Redefining Community in Intercultural Context

Selection of papers presented within the 5th RCIC Conference, Lisbon, 7-9 June, 2016
Music and Human Mobility

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Music and Human Mobility

Redefining Community in Intercultural Context

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Redefining Community in Intercultural Context, Lisbon, 7-9 June, 2016

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160, Mihai Viteazu st., Brașov, 500183
Phone: +40 268 423421, fax: +40 268 422004
e-mail: editura@afahc.ro

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Front cover: Namhan-jiin hyōbu (wind wall) attributed to Kanō Naizen (c.1570-1616). The folding screen depicts the arrival of a Portuguese vessel in Kyushu (Nagasaki, Japan). Locals, Jesuits, sailors and merchants meet at the shore, testifying global human mobility between houses, with a musical instrument inside, and the enormous nau (ship) in the harbour. Today in the National Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon, Portugal.
**Editor-in-chief**

**Adrian Lesenciu** is an Associate Professor of Theory of Communication and Military Sciences and currently he is the president of the ‘Henri Coandă’ Air Force Academy Senate in Brășov. He has a PhD in Military Sciences from ‘Carol I’ National Defense University (2008-2011) and in Communication Sciences from National University of Political Sciences and Administration (2010-2014), both in Bucharest. His major interest in research concerns intercultural communication, but he has also been interested in studying fundamentals of communication in military sciences, communicative competence, and linguistics. He designed the international conference *Redefining Community in Intercultural Context* (starting with 2011), quoted in important scientific databases, such as Thomson Reuters / Web of Knowledge or Index Copernicus. Recent publications include: Informational Warfare. *Brasov: Henri Coanda Air Force Academy* (2016); Intercultural communication within the Romanian village. Bucharest: The Romanian Academy Publishing House (2015), Communicative Foundation of Military Sciences (in partnership with Daniela Nagy and Cosmina-Oana Drăghici). Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing and Theory of communication. *Brasov: Henri Coanda Air Force Academy* (2010). Adrian Lesenciu is also a Romanian writer, president of the Brășov branch of the Romanian Writers Union, author of many books of poetry, novels and essays.

**Guest Editors**

**Maria de São José Côrte-Real** is an Associate Professor of Ethnomusicology and founding researcher of the Institute of Ethnomusicology – Center for Studies in Music and Dance at the NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon. With a PhD from Columbia University (NY/USA), where she studied, researched and taught (1989-2001), she is faculty member of the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology awarded PhD Programs *Music as Culture and Cognition* (since 2014) and *Art Studies and Mediations* (since 2013) in this University. Having done field research in Portugal, USA and Mozambique, her interests developed on the topics of migration and representations of identity, cultural politics and nationalisms, and cultural interfaces and education. She teaches BA and MA courses of Ethnomusicology, organizes International Conferences, the Doctoral Forum of the Institute of Ethnomusicology and coordinates the programs of International Mobility in the Department of Musical Sciences. Recent publications include the book *Protest Song and Social Change* (in process, 2016); “Music & Ethno-national Conflict-solving Education”. Bonn: Bundeszentral für Politische Bildung (submitted); “Music and intercultural dialogue rehearsing life performance at school” in Nektaria Palaiologou (ed.) *Intercultural Education: conceptual and empirical challenges. London, New York: Routledge* (2014) and the book like special issue *Music and Migration*, of the journal *Migrações*. Observatory of Immigration. High Commissariat for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (2010).

**Pedro Russo Moreira** is a post-doctoral researcher at the Institute of Ethnomusicology – Center for Studies in Music and Dance at the NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon (INET-md, FCSH/NOVA), with a scholarship by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), where he develops a project on music, radio and Portuguese migration in Paris. His main research topic is the relation between music and radio, specially the production and mediation of sounds. In 2013, he concluded a PhD regarding the study of music production in the Portugal National Radio during the dictatorship (1934-1950). His main publications include one book on the history of Portuguese National Radio (with Manuel Deniz Silva and Nuno Domingos), several articles and encyclopedia entries, as well as a book about Orquestra Sinfônica Juvenil - Youth Symphonic Orchestra - in Portugal. He taught History of Music, Acoustics and Ethnomusicology in several music schools and colleges, like in Instituto Piaget (ISEIT) and ANSO (Metropolitana) where he was Co-coordinator of the graduate and master degree program in music.
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REDEFINING COMMUNITY IN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXT

Adrian LESENČIUC*

*Department of Fundamental Sciences and Management, ‘Henri Coandă’ Air Force Academy, Brasov, Romania

The cultural change, as a result of synergistic action of socioeconomic tensions (inertially opposed to cultural tradition), was the main topic of numerous anthropologists’ studies and of scientific events. Equally, the cultural change excited the great artistic spirits: poets, writers, philosophers etc. Some extra clarifications and terminological distinctions are required. As long as the social change engages socioeconomic and cultural tensions, a profound analysis of the dichotomous pair socioeconomic background – cultural background, and a similar analysis of the organic interdependence of these foundations of human societies are natural requirements. But, speaking of socioeconomic and cultural background, the first distinction to be made is between civilization and culture, a fundamental distinction present in the specialized literature since the dawn of anthropology, a distinction that has fuelled, regarding the associate meanings, by many theoretical disputes between the representatives of various schools, currents, directions, or cultural areas.

During centuries, the schematic, reductionist, atomized perception, born simultaneously with the philosophy of Enlightenment, extended until the thinking of the early last century, was abandoned in favour of understanding the relational complexity within social groups. The abandonment of the schematic rigidity would be foreshadow by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, who focused his studies on the concept of community as a dynamic whole, without the recognition of his contemporaries. The German sociologist put the will – natural or rational – on the basis of the social relationships. The rational will (Körwille) involves clearly differentiated meanings and ends, while the natural will (Wessenswille) derives from the temperament, the character, the intellectual attitude of each individual. Society (Gesellschaft) and community (Gemeinschaft) are distinct because there is a distinction between the rational and the natural will. Community is born as a living organism, based on the common heritage and on the values built within the natural framework of the life, organized in the spirit of the patriarchal coordination. The relationships characterizing the Gemeinschaft extend through common cultural heritage: language, beliefs, customs, rituals, and the community takes new shapes, more extensive. Therefore, community takes the form of a living organism, where the individuals remain united despite the centrifugal forces inside, unlike society, where individuals remain separate despite the centripetal tendencies. Although nowadays the term community has generated countless debates without any unanimous agreement on its conceptual delimitations, the dichotomous pair proposed by Tönnies, Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, still remains relevant. The foundations of this pair setting, the natural and rational will, are the bases of distinction between culture and civilization. A clear distinction can be made beginning with the products of culture and civilization. If, in the first case, the organic community’s products represent the symbolic goods, in the other case, society produces material goods.

Our main question is natural: what happens with the community nowadays, when society took over, through multiple media networks, almost the entire world? Can we design a research whose ultimate goal is to identify the role of the community in a world where intercultural contacts are an everyday reality? If we are able design such a study, which would be the optimal level of the research: an individual research, or a research project? Each of these levels would be insufficient. Each of these possibilities of analysis would be limited, given the complexity of the topic. In these circumstances, we considered that the best way of focusing the analysis of such a broad area of research would be a multiannual conference, where worldwide professors, researchers and practitioners can provide expertise in each of their area of competence, in order to lead to a complex perspective on community nowadays, impossible to be covered by a single researcher or by a project team within a limited time of study. These were the scientific premises of designing the international conference Redefining community in intercultural context.
1 Λόγος. Τόπος. Κοινότητα. The first edition of the conference, organized by the Department of Military Sciences and Management from ‘Henri Coandă’ Air Force Academy (Brasov, Romania), in partnership with the Center for Research in Communication from the National University of Political Sciences and Administration (Bucharest, Romania), and with the European Network for Intercultural Education Activities (ENIEDA, Malmö, Sweden) between 16th and 18th of June, 2011, focused on the role of community in the contemporary society. Therefore, the first edition was named Λόγος. Τόπος. Κοινότητα (Word. Place. Community) and included the following topics: Intercultural Education; European Community / Globalization and Military Community / General Approaches. The scientific board was composed by important professors from 12 universities around the world (from France, Italy, Mexico, Portugal United States, and Romania) and the first two keynote speakers were Eduard Khakimov, Udmurt State University, Izhevsk, Russia, specialist in intercultural education and migration, who presented the paper entitled Constructive Redefining Community in Context of Intercultural Education and Paul L. Landry, School of Law, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, USA, specialist in instructional leadership, who presented the paper Globalization and Indigenous Language Loss: A Critical Analysis of Ecuador Language. The papers proposed by the participants from Brazil, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Italy, Nigeria, Portugal, Russia, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, and Romania, were assessed by the scientific committee and, finally, the best three papers were awarded: Sofia Chatzigeorgiadou, Eva Pavlidou & Virginia Arvanitidou (Greece) - Differences in Loneliness and Social Behavior of Immigrant and Repatriated Preschoolers; Grigore Georgiu & Alexandru Cărlan (Romania) - Towards a Conjunctive Paradigm: A Critical Review of the Theories and Interpretations Regarding the Crisis of Cultural Identities in The Context of Globalization and Jorge Luiz Antonio (Brazil) - Techno-Art Poetry: A Redefined Community in Interdigital Context. A selection of papers was published within the homonymous book, Redefining Community in Intercultural Context, ‘Henri Coandă’ Air Force Academy Publishing House, 2011, and further included in Web of Knowledge database.

2 Critical dialogue revisited: Challenges and Opportunities. The success of the first edition allowed the further extension of the conference. The second one, organized under the same subtitle as the previous one, in partnership with the same Center for Research in Communication, and with the European Society for Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Dialogue (ESTIDIA, Malmö, Sweden) in Brasov, between 14th and 16th of June 2012, focused on the European dialogue. The conference sections were: Security and Intercultural Education, Culture & Communities and Intercultural Education. Therefore, the conference was featured by the first ESTIDIA workshop entitled Critical dialogue revisited: Challenges and Opportunities. The conference extended and clarified its main goal:

The main goal is an exchange of experience between teachers, researchers and practitioners in the field of community dynamics. Moreover, we look forward to putting into practice the new ideas that will result from the cross-fertilization of teaching activities and scientific research. Our end-goal is to improve the quality of education and, consequently, personal and intellectual development. Last but not least, we are eager to disseminate the results of our multicultural dialogue within the academic community and beyond. (estidia.eu, 2012)

while the workshop intended to explore the dialogue connecting teaching and research creativities. The scientific board included professors and researchers from 18 universities and international associations from Albania, Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, United States, and Romania. The keynote speakers were: Cornelia Ilie, Faculty of Culture and Society, Malmö University, Sweden/ European Society for Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Dialogue (ESTIDIA), expert in pragmatics, institutional discourse analysis, intercultural rhetoric and argumentation theory, Maria Filomena Capucho, Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Cultura, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Viseu, Portugal, expert in intercomprehension, and Alina Bârgăoanu, Faculty of Communication and Public Relations, National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest, Romania, specialist in EU Communication, EU Public Sphere and EU Identity. In addition to the previous edition of the conference, there were participants from Albania, Canada, Israel, Moldova, Spain, Sweden and Turkey, plus a representative of the Council of Europe, Jean-Loup Berko. The best papers of the conference were: Aura Codreanu (Romania) - Organizational Health Check. A Comparative Investigation into Organizational Communication Patterns, A. Kyridis, B. Mucaj, Chr. Zagkos, E. Michailidis, P. Pandis, I. Vanvakidou, K. Tsiounis (Greece) - Who is Afraid of the Greeks? What Second Generation Immigrants who Study in Greek Universities believe about Greeks
and the Way in which they treat them and Angel Ralyu (Spain) - Can Intercultural Sensitivity at Tertiary Education be Enhanced Using Virtual Environments? A Practical Experience between a Polish and a Spanish University. Starting with this edition of the conference, the selection of papers was included within a homonymous publication, included in IndexCopernicus database and in Web of Knowledge. Starting with this edition, the RCIC organizers started the cooperation with the organizers of Structure, Use and Meaning (SUM) conference, held in Brasov, at ‘Transilvania’ University, of every two years.

3 Ethni(city). The third edition of the conference was organized in cooperation with the same two partners, between 13th and 15th of June, 2013. The novelties of this edition were the topic: the relationship between ethnicity and community and the concept of ‘green conference’. This concept arose from the need to give up any technological ‘prostheses’ and from the need the RCIC community in dialogue:

Scientific events themselves tend to turn into missed opportunities, in terms of human relations: an image that is worth a thousand words tends to replace text, a metaphor tends to be replaced by a graph or an animation, a dialogue by a monologue. In this context of hunting success at scientific level, rigorously measured, RCIC community intends to engage in such an event that prioritizes human relationships. To do this, starting from this edition, the international conference Redefining Community in Intercultural Context will become a green conference, with no technological ‘prostheses’ or PowerPoint presentations. Only people in dialogue, in a city where ethnos is still alive, where the technologically unmediated human relationships flourish and where community reshapes itself beyond cultural barriers (afahc.ro, 2013).

The scientific board included, in addition to those of the previous edition, other professors from important universities in Portugal, United Kingdom, United States and Russia, and the keynote speakers were: Mariselda Tessarolo, Department of Philosophy, Sociology, Pedagogy and Applied Psychology (FISPPA), University of Padua, Italy, focused in her research on the field of human, interpersonal and cultural communication, who presented the paper entitled The Conflicting Bases of Ethnicity and Pluralism; Maria de São José Corte-Real, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal, a well-known researcher in the field of ethnomusicology, who presented the paper Music, Social Cohesion and Citizenship: Omnis Civitas Contra Se Divisa Non Stabit, and Nicoleta Corbu, College of Communication and Public Relations, National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, interested in European identity, European public sphere, and framing analysis. The best papers were declared: Maja Muhić and Aleksandar Takovski (Republic of Macedonia) - From Agora to Pandora: The Unprecedented Case of the Simple Skopje Square, Hussain Al Sharoufi (Kuwait) - Academic Writing Wizard: A New Web-Based Application for Teaching Academic Writing Using Lexical Cohesive Trio, and Asher Shafir (Israel) - The Names of Israeli Military Ranks and their Linguistic Analysis. Similar to the previous edition, the best papers were published within Redefining Community in Intercultural Context journal, included in the also mentioned databases. In the same year, ESTIDIA organized its conference entitled Dialogue-driven Change in the Public Sphere between 3rd to 5th of October, in Bari, Italy. A selection of papers defended within this conference, edited by Professor Alberto Fornasari from ‘Aldo Moro’ University of Bari was included in 2014 within the special issue of Redefining Community in Intercultural Context.

4 Wor(l)ds. The fourth edition of RCIC international conference was organized only in partnership with a local association: ‘Henri Coandă’ Association for Research and Education (ASCEDU) between 21st and 23rd of May 2015, and focused on linguistic issues. The name of this edition was very eloquent: Wor(l)ds, and a particular proposed topic, in the area of linguistics, was New Wor(l)ds. The scientific committee was dramatically changed: the representatives of 19 important universities from Brazil, Israel, Italy, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Spain, United States, and Romania formed the scientific board. The keynote speakers were: Lucija Ćok, Science and research centre / University of Primorska, Slovenia; Member of the Council la Slovenian Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (SQAA); Member of the Institutional Evaluation programme (EUA EIP), European University Association, ex minister of education in Slovenia, focused on the formation of models of bilingual education in areas of linguistic and cultural contact and of didactics of intercultural communication, who presented the paper entitled Culture in Languages – Multiplicity of Interpretations; Eva-Maria Remberger, Institut für Romanistik, Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät, Universität Wien, Austria, expert in Romance linguistics, who presented the paper entitled ‘I didn’t say it. Somebody else did.’ The Romanian Hearsay Marker Cici; and Elena Buja, Faculty of Letters at Transilvania University of Brașov, Romania, specialist in first language acquisition and intercultural communication, with the paper Johannis and Ponta: The Winner and the Loser. A Non-verbal Communication Approach to the 2014 Presidential Election Campaign in Romania. The papers, peer-reviewed, were defended within the conference panels
and the best papers were declared: Cristina Ariton-Gelan (Romania), *Gradualness of Iconicity in Semiotic Discourse*, Maria Pilchin (Moldova), *Xenology – One of the Solutions of the Recent Culture* and Alberto Fornasari (Italy), *ICT and Innovative Teaching. How to Build Skills for Generating Web 2.0 with Flipped Learning. A Case Study ITIS Majorana of Brindisi*. A selection of papers was included in *Redefining Community in Intercultural Context* publication.

