly income for a trainee. If one came into the possession of such a "sacred" LP from the West, they were repeatedly copied onto cassettes and circulated within the network. The "heavies", as they were also referred to by the MfS, could rely here on a widespread handling of media and practices of hearing: individual and personal sound carriers were independently compiled and curated, covers of the cassettes often extremely creatively designed. A lot of fans were part of supra-regional exchange networks that formed over concert acquaintances, pen pal-networks or want ads out of enthusiasm for the music and almost irrepressible will to cope with the shortage.

The Importance of Broadcasting for the Scene

Another major source for the music was the radio. Listening to Western radio stations was generally widespread in the GDR. Numerous stations from the West offered hard rock and heavy metal, such as the BFBS ("The HM Show" with Tony Jasper), the West-Berlin station RIAS II, as well as the public broadcaster Hessen 3 ("Metal -Stunde "), Bayern 3, NDR 2 ("

Heavy-Special ") and WDR 1 ("Scream"). Another essential source of broadcasting was – and this may come as a surprise – the state broadcasting of the GDR. The journalist and blues expert Leo Gehl broadcasted increasingly from 1982/83 onwards pieces of a harder pace, including "Hard Rock and Heavy Metal titles from the West," as Gehl remembers (cited by Martell & Höhne, 2014: 180). In the years following 1983, the format "From the tape for the tape" on the station "Voice of the GDR" became an important source for metal fans. Above all, this format served as a recording service, and hearers' letters increasingly also expressed a need for heavy metal. In fact, there are numerous of such letters from heavy metal fans in the current stock of the German Radio Archive by youth, some of them only 14 years old, who often wrote with concrete title wishes.

In 1987, due to the high demand, they even decided to create a show specializing in heavy and extreme metal with the title "Tendency Hard to Heavy", which gained notoriety beyond the borders of the GDR, especially due to its high share of extreme metal. In the "Tendency", led by hard rock fan Matthias Hopke and the extreme metal connoisseur Jens Molle, an astonishing freedom arose. For the fans, the "Tendency" offered towards the end of the 1980s, in addition to expert title selection and stylistic range, a relatively timely reception of the recent publications of the Western metal scenes. Hopke and Molle made this happen by obtaining LPs from the black market and frequently evading the so-called 60:40 rule, basically a law regulating the relationship between socialist (60 %) and Western productions (40 %) for public use. Special Freedom unfolded in moments, for example, when "Bomb Hail" ["Bombenhagel"] by the West-German band Sodom was aired. The song contains the national anthem of the BRD, distorted as an expressive guitar solo. The moderators could to defend that decision in the language of socialism as a pedagogical gesture to learn to recognize the enemy – what by no means was in any interest for the metal scene. The increasing acceptance and popularity of heavy metal is also reflected in the title lists of the youth broadcasting DT 64: While "Tendency" created a program for the absolute extremes, hard rock and even tougher heavy metal increasingly diffused into the general pop and rock formats like "Hi, now music" [Hei, jetzt Musik] or "beat box" [Beatkiste]. Through the intensive listener mail, which was repeatedly discussed in the program, the radio became a veritable place of scene discourse, in which the musical developments of the music as well as the self-image as a scene were debated and constructed (Zaddach 2018).

Swap, Share, Haggle and Do-It-Yourself Practices

While the shortage of LPs could be compensated over the radio, black market and exchange networks, the access to suitable garments was far more problematic. Apart from a few procurement opportunities in socialist foreign

countries, especially in Hungary, the lack of important clothing and accessories such as leather jackets, stud bracelets and especially T-shirts with the logos of the favorite bands, was difficult to cope with. The metal scene, as many other music scenes in the GDR, developed practices self-production of band shirts and other metal accessories, and this in every major clique and all regions of the country. With food color and persevering exercise, the original LP covers or band-shirts from the West were copied (see Fig. 2). Fans created unique items that are still today stored in the cupboards of the former youth like treasures. Especially skilled painters got orders and could use their skills on the back market and for swapping with other goods.

These practices of exchange, sharing and haggling on black markets and in some exclusive exchange networks were a typical consequence of the socialist scarcity economy, whereby it is remarkable with what financial and temporal effort young people operated. The fact that it was ultimately more than a hobby that for many young people is also evident, for example, in the importance of (technical) knowledge and the memory within youth culture. The expertise was seen as an award, as it demonstrated the ongoing and intense engagement with heavy metal. The transfer of knowledge was just as affected by limitations as concrete artifacts. For example, the subgenre term "Thrash Metal" emerged in the first half of the 1980s in Anglo-American space. Initially it was perceived and distributed as "Trash Metal" in both Germany. While the correct spelling established relatively quickly in West-Germany, the spelling without "h" was still used by numerous GDR-fans – simply because the correct spelling spread only slowly due to lack of scene media, but also less English language skills.