5 **Music and Human Migration.** The fifth edition of the *Redefining Community in Intercultural Context* international conference was organized in cooperation with Institute of Ethnomusicology – Center for Studies in Music and Dance, of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, of the New University of Lisbon (FCSH/NOVA), Portugal. The scientific event, named *Music and Human Mobility*, was held in Lisbon, from 7th to 9th of June, 2016. The end-goal of the conference and the main topics were defined on the conference webpage, as follows:

The ICMMH’16 proposes theoretical and applied reflections, expression of good practices, critical perspectives and proposals in arts education, intercultural experience and understanding of citizenship; discussions and experiments about music composition, production and reception; and diversified interpretations of relationships between music and educational and cultural management around three theoretical topics, not limiting to them, departing from the relation between music and human mobility […] The ICMMH’16 proposes also three areas of performance in workshops of vocal and instrumental music and dance / body expression (icmmh.org, 2016).

The scientific committee included important professors from Austria, Brazil, Italy, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, and United Kingdom. The event consisted in: public presentations of the keynote speakers Michael Fuhr, Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media, Germany, whose main interest areas are of identity, migration, and globalization, (Korean) popular music, aesthetics, cultural theory, and the history of ethnomusicology, and who presented the paper entitled *Borders, what’s up with that? Musical Encounters and Transnational Mobility in K-Pop* and John Baily, Goldsmiths, University of London, United Kingdom, acknowledged as a world authority on the music of Afghanistan, and music in the Afghan diaspora, that defended the paper entitled *Music in Afghanistan and the Afghan diaspora, 1978–2016*; three parallel panel presentations, eight workshops coordinated by key-animators such as Mostafa Anwar (New University of Lisbon, Portugal) on accompanied classic and semi-classical Sufi singing; Veronica Doubleday, independent researcher and artist (London, UK) on Muslim women's domestic songs; and Kátia Leonardo, independent Artist (Portugal) and José Dias (New University of Lisbon, Portugal) on jazz and body expression; and roundtables. The participants involved in this event were professors, researchers, practitioners and PhD students from important universities or scientific/cultural institutions from Angola, Austria, Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Hong Kong, India, Italy, Germany, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mexico, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, South Korea, Spain, Turkey, UK, and US.

The next edition of the conference will be held in June 2017 in Bari, at ‘Aldo Moro’ University.

The most important conclusion regarding the international conference *Redefining Community in Intercultural Context* concerns the emergence of a scientific community, namely RCIC community, as was defined since its third edition. With a core group of academics and researchers from ‘Henri Coandă’ Air Force Academy, Brasov, ‘Transilvania’ University of Brasov, National School of Political Studies and Administration, Bucharest, ‘Mihai Viteazul’ National Intelligence Academy, Bucharest, New University, Lisbon, ‘Aldo Moro’ University, Bari, Padua University, ‘Ismail Qemali’ University of Vlorë, ESTIDIA, Malmö etc., the conference has grown from year to year and has become a name in the scientific area. Moreover, the RCIC community is one of the scientific basins for other scientific events of thematic proximity. With over 100 articles totalling more than 1,000 pages published, many of them quoted in prestigious journals and scientific books published in important universities publishing houses in Europe, North America, and Asia, *Redefining Community in Intercultural Context* has become a brand, continuously targeting the purposes for which it was initially established.
MUSIC AND HUMAN MOBILITY
REDEFINING COMMUNITY IN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXT 2016
Guest edited by Maria de São José Côrte-Real & Pedro Moreira
“Henri Coandă” Air Force Academy Publishing House

MUSIC AND HUMAN MOBILITY

Maria de São José CÔRTE-REAL*, Pedro MOREIRA*

*Institute of Ethnomusicology, NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities, New University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

The topic of the International Conference Music and Human Mobility (ICMHM’16) at the Nova School for Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon, Portugal, from 7 to 9 of June of 2016, (see http://www.icmh16.org/home) originated the texts in this volume. It represents a relation of human attributes that, interesting many for long, is now entering the academia. Old sources from Medieval Iberia, the cultural region in Southwestern Europe from where the Portuguese country emerged, show how the Islamic kingdom of al-Andalus, known for its complex mix of Arab, North African, Christian, and Jewish influences, valued the link between the two related kinds of processes since the 8th century. The Andalusian heritage, very rich in music as well as related poetry, fashion, philosophy among other sciences’ references, Shannon reminds, let us perceive movements of musicians, songs, histories, and memories circulating around the Mediterranean (2015). Surrounded by seas and high mountains, the population of the Iberia moved through water to the most distant places, to the West as well as to the East, mostly through the Southern seas, propelled by Northern winds and currents, to border the American and the African continents first and then the others. Meaningful texts testifying cultural meeting, interfacing and developing, in this peninsular region of the world, or through populations from it elsewhere, have since early documented musical flows carrying influences of many through whom they pass and/or from whom they emerge. Travellers, sailors, poets, writers, scientists, aristocrats, diplomats, religious agents, politicians of many sorts, among others, left their imprints, opening ways and nurturing sources for studies to come. Among the works known, mentioning but written sources as travelogues, reports, chronicles and epic narratives document lived or dreamed experiences inspiring many. Music and migratory experiences were, however, only systematically considered for the study of ethnic groups and the specificities of the urban area by the late 1970s, by the pioneer Reyes-Schramm in New York (1979). The field of Music and Migration studies had yet to wait, appearing only in meetings and publications after the turn of the millennium in initiatives led by Baily & Collyer (2006), Côrte-Real (2010) and Toynbee & Dueck (2011), meanwhile in development by a growing number of researchers.

The ICMHM’16 initiated a forum of discussion on the topic, integrated in the series of International Conferences Redefining Community in Intercultural Context. It joint c.130 participants from 26 countries; researchers from different fields, players, dancers and singers from different styles and regions of the world, with special representation of Romanians from the fields of Military Action, Intelligence, Linguistics and Education. For three days, participants engaged, in and outdoors, in papers, panels, roundtables, workshops, concerts, meals, walks, a quick feet in sand experience in the beach, a religious ceremony, in temples, auditoria, classrooms, laboratories, different monuments, the cafeteria and other campus’ sites. ICMHM’16 proposed theoretical and applied reflections, expression of good practices, critical perspectives and proposals in arts education, intercultural experience and citizenship, developing discussions and experiments on music composition, production and reception, diversified interpretations of relationships between music, education and cultural management around three domains, not limiting to them, departing from relationships between music and human mobility: Culture, identity and globalization; Musical performance and migration; and International business and contact of cultures through music. The keynote speaker Michael Fuhr from the Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media, discussed music and transnational production from South Korea; John Baily, from the Goldsmiths, University of London, musical performance in the Afghan Islamic diaspora and Heung-Wah Wong, from the University of Hong Kong, the role of music in the international business in China and Japan. The key animator Mostafa Anwar, from Bangladesh, gave an accompanied Sufi singing workshop;
Veronica Doubleday, from London, on Muslim women's domestic singing; Kátia Leonardo and José Dias, from Lisbon, on jazz and body expression. The program was rich with diversified production and reception of music performance, between Lisbon and Sesimbra. In Lisbon, the Hindu Temple Radha Krishna hosted the first night with a religious ceremony, a dinner and a concert by John Baily and Veronica Doubleday, dance by Lajja Sambhavnath, and music poetry composed for the purpose by Mostafa Anwar. The second afternoon, in the coastal city of Sesimbra, hosted the keynote speech by John Baily in the municipal theatre; the visit to the old Chapel of the Holy Ghost of the Seamen and its hospital, and the light dinner at the Santiago’s Fortress. The last evening in campus hosted the final dinner and the workshops’ concert.

The special issue Music and Mobility of the journal Redefining Community in Intercultural Context, presents 42 selected texts of c.100 written participations in the Conference, reviewed in a blind process by two elements from the Scientific Committee to which the special guest Anthony Seeger was added, in three parts: Culture, Identity and Globalization; Music, Performance and Mobility; and Music and Intercultural Contact. It opens with an ethnomusicological analysis of the movements of persecuted musicians in Afghanistan for religious purposes, by John Baily, follows to focus multiple cultural contexts from those of television music festivals, by Pinto, to pedagogical causes linking language and thought from childhood education, by A. & S. Leseniciuc. It concentrates then on psycho warfare methods using relevant musicians’ products for intelligence for military and other strategies, by Ciuperca and by A. Andronic; on non-verbal communication and different kinds of dialogue by Ivanciu & Popica and by Roman; and on other detailed music and sound related attributes to unveil uses, from individual to global layers of action and interest, involving human mobility, by Santo et al, and by Gelan, and from named and un-named musicians, poets and others by Levonian, Nagy, Baptista and Constantin; to focus on the uniqueness of the body in the globalized era, through a technique involving yoga and other principles to promote trust in students, by Oliveira. Part two initiates with a theoretical remark by Côrte-Real pointing navigation principles to value dynamic references in mobility to highlight how music phenomena may help to understand them, to follow with details of music experiences of, among others, refugees crossing the Balkan routes by R. Andronic. Social change and reconstruction, and ancient and imaginary worlds were considered from different views by Stoicovici, Iliși, Pancetti, and Espírito Santo. Capeverdean migrant descendants performing in Lisbon, by Schubert; discourse and practice disparities of jazz in Europe, by Dias; and intriguing Dinaric traditions of Serbian rural migrants, by Jovanović; the music theatre empire of Vasco Morgado, an old entrepreneur in Lisbon, by Antunes de Oliveira, followed. Memory related analysis regarding jazz, decolonizing experiences and music learning were focused by Mendes, Ferrara, and Drăgulin & Şuteu. Colonial related thoughts on the performance experience of the nomad Indian flute player Musa Gulam Jat settled in Gujarat, by Rascany. Part three departs from a reflection about K-Pop and transnational mobility by Michael Fuhr, to follow with the spread of K-Pop in Romania, by Buja; the “third sex” and stereotypes in South Korea by Roibu-Roibu. Portuguese migrant context in France is analysed by Moreira, focusing the role of radio in mediating identities, and Milheiro, the Philharmonique Portugaise de Paris to represent national identity. In the context of Lusofonia, Vanspauwen analyses entrepreneurship and interculturalism, Musio discusses cosmopolitanism and light music in European broadcasting, and Azedo reflects on human mobility and cultural policy in the Macau Chinese Orchestra. Musical preferences in Romania are considered by Mitun, and cultural mixing in rock music, by Tessarolo. Multi-ethnic orchestras in Italy are revealed by Dari, and Leonard Cohen lyrics by Mécic, to finish, Kaljund and Peterson focus the topic of expatriate musicians, and Bosna reflects on intercultural education and music.

References cited:
Culture, Identity & Globalization
THE RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION OF MUSICIANS
IN AFGHANISTAN (1978-2014)

John BAILY*

*Emeritus Professor of Ethnomusicology, Head of the Afghanistan Music Unit, Goldsmiths,
University of London, London, United Kingdom

Abstract: This lecture outlines the movements of musicians in Afghanistan during the period of turbulent conflict that started with the Communist coup of 1978, followed by the Coalition government of the mujahideen in 1992, the rise to power of the Taliban in 1996, and the post-9/11 era of Karzai. The data show that music is a sensitive indicator of broader socio-political processes; music making in Afghanistan varied widely in frequency and intensity according to the dominant ideology of the time, fluctuations that often involved the movement of musicians from one place to another. Underlying these movements was a deeper conflict between ideologies of traditionalism and modernization in Afghanistan that started at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Keywords: Religious persecution, music making, traditionalism, modernization, Afghanistan

1. INTRODUCTION

In this lecture, I am concentrating not on the migrations of musicians as such but on a major factor leading to those migrations – religious persecution by Islamic fundamentalists. I deal with the hostility and ill-treatment they received, which reached its extreme form under the Taliban between 1996 and 2001. But it did not start with the coming to power of the Taliban, nor end with their defeat in 2001. A detailed account of this period of Afghan history can be found in Baily (2016).

2. MUSIC AND IDEOLOGIES IN AFGHANISTAN (1978-1992)

The people of Afghanistan are great music lovers. Music had received patronage from a succession of music-loving rulers from the 1860s. There were many families of hereditary professional musicians, particularly in Kabul, where they occupied a large musicians’ quarter, the Kuche Kharabat. The hereditary professionals were mainly responsible for music education through a master-pupil apprenticeship system. Distinct from the hereditary professionals were numerous amateurs, and some amateurs turned professional. State-owned Radio Kabul, run by the Ministry of Information and Culture, had played a central role in supporting music from its inception in the 1940s and employed many fine musicians, performing Afghan classical, popular, and regional traditional music. From the 1950s to the 1970s, during the heyday of radio broadcasting, music was relatively unconstrained and flourished. State-run Radio Afghanistan, which succeeded Radio Kabul, broadcast a restricted range of texts: love songs, especially songs of unrequited love, and classical poetry, mostly in Dari (Afghan Persian), some in Pashto, often of a Sufi mystical nature. Song texts were monitored for poetic quality and content. Women were free to sing over the radio and in the theatres. Musicians acknowledged that their profession was subject to religious constraint in the past, but “who thinks about such things now” as one musician put it. One should avoid playing music during the azan, the call to prayer, and no music should be played for 40 days after a death in the family or amongst close neighbours. On the other hand, Ramadan may have been a month of fasting austerity, but it was also a time for nightly public concerts in cities like Kabul and Herat.

In 1978, there was a Marxist coup by the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the PDPA, followed by the Soviet invasion a year later to support the already failing communist government. The succession of four communist governments supported music, which was regarded as integral to the type of secular society they
aspired to establish. The new agenda envisaged a tolerant society with respect to women’s rights, especially with regard to education and freedom of movement, freedom of interaction of young people, lots of music, and, controversially, the legalization of alcohol. This was a state of affairs very like those that prevailed in the Muslim societies of the USSR.

The communists came to power shortly after the opening of the television station in Kabul, when Radio Afghanistan became transformed into Radio Television Afghanistan (RTA). In due course local RTA stations were established in some provincial cities, such as Herat. Broadcasting remained under the control of the Ministry for Information and Culture, as had been the case with radio from its inception in the 1940s. Naturally, the Ministry now exercised tighter control over what was broadcast. Television was a state-of-the-art medium that introduced Afghans to a new kind of modernity and had an important role in broadcasting musical performances and promoting new artists.

Radio and television artists who complied with the new regime were treated well; they had good salaries, received medical care, and in some cases were allocated modern apartments and even motor cars. Many were ready to sing in praise of the new regime; others were not and felt it expedient to leave the country. They joined the exodus away from war and insecurity as Afghans crossed the borders into neighbouring countries, mainly Pakistan and Iran. The jihad, the holy war, got under way.