The community of like-minded people had a special significance. Heavy metal fans founded local fan clubs, wrote numerous letters not only to fans and musicians within the GDR, but also in West-Germany or the USA. The experience of music and community in concerts or the discos made sure that the "heavies" was important, by gathering the fans turned public spaces such as FDJ youth clubs into temporary scene places. The most important place of the scene was undoubtedly Ost-Berlin, whereby in cities like Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz), Magdeburg or Erfurt equally large concentrations were established. In addition, heavy metal was also very present in the province.

Fig. 2: Comparison of a self-made fan shirt with original Western merchandise of American band Manowar (source: the author).

Heavy Metal Musicians in the GDR

The extent to which heavy and extreme metal was anchored in the GDR becomes clear in particular from the practice of making music. Concrete forms of playing and style, some of which only developed in the 1980s, could be acquired in the GDR with only a slight delay. The GDR bands independently and in a remarkable way contributed to the musical language of

metal and went well beyond imitating Western models. The recordings of the GDR bands bear witness to a comparatively high level of craftsmanship, which was due to the well-founded musical education of the vast majority of musicians – an essential difference to Western scenes. Covering songs by Western bands, in turn, functioned as a "substitute" for the unreachable Western scenes.

Heavy metal musicians, if they were classified as professional by the state, could partially belong to the above-average earners in the GDR. However, most of the bands faced the legal burden weekly workload in any profession and concert activities on weekends. In addition, the procurement of suitable instruments and equipment, usually via private classifieds want ads or black markets, was associated with high costs, because the DDR products barely satisfied the sonic demands of the heavy metal. Apart from the radio show "Tendency" of the youth station DT 64, however, the influence of East German metal on the Western scenes was relatively small. Although after the fall of the Berlin wall record deals were offered to numerous GDR bands. Some were able to assert themselves relatively successfully for a short time, such as Blitzz from Erfurt. Ultimately, however, almost all former East German bands failed due to the circumstances of agitating in a free and still unknown market, without tabulated concert billings and state subsidization, and hardly any experience, for example, in contract negotiations. Nevertheless, the scene itself quickly became an important part of heavy and extreme metal in Germany (Zaddach 2017).

Conclusion: Heavy Metal in Socialism

Heavy and extreme metal in the GDR meant for many young people first and foremost aesthetic pleasure, emotional support and physical acting, a community of like-minded people and temporary life content, but also intellectual stimulation and the feeling of being on the pulse of (Western) time. Listening to and experiencing music was at the core of the youth culture. All activities were aiming for continued listening and experiencing, whereas the circumstances of everyday life in the SED dictatorship set the limits of the possible. Metal fans in the GDR understood themselves as part of an international youth culture, for which the political was a secondary or even unimportant. Nevertheless, the youth culture and its music always symbolized the other, the hard-to-reach, the West. It is this ambivalence of youth culture that probably made it hard for the state to assess it. Parts of society were – one could almost say, quite in the spirit of the socialist idea of progress – already much further in embracing the youth culture, such as when Schiller's "Die Räuber" was staged in the Thale mountain theater with a heavy metal band. Further, heavy metal and the interest in the music also has to be understood as the consequence of a distancing and alienation from the dictatorial

conditions. Ultimately, the metal fans demonstrated that the parties conflictual understanding of youth culture and possibly of youth in itself passed reality in the 1980s.

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Leninism Versus Lennonism; Reflections on Rock Music Culture in East Europe and the Soviet Union

Timothy W. Ryback

From December 16 to 18, 1965, the Central Committee of the East German communist party devoted a special session to the ideological welfare of the country's youth. The committee intended to set the ideological agenda, and to underscore the importance of protecting young people from the pernicious influences of western youth culture, in particular, the increasingly pervasive phenonemon of rock and pop music. The East German leaders identified gowing rowdiness in schools, drunkenness on the streets, rising incidents of criminal activity, including physical asaults and rape, and equally disturbing a noticeble rise in ideological disaffection among the youth. Horst Sindermann, responsible for press and radio, emphasized this latter point with a concrete example.

"A 15-year-old, who had not learned a single word of English and who had to leave school in the fifth grade because he could not even speak German properly, sang popular songs in English evening after evening", Sindermann reported. "How could he do this? He listened to tapes forty times and learned by his own phonetic method to give off sounds that he perceived as being English. There is no doubt that with these methods, you could teach beat music to a parakeet". The party chairman,Walter Ulbricht, underscored the ideological threat by invoking the lyrics of a song from the Beatles: "The endless monotony of this 'yeah, yeah, yeah' is not just ridiculous, it is spiritually deadening".

Rock music represented not just an undesireable cultural distraction but an ideological, and hence existential, threat to the very nature and structure

of the East German state, whose leaders adhered to an orthodox interpretion of the Marxist theory of "Basis-Überbau," or "Base-Superstrure", According to Karl Marx, the "base" represented the foundation of economic activity in a society, including the means of production and property relations. The relationship between employers and the employed, in the division of labor, ultimately determined the very nature of society and its "superstructure", the collective set of activities that any society needed to function, ranging from political structures and forms of governance, to education and healthcare, to language culture and the arts. Marx further maintained that a "dialectical relationship" existed between the "base" and "superstructure", in which the means of production influenced the nature of society, and society in turn influenced the nature of the means of production. In brief, the way one lived determined the way one worked and vice versa. This interface was especially critical in societies transitioning from capitalism to communism, from private ownership to state ownership. It was easy to confiscate the places where people worked. It was more complicated to change the way they thought.

The East Germans underscored this point in August 1961 following the construction of the Berlin Wall. With the sealing of the border, they were able to protect East Germany's state-owned means of production from destabilization by the flight of workers to the west, but the challenge remained, to use a phrase from the time, to construct a "Mauer im Kopf," a "Berlin Wall of the mind", to keep western influences from eroding the ideological commitment of the people.

While rock music and its concomitant cultural manifestations—blue jeans, long hair, drug use—were unquestionably one of the most pervasive cultural influences across the Soviet bloc—seven East European countries plus the Soviet Union with more than 380,000,000 people, spanning nine time zones of the Eur-Asian landmass—the official responses varied depending on diverse social, political, cultural and even geographic situations. East Germany, with Berlin split between East and West Germany, was on the frontline of the Cold War and confronted radio and television broadcasts not only from West Germany, but also from RIAS—Radio in the American Sector—from West Berlin. The large Polish diaspora and a relatively lax ideological apparatus, coupled with an historic aversion to dictates from Moscow, fostered a relatively receptive environment to western rock and pop culture. Ideological orthodoxy varied greatly among the fifteen republics of the Soviet Union. A relatively liberal atmophere prevailed in the Baltic states, which had access to western rock culture through their seaports and proximity to Scandanavia. The distant Caucasian Republics were isolated both geographically and culturally from western influences. There did emerge, however, a lively black market in music recordings when it was discovered that the emulsion on discarded x-ray plates could be used for recording music. These "bone recordings" became a common source of early music distribution across the Soviet

Union.

What was common across the region, whether in Moscow or Berlin, Warsaw or Prague or Sophia, or thousands of other cities, towns, and villages, was a collective failure to suppress or eradicate the youth obsession with this western cultural phenomenon. Already in the mid-1950s, just as the rock and roll scene was emerging western rock tunes were finding their way into the repertoires of musical ensembles across the region, usually along with a mix of jazz and boogie woogie and other forms of dance music. Attempts to eradicate western songs from repertoires proved to be a vexingly difficult task as a Romanian cartoon from the 1950s suggests. In one scene, a band plays traditional music with violins and woodwinds. The caption reads: "While the Investigation Commission is present". A second scene shows the same band breaking out in exuberant "rock" music. The caption reads: "After the Investigation Commission has left".

Another cartoon, in a satiric Czechoslovak publication, from August 1956, underscored the assumption that rock music was being employed as an ideological weapon in the west's arsenal of Cold War weaponry. The cartoon shows a caricature of West German chancellor Konrad Adeneuer strumming a machinegun as if it were a guitar. A half-read copy of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is on the floor beside him. Across from him, the architect of America's Cold War policy of "rolling back" communism, John Foster Dulles, sits with his sleeves rolled up at a set of drums in the shape of hydrogen bombs. Such assumptions were only heightened two years later when the American singer Elvis Presley was drafted into the military and stationed in West Germany.

While the west never harnessed rock music as an official means of subversion, its influence did not go unrecognized. Radio Free Europe included rock music in broadcasts into Soviet occupied Eastern Europe, and had a record library of the latest recordings. In 1958, *Revue militaire générale*, a NATO journal, stated: "Whenever a rock and roll or calypso tune imbeds itself in a communist mind, it tends to erode other things, and this ultimately has an impact on one's ideology".

In Hungary, state officials embraced western rock music as a pressure valve following the failed 1956 revolution. Hungarians had begun demanding more autonomy from Moscow in response to Khrushchev's call for de-Stalinization. In July 1956 the Hungarians deposed the Stalinist leader Mátyás Rákosi, resulting in a nation-wide revolt. Imre Nagy, the Hungarian premier who had been forcibly removed from office by the Soviets the previous year, was reappointed prime minister and immediately began reforming the government, including abolishing the one-party system and demanding the removal of Soviet troops from the country, which the Soviets refused to do. When Nagy withdrew Hungary from the Warsaw Pact, the Soviets responded with military force, killing thousands of Hungarians and "restoring

order". The new Communist leader, János Kádár, who took office in November 1956, sought to appease the youth by opening the country to western pop culture. Restaurants and dance halls were permitted access to imported Wurlitzer jukeboxes supplied with the latest Western releases. Young people were able to rent albums and record them on their Hungarian-made tape recorders.