If music was encouraged by the PDPA in Afghanistan, across the border with Pakistan things were very different. Visiting Peshawar in 1985 for the purpose of making a film about musicians in exile I soon discovered that political ideology and music were strongly interconnected, and that there were unforeseen problems with my film project. The refugee camps were run by the seven Islamist mujahideen parties and they imposed a rigidly orthodox regime. Men had to grow their beards and were not permitted to wear western clothes. Music was forbidden in the camps by the mullahs and by party officials. The camps were maintained in a perpetual state of mourning, justified by the constant influx of new arrivals who had lost relatives in the fighting. Refugees were allowed to own radios so that they could listen to news programmes but they were not permitted to listen to music (though no doubt some did, quietly). Refugee musicians who were forced by circumstance to live in the camps hid their identities. On the other hand, there were active Afghan musicians living in the city of Peshawar, where the mujahideen parties were not in control. Most of these musicians were Pashto speakers from Jalalabad, in southeast Afghanistan.

I had assumed there would be lots of songs about the war, but although Peshawar had a thriving cassette industry, cassettes in the bazaar were mostly of love songs; cassettes about the war were not easy to find. One of the few I could find had imitations of gunfire played on the tabla drums. Singers like Shah Wali Khan made their living performing for Pashto speaking Pakistani patrons, at wedding parties, ‘Eid celebrations, and more intimate private parties. Songs about the war were not suitable for these occasions; the patrons wanted to hear modern love songs and spiritual songs from the great poets of the past.

The Soviet Union withdrew its forces in 1989. The mujahideen gradually extended their control and captured Kabul in 1992. Anticipating the worst, given the known anti-music policies of the mujahideen, some of the musicians who had remained in the capital during the communist era began to leave for Pakistan, sensing the difficulties they would face under a mujahideen coalition.

With the arrival of the mujahideen the musicians in Kabul, especially those connected with RTA, soon felt the brunt of the anti-music policies of the new government. Singers who had sung in support of the regime were particularly vulnerable to punishment. It was reported that musicians at RTA were abused and mistreated. Some had their heads shaved to shame them, some that were dressed in western suits and ties were stripped to their underwear in public, for the era of the mandatory beard and the compulsory wearing of traditional long shirt and baggy trousers had started. Apartments and motorcars that had been given to top musicians by the communist governments were confiscated.

All that was bad enough. Although there was some clandestine music making at private gatherings, work was becoming hard to find. Before long there were outbreaks of fighting between the various mujahideen parties. This was when much of Kabul was destroyed. The musicians’ quarter was repeatedly hit by SCUD missiles in these battles. Many of Kabul’s musicians now left with their families, some for Mazar-e Sharif in the north, some for Peshawar, some for Quetta, some to other destinations.

The situation of music in Herat in the time of the Coalition was rather different to that in Kabul. The city, which I visited in 1994, was at peace but in a condition of deep austerity under the rule of mujahideen commander Ismail Khan. The economy was recovering with the return of wealthy businessmen who had been in exile in
Iran. An Office for the Propagation of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice had been established to monitor and control public behaviour. The cinema and the theatre were closed, although the actors from the theatre were still employed by the Ministry of Information and Culture, and gave occasional performances on Herat TV. There was heavy control over music, but a certain amount of musical activity was allowed. Professional musicians had to apply for a licence, which stated that they could perform only songs in praise of the mujahideen and songs with texts drawn from the mystical Sufi poetry of the region. This cut out a large amount of other music, such as love songs and music for dancing. The licences also stipulated that musicians must play without amplification.

Male musicians could play at private parties indoors, but Herat's women professional musicians were forbidden to perform, and several were briefly imprisoned for having transgressed this ordinance. Technically, male musicians were permitted to perform at wedding parties, but experience had shown that often in such cases the religious police arrived to break up the party. They would confiscate the instruments, which were usually returned to the musicians some days later when a fine or bribe had been paid.

There was very little music on local radio or television. If a song was broadcast on television one did not see the performers on screen, but a vase of flowers was shown instead, a practice adopted from Iran. Names of performers were not announced on radio or television. The audiocassette business continued, with a number of shops in the bazaars selling music cassettes and videos, some recorded by Herati musicians. Professional musicians could hardly make a living from music. They depended on the generosity of their long-standing patrons, often from the wealthy business class, who would engage them to play at private house parties, or simply give them financial aid.

3. MUSIC UNDER THE TALIBAN

I'll now analyse the five years during which the Taliban were in control of Kabul and most of Afghanistan (1996–2001). The Taliban imposed an extreme form of music censorship, including banning the making, owning and playing of all types of musical instrument other than, perhaps, the frame drum. In Afghan culture the concept of 'music' is closely connected with musical instruments and the sounds they make. Unaccompanied singing does not, according to this definition, constitute music, a convenient way of classifying sound that allowed the Taliban themselves to enjoy their own rather musical renditions of Taliban songs. It was at this point that most of the professional musicians remaining in Afghanistan left, partly because it was now impossible to make any sort of a living from music, and partly because it was dangerous to remain. Anthropologist Andrew Skuse, working on his PhD during this period states:

The imposition of many restrictions stemmed from the Taliban’s interpretation of urban and secular society as essentially corrupt, Godless and immoral. … Thus, in many newly ‘liberated’ urban areas, Kabul included, the perceived anti-Islamic influences brought by indigenous modernizers and foreign occupants, such as western styles of clothing and hair styles, television, music and the emancipation of women, represented focal points for the activities of the Taliban’s religious police force… (Skuse 2002: 273–4).

Under the Taliban’s interpretation of Muslim Shari‘at law, music was perceived as a distraction from the remembrance and worship of God, the logic behind this injunction being that it arouses the passions, lust and causes deviation from piety, modesty and honour (Skuse, 2002:273). The Taliban liked to invoke the following hadith: ‘Those who listen to music and songs in this world, will on the Day of Judgment have molten lead poured in their ears.’ This controversial hadith is regarded as false by many Islamic scholars.

The Taliban published pronouncements regarding the punishments for those who listen to music, such as (the English is theirs):

2. To prevent music… In shops, hotels, vehicles and rickshaws cassettes and music are prohibited… If any music cassette found in a shop, the shopkeeper should be imprisoned and the shop locked. If five people guarantee […] the shop should be opened […] the criminal released later. If cassette found in the vehicle, the vehicle and the driver will be imprisoned. If five people guarantee […] the vehicle will be released and the criminal released later. (…) 12. To prevent music and dances in wedding parties. In the case of violation the head of the family will be arrested and punished (Rashid 2000:218–190).

The Taliban had their own ‘songs without music’, i.e. songs without instrumental accompaniment. It is clear that the Taliban had their own musical aesthetic, they admired the good singing voice, which is why they wanted the few well-known singers who had remained in Afghanistan to sing on radio. They liked to use recording studio effects, like delay, reverb and even pitch correction. My analysis suggests that many of these so-called taramas are closely related to Pashtun folk songs in terms of musical mode and
melody. This suggests that it was not so much a matter of banning music, but a competition between different kinds of music, one that uses musical instruments and one that does not.

4. MUSIC, HUMAN RIGHTS AND CENSORSHIP

In the year 2000, the Danish Human Rights Organisation FREEMUSE invited me to write a report about the censorship of music in Afghanistan. The report was published in 2001 (Baily 2001), a few months before the al-Qaida attacks on New York and Washington. The book is accompanied by a CD with some recordings of Afghan music, including two Taliban taranas. It is free to download from the Freemuse website.

Heavy censorship of music continued after the defeat of the Taliban government by the Northern Alliance and ISAF forces in 2001. For a while there was a complete ban on women singing on state-run radio and television, or on the stage or concert platform. Women could announce, read the news, recite poetry and act in plays, but they could not sing and they certainly could not dance. This ban was the subject of intense argument within the radio and television organization, under the control of the Ministry of Information and Culture. The explanation offered for the ban was that to do otherwise would give the government’s fundamentalist enemies an easy excuse to stir up trouble. In the case of television, further reasons given were that there were no competent women singers left in Kabul, and that the tapes in the video archive (dating from the communist period) showed women wearing clothes that would now be considered too revealing. This last excuse obviously did not apply to women singing on radio. Another reason – that it would place the women in danger of attack – could not be accepted either, since most of the music broadcast was from the RTA archive. The danger of attack was also offered to explain why women were not allowed to sing at a live-broadcast concert in Kabul on 15 December 2002 to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the BBC World Service.

If there was some censorship of music in Kabul, protected and patrolled by the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), outside the capital much tighter restrictions were imposed by local fundamentalist commanders. The lengthy Human Rights Watch report, chillingly entitled “Killing You is a Very Easy Thing For Us”: Human Rights Abuses in Southeast Afghanistan’, published in July 2003, catalogued a string of abuses, including attacks on musicians in areas close to Kabul. Paghman, located in the foothills of the Hindu Kush and once a royal resort, had a particularly poor record under the governorship of Zabit Musa, a prominent member of the powerful Ittehad-e Islami party led by Abdur Rasul Sayyaf.

A resident of Paghman described a visit by Zabit Musa and his gunmen to the local bazaar:

I was there – I saw the whole thing. It was morning … He had three or four soldiers with him. When he got to the bazaar, he went towards some shopkeepers who were listening to tape recorders, to music, and he grabbed them and pulled them out of their shops. He yelled at them: “Why do you listen to this music and with the volume so high?” A shopkeeper said, “Well, it is not the time of the Taliban. It is our right to listen to music!” But the governor got angry and he said, “Well, the Taliban is not here, but Islam is here. Shariat [Islamic law] is here. We have fought for Islam – this fight was for Islam. We are mujahid. We are Islam. We did jihad to uphold the flags of Islam.” And then he took them out of their shops and started beating them with his own hands. He beat up two people himself, along with his troops, slapping them, kicking them. And the others were beaten just by the soldiers. Then they closed the shops, locked them. Many people were there. It was not the first time these sorts of things had happened (Human Rights Watch 2003: 67–8).

Another example recounted by Human Rights Watch came from a wedding in Lachikhel, a village in Paghman district, when soldiers arrived at midnight to break up a wedding party: “They beat up the musicians, who had come from Kabul. They made them lie down, and put their noses on the ground, and swear that they would not come back to Paghman to play music. Then they destroyed their instruments.” (Human Rights Watch, 2003:68). Not surprisingly, musicians from Kabul became very careful about where they would go to play and for whom; they had to feel adequately protected. Such precise information as that provided by Human Rights Watch for southeast Afghanistan was not available for other parts of the country, but it is clear that the situation varied greatly from place to place.

5. TIMES OF CHANGE

By 2004 things were changing. On 12 January 2004, a few days after the ratification of the new constitution for Afghanistan by a Loya Jirga (National Assembly), RTA broadcast old video footage of female singers Parasto and Salma (Reuters, 13 January 2004). Explaining the reasons for this dramatic break with the recent past, the Minister for Information and Culture, Sayed Makdoom Raheen, told Reuters, ‘We are endeavouring to perform our artistic works regardless of the issue of sex.’ However, the action
provoked an immediate backlash from the Supreme Court. On the same day Deputy Chief Justice Fazl Ahmad Manawi told Reuters that the Supreme Court was ‘opposed to women singing and dancing as a whole’ and added ‘This is totally against the decisions of the Supreme Court and it has to be stopped’ (Saudi Gazette, 16 January 2004). On 23 January, the press agency AFP reported that Ismail Khan, the Governor of Herat, supported the Supreme Court’s judgement and had banned the sale of audio and videotapes featuring women singers in Herat. Despite these statements, however, the radio and television persisted with the new policy.

Some of the stars of Afghan music who had settled in the West returned to give concerts. In 2004 Farhad Darya worked with local musicians in several parts of the country, leading to the very popular CD and DVD Salaam Afghanistan. His concert in Kabul was held in the football stadium to an unprecedented crowd estimated at 45,000. Farhad Darya later described the event:

It was like a national [independence] day in Kabul. In the stadium I felt like a cloud flying over the sky of the crowd. What was amazing was the presence of women. Men and women were sitting next to each other for a concert right where they had seen their beloved ones executed. Many of them were dancing and crying. It looked like they had forgotten the misery and pain of the past decades. Even the 700 armed security guys started to dance to the music and enjoy the new wave of hope. I wanted a fresh start in Afghanistan with music and we did it! (Broughton 2008: 47).

In the post-Taliban era, a number of independent radio and television stations were established, usually financed by outside agencies, such as Voice of America. The most significant of these was Tolo TV (meaning “Sunrise TV”), a commercial television station operated by the MOBY group, an Afghan-Australian owned company operating from Dubai, launched in 2004. By 2007 it had extended its coverage from Kabul to many cities in Afghanistan via satellite. From the outset it had a strong emphasis on programmes for young people and quickly established itself as a controversial institution, challenging the values of mujahideen ideology in Afghanistan.

Probably Tolo TV’s most successful show was Setāra-ye Afghān (Afghan Star), a singing competition based on the Pop Idol format. The first time the competition took place was in 2005, with auditions, then a series of eliminator rounds with live accompaniment, with the audience voting by text messages from their mobile telephones. The third season (2007) was the subject of the award-winning documentary film Afghan Star and proved to be particularly controversial. In one of the earlier eliminator rounds the woman singer Setara from Herat performed rather too freely for Afghan public opinion. At the start of her final song she very obviously danced on stage. Furthermore, while her head was covered with a large headscarf at the beginning of this song, it slowly fell back as she sang, coming to rest on her shoulders, leaving her face and hair completely exposed to view.

Men interviewed in the bazaars of Herat described Setara as a ‘loose woman’ who had brought shame on the Herati people and deserved to be killed. She returned to Herat, to the consternation of her family, who feared for her life. It is claimed that eleven million Afghans, a third of the population, watched the final round of Afghan Star.

Nevertheless, despite incidents of this kind, music has gradually returned to Afghan civil society. This arises in part from the many independent radio and television stations that have been established after 2001. One should also mention the very important music schools that have been set up, such as the Music Department of Kabul University, the music schools in Kabul and Herat set up by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, and the remarkable co-educational vocational music school, The Afghanistan National Institute for Music (ANIM) established by Dr Ahmad Sarmast. Pupils from ANIM have given a number of concerts outside Afghanistan, most recently at the Davos Economic Forum, followed by concert tours in Switzerland and Germany.

6. CONCLUSIONS

So what can we learn from the migrations of musicians during these decades of political struggle? Every migrating musician has had an individual experience and it is hard to generalise but it is clear that there is a close link between music and politics. Music is a sensitive indicator of broader socio-political processes; music making in Afghanistan varied widely in frequency and intensity according to the dominant ideology of the time, fluctuations that often involved the movements of musicians from one place to another.

Underlying these movements of musicians is a deeper conflict between ideologies of traditionalism and modernization in Afghanistan that started at the beginning of the twentieth century. That conflict came to a head in 1929, when the progressive and modernizing King Amanullah was deposed by a rebellion that had strong traditionalist Islamist elements that rejected Amanullah’s
reforms, especially regarding the education of girls and the unveiling of women. The rebellion was suppressed and the monarchy restored; modernization proceeded at a more cautious pace, culminating in an unsuccessful attempt at parliamentary democracy under Zahir Shah in the 1960s. The Marxist coup of 1978 and the Soviet invasion of 1979 precipitated the traditionalist backlash, the rise of the mujahideen, 14 years of holy war, followed by the mujahideen Coalition, and then the Taliban, and finally the uneasy parliamentary democracy of today. At every stage in these processes musicians voted with their feet in ways that reflected the politics of the day.