Beatlemania altered the nature of Soviet bloc rock dramatically. Until then, the music scene was eclectic and sporadic. Jazz, pop and rock were often inerchangeable, even indistinguishable for fans of western music. With performers like Bill Haley, Paul Anka, Cliff Richards, Elvis Presley and their distinctive voices and personalities, they could be listened to but not easily imitated or emulated. The Beatles changed that. "And then there were the Beatles", Erich Loest, an East German writer, wrote. "Suddenly they were heard everywhere and were in every hit parade, everyone talked about them and knew them, every week they produced a fresh hit, it was like a fever, it grabbed us and shook us and threw us about and made us different from what we had once been". What had been a scattered and sporadic movement became an identifiable mass movement. Hungarian youth styled their hair into "Beatles-frizura". They wore "Beatles-kabát" (jackets) and "Beatles-cipö" (boots). The Hungarian sociologist Iván Vitánya attributed Beatlemania in Hungary to the fact that the Beatles were the first role models kids could relate to. Young people could "roar and scream together with them, somehow become their equals, and the Beatles even make a special point of the fact that fans and audiences are their equal".

Beatlemania spurred the proliferation of new bands. In Bulgaria, the band Bundaratsite was one of the first to form in 1963 and then morphed into the popular band Shturtsite (the Crickets) in the mid-1960s, becoming one of Bulgaria's most popular and enduring rock bands. In Prague, Petr Janda formed his band Olympic in 1963, which became Czechoslovakia's premier rock band, and became popular in other East Bloc countries, notably Poland, where the band also toured. Olympic's covers to the Beatles songs earned them the name Pražký Beatles (Prague Beatles). In Hungary, the popular band Illés styled themselves after the Beatles and in 1967 released an album with a cover strongly resembling *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band.* In Poland, Czerwone Gitary (Red Guitars) dressed in Beatles-style garb and sported Beatles-haircuts.

In the Soviet Union, Beatles fans dressed in Beatle-style jackets called "*bitlovka*" and formed a Beatles-fan movement. "I first began to hear rumors in the spring of '64, and the rumors were a result of the Beatles' visit to the United States that year", recalled Kolya Vasin, founder of the first Beatles fan club. "The visit was so successful, such a sensation, that even our own press began to write about it. Let me just add, our press did not write about those other, earlier rock and roll heroes. Nothing about Chubby Checker, nothing

about Elvis. But as soon as the Beatles showed up, our press was flooded with a ton of venomous reports –'hooligans,' horrible hairdos, screaming fans, wild behaviour and so on and so forth". The Soviet weekly, *Krokodil*, wrote in an article, that the Beatles, "know how to ignite the darkest and most primitive passions in their audience". When an article appeared in a youth newspaper explaining how to convert an acoustic guitar into an electric one with telephone pickup devices, aspiring rock musicians disabled virtually every public phone in Moscow overnight.

By 1968, Prague had one of the most vibrant rock scenes in the Soviet bloc. Rock clubs proliferated and with them, membership in official youth clubs dwindled. In 1965, students at Prague's Charles University complained that the youth clubs did not represent their interests, and students became ever more vocal. Students held "happenings", inspired by the American poet Allen Ginsburg who visited Prague in 1965, and was crowned by the students on 1 May "Král majálesu" (King of May) only to be deported to London a week later when the officials decided he was an "immoral menace". In the winter of 1967 students in Prague held spontaneous happenings and drug use was on the rise. Drugs, though difficult to acquire, were often smuggled in by visitors from Austria and Germany. Locally concocted drugs like Fenmetrazin and Yastyl were combined with alcohol for hallucinogenic effects.

On January 5, 1968, Antonín Novotný was replaced as the first party secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party by Alexander Dubček. Dubček, having spent years in Moscow, had strong contacts in the Kremlin and was considered a faithful servant to the Soviet cause. However, two months later Dubček began reforming the government, replacing Soviet hardliners with his own cadre of officials.The Prague Spring had begun. In April, he announced his "27,000 Word Action Program" intended to establish a "socialist democracy" in Czechoslovakia. Part of that action including lifting censorship from the media, releasing political prisoners from jail and promoting "socialism with a human face". Rock bands proliferated and the neighborhood propaganda centers, known as agitačné stredisko, traditionally venues for espousing Marxist-Leninist propaganda, began allowing garage bands to use their space for concerts. In June, the Soviets watched uneasily as more radical reforms were demanded by writers and intellectuals, and the Soviets, who noted that other East Bloc leaders were becoming increasingly nervous about possible change in their own societies, took action.

In late July, Brezhnev began negotiations with Dubček when they met in the town of Čierna nad Tisou, on the Czechoslovak border with the Soviet Union. Reports have it that Brezhnev told Dubček, "Eto vashe delo"—it is your affair, a warning but which many interpreted as a green light for further liberalization. The Soviets continued negotiations demanding a halt to liberalization, but Dubček held his ground. On August 20th, the Soviets lost patience. Soviet military units stormed Prague's airports, and in the early hours

of August 21ˢᵗ, an estimated 175,000 Warsaw Pact troops from Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria launched a massive military operation crossing into Czechoslovakia. Two thousand Soviet tanks and hundreds of thousands of soldiers flooded the country, Young people throwing rocks at tanks on Wenceslaus Square were gunned down by Soviet fire. Dubček, ordered to Moscow for "consultation" returned on August 26ᵗʰ, five days after the invasion and announced on the radio, "The time is gone and far behind us. And not only this party but this nation will not permit a return to pre-January conditions under any guise". The Prague Spring continued though the Warsaw Pact tanks remained. And five months later, in December, the Lucerna Hall hosted to the country's second rock festival. Protest singers abounded.

As in Hungary a decade earlier, the rock scene became a pressure valve for youth discontent. The 28-year old Karel Kryl wrote Dylanesque songs that captured the spirit of the time, among them: "Close the Gate, Little Brother", about a young boy who is urged to close the door before "the wolf gets into the theater". In the months that followed, Kryl toured Czechoslovakia with those lyrics, often performing two or three concerts daily.

In June of 1969, the popular American group, the Beach Boys, premiered at a rock festival in Bratislava, where they were joined by leading Czechoslovak performers, including Waldemar Matuška and Karel Kryl. The Beach Boys also performed in Prague's Lucerna Hall, where Mike Love greeted the audience by saying, "We are happy to be here, all the way from the west coast of the United States of America. We'll dedicate this next number, which is called 'Break Away' to Mr. Dubček who is also here tonight".

That spring, in April 1969, Dubček was replaced as first party secretary by Gustáv Husák, a former supporter of the Prague Spring reforms, who acquiesced to Moscow. Playing on the metaphor of the Prague Spring, the cultural journal *Tribuna*, wrote that the government would not "permit all flowers to blossom…We will cultivate, water and protect only one flower, the red rose of Marxism". Within a year, many of Prague's leading rock venues were closed, Arena, Sluníčko, Olympik, F-Club, and others. Bands still wishing to perform were forced to use Czech names. A popular band, Blue Effect, changed its name first to Modrý Blue Efekt, then just Modrý Efekt, and finally M Efect. The third rock festival was postponed until April 1971, and only Soviet bloc bands were permitted to take the stage.

The gradual strangulation of the rock scene that took place in Czechoslovakia contrasts with the abrupt crackdown in Romania. After 1965 when Nicolae Ceauşescu came to power, the state seemed at first more open to the West and to western music. Romania was keen to foster tourism both from the East and West. Swedish travel agencies promoted trips to the country, and with the arrival of Western tourists, the state had to make concessions to western culture. Pepsi-Cola opened a factory in Romania in 1967 and both

Pepsi and Coca-Cola became available in clubs and special stores. Discotheques and night clubs sprang up, disc-jockeys *-prezentator de discotecă –* played popular rock albums. The national record company Electrecord encouraged musicians to sing and record songs in English in order to sell more albums. By the mid-1960s Romania had ceased jamming foreign broadcasts and rock music could be heard on the BBC, VOA, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Luxembourg. Romania even allowed foreign bands such as the British beat band, the Federals, to perform in Bucharest.

Nevertheless, western-style clothing, especially mini-skirts, and long-hair on men were discouraged. Student demonstrations were brutally suppressed. In the summer of 1970 the US State Department had managed to arrange a tour in Poland, Yugoslavia and Romania of the American rock group Blood, Sweat and Tears (BS&T). During the opening concert in Bucharest, the crowd went wild, dancing in their seats and screaming "USA". The local militia and police were called in to restore order. The band was instructed to play more jazz and less rock. They were also told to dress more moderately, not to throw objects on stage and to limit their encores to two songs. The band remembers refered to the instructions as the "The Bucharest Manifesto". During the next performance heavy security made sure the audience stayed in their seats. During the song "Smiling Faces" the band leader Clayton-Thomas was ready to hurl a gong but caught the eye of a policeman shaking his finger at him. Clayton-Thomas then hurled it offstage and, in his words, the "crowd went crazy" and the police intervened. "[T]hey turned dogs loose on the crowd, they had brought in German shepherds", the singer recalled. "Kids went through plate glass windows. It was a very, very bad scene". The tour was canceled and tha band left Romania three days later. Authorities tightened their control on western music and by the following summer English lyrics and western songs were banned.