1. REFERENCES

IBEROVISION, CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL EXCHANGES: MUSIC FESTIVALS IN THE 1960s

João Ricardo PINTO*

*Institute of Ethnomusicology, NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities, New University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: The beginning of television broadcasts in Portugal in September 1956 played an important role in the Portuguese musical environment. However, the quick technical advances associated with television would eventually enable the Hertzian connection between Portugal and Spain, which led to the creation of a new space, Iberovision. In addition to Spain’s role as a bridge between Portugal and Eurovision broadcasts, the connection between the two neighbouring countries, which began in 1960, generated a new media space for cultural exchanges, which became visible through two important música ligeira festivals: the Festival da Canção de Benidorm and the Festival Hispano-Português de la Canción del Duero, among other initiatives. The fact that Portugal and Spain lived under dictatorial political regimes leads us to believe that these festivals were, in addition to important cultural experiences associated with music, a form of affirmation of the two dictatorial regimes in an increasingly democratized Western Europe. Proof of this is the Declaration of December 15th, 1960 on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of the United Nations (UN). Based on the analysis of the two mentioned music festivals, I highlight the importance that the technical novelties associated with television, linking Portugal and Spain (Iberovision), had in the origin and development of the mentioned events, assuming them as spaces of cultural and ideological affirmation in the political context of the 1960s.

Keywords: Iberovision, music festivals, música ligeira, dictatorship, television

1. INTRODUCTION: TV BROADCAST IN PORTUGAL

The beginning of television broadcasts in Portugal in September 1956 affected musical activity both inside and outside of the media field (Balle, 2003; Bourdon, 2006; Fisk, 1991). During this period, television programming essentially comprised already existing music, produced (Peterson, 2004) either through music performances in television studios, or by live broadcasts from public concert spaces.

Until the early 1960s, it was not possible to talk about television shows in which musicians who developed their careers in Portugal shared media spaces with musicians from other countries. The first musical experiences (Deaville, 2011) in which this type of participation took place was in two important music festivals: Festival da Canção Portuguesa and Festival Hispano-Português de la Cancion del Duero. The television connection between Portugal and Spain was under study even before the start of television broadcasts in Portugal, as one can see from a map that came to light during the preparatory study for the installation of television in Portugal in 1955.

Fig.1 Proposal of the map of the television network in the Iberian Peninsula - Usable Frequencies, Television Studies Group (Emissor Nacional de Radiodifusão, 1955).

However, only on December 24th, 1960 it would become possible to transmit emissions between the two Iberian countries, referred to as
Iberovisão. This leads us to believe that this technical possibility (Williams, 2003) seems to have been the starting point for the organization of the two festivals.

2. MUSIC FESTIVALS

The first festival referred to above, the Festival da Canção Portuguesa, premiered on the night of January 21st, 1958 at the Império cinema, in the centre of Lisbon city. The organization was in charge of the Centro de Preparação de Artistas da Rádio, which was structural part of the Emissora Nacional (EN). Although conflicting news items emerge from the printed media of this time, there does not appear to have been any kind of competition. Most probably, its main objective was to make Portuguese composers associated to the música ligeira (Moreira, 2010) category known to the general public.

About two and a half years later, on June 1st, 1960, the EN and the Secretariado Nacional de Informação (SNI), an important organization in Salazar’s dictatorial state, organized the second edition of Festival da Canção Portuguesa, this time in the city of Porto. This edition was divided in two parts: the first one dedicated to new authors and the second one to already consecrated ones. This fact reveals that, contrary to what happened in the first edition, the goal was not only to show the most representative composers of the Portuguese música ligeira, but also to open up space for emerging lyricists and composers.

The third edition of the Festival da Canção Portuguesa took place at the Casino Peninsular da Figueira da Foz in the district of Coimbra in August 1961. As a novelty, it awarded a prize to the winning performer as and it displayed a desire to project itself internationally. This intent on internationalization was revealed by its integration in an exchange with the Festival Espanhol de la Canción de Benidorm (Spain), in which Portuguese songs and interpreters, as well as a team of Rádio Clube Português reporters, took part.

This festival edition was broadcast live on Radiotelevisão Portuguesa (RTP) and EN, on August 20th and 21st, 1961, during two simultaneous broadcasts. Given that the Hertzian connection between Portugal and Spain, Iberovisão, had been a reality since 1960, it was probable that Rádio Televisão Espanhola (TVE) would also have transmitted it. But this does not seem to have happened. This is even more curious when considering that Ana Maria Parra and José Francis, two winners of the third Festival de Benidorm, performed at the Portuguese event. This fact reveals that the desire to internationalize the Festival da Canção Portuguesa, aiming to create new spaces for cultural exchanges, was not corresponded by TVE. However, I have not yet been able to identify why.

The second festival to which I made reference above assumed different denominations in Portugal: Festival da Canção Luso-Espanhol or Festival Hispano-Português, but its official name was Festival Hispano-Português de la Canción del Duero. The desire for an international image is evident from its first edition, which took place in the bullring of Aranda de Duero on September 9th, 10th and 11th, 1960. This fact emerges from the festival’s poster in which it is designated as the first Festival Hispano-Português, but it is even more evident from the billboard placed in Aranda de Duero at the time of its creation, which is the first Festival Internacional de la Canción del Duero. Concerning the Portuguese representation in Aranda del Duero, four songs appear to have been presented in a competition which awarded prizes to both their authors and interpreters.

The festival’s second edition, which took place between September 8th and 10th 1961, was organized by the Town Hall of Aranda de Duero in collaboration with Radio Peninsular (Madrid) as well as Rádio Clube Português (Lisbon and Porto). This edition was recorded by TVE and the ‘exchange plans’ anticipated the emission of the recording by RTP. However, I have not been able to find an explanation for this, since in the analysis of RTP’s television screens there is no reference whatsoever to the festival in 1961. During this edition, a total of 20 songs were performed, of which 15 were composed by Spanish authors and 5 by Portuguese authors, O Douro Canta, with lyrics of Artur Ribeiro and music of Fernando de Carvalho, was the best classified song representing Portugal, obtaining a final sixth place.

In 1962, at the third edition of Festival Hispano-Português de la Canción del Duero, held between September 7th and 9th, twenty songs of which eight were by Portuguese authors were performed. The Portuguese artists which performed in Aranda de Duero marked their presence at TVE’s studios in Madrid on September 6th and 10th 1962, that is, the day before and the day after the festival, respectively. This is revealing with regard to the importance of television for greater visibility of interpreters, authors and the event itself.

However, as had happened in previous editions, RTP did not broadcast the third Festival Hispano-Português de la Canción del Duero either live or recorded, unlike its Spanish counterpart which made the live broadcast available. The only live transmission of the festival in Portugal was
through radio by Rádio Clube Português in the program *Meta-Noite*. Therefore, we can conclude that the knowledge in Portugal of what was the third *Festival Hispano-Português de la Canción del Duero* came about through the written press, the radio and the awareness of the representative songs of Portugal that were published by DECCA in two phonograms.

Although it is not possible to affirm with clarity why such a situation would have existed, it is important to note that the news dedicated to the festival’s fourth edition, which took place in 1963, is very scarce. The only known references are included in a small section called *Ondas*, in the magazine *Radio e Televisão* (RTV), making it possible to know that the event took place between August 30th and September 1st and that Portugal was represented by eight songs. In the six lines retrieved from the magazine, it is also stated that Eurovision was expected to broadcast the final, referring to September 1st, 1963. However, from the analysis of the programming grids, one may assume that this transmission did not occur, either via Eurovision or by RTP.

The absence of television broadcasts in Portugal associated with the absence of news and the fact that no commercial recording of the songs of the Portuguese authors is known, seems to evidence a departure from the Portuguese media regarding the festival in 1963. It should be noted that the origin of different festivals in emerging tourism areas may have been related to the dissemination of new holiday destinations. This indeed appears to have been the main reason for the effort of establishing an international projection for the festival, namely though the relation between the two countries of the Iberian Peninsula. But it surely will not have been the only one.

In the news item “Temos de manter o intercâmbio Artístico com Portugal” [We have to maintain our artistic exchange with Portugal], the director of Rede Espanhola de Emissores do Movimento, Aníbal Arias de Ruiz, states:

> We live in a busy, difficult and rather complicated time. Countries that are truly authentic friends should remain united and confident. The song can and is a strong bond of friendship that strengthens the union. (RTV, September 2nd, 1961)

For Arias de Ruiz, song was an important element in the affirmation of the Iberian Peninsula, in an appeal for enduring friendship between the two countries, made in a particularly important moment. Portugal and Spain were the only two countries in Western Europe under dictatorial political rule. This fact was widely criticized by the other European governments, in the case of Portugal because it had started the Guerra do Ultramar in 1961. That was the year following the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples of the United Nations, signed on December 15th, 1960 (Meneses, 2009).

On August 5th, 1961, in the news item “Benidorm ficou a ser um capital da canção” [Benidorm has become the capital of song], one states that “until dethroned by another city, Benidorm will be the capital of song of this Europe that is very caught up in its extreme west...” (RTV). However, this very Europe actually consisted of two Europes: a democratic one and a dictatorial one.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

Thus, one can conclude that the technological possibility of linking between RTP and TVE, *Iberovisão*, will not have been used in the realization of the analyzed festivals, either live or recorded, although these were transmitted by the television channels of each country and albeit this desire has been referred to at different times. That being said, the technical possibility will have resided in the internationalization aspect of the two competitions. One can equally conclude that there was a desire to affirm the *canção ligeira* in the Iberian musical environment, with economic interests associated to tourism as well as to the political affirmation of the Iberian Peninsula.

However, it is curious to note that although there were two major music festivals due to the presence of the main voices in each of the countries, both at the level of the composers and the performers, which gave them great visibility, none of them was simultaneously broadcasted on television in the two countries. I have not yet been able to find an explanation for this fact.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

SAOTOMEAN ORALITY AND MUSIC: BRIEF NOTES

Rufino E. SANTO*, Celso SOARES*, Fernando TEODÓSIO*

*R&D, CulturFACE Association, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: In our experience, initiatives to historically contextualize the culture, orality and Saotomean music are being implemented with too little consideration to the profundity and methodization of topics with little systemic results. Consequently, understanding between culture and the social environment, rituals, regional habits, language, orality and Saotomese music, are not frequently be realized in full magnitude. Thus, the focus of this paper is the integration of the Saotomese heritage aspects and cultural experience considering the influences of society, globalization, economies of scale and the market. We present the results of several literary works and sociocultural events on these topics in the context of São Tomé e Príncipe, which are still scarce. This leads us to consider the requirements for the study, research and applied development as a factor of social inclusion, drawing on information and communication technologies, necessary human resources, events, and other initiatives and cultural demonstrations.

Keywords: São Tomé e Príncipe, music, orality, culture

1. INTRODUCTION

One approach to orality and music of São Tomé e Príncipe only makes sense to start by reporting the establishment of Saotomese society, its origins and historical path because "at first glance, São Tomé e Príncipe is so small that hardly comes on the world map” (Silva, 2006).

The archipelago of São Tomé e Príncipe is discovered by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, allegedly on December 21, 1471 (São Tomé) and 17 January 1472 (Prince) although there are doubts about the accuracy of these dates as according to Albuquerque (Albuquerque, 1989):

… we must remember that disregard the dates of the discovery of the three islands (São Tomé, Príncipe and Annobon) the anonymous pilot quotes, and not known the names of their discoverers. There is however a historiographical current that supports having the islands of São Tomé, Prince (originally called St. Anthony [Santo Antao]) and Annobon [Ano Bom] been found on December 21, 1471, January 17, 1472 and January 1 of that year…

The colonization of the archipelago becomes effective from 1486 to award the captaincy of São Tomé to João de Paiva with the task of populating the islands through the king John letter

King John, etc. How many this our letter behold to know that João de Paiva, our squire, who lives in the village of Obidos, has now agreed to serve us go live to our island called São Tomé... (Maino, 1999:135-152).

The settlement of the archipelago occurs by the confluence of "Europeans from various areas, the compatriots who were the margin of Portuguese society” (Bayer, 2012), and Africans brought from the continent as slaves. After the first events that may be connected to the unsuitability of European to the weather, disease and high mortality among them, the archipelago begins to thrive in the business of sugar and slave traffic, making it one of the privileged warehouses for slaves’ transportation to the Americas. According to the anonymous pilot (Albuquerque, 1989),

there live many Portuguese merchants, Spaniards, French and Genoese, and any other nation that want to come here to dwell accept them all gladly; almost all have wives and children.

At the same time of the European community there is a large African community, from diverse backgrounds, providing services as slaves.

Every inhabitant purchase black slaves with their black women from Guinea, Benin and Manicongo
and employ them, to couples to cultivate the land to plantations and extract the sugars. (Albuquerque, 1989)

This combination of various origins was born one of the greatest riches of São Tomé e Príncipe: their language and their music, which reflect today its genesis. The Saotomese people results of miscegenation, so the crossing of cultures is evident. We must understand the culture and the environment. It is a challenge of social relations. For this nothing better than sharing knowledge. Rituals, regional habits, language, oral communication, music and leisure are an attraction for tourism and development. This article aims to systematize and implement these ideas presenting the benefits and need for research and development in these issues, obtained through literature and events organized for this purpose.

The following chapters deal with the Saotomese orality and music. The orality is one of the fundamental elements of Saotomese music. Through it, is transmitted messages that will enclosing, as the context and the temporal and spatial circumstances.

2. CULTURE AND ORALITY

2.1 The Saotomese creolization of society and traditional culture. The creole languages are born from a cross between Portuguese and African languages. They identified three national languages: fôro (spoken mainly in São Tomé island and greater number of speakers), lingwié (spoken in Príncipe island) and angolar (spoken by Angular community). These are the three languages that have ensured the transmission of the cultural richness of São Tomé e Príncipe generation to generation, as in colonial times, most of the population was barely literate. The creolization of Saotomese society manifests itself not only in the language, as mentioned also in other areas of everyday life, as in stories, dances, cuisine and music. All of this secular heritage is rooted in the oral transmission because very little is written (some steps are being taken to bridge this gap), which has allowed to go through the wisdom and knowledge generation to generation, from the oldest to the youngest. The sôias and the “vessus”, kare ey elements in Saotomese traditional culture, excluding some recent steps towards placing it in books, passed through generations orally, grandparent to grandchild. The sôias are tales and legends, told mainly in funerals (“nozadus”) by people versed with which they intend to distract and minimize the suffering of the relatives of the deceased. Usually these mostly female, are required to remain in the deceased's house for a week until the celebration of the seventh day Mass. This practice is entering into abandonment with the advent of modern times and, into some level, with the desvirtualization the traditional sense of family. One of the features das sôias is being told story and sung to convey a message of social and moral teaching. Now vessus (verses in free translation) can be equated with popular sayings and transmit teachings and everyday experiences. Parables are to be interpreted according to the context, for example: “Xí pena molé ndala, kē kuā ku ka klagā andjį?” [What sustains the fruit if the palm leaves wither?]. The palm plays an important role in the life of São Tomé e Príncipe, but we can interpret this saying as the manifestation of the importance of the oldest in the education of younger, if lacking the mainstay of the older, the education of the youngest, will have the difficulties in their education and in adapting to life.