On July 6, 1971 Nicolae Ceauşescu held addressed the Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, outlining measures to bring culture back under the strict rules of socialist realism and state authority. The Central Committee took direct control of the State Committee for Culture and Art, and under this orthodoxy English lyrics and music were banned. Music patrols controlled the repertoires of bands and solo performers. Some of the leadings bands were dissolved. The leader guitarist and lead singer for Olympic 64, one of Romania's most popular bands, emigrated to the west. The rest of the band was smuggled West inside the band's concert-size Marshall speakers. Certain bands survived by compromising their music, lyrics and stage appearance. These included two of the country's biggest bands, like Sfinx, which had started in 1963 performing covers by Beatles, Jimi Hendrix, Doors, the Kinks and then transitioned to lyrics in Romanian, and Phoenix, which had begun with songs by the Beatles and Rolling Stones. Originally named The Saints, in 1965, the band was forced to change its name because

of the religious conotation. As Phoenix they held their first large concert in 1965, followed by record releases on the state recording label and a major tour in 1967. Following the crackdown, the band turned to performing traditional folklore, before fleeing the country to Germany. By the late 1970s, the rock scene in Romania languished.

By the early 1970s, the initially uncontrolled exuberance on the rock scene appeared to have been quelled, with bands either crushed, driven underground, forced into emigration, or co-opted by the state authorities. By then, the state authorities had developed powerful incentives for bringing bands into alignment with socialist values and ideology—concert tours, recording opportunities, and, most important, access to high quality electric guitars, stage equipment and sound systems. In East Germany, the Puhdys and Renft, played out the classic rivalry between the Beatles and Rolling Stones, until authorities banished the hard-edged Renft from the rock scene. When Renft was refused an audition for formal recognition as an ensemble, and a band member asked if that meant the group was banned, he received an Orwellian response: "I did not say you are banned. In our opinion, you no longer exist". The Puhdys became the official face of East German rock and roll. In Poland, where the Rolling Stones had been invited to perform in 1967, leading to a full scale rock and roll riot that left the Warsaw's Palace of Culture in shambles, the music scene was soon populated with enaembles whose names reflected their domesticated and ideological tones, the Troubadors, Blue-Blacks, and the Red Guitars. The Polish blues singer, Czesław Niemen, became a major national export, performing the opening concert to the 1972 Olympics in Munich.

The Hungarian band, Lokomotiv GT, delivered the era's iconic tributes to the ideologically tamed rock and roll scene, the rock opera, "Fictitious Report on an American Rock Festival." Based on a novel by the writer, Tibor Déry, Fictitious Report recounts the murder of Meredith Hunter, an African American who was killed by members of the Hells Angels motorcycle gang during the Altamont Rock Festival in December 1969. The rock opera was written as a substitute for the western rock musical, "Jesus Christ Superstar", after it was banned in Hungary. The piece was an instant success in Hungary with critics and fans alike. Evoking the nightmarish world of the drug-induced decadence of American youth culture, Fictitious Report was welcomed by its socialist neighbors with performances in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Union was confident enough of its own control over its official rock scene, that in March 1980, it hosted it first official rock concert, in the southern city of Tblisi, the capital of the Soviet republic of Georgia. The compeition, known as "Spring Rhythms", brought together Vocal Instumetnal Ensembles, the official euphemism for rock bands, from cities across the Soviet Union, including some of the leading bands from Moscow

and Leningrad. The winner of the festival was the iconic ensemble Machina Vremini, Time Machine, whose career path tracked in some ways the course of the Soviet rock scene itself. The band was founded in the late 1960s, by Andrei Makarevich, who was inspired form an ensemble when his father returned from a business trip abroad with a copy of the Beatles' album, *A Hard Days Night*. Initially, the band performed songs in English, but soon began writing their own songs with Russian lyrics. Their success in Tblisi elevated the band to superstar status, leading to record album releases on the state label, Melodiya, concert tours, and the performance of sound tracks for film. By the early 1980s, the Soviet-bloc cultural authorities could look with satisfaction on a rock scene that had either been coopted, disbanded or driven underground.

The emergence of punk rock in the late 1970s was viewed by Soviet-bloc ideologues as a manifestation of western decadence and the growing desperation among disaffected youth in capitalist society. The raw sounds and fierce lyrics of bands like the Sex Pistols and The Clash contrasted with the tamed, even sedated, sounds of state-approved, and supported, Soviet-bloc bands. There were, of course, alternative bands like the Plastic People of the Universe, in Czechoslovakia, and the underground bands in Leningrad like Kino and Aquarium, the latter of which caused a scandal in Tiblisi when the lead guitarist Boris Grebenshikov, exposed himself on stage, but for the most part, the Soviet-bloc rock scene was populated by state-supported ensembles playing songs in service of the Soviet socialist system. It thus came as an unsettling development when bands made their appearance on the Soviet-bloc rock scene, drawing on the provocative style and lyrics of punk. In Bulgaria, a band called Novi Tsvety, or New Flowers, adopted the graphics from the Sex Pistols' album, "Never Mind the Bullocks", along with the raw-edged sound and raging vocals. Similarly hard or provocative sounds came from bands ranging from Pražský výběr, or Prague Selection, in Czechoslovakia, to Beatrice in Hungary, whose lead singer called himself as the "cockroach of the nation", to Propeller and Thunder in the Soviet Union's Baltic republics.

The imposition of martial law in Poland led to an explosion of punk and heavy metal bands. By the end of the 1970s, the rock scene in Poland had been languishing. The Polish Beatles knock-off, Czerwone Gitary, had not evolved very far from the hits they produced in the 1960s. Czesław Niemen, a star from the early 1970s, had retreated from public view. The first Polish punk bands began performing in 1979 and 1980, many promoted by the director of the Riviera-Rement Club, Henryk Gajewski, who was among the first to record Polish punk bands.

Opposition to the government had been mounting in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In December 1981, General Wojciech Jaruzelski declared martial law, rounding up political activists and severely limiting freedoms for Polish citizens. As in Hungary in the 1950s, following the Hungarian revolution,

and in Czechoslovakia in the late 1960s, following the Warsaw Pact invasion, the Polish government relaxed restrictions on the rock scene as a social pressure valve. Polish rock bands were given free reign to perform on radio and in concert halls. Emboldened, punk bands between 1982 and 1985 targeted the Jaruzelski regime with bitter lyrics. Lady Pank, one of the most popular and enduring Polish punk bands, released "December Nights", which lambasted martial law. The lead singer of the band Perfect, Grzegorz Markowski, would change lyrics previously approved by state censors, during live performances, such as "Don't be afraid of anyone" to "Don't be afraid of Jaruzelski". Fans screamed in support when the band sang "Pepe Come Back", alluding to a call for the return of Solidarity. Perfect's 1982 punk-heavy metal album *Unu,* featured a cover with black-and- white police mug shots of the the band's five musicians.

The government openness to the rock scene was underscored in the summer of 1984 when the British heavy-metal band Iron Maiden was permitted to launch its "World Slavery Tour" in Poland. The band performed in Warsaw, Łódź, Poznan, Wroclaw, and Katowice, to packed concert halls. In August 1984, the Jarocin Rock Festival featured over sixty bands and drew nearly 20,000 fans over five days. The Polish weekly *Polityka* reported open hostility among "punks", "skinheads", "poppers" and "killers" at the festival. In the course of 1984, with increasing violence among the disaffected youth, the Jaruselski regime decided to clamp down on Poland's rock scene. By year's end, many of the country's punk bands had disbanded. A sense of futility and exhaustion permeated the rock scene. "The groups change, but the structure always remains the same", Zbigniew Holdys, Perfect's bass guitarist and songwriter, observed. "The same sound men; the same technicians, the same bookkeepers, the same directors, the same record presses, and the same old publishers".

In East Germany, which appeared to be a bastion of ideological orthodoxy, punk and new wave had greater success in challenging the status quo, in particular, the East Berlin band Pankow. Named provocatively after a Berlin suburb popular among East Germany's political elite, but also hinting at the word "punk", Pankow combined the politicized edginess of The Clash with the innovation of the Talking Heads. In 1983, band leader, André Herzberg, scandalized the East German media when he appeared on stage at an official televised concert in the Palace of the Republic wearing a World War II German army uniform that drew parallels between the Nazi and East German regimes, causing the television station to interrupt the broadcast. While Pankow's music tended toward new wave more than the hard-edged sounds of punk, its songs could be unsparing in both tone and content. In the song, "Hans Negativ", the lead singer screams a fierce, near apocalyptic condemnation of the socialist society, "The air is poisoned, the water is polluted, the

land sucked dry, scavanged by vultures, plagued by hunger, gnawed by disease, without rest or respite, the world is collapsing", followed by the refrain, "Alles Scheisse," or "Everything is shit". The band's immense popularity among the youth, and the state's wavering resistence to rock music, permitted Pankow to continue to perform, release albums on the state label, and even perform in the West.