2.2 The "non-experts". “Punda santome flautu kua sa plapa”, on this account states a Saotomese saying, everything in life is an experiment. The first non-experts of orality and music, did so in the afternoons in the middle of the yard in the shade of a mulberry tree or a hollow, surrounded by grandchildren and great grandchildren sitting on the floor. Or did it indoors while outside on the zinc, the weak rain drops, on days when the nature decided to impose its law. In this concept, non-expert in orality there are three key parts: an old man or an old woman, white hair and a staff on the knees, occasionally, feel a pain that stung knee reminding that have passed many rains and much ground has been covered; the second element is a group of grandchildren, some natural and other unnatural, children of neighbors, and sometimes a boy comes up and no one knows where comes from, who are all grandchildren because the older, grandfather/ grandmother saw them born and even led to lap the parents who made the birth. Not infrequently, to the grandmother that account, his voice calm, the later stories, was the midwife who took the belly of the mothers who she had been midwife too; the third element of this triangle of orality - that's how the three makukus that sustain the container life, It is the turtle (in the case of São Tomé e Príncipe), sly animal that makes the Sun Alé (Lord King) object of their cheating endless and still survive. That's life, it is the best animal ever seen in our world because you can with your shenanigans start smiles and the kids’ satisfaction of joy.

The three makukus pass from generation to generation because the grandchildren of the past become grandfathers and grandmothers, occupy the center of the circle formed by the new
grandchildren where the big stone in the yard, and retell the story in their own way. Each new generation adds one more detail as an addition does not hurt, there is no way to prove it was not as if is telling. What really matters is the legacy forward. The three parties hold the eternity of their existence and build the invisible sound line across generations. These are elements that support the voice of the past that is transmitted to the future, forming identity that we all are.

The stories of other places have other characters that can be “ukuës,” “zambás” that monster faceless and formless, half people half animal, insatiable appetite that scares before sleep to get all concerns and lead to the neglect of the house, elephants or mythical figure shapeless, but very similar with men, which is the worst bug of all animals that the gods created on top of the earth. Please note that this story never had a beginning, that is, using the rigor of the know, the beginning is lost in the indeterminacy of “hear my grandfather tell that his grandfather had to have heard of his great-grandfather who long ago”.

The turtle, which in early history, just walked on foot or by hitchhiking after talking with his buddy hawk, one in which even the animals speak, because there was a time when all the animals speak as real people, although there are people that often wring the nose and say it cannot be because “the animals have no structure that allow them to speak” and because “there is no historical evidence of this fact”, but the truth is that there was a time that the animals talked, the rivers, the mountains and the trees also spoke and only / ceased to / do when men began to use the word as a deceptive tool, cheating each other’s.

There are also those who think that the animals stopped talking because they were convicted after the snake have convinced Mrs. Eve to eat the forbidden fruit, together with Mr. Adam. And because of that we have the “vessu” that says “Ploviá de uà vanuv ku modé San Pedu, Lixandê tudaxi kà paga” (the English version “can be the innocent carry the can for the guilty”). The vessus like these that we learn, in the circle around the large backyard stone, the mouth of the grandmother, who in turn learned from her grandmother, and the latter must have learned of the grandmother of her grandmother and came to today by word of mouth, grandmother to grandson for a single mechanism for preservation of saying without ever getting on embossed paper.

On this account, as said, at that time the tortoise walked on foot, she was forced to hitchhike to hawk because only then could get to heaven where God gave a big party. Even without being invited, the turtle wanted to participate in the banquet and as the hawk refused to take her a ride, she said the same that was an order, a gift to deliver in the sky and the hawk could you please take the same, but that would leave the same bag leaning against the palm of your yard and the hawk could spend to collect and take to the sky. Slipped into it in the bag, tied the same inside and was taken to the party in the sky hawk ride.

In less old version, to go to the same party in the sky, the turtle used “lomplanu”, an aircraft of two giant fans on the wings, which was piloted by the hawk. The trick, this was the same. Should imagine that who just jumps out of the seat, all full of arguments, because to get to heaven could not be used for an aircraft of this type would not have power to get there. In addition to this technical fact, all passengers die because the outer space of our planet there are no conditions for survival.

But who cares about these things, if the turtle of these bygone times, the one that goes to the party in heaven by the voice of the grandfathers and grandmothers, dies but returns to live to delight afternoon on its laurels, around the big stone the yard where the grandfather has a permanent place and the little guys anxious wait to hear the stories? Go with these conversations to discourage people and make people believe that there are no dreams, but they do not even know where is the sky. But we know, those who hear and live the story, we drink the story of grandma's lips, we know that the sky is the story that her grandmother told after dinner, where the turtle preaches another prank in the Sum Alé and uses all the funny tricks that only she knows, to do things like others do.

When I grow up I want to be like the turtle. If the anxious kids wheels taking grandmothers stories in the yard continue, the big rock where the grandfather or grandmother used to sit is not broken to make smartphones and kids do not gain a habit of "talking" with your fingers to machines and still look in grandma's eyes, the turtle talking and going to parties in the sky continue to hold the attention of children around the large backyard stone, the turtle will go to the feast of heaven in a spacecraft named XXI Sputnik, dressed in pressure suit and not with skirt of andala sheet (sheet of palm trees), as had done centuries ago, but continues to use necklace of sea shells as he had on his first trip. As can be seen, orality definition of a non-specialist is short and is devoid of concepts and definitions, it aims to be the story that time does not erase transmission of inheritance by the words, by custom and way of doing and being. A cumulative reproduction of the teachings and knowledge that the gift of speech allowed preserve up to today.
2.3. The influences of Saotomese culture. In the cultural field, particularly in traditional dance, stand out elements of European origin, eg the Tchiloli and São Lourenço. The Tchiloli (on the island of São Tomé) recreates the tragedy led by the Emperor Charlemagne, while São Lourenço (on the island of Príncipe) is the confrontation between the Christian Crusaders and the Moors. Both events are passed in a non-African context, much less the archipelago. They go by, mainly, from generation to generation orally, keeping an astonishing fidelity to the text and the original form. For its part, the *Danço Congo* and *Puíta* are African-oriented events that has perpetuated through the transmission of generational heritage, the practices of the African community of the islands.

Music is the transverse element to these events, also passed from generation to generation by orally. To mention that the famous “*pitu doki*” (sweet whistle in free translation), basic sound element Tchiloli, has variations according to the characters that players should know and play at certain times of the show. Cultural influences from other regions of the globe crease the Saotomese daily lives and in the music we can see it in "guitar playing" and performing some percussion instruments among others, the signs of musical influences from various regions of the planet. In fact, what is Saotomese music? Is it the music played or produced by Saotomese, is it only Saotomese traditional music?! Globalization brings us increasingly new trends and new musical products, therefore the communication aspects should follow these trends and throws us new challenges. So we are talking about new habits, new cultures and adaptations in host societies of these trends.

3. SAOTOMESE MUSIC

3.1 Linguistic influences. The music of São Tomé e Príncipe plays the role of transmitting element of the Creoles, especially *fôrro*, the most spoken, because it was through it that many “*vessus*” were transmitted between generations and it also served to circumvent the colonial policy to suppress any manifestation of language than Portuguese that privileged speakers of Portuguese and those who were closest behavior of the ruling class. It is for this reason that many of the best known music sets the archipelago make mention of popular sayings in creole languages and few are sung in Portuguese. To illustrate reproduces a letter from the Leonino ensemble, extinct in the mid-60s of last century:

“Lioninu fla é sá pema/ tudu kuá dé ka valé/ Panda é bili ndokmbo da Desu kondé zudé/ é ka da klosó, da kanvi bila da zeté/ pa non pé kandjia ledé pé invé di Santome” [Leonino says it's a palm tree / that everything has its value / because she harbored Jesus in your pantry / so that it escaped the Jews / she gives lump, "kanvi" and olive oil to make candles and put next to São Tomé.]

It is common to two friends talking on the land songs, especially “*vungus de nostempu*” (the old songs). It is easily deducible that it is the communion between the music and the transmission of identity, this sort of way of "collective self" by time, which is the wealth of what we are and the obligation to make the transmission of this legacy as the well we received from others. He told me:

“… I learned the songs and *fôrro* (native language from São Tome Island as in Príncipe there is the *lingwié* and there is still the angular spoken by angolar community) just by listening to the songs on the radio. In my house there was no talk in *fôrro* nor we were allowed to speak *fôrro* but learned, along with another colleague, listening to the radio and singing on the way to the school the music of Pedro de Leonenses.”.

Note that in the colonial regime many families did not allow the children to speak the native languages in a protective attempt to ensure the integration of children in society where the dominant and domineering language was, and remains, the Portuguese. Success depended much to be as close as possible stereotype defined and represented by elements of the ruling class and dominating and the language was one of the key attributes to be accepted. But what happened was that the native languages entered through the crack of the windows and made "our Portuguese" in Portuguese different which is perfectly understandable hear “hoje eu molhei uma chuva, minha gente” [today I watered a rain, folks]. We are like this, “nesse português de nós” [this Portuguese us], is we who “mollamos a chuva” [Water the rain] and when someone wants to say that is going ahead the way what it says is “eu cai frente” [I fell forward].

3.2 The orality and its elements. The orality takes into account the following elements: 1 - Knowing, stories brought by the mouths of the grandfathers and grandmothers, leaves and words that heal, fruits, leaves and secrets that delight stomachs, the “*vessus*” and the “*sóias*” that convey the sense of good and evil, styles like the captain of Montalvão sing their exploits on the battlefield and the hectic way of Reinaldo de Montalvão among many other things that crossed the times in the words of the grandfathers and grandmothers.
The only way to wag the tail skirt a round of socopé, the cadence of ussua (typical dance); 2 - People, the main protagonists are the people, the reservoir of knowledge and know that the power of verb ensures the continuation and improvement of the social gene that identifies us wherever we are and no matter how far we are the big backyard stone and wheel of grandchildren sitting to hear the stories of turtle wiles. The cry of “aguaye dé” takes enough strength to cross the seas and ride on the clouds to distant lands whatever a Saotomense is. Here is an incomplete definition, of course, of orality to a friend who moved here to fulfill the purpose of seeing who is not an expert of what you do not know, trying to convince those who do not know and those who know they can talk about what you do not know even when doing so is a great impudence front of skulls that “kumé paperu, bebe txinta” (ate paper drank ink) the benches of schools and libraries.

3.3 Saotomense musicians. Saotomese music born with the population of the islands because this thing of “buta klossen ba longi” (shoot the heart away, if abstracting, have fun) accompanies people all over the place where they go and relieve the souls in the most painful moments, as they were for many of the early inhabitants of the islands, constituted mostly by people who were hunted and shackled on their land and taken huddled in basements of boats to be “parts sales" stoppages that not dreamed existed. Thus immense musical instruments, more rudimentary than others, were created over time. Because music is, as says the lecturer and writer Albertino Bragança,

...music always accompanies man in the meandering paths of its existence through the centuries... (Bragança, 2015)

As evidenced writings, and in this particular Lúcio Neto Amado (Amado, 2010), “the history of musical ensembles Saotomense lost in time” as lost in time several episodes of Saotomense existence. Regarding Saotomese music, according to the cited author:

musical groups of São Tomé e Principe archipelago emerged roughly in the nineteenth century, regimented initially as philharmonics bands, musical groups, choirs and ensembles. (Amado, 2010:17).

It is so since the eighties of the nineteenth century refers to performances of Saotomese musical groups in some European cities, as stated by António Ambrosio cited by Lúcio Amado Neto (Amado, 2010), “that the Antwerp Expo in 1885, accomplished as high success”.

From XIX to XXI century there has been a lot of water under the bridge, for good and ill, losing some values such as the fact that

... points out that between 1920 and 1969, the elements of Saotomese musical ensembles knew all read and played through agendas.”, Lúcio Amado Neto, in degree that at “end of 1960, the Leonine ensemble, directed by Quintero Aguiar, was of the few still playing using staves, a feat never achieved by the generations that succeeded him (Amado, 2010).

Many groups were born and many others died leaving in memory of in many tunes, but especially "vessus" that depict Saotomense way of being, thinking and facing life. The role of music as a transmitter of Saotomense identity, the grandfather tells the story of the tortoise, continues. According Albertino Bragança:

From the most pristine times, music plays a social role of the primary magnitude, assuming, in particular, as a major translator of complex states of the soul..., Albertino Bragança (Bragança, 2015:29-30).

And in São Tomé e Príncipe, it played that role in a very special way, preserving the native languages that otherwise would have much less social penetration, as we can deduct from the words of “my friend” learned that the liner through the songs. The music was not only one of the factors that greatly contributed to the transmission of the unwritten languages and endangered, as contributed to transmit the teachings, sayings, proverbs resulting from an accumulation of wisdom and respect to the nature of islands, forged during the five centuries of existence of the human community on the islands because it, relying on the means of radio transmission, thus exceeded the limitation of the scope of the human voice and extended to the archipelago making heard more frequently and even the most recondite luchan (little town).

Even when the islander moved to far and distant lands was accompanied of his cassette tape with its ditty of the land to keep the connecting chain with what is their identity and go teach their the “vessus” that have learned in the great backyard stone. From this point of view, the music took on its role as in grandmother around which the grandchildren go take teaching and creating the linkage, otherwise and as a result of new social needs, were forced to leave “kintés” and the warmth of the earth. It can be said that the musical groups of São Tomé e Príncipe arise "during the nineteenth century, regimented initially as philharmonic bands" (Amado, 2011), the hands of the missionaries who apart from other disciplines,
introduced the study of music, as can be inferred from the cite that Lúcio Amado makes from (Ambrósio, 1984): “says that introducing here an association of this nature, which is in charge of sending for Lisbon a teacher of Music, to organize a philharmonic”. According to the author, the first musical group of Sã Tomé e Príncipe have emerged in 1883, with the same band made tours by Europe, especially in the cities of Paris and Vienna.

However, the mass of musical groups occurs in the mid-twentieth century with the appearance of several groups. These musical groups are critical in the transmission and support of national languages, sayings and “vessus”, that this highlighted by Albertino Bragança (Bragança, 2015), while making reference to the metaphorical character of those sayings and “vessus”: “In linking the poetry that was behind it, its structure was not made to be of a sharp scornfully and social critique of complex interpretation because based on an intricate proverb network that hindered his understanding, reflected essentially society Sã Tomé at the time.” These are ensembles with their lyrics entered into the hearts of popular and addressing issues of the day-to-day life of those people who keep alive the interest of national languages as a transmitter vehicle of knowledge and expertise since they were banned from public schools and, as paradoxical as it may seem, the houses of natives that wanted to integrate in colonial society.

In the 50s and 60s of the twentieth century, we are witnessing the musical ensembles O Almense, Conjunto Vitória, Os CTT, Filomena, O Trindadense, O Maracujá and others, still using barrels (to resonate the sound) and funnels in cheer fundôes (precincts dances) with their songs and transmitting beliefs and flavors of the islands, as you can still hear the voice Sum Alvarinho:

“Tindaji é/ o Tindaji/ Flegueja de Deus Padê ku Sama Nazalé/ Tindaji é/ o Tindaji/ Bô sa men di flegueja di San Tomé” [Trindade/ Trindade/ Parish Father God/ and our Lady of Nazaré / She is the mother of the parishes of Sã Tomé]

More recently, in the mid-70s of the twentieth century, there are ensembles, with means to electric instruments, Os Untués, Os Leonenses, Os Kibanzas, Africa Negra and Sanguzuza, that continuing the tradition carry on supporting all repertoires basically in national languages and reproducing the knowledge they acquire listening to the older and the tradition. This is how we saw to the ensemble Sanguzuza, using the deeper the proverbial culture in Gita:

“Plovia de suba ku sobê/ ku fâ awa toma poson/ manda ku gita desê ni awa nglanjî/ bi da quebla ni pôto Glesa da Sê” [Because of heavy rain / which caused a flood / a gita down the river Agua Grande / to come to laugh the doors of the Igreja da Sê].

In the migratory circle frame, and as the result of the Saotomese diaspora, begin to ascend musical groups and names of artists who will show awareness of the image of Sã Tomé e Príncipe in the musical context. This is the case of Caímes, Anastácia de Carvalho, Marta Dias, Tonecas among many others emerging in the international market. In 90 years younger than arise: Experience V and os Young Star’s. As for easy listening music, in 2016 is born in band "Ecuador", the latest group of elements that once belonged reference groups in the scene of Sã Tomé and for various reasons dispersed due to migration. The traditional music, we cite some references “bulawês” characterized by mixing percussion instruments with the mouth organ, guitars and electric guitars: Chão-Chão, 5 de novembro, Pastelin de Ubua-Cabra among many groups of bulawês…

4. CONCLUSIONS & ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This article was based on an meeting (Tertulia "The Orality and Saotomese Music - Their Influences") that took place in a room with about sixty people, with the purpose of promoting orality, knowledge sharing and raise awareness of Saotomese music organized by CulturFACE - Cultural Association for Development involving orality Saotomese aspects through skits or messages from the popular context, and reveal some aspects of Saotomese music, considering the influences as the result of globalization, it was revealed some manifestation of cultural aspects, economies of scale and market. Create a Center for Research and Development in CulturFACE Association for research, study, promotion and dissemination of cultural heritage, organizing events, initiatives and cultural demonstrations; edit and publish studies or works and cultural dissemination materials, making use of information and communication technologies; application of music as a factor of social inclusion and contribution to development.

We appreciate Ekanem Ebinne, doctoral student of musicology (psychology specialty and musical pedagogy) of Sociology Studies Center and Musical Aesthetics FCH/ UNL, for the invitation to participate in the International Conference "Music and Human Mobility" and for considering the Community in intercultural context; and the Saotomese writer Albertino Bragança and the other who participated in the meeting (tertúlia), April 9th, 2016 at the
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CULTURE AND IDENTITY IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

Cristina GELAN*

*Department of Modern Languages and Literatures and Communication Sciences, “Ovidius” University, Constanța, Romania

Abstract: The paper represents an analysis on the question of identity in a multicultural world in which we witness at the overwhelming dynamics of complex processes manifested in various fields. In terms of culture, globalization brings a number of import and export values and non-values, these have a fundamental role in shaping human attitudes and behaviors. For multiple and distinct identities end up being put together and produce significant effects at the level of social relations. In this context, the question is about the management implications that globalization produces, considering that this may involve aspects such as disintegration of tradition or legitimization of authority. The problem of a culture of management of the implications of globalization, hence the management information provided by the media and the Internet also, are important aspects covered by this study. For they serve to shape the trends of cohesion, disintegration and conflict, with even major impact in terms of interests and relations between states.

Keywords: multicultural world, globalization, distribution of values, cultural identity

1. THE ISSUE OF CULTURAL IDENTITY IN A MULTICULTURAL WORLD

Cultural identity is a symbolic universe shared by members of a community, which includes a system of beliefs and codes that reflect their spirituality and aim to create social solidarity. Identity always involves a sense of belonging. It consists of elements about which members of national communities believe that customizes them, distinguishing them from other homologue communities. They are a common name, own, which "identifies" and expresses the essence of that community; a common origin strongly mythologized, which gives its members the feeling of kinship; a shared historical memory and collective memories that include heroes, events and commemorations them; a common language, a common religion, customs and traditions; a common space to community manifest a symbolic attachment; solidarity among members of that community (Mungiu-Pippidi, 1999: 27-28).

Its reference level of cultural identity is a community and its understanding requires reporting to Alterity. Thus, identity is built through confrontation between the same and another between similarity and alterity. Moreover, the enunciation of of alterity is one of the most important forms of identity assertion. Who we are in relationship with others, in relation to other groups? is the question whose answer defines cultural identity. Thus was born the idea of the feeling of belonging to a community with certain characteristics that define it and which distinguishes it from other communities.

The sense of belonging evoked by cultural identity involves two mental interrelated processes: on the one hand an inner dimension that involves looking for self and build of borders to other individuals or other groups, and on the other hand, an objective or outer dimension of the identity generated by perceptions and attitudes of "others" with respect to a group.

Cultural identity is dynamic or procedural. It is the product of an action, not a natural quality intrinsically to an individual or group. In this regard, Zdzisław Mach wrote:

identity is formed during the action or, rather, of the interaction through the exchange of messages that we send out, we receive and we interpret them, until it forms a overview relatively consistent [of individual or collective self] (Mach, 1993: 5).
Cultural identity can be assumed or may be assigned. Either is assumed, or is attributed, the cultural identity serves to legitimize certain relationships between individuals and groups, as well as a specific social order. The sociologist Edwin Ardener believes that we do not have an identity, but we find we identified themselves or others. This happens, most often asymmetrically, ie within a relationship of power between an individual or a dominant group and one subordinated (Mach, 1993: 5).

Assigning a self-identity and its building are essential in organizing a community in forming a conceptual and symbolic model of interpreting the world. The model describes the relationships between people, social groups and other natural or metaphysical entities and phenomena that serve as the basis of thought and action. So people think and act according to this model, that objectified as you can imagine and interpret the world would be.

The alterity, the differentiation are essential to understanding the identity, since self-definition of a community means invariably the perception the "other" as different, in a report to each other, which can be simple juxtaposition or sometimes rivalry and conflict.

The collective memory, more specifically the way it is taught, is a very important identity factor. What remember or what it wants to remember a nation from her past, how she remembers the past and which refuses to remember are important elements that contributing to the construction of collective memory (Nicoară, 2002: 105).

Like individual memory, collective memory has a strong subjective mark, namely selects the facts and simplify them, investing them with a clear moral value and giving them a unifying meaning. Furthermore, as individual memory use, willingly or not, to a strategy of memory, recover parts of the past and preferring to "look" like others, as well as collective memory can be manipulated to with hold certain facts and to ignore or hide others. The collective memory involves idealization or systematic glorification of the past, for reasons and with very precise ideological and political purposes. This explains that the same historical events can have an exalted significance for some national communities, while for others they are destestable, constituting a cause for mourning, but which does not destroy their identity valences. In this regard, Paul Ricoeur considered that reactions such as xenophobia, nationalism or racism were often caused by a "wounded memory".

The example of former communist regimes is very eloquent in this regard: when their interests require it, they have resorted to such means persuasive. Usually in the first period of their existence, these regimes have systematically obscured the national values of the past and have substituted their new ideology, regarded as progressive. Authoritarian political regimes not infrequently resuscitated the national myths and symbols of the past, transforming them into instruments of stabilization and consolidation of power. The cases of Yugoslavia, Albania and Romania in their relationship with former U.S.S.R., the crisis of relations between those regimes, their ideological erosion, becoming more visible with 80s, are illustrative examples in this regard.

One of the key components of collective memory, implicit of the cultural identity, is the historical founding myths, which expresses how a nation interprets its origins, the beginnings or its historical evolution. We are talking thus about a symbolic investiture of a nation. Thus, mythologizing origins of a nation involves the interpretation of its historical beginnings of exceptionality and placement angle into a transcendent destiny. In addition, the original vision integrates action of founders heroes or a founding dynasty, whose facts are usually entered into a superhuman project, which outlines already over that community. The prestige that are always associated the origins is meant to suggest that the present has no value unless it is rooted in this fabulous past and respect his heritage. In this respect, Jean-Jacques Wunenburger talking about the mirage "of noble origin" that at the beginning of the XIX century, provoked in Central and South East Europe a true passion for national history, especially for oldest phases of that history.

There is a whole typology of the founding myths of an ethnic community. They bring together a genealogy glorious of the nation (Genos), an exaltation of their origins (Epos), praising the virtues of its territory (Topos), a common language (Logos), a raison d'être and a specific own (Ethos) (Bosetti, 1998: 11 - 33).

2. AXIOLOGICAL LANDMARKS OF GLOBALIZATION

In one of his studies Robertson pointed to the fact that globalization germs we encounter in fifteenth century in Europe during the Mongol empire of the great integration along the Silk Road. Later, in the XVI - XVII, the phenomenon continues once with European commercial expansion, when Portuguese and Spanish empires spread all over the world. Moreover, globalization was turned into a phenomenon of business community, with the arrival of the first
multinationals - Dutsch East India Company, founded in the eighteenth century in the Netherlands. Dutsch East India Company was the first company in the world to use the shares system, which can be considered an important segment regarding the phenomenon of globalization.

The worldwide system before 1945 had the nation state as the basic unit, the idea of national culture representing the essential indicator in relations between states. The postwar period, with the two power blocs and two different ideological fields: the capitalist invoice American and Soviet gives rise to cultural imperialism. In front of imperialism, of any of the two sides of it, at European level, there were two complex situations. On the one hand, to the phenomenon of Sovietsisation, national cultures have survived by keeping beliefs, memory and shared values, by resurgence of nationalism as an community ideology and by confessional. On the other hand, we are talking about national cultures of Western Europe, who resisted of American imperialism because the nation-state idea was and is a fundamental European value.

From cultural point of view, globalization involves developing of communication between different cultures, giving rise to a new global consciousness and identities, by the reason of consume and to have access to products and specific ideas of alterity, by adopting new technologies and practices to participate in a common culture. The globalization facilitates the cultural exchange, which favors the phenomenon of multiculturalism and the access to cultural diversity. In addition, sometimes the culture that has been imported can easily replace the local culture which leads to reduction of diversity by hybridization or assimilation.

Globalization brings with it a number of import and export values and non-values and they have a fundamental role in shaping human behaviors and mentalities. For recognition of cultural diversity induces a relativism of values which endangers the chances of a consensus around the value of common principles (Kymlicka & Mesure, 2000: 12). Diversity can define the harmony of human existence, but at the same time can be a starting point in generating conflict. In this situation, the question is about the management of the implications of globalization, given that it may involve aspects such as the dissolution of traditions or delegitimization of authority.

There are countries that release values and states that receives values. States that receives values are usually the most permissive states to the revival of nationalist or fundamentalist tendencies.

According to relationships that are established between states, we can talk about the active globalization and passive globalization. The active globalization involves relationships and bonds that are set in two-ways between states or groups of states that have relatively the same economical, political or cultural power. The passive globalization implies the existence of correspondences between states or groups of states, there are visible differences between the economic and cultural policy. In this respect, globalization involves discrepancy between states those issuing values and those that receives these values.

3. NTIC AND GLOBALIZATION

The problem of a culture of the management of implications of globalization, default management information provided by the media or the internet, are an important subject to this study. For they serve to shape the trends of cohesion and the trends of disintegration and conflict, with even major impact in terms of interests and relations between states. There is a growing concern in the world about standardization and uniformity brought by modern civilization. The global economy, commercial exchanges, unprecedented movement of goods and people, and especially the circulation of information made the lifestyle, tastes and cultural interests to be shared on a global scale. The richest nations at the same time and most influential nations. Local identity, smaller languages and cultural diversity are threatened. The new technologies hasten the spread of patterns, models and habits (Oberländer-Tärnoveanu, 2006: 41).

Globalization involves transnational spread of certain practices, principles and ways of operating from a hegemonic group. We are thus witnessing a stratification during which formed a new socio-cultural hierarchy in the world (Bauman, 1999). The phenomenon is produced by the fact that their adoption occurs locally, which implies an overall consumption. The creators and supporters of global consumption, as well as large companies and global brands, by the services and items they provide gives most often experiences anonymous, devoid of personality, which lead to uniformity. One of the consequences is that fades uniform desire to give each other something really; so we talk about social forms usually designed and controlled at the central and devoid of significant content (Ritzer, 2010: 57). Uniformity may even involve cultural alienation of the premises, which sometimes seems to be the best solution in the comfort and continuity of existing societies, crowded and rushed. For, on the one hand the
modern man, willing to work freely and unhindered, claiming diversity, which often lacks substance, and on the other hand, the availability of goods, through cheap prices of their is extremely useful those with a very low standard of living.

According as the cheap technology of information contribute to the spread of information beyond the borders of individual countries, the globalization is widening. New media, especially the Internet, cheaper and simultaneously with enormous potential of penetration beyond the political, administrative or social boundaries, are proving not only vectors of transmission of information on a global scale, but and tools capable of transmitting culture of a community (Arizpe, 2000: 14).

Through global communication systems are put immense pressure on spatiality so that individuals belonging to different spaces, different nations, come to share certain common values and live in common certain events. We are talking about the birth of the global culture. The global culture is the kind of culture that provides technical solutions to problems of globalization. The phrase can define any type of identity and is characterized by eclecticism, universality, timelessness and technicism.

Global culture promotes the emergence and development of web culture. It is based on a complex system of information freely accessed, reused and redistributed by. It was developed especially with the development of Internet and communications through the widespread use of large databases (big data) and by connecting of individuals through social networks. The web culture can manifest either as institutionalized or non-institutionalized form. When we talk about institutionalized form, this means to refer to the cultural material digitized (collections, artworks, books and other publications, audiovisual material, photographs, archival, archaeological sites and monuments etc.) of institutions own cultural heritage and the possibility of distributing and reusing it through a license that does not require copyright limitations. Development and spectacular evolution of new technologies of communication and information and require a new paradigm for the functioning of the cultural market, adapting copyright to the digital age, for development of participative work with the active involvement of the public, to use software of open source in the artistic and creative industries.

The web culture, manifested in its institutional form or not, developing new models of interaction in an increasingly interconnected world. It facilitates the access to a very broad spectrum of cultural products, which in the long term, lead to an effect on consumer education. Moreover, the use of open data in the development of digital applications enable new ways of participation in culture and an active dialogue between individuals involved and sometimes even between citizens.

4. CONCLUSIONS & ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We are living in an age where understanding the idea of cultural identity requires a contextualization of what we call universal culture or rather global culture. We are talking about a kind of cultural eclecticism that works on the basis of common rules and standards, producing a mandatory distribution of a mixture of values and non-values, which are reflected in the human behaviors. This axiological distribution based on the export of cultural models and the imposition of some of these, involves the development of specific interaction patterns. Standardization and uniformity represents one of the risks of this phenomenon. We are talking about a system of cultural and behavioral standardization that is specific to globalization, and that is promoted, among others, through television, the Internet and networks of global electronic market. This system requires a mass culture based on the exploitation of some symbols that become universal landmarks of ordinary anchorage. The globalization, complex phenomenon of the age that we live, shrinks distances and times, relativize and streamlines the new, makes the axiological systems become universally accessible, stimulates communication, creativity and competitiveness, and change referential criteria.

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PRESCHOOL LEARNING THROUGH PLAY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THEORY OF CONCEPT-HOLES

Adrian LESENCIUC*, Simona LESENCIUC**

*Department of Fundamental Sciences and Management, ‘Henri Coandă’ Air Force Academy, Brasov, Romania, **Kindergarten no.29, Brasov, Romania

**Abstract:** In 2012 we launched the fundamentals of a theory called ‘theory of concept-holes’, polarizing previous conceptions about language seen as structure of holes culturally shaped and transmitted to all members of the language community (Saussure, 1916; Benveniste, 1966; Căeruț, 1996). In the same year, we proposed the first opportunities for fractal modelling of the theory of concept-holes, aiming at testing one of the basic statements of the theory: ‘Communication within a linguistic community involves correspondence of the same structures of concept-holes (communicative patterns) and different contents (individually connoted) of the same structures of holes’ (A. Lesenciuc, 2012). Through this paper, we propose to focus on a different statement of the theory that refers to learning within language implicitly learning of creation within language, by interpreting the results on an experimental study aiming at communicative competence development at preschool ages (S. Lesenciuc, 2012). Learning by playing for children, understood as a way of learning within language and, therefore, as a way of developing the subsumed communication competencies: grammatical, textual, illocutionary, sociolinguistic, strategic, and nonverbal, could be correlated to the previously mentioned theory: Filling the language’s concept-holes with signified content in ostensive learning, practiced through play, is specific to particular ages in all theories of development (Freud, 1905; Erikson, 1950; Bandura & Walters, 1963; Bowlby, 1969; Piaget, 1977 etc.). Our paper aims at correlating the sentences resulting from the experimental study with the theory of concept-holes sentences (its statements).

**Keywords:** communication, language, theory of concept-holes, learning through play, preschool age

1. INTRODUCTION. THEORY OF CONCEPT-HOLES

The French engineer Abraham Moles (1974:59) identified in 1967 two possibilities of words’ ‘collision’ in language: a) an inelastic one, similar with the contact between pieces of Lego that can be assembled in various ways, and b) an elastic one, due to the fact that the words are perceived as having dough consistency, and therefore allow infinite flexible combinations. Moles’ perspective, influenced by the types of collision in physics, is not very satisfactory. He proposed a manner of understanding the language functionality in relationship with combinations of solid, non-deformable words in an inelastic collision, or with combinations of partial deformable words, used in sentences at a temperature higher than in the previous case. In fact, understanding words at a higher temperature is due to Benoît Mandelbrot’s (1970/1983) perspective on the deep logic of so called ‘chaotic’ structures, which was further developed in Alice Fulton’s (1986:2001) perspective on ‘fractal poetics’:

Consider water. At low temperatures, it is fully ordered in the form of ice; at higher temperatures it becomes fluid and will not retain its shape. The stage between ice (order) and liquid (chaos) is called the transition of temperature. Fractal poetics is interested in that point of metamorphosis, when structure is incipient, all threshold, a neither-nor. […] While retaining the term “fractal poetry”, I hope to suggest ways in which complexity theory might amplify the possibilities of such a poetics. (A poem is not a complex adaptive system: the comparison is analogical, not literal.) (Fulton, 2001:111-112)

Words at a higher temperature mean a higher degree of liquefaction. In the 2012 essay ‘Linguistic fundamentals of the theory of concept-holes’ (A. Lesenciuc, 2012), we proposed to enrich
the perspectives of Moles, Mandelbrot and Fulton, considering that a combination of words is not a particular case of inelastic or elastic collisions between words in language. We considered language could be seen “as a structure of concept-holes, culturally shaped, and partially filled with a signified concept” (A. Lesenciu, 2012:170). Therefore, Fulton’s non-binary in-between temperature of words used in language is the effect of cooling the words that were shaped at the highest temperatures within the language matrix or pattern; Moles’ elastic collision of words is, in fact, a collision of words that gained in liquefaction; the Mandelbrot perspective on the ‘chaotic’ structures (as language, for example) is the perspective of analyzing language in terms of fractal geometry.

In essence, the theory of concept-holes refers to the culture’s state of aggregation. Shaped in a long time and due to numerous pressures, interventions, and collective experiences at very high ‘temperatures’, the matrix of culture (that could be associated, in linguistic relativism’s terms, with a matrix of language) permits its holes to be filled with liquefied words (significant content) that are about to solidify, resulted from personal experiences, after passing through different perceptual filters, a part of them being ideologically or dogmatically deformed. Perhaps, the culture matrix shaped in centuries or millennia is not suggestive enough in our intention of defining the theory of concept-holes. The most suggestive image associated with this word shaping is the one of coral atolls – an amount of calcareous skeletons, deposited over time in reefs, which has fractal relief. After a long journey, each individual (polyp) is connected to other individuals by calcareous channels and by bridges of living tissues. They adapt continuously to the predefined shape of reef-culture. After death, each polyp is added to the reef-culture and allows other polyps, therefore, to settle on their own skeleton. In a particular language, the process of emergence and development of words is similar: each word, shaped within the cultural matrix, after a long journey in sentences, is added to the language reef and allows other words to settle on them.

In 2012, we set up a system of statements of the theory of concept-holes, grounding it in Karl Popper’s (1963/2002) manner of formulating the theory statements, in order to test them in relationship with facts and observation statements, even if a more appropriate perspective on this theory could be drawn from Thomas S. Kuhn’s (1976) epistemological perspective. The theory of concept-holes was detailed and expressed in a system of statements:

i. Language is a structure of concept-holes.
ii. The concept-holes are culturally shaped and transmitted to all members of a linguistic community;
iii. In the process of language learning (including the process of learning the creation within language), the holes of the language are filled with signified content according to the language user’s experience, his scale of values or his Weltanschauung.
iv. Communication within a linguistic community involves the relation between the same structures of concept-holes (communicative patterns) and the different contents (individually connoted) of these structures of holes.
v. Intercultural communication involves the relationship between different structures of holes and different contents.
vi. Common communicative patterns can be found in different cultures; therefore, intercultural communication can start with the setting of common concept-holes structure. (A. Lesenciu, 2012:174-175)

The theory of concept-holes has both metaphysical and scientific fundamentals. Some particular schemes of metaphysical organization of the language’s concept-holes were discussed both in academic and non-academic contexts. The metaphysical openness facilitated the exploration of diverse possibilities of understanding language in accordance with pre-Socratic dichotomies ‘vacuum/hole’ / ‘fullness’ of the atomists Democritus and Leucippus, or with Aristotle’s discrimination between substance (hyle) and form (eidos). Very fertile and exploitable from an academic perspective is Nae Ionescu’s (1991:42) prospect; the Romanian philosopher identified in the process of knowledge accumulation a certain emotional orientation towards the object by relating knowledge to a framework, or grid, or matrix for setting up and structuring. This cultural and linguistic perceptive matrix is made up of the ‘experience’ thrown forward, i.e. of previous, direct or indirect, conceptions and perceptions. Knowledge is achieved through the effective openness towards outside, by ‘depriving us of ourselves’, while the matrix is filled with content that both belongs to us and is our being itself. Filling the matrix of knowledge with signified content is filling with ourselves. The coral atoll metaphor fully finds its application in Ionescu’s perspective.

From a scientific viewpoint, the Saussurean equation rewritten: language (le langage) = language (la langue) + speaking (la parole) (Saussure, 1972:44) and Benveniste’s inter-determination: culture → language (la langue) →
language (le langage) → culture (Benveniste, 1966:13) are the starting points for the theory of concept-holes. Eugenio Coșeriu’s perspective on the language is fully adequate to our theory: a language is the result of balancing the structure of its potentialities (the concept-holes, in our terms) and the negotiating contents, individually connoted. Therefore, language could be understood as being a vivid and creative entity, in direct relationship with the entire culture. Moreover, we not only learn a particular language, but also learn to create within a language, says Coșeriu:

(…) it is not a language that one learns, one learns creating within a language, that is, not only what has already been said is learned, but also what can be said, what the language’s possibilities are (Coșeriu, in Saramandu, 1996:13)

From this point of view, to create within a language, to learn its possibilities is to learn the limits of concept-holes, within which each word is created. A case-study, ‘Possibilities of fractal modelling of communication based on theory of concept-holes’, focused on the analysis of the previously-mentioned fourth statement of our theory (A. Lesenciu, 2012:175-182). In the present paper, we intend to focus on a different theory statement, namely the third one.

2. THE POSSIBLE USE OF THEORY OF CONCEPT-HOLES IN PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

In education, the child approach should be holistic and the education services require an integrated approach. Education at preschool ages should not be performed separately for each knowledge area in part. The (scientific/pragmatic) atomism cannot be a reference point in the educational design at these ages. Focusing on the child and his interactions was and still is the reason for the functioning of the educational system, capable in these conditions to offer the possibility of complex physical, cognitive, socio-emotional, health development of the child, including, largely, linguistic acquisitions and effective communication. Structuralism adequately tackled atomism and maintained, at least at preschool education level, through the influence of the constructivist perspective of Jean Piaget’s research in psychology and genetic epistemology of Gaston Bachelard’s philosophical works, the holistic approach of children and the integrated approach of educational services. From Piaget’s perspective, knowledge is built on social interaction. At preschool age, learning is largely ostensive, resulting from interaction with the environment and mediated by the social interactions. The source of learning is the so-called ‘socio-cognitive conflict’, where the intrapersonal and interpersonal processes are succeeding each other, as follows: observation or interpersonal dialogue – intrapersonal engagement (representation or filling with signified content the holes of language) – interpersonal engagement (language use). Piaget’s structuralist perspective is not the only one to validate the third statement within the theory of concept-holes. Numerous other theories of development contribute to understanding (with different nuances) the peculiarities of language acquisition in preschool age, validating the theory of concept-holes.

2.1 Theories of learning/development.

Numerous directions of study regarding the psychological theories of child development and, hence, regarding communication peculiarities at preschool age, are well known in the light of numerous schools. One of these schools produced the social learning theory, which is based on the principle of observing and imitating the behaviour of others (Bandura & Walters, 1963). In broader sense, theorists belonging to this school considered the social interaction as being fundamental in child behaviour and personality development; therefore, the child’s learning can be done in accordance with the behaviour of adults in his proximity: in the early years, by imitation, then by copying the pattern of behaviour, and in accordance with external motivations (rewards, punishments), adapting to the expectations. Regarding language acquisition and communication skills development (including nonverbal communication), social learning theorists have raised this issue later (Whitehurst, DeBaryshe, 1989), considering that learning is based on modelling, reinforcement and feedback. Subsequently, models of forming/developing communication skills have been improved under the influence of the social learning theory (and of other theories, too).

Another important school that deals with children’s learning and development, implicitly with language development, is the psychoanalytic school. Regarding preschool age, the role of Sigmund Freud (1905/1991) is very important as for the Austrian neuropsychiatric the life cycles rewrite the childhood phases. Continuing the Freudian studies, the Danish neuro-psychoanalyst Erik Erikson (1950), the father of the psychosocial development theory, identified eight stages of human development. One of the distinct stages in Erikson’s theory, the preschool age (3-6 years), is characterized by conflict between initiative and guilt. The child begins to take risks and becomes more responsible taking into account both the fear
of punishment and the sense of guilt. At this time, the child may develop a strong sense of initiative or may feel guilty for failing to accomplish his responsibilities. With regard to language acquisition and communication skills development in this stage, Erikson considers that learning mental habits from the adults around them, mainly from parents, includes patterns of speech, written language and other forms of symbolic knowledge, through which children build their meanings and knowledge. A distinct direction of the psychoanalytical school development is the one launched in 1969 by John Bowlby, called the theory of affection or of attachment. Analyzing the baby’s affection, seen as a result of parental competency and responsibility, Bowlby (1969) developed the previously mentioned theory, considering the attachment as a behaviour responding to the environment, as a form of adaptation and survival.

Aiming at future development in areas of linguistics, semiotics, anthropology etc. the structuralist theories also influenced the psychology of age. From the perspective of the most important representative of the psychological structuralism, Jean Piaget (1970/1973, 1977), the ‘shape’ of a structure characterizes the cognitive functionality, representing a distinct stage or period of development. Piaget’s later perspective on structures and stages was extended to all areas of human development. Even if stages of development could be found in Freudian studies, too, within the structuralist design the ‘stage’ is defined differently. The stages suggested by Piaget are: the sensory-motor stage (0-2 years); the preoperational stage (2-7 years); the stage of concrete operations (7-11 years); and the stage of formal operations (starting from 11 years, till maturity). The development of language and communication skills and the most important acquisitions in language occur within the preoperational stage. At this age (the preschool age), the egocentric speech is transforming gradually into a reported, not centred speech. The similarity between psychoanalytic and neo-psychoanalytic theories is that the preoperational stage is important, ultimately preparing the ground for the next stages. The Piagetian theory of cognitive development stages was continued by the moral development theory (Piaget, 1932/2006), which assumes that moral judgment develops during the transition from the preoperational to the operational stage, i.e. in the period that is the subject to our study: late preschool age. This theory was followed by the theory of moral development drawn by Kohlberg (1963) that took into consideration a pre-moral stage, a stage of conventional morality and a stage of autonomous morality.

Lastly, an important school in the study of stadia development, focusing on preschool age, is the Russian constructivist school. Its most important representative is Lev S. Vygotsky (1972), who analyzed the human psyche in relationship to the continuous interaction with the environment and with each individual’s own conduct, by means of semiotic mediation. Considering that the social environment and the biological maturation are equally important, the Russian psycholinguist focused on the sign. Furthermore, the sign is the one that makes the difference between mankind and the animal world, leading to the possibility of internalizing what is happening in the social and the individual life. Semiotic systems, with their dual role of externalization and internalization, lead, in the Vygotskian perspective, to duplication of mental development functions, both as externalization: social, collective, inter-psychical functions, and as internalization: thinking, intra-psyche functions. This perspective is directly applicable to the stages of children development, completing the Piagetian theory by pointing out the differences between the levels of actual and potential development. The constructivist perspective is important because it underlines the fact that the mental development is conditioned by the affective one. Therefore, by synthesizing Vygotsky’s theory, we can understand the theories of social learning, of psychosocial development, of affectivity, of social development etc. as a whole, as long as the principle of unity of intellect and affectivity is the most important principle in the Russian constructivist psychology.

In accordance with the same perspective, the adult (parent, teacher etc.) plays a fundamental role in mediating learning, supporting the child to a greater extent in the first stages (on the potential development side), and to a smaller extent in the last stages. From this perspective, a new theory of learning emerged: it is the historical-cultural theory of learning, with Vygotskian origins, stating that education should not be child-centred, but centred on the interaction between the child and others (adults, experienced peers). This kind of learning should precede Piaget’s child development by training the previously acquired knowledge. The theory of historical-cultural learning, derived from Russian constructivism, practically unified the seemingly distinct perspective of the main school in the area of the so-called ‘learning theories’, especially of those oriented towards society (socio-cognitive, psycho-social, and social theories). This synthesis situates the child in the context of his interactions. Some criticisms mention that the theory
of historical-cultural learning aims more at adults than at children. In fact, the theory aims mainly at the first two proposed levels within the design: culture – interaction – individuality, but it is exactly this situation that allows the integrative approach of the theory of concept-holes. Even if nowadays, ‘interaction’ in education changed dramatically, the historical-cultural perspective still remains valid (see Ciupercă, 2011).

2.2 Learning through play or exploiting the concept-holes. In our design, we deliberately stayed away from the theories focused on knowledge (behavioural, technologic, academic, epistemological), from the theories strictly targeted to the student (cognitive, genetic, humanistic), and from the spiritualist theories. In this case, the simplest way to understand the concept-holes of language is to place them alongside the cultural theories of learning. It is enough to look at the contents of education to understand that what is learned is culture itself: “When asking: which is the content?, the answer seems very simple: what is learned is culture itself”. (Antonesei, 2002:46)

In the 2012 paper aiming at identifying directions for the development of preschool children’s communication skills for future adaptation to school requirement (S. Lesenciu, 2012:126-135), we raised the issue of developing strategies to improve preschoolers’ communication skills in relationship with their culture. The paper was the result of a mixed research strategy (quantitative and qualitative) on an experimental group (22 preschoolers, aged between 5 years and 6 months and 6 years and 9 months in pre-testing period, from Kindergarten No. 29 of Brasso) and a control group (21 preschool children, aged between 5 years and 5 months and 6 years and 8 months in the pre-testing period, from the same kindergarten). In that research, we pursued two objectives: (1) configuring the communicative profile of preschool children; (2) comparing the educational effects produced by the implementation of classical curriculum with the educational effects gained as a result of designing strategies for developing communicative competence. The working hypotheses were: (1) If preschoolers are subject to a set of specific methods for developing communication skills, then they will have a higher degree of communicative competence and a balanced distribution of subsumed competences, and (2) If within the “Language and communication” curriculum, preschoolers learn only training units derived from national pre-school curriculum, then in their communication profile the grammatical/linguistic skills will prevail. Therefore, we made recourse to a standard research strategy, combining research based on interaction with population with the study of documents and external observation. In this respect, the chosen method was the participant observation (with full participation), complemented by a teaching experiment, designed with the purpose of deliberately controlling certain variables for detecting optimal paths of communication competence development at preschool age.

After completing the research, all objectives were reached and all hypotheses validated (S. Lesenciu, 2012: 133-134). In the pre-test phase, we found that communication competence scores were low, indicating an insufficiently outlined communication profile. At the same time, we found that the tested groups had almost identical scores and an almost similar profile of homogeneity. Subsequently, after training the experimental group through play-exercises for developing skills subsumed to communicative competence, the results were radically changed. Firstly, the experimental intervention focused on implementing a formative program aiming at improving the average scores for previously mentioned competences that are not taken into consideration by the national preschool curriculum (see Bachman’s model, 1990:85). During the intervention (the implementation of play-exercises for developing the communicative competence), an important progress was noticed in preschool competences profile, especially in terms of skills that are not developed through national curriculum. The final measurements confirmed that the resulting communicative profile revealed a noticeable difference between the experimental group and the control group, due to the pedagogical intervention. Finally, an increase of dispersion values in the experimental group was found in post-test stage, equivalent to natural heterogenization due to the implementation of the ameliorative educational program.

The pedagogical intervention aiming at stimulating the communicative skill began with a set of play-exercises for language development, during the school year 2011-2012. Unlike the preschoolers aged 3-5, whose communication is often limited to class and contexts, the late preschoolers from the experimental group succeeded to enrich the communicational contents depending on the context and on the communication partners. Therefore, during the experiment, we continually tried to offer the children more activities to stimulate communication skills, even within experiential activities included in curriculum, or within freely chosen activities, but especially within activities of personal development. We have planned a stronger development of communication
skills of the children from the experimental group, necessary for successful future scholar integration. Many primary schools teachers noticed that some preschool children have difficulties or fail in communication at the beginning of the first school year. They also noticed that a high level of communication could be reached only in the case of children that easily express their thoughts, intentions, feelings in relationship with teachers and classmates. That was the reason why we have organized the experiment in such a way that the modalities of stimulating children's communication skills should be applied gradually, to offer many learning experiences, both in formal and informal contexts, in accordance with the age, and psychological and individual particularities of each preschooler.

The experiment consisted in a set of play-exercises to familiarize children with correct speech, regarding phonetic, lexical, grammatical and expressive aspects. We selected a number of language play-exercises in order to improve some deficiencies encountered in the pre-test stage. Throughout these play-exercises, children observed images (entailing their spirit of observation), made discoveries, analyzed images (by recourse to thinking operations: analysis, synthesis, comparison, and generalization), communicated impressions (improving their lexicon and other communicative skills), employed previously acquired knowledge (their memory), and interpreted images (improving their imagination and expressiveness).

The roles of these play-exercises consisted primarily in language learning and learning of creation within language, by means of methods specific to summative theories of learning, oriented towards society/culture. They were strongly related to the study design, focused on the development of both linguistic skills (phonetic, morphological, syntactical and lexical) and also of the nonverbal ones. In this respect, we put into practice a set of 45 play-exercises. Through these, we planned and implemented: the correct pronunciation of language sounds; the development of phonologic analysis capability; the improvement of phonemic hearing; the activation of latent vocabulary; the development of the ability to correlate the orally pronounced word, its written representation and image; the strengthening of the skill to formulate simple and complex sentences, with subject–predicate agreement; the activation of logical thinking by means of appropriate words; the enhancing of skills for gender and number agreement between the noun and the adjective that accompanies it; the activation of vocabulary with adjectives that refer to character traits; the consolidation of the skill to use in speech the correct sequences of tenses; the development of the skill to use words and phrases that convey the positions and spatial relationships between objects; the development of the spirit of observation; the development of the ability for the correct semantic use of words; the consolidation of the skill to use synonyms in casual speech; the development of the capacity to relate a concept to the integrative corresponding category; the strengthening of the skill to make connections between two words that belong to the same notional category, and a various number of other specific objectives to develop textual, illocutionary, sociolinguistic and strategic competences.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The play-exercises were designed to enable learning through play and were meant to engage preschoolers both cognitively and affectively. Learning through play enables the interpretation of language as a structure of concept-holes, at least in terms of intention of grammatical competence development. Basically, learning language through play at the preschool age, in line with all the society-oriented learning theories, therefore with all theories that focus on interaction, enabled the enrichment of children’s vocabulary at an increasing rate. This was achieved not only as a result of the quantitative purpose of the teacher (a number of words and their associated denotative meaning, seen as solid words in Moles’ perspective, as pieces of Lego), but in qualitative terms too (the use of words with their connotative meanings, therefore as words in an elastic interaction, at a higher temperature of use). The qualitative dimension of the experiment has been exploited through play, as long as the emotional/affective dimension of learning, specific to preschool education, was activated. Each new word received, therefore, a connotative meaning that could be highlighted in utterances, in further contexts. Even if the play-exercises and learning through play are useful tools, regardless of the dominant learning strategy selected by each teacher, there are no particular elements designed and implemented through a certain theory in language learning. From an educational perspective, the Piagetian and Vygotskian theories enabled a teaching approach appropriate to preschool-age needs and, moreover, learning in enjoyable conditions, conducive to children development at that age. But this educational approach would probably not have led to a suitable development of preschoolers’ communicative skills if our experiment had not employed an appropriate linguistic approach, based on the
structuralist studies of Saussure (1916/1872), Benveniste (1966), and Coșeriu (1996). The reinterpretation of the experimental phase results, achieved through this paper, is supported by the unifying approach of the theory of concept-holes (A. Lesenciu, 2012), which enables the understanding of language learning and of learning the creation in language based on linguistic, communicational, sociological, and anthropological theories, and on (psycho-) pedagogical ones. Or, to put it in other words, atomizing sciences cannot help learning at preschool age. Learning through play, which is properly implemented, is therefore a didactic method necessary not only in the case of the cognitive-affective approach to children, but also in the case of qualitative and quantitative approach to language acquisition, possibly due to the theory of concept-holes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


TEACHING DESIGN AND MUSICAL-RHYTHMIC INTELLIGENCE

Anca-Olga ANDRONIC*

*Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, Spiru Haret University, Brașov, Romania

Abstract: Musical-rhythmic intelligence or intelligence of tone, rhythm and timbre is one of the eight types of intelligence Howard Gardner initially described (1981) in his theory of multiple intelligences. Like other types of intelligence, musical-rhythmic intelligence can be dominant in some students. Therefore it is necessary to design learning contents (regardless of the discipline taught) depending on the specificity of this intelligence. This theoretical model was used as the starting point in a permanent education module attended so far by 338 teachers from three counties in Romania. In this manner, teachers of different specializations adapted to the types of intelligent learning contents described by Gardner. The paper presents the results of this exercise, focusing on the integration of musical-rhythmic intelligence in teaching design.

Keywords: multiple intelligences, permanent education, teaching design

1. INTRODUCTION

Howard Earl Gardner (1983) approached intelligence as „a way to solve problems and develop products considered values by at least one culture”, giving the term a broader sense than the one of general intelligence (measured by IQ). Beginning with this approach, he has established eight types of intelligence that are associated with different ways of knowledge, understanding and learning: verbal/linguistic intelligence or intelligence of words; math/logic intelligence or intelligence of numbers and reason; visual/spatial intelligence or intelligence of images, drawing and painting; musical-rhythmic intelligence or intelligence of tone, rhythm and timbre; body-kinesthetic intelligence or intelligence of the whole body; interpersonal intelligence or intelligence of social interaction; intrapersonal intelligence or intelligence of self-awareness intelligence and naturalistic intelligence or intelligence of regularities patterns and of behavior.

The theory of multiple intelligences has a global impact and it has been used since its appearance in various socio-cultural contexts (Chen, Moran and Gardner, 2009). The fact that intelligence is approached as a multidimensional concept and not a dimensional one (as a predictor of academic success) opens the way for anyone who is included in an education system to be able to redeem different types of intelligence based on social context. Hence the pragmatic consequence: for each teachable person it is necessary to know their intelligence configuration, for it to be known and developed through education.

2. MUSICAL-RHYTHMIC INTELLIGENCE

Musical-rhythmic intelligence is described as the ability / capacity to understand and create sounds, rhythms and musical harmonies.

A person who has this type of intelligence as a dominant loves to sing, to listen to music, to play musical instruments. This person also has the ability to create calm or anxiety, action or rest (Dumitru, 2008).

When they learn, the persons with musical-rhythmic intelligence organize information in models structured with a specific internal harmony. They learn better and easier "playing" in their mind with the rhythms of words, putting an informational content in a versified form and rehearsing with a (preferred) musical background.

We can easily state that this type of learning is not encouraged in the current educational systems, except for those dedicated to music education. Therefore, it is likely that a person with this kind of intelligence to have difficulty learning other types of content (such as those of exact sciences, for example), or other ways of organizing
education (e.g., teaching activities where the presence of background music is not encouraged).

3. AN APPLICATION IN PERMANENT TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Between September 2014 and December 2015 Spiru Haret University has trained a number of 2678 preuniversity level teachers in the counties of Mehedinți and Sibiu, under the project "DidactIno - Innovative training for value and performance in teaching career", funded by the Regional Operational Programme Human Resources Development, contract code: POSDRU/157/1.3/S/13744.

Of all teachers trained, 287 have chosen an educational management program, which included a training module which was based on the theory of multiple intelligences (Andronic & Andronic, 2014). Educational planning thus obtained were submitted to the evaluation committee, met for the final graduation exam of the training program (educational management).

The evaluation of the project impact on the target group (conducted through focus group) showed that the module based on the theory of multiple intelligences was one of the most popular modules of those offered in the nine training programs (Fainisi, 2015:14).

In early 2016, the same training program was attended by 51 teachers from Brasov county and the number of teachers who have integrated musical-rhythmic intelligence in their teaching planning is now 338.

4. CONCLUSIONS

During the training of teachers through the module focused on the theory of multiple intelligences, the educational valences of multiple intelligences theory have complied (Andronic & Andronic, 2014:11):

- each person has a dominant type of intelligence, fact which can be exploited in order to accomplish an effective learning;
- persons with difficulties in learning new contents do not possess a specific type of intelligence which can favour their learning. Referring to the musical-rhythmic intelligence, progress will be made if learning content will be translated in preferred means of receiving and processing them (based on rhythm and melody);
- a person’s affiliation to a specific type of intelligence is merely the expression of interindividual differences, which is normal for a human population and should be accepted by educators, as well as the aspects of multiculturalism;
- learning efficiency is obtained with the maximum use of available intellectual potential (the dominant type of intelligence) and to the extent that we fail to use more analyzers and, respectively, both brain hemispheres in the learning process. From this point of view, the use of music as a stimulating factor of learning is appropriate not only for the dominance of musical-rhythmic intelligence;
- the preference for a particular way of learning has genetic determinations, but, largely, it is acquired in ontogenesis through learning. So, the learning style crystallizes at the individual personality level, due to socialization and learning done by the individual.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION:
THE PARTICULAR CASE STUDY OF SOME ROMANIAN TROOPS
DEPLOYED IN AFGHANISTAN

Cosmin IVANCIU*, Viana POPICA**

*Department of Fundamental Sciences and Management, “Henri Coandă” Air Force Academy, Braşov, Romania,
**Doctoral School of Communication Sciences, National University of Political Studies and Public Administration,
Bucharest, Romania

Abstract: This paper aims to highlight the importance of nonverbal communication in intercultural relations manifested between some of the Romanian combatants and members of the Afghan community. This type of communication occurred throughout the NATO mission in Afghanistan. The topic of nonverbal communication in relation with the Afghan culture has been precariously approached by the specialized literature, therefore attesting the urge for focusing on it and for analyzing the possible cultural shock that emerges on the very first contact with a fundamentally opposite culture. The paper is based on a qualitative research, having a sample of fifteen Romanian soldiers, and its main objective concentrates on the detection and assessment of the potential cultural perception of the shock felt by the Romanian military participants in the NATO mission in Afghanistan, together with the identification of the causes that produced it. This research may contribute to signaling the relevance of considering this actual matter, taking into account the tendency of reconfiguring some of the current armed conflicts and the great number of Romanian soldiers that are or will be exposed to interactions with representatives of other cultures, radically different from their own.

Keywords: nonverbal communication, intercultural communication, theater of operations, cultural shock, Afghanistan

1. INTRODUCTION

Considering the number of Romanian troops that are exposed to interaction with representatives of other cultures, in the context of the reconfiguration of contemporary armed conflicts, the focus on this topic is of great importance. This significance resides in the possibility of eradicating the causes of communication barriers based on elements of the non-verbal communication, prejudices and ethnic stereotypes. The results of the present research are equally useful for the Romanian troops participating at missions in Afghanistan, and for all those who, in some situations with various degrees of certitude, interact with the Afghan population.

From this perspective, in an open society, interaction with the representatives of diverse socio-cultural environments may also represent a matter of daily practice, because at the same time with the manifestation of globalization, not only at economic level, but also at social, demographic and cultural ones, people’s chances of social advancement in a free society increase, too. The opening of borders offers the opportunity for frequent encounters between members of different cultural backgrounds. The relevance of this research is given by the very absence of an analysis in this area and, implicitly, by the significance which the non-verbal communication may hold in interpersonal interactions between Romanian soldiers and the Afghan population, whenever verbal communication is poor. Moreover, a research of this type, aimed to combine the concept of non-verbal communication with the status of Romanian soldier, is absent from the specialized literature.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Due to the global interest in the topic of non-verbal communication as well as its real value for
the inter-human and intercultural relations, there were numerous international studies and articles published in the past years; nonetheless, the Romanian specialized literature includes a limited number of such references, especially with regard to the association of nonverbal communication and the military. On one hand, the non-verbal communication still remains not profoundly studied within the Romanian Armed Forces, exempting a few specific researches: Lesenciu et al. (2011), Coman (2011), Levonian & Lesenciu (2014), Lesenciu & Saghin (2015), Ivanciu & Popica (2015), Drăghici (2015) etc. On the other hand, within the allied foreign armed forces, not only that the non-verbal communication has been thoroughly studied, but handbooks were, also, issued for different armed forces categories. A probatory example is the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences. As studies of this institute in the field of non-verbal communication, it worth being mentioned those signed by Segal (1994), Kline (1996), Peterson et al. (2006), Abbe et al. (2007), Blascovich & Hartel (2008), Yager et al. (2009), Rosenthal et al. (2009), DeConstanza et al. (2015) etc.

For the present study the authors used the qualitative type of research, and although the number of respondents was reduced, the research was extensive due to the area of interest we focused on. This research is relevant for the identification of nonverbal communication barriers in relations with the locals during international military missions, in the context in which communication actors hold different cultural backgrounds.

We recorded 15 individual interviews, each of a length of about 30 minutes; the soldiers were of different military ranks and their average age was 36.2 years old. Regarding the interviewees’ gender, 13 were males and 2 were females. The Romanian soldiers participated in the ISAF missions (International Security Assistance Force) under the NATO lead, between the years 2007 and 2015, and they were deployed in the following military bases: KAIA