The flagging resistence to rock was increasingly evident across the Soviet bloc. In 1982, Soviet premier Yuri Andropov had sought to curtail the increasingly belligerent rock scene and re-impose a more austere ideological orthodoxy, denouncing in particular Machina Vremini, as "depressive" and "ideologically unsound", but the band's popularity led to a nationwide wave of protest that saw newspapers deluged with thousands of letters by fans supporting against the denunciation with sending thousands of letters to newspapers. The emergence of Michael Gorbachev, in 1985, shifted official attitudes toward rock culture decisively when he met publicly with Yoko Ono, the widow of John Lennon, and told her that he and his wife were fans of the late Beatle. Hardline Soviet ideologues continued to rail against the deleretous influences of rock and roll in the press, but there was no going back. Indeed, following the meltdown of the nuclear plant at Chernobyl, Soviet rock musicians staged a fundraising concert for the survivors. The concert was attended by thirty thousand fans and broadcast on Soviet television.

Without question, the most significant sign of change came in July 1988, when Bruce Springsteen was permitted to hold a concert outside East Berlin, the most significant Soviet bloc appearance since the Rolling Stones concert in Warsaw two decades earlier. The concert attracted 160,000 East German rock fans and laudations in *Neues Deutschland*, the official newspaper of the communist party, which praised Springteen for his ability to perform "straightforward, powerful rock and roll" while he "uncompromsingly points out the inequity and injustices in his country". The newspaper failed to mention the exuberant reaction of the audience when Springsteen sang his iconic hit, "Born in the USA". Thousands of young East Germans raised their fists and pounded the air as they sang with Springsteen, the songs refrain, "Born in the USA. I was born in the USA". The newspaper also failed to quote Springteen's prophetic stage observation. "I would like to tell you", Springsteen spoke in heavily accented German. "I am not for or against any government. I have come to play rock and roll for you East Berliners in the hipe that one day all barriers can be torn down". Within a year, the revolutions in East Europe had begun and by the end of 1989, the Soviet bloc had ceased to exist.

There were clearly broader economic, political and security issues that contributed to the collapse of the Soviet system, but western popular culture, driven primarily by rock and pop music, played its part in eroding the ideo-

logical commitment of two generations of young people. This western sub-version of the communist system represented one of the most pervasive forms of cultural and social expression, with far more profound and enduring impact than any competing aspects of state-promoted socialist realist culture or even the protests of alternative or counterculture. Literature, poetry and art could be seditious, but it lacked the visceral, even transformative impact of rock music. Several factors contributed to rock music's singular penetration of Soviet bloc society. The first was the nature of the music itself. The electric guitar provided a singular capacity to convey hard-edged protest, and sound systems to deliver this music to large audiences. While underground bands like Plastic People of the Universe attracted the attentions of western human rights advocates, it was the more accessible and available forms of rock music that significantly shaped youth attitudes, and ultimately forced the state authorities to adapt. The Soviet bloc had been able to withstand, then absorb the impact of the first generation of rock musicians, from the 1950s and 1960s, but ideological resistance weakened demonstrably as the subsequent generation adopted the even more aggressive sounds of punk and heavy metal, and the pervasive presence of this singularly Anglo-American form of cultural expression. Rock music, first feared as a mere distraction, ultimately became a transformative cultural and social phenomenon.
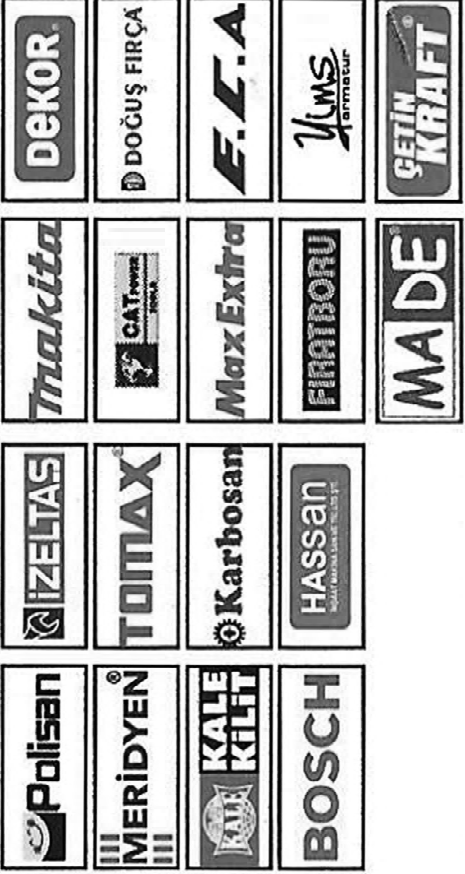
While many Marxist-Leninist theories may not have seemed tenuous, and indeed impractical in terms of implementation, the impact of western rock music on the ideology of the youth, and ultimately on Soviet bloc society at large, underscored the practical wisdom of Karl Marx's understanding of the dialectical relationship between the economic base of a society and its broader cultural and social superstructure.

Yusuf Benli
Müzik Eğitim Merkezi

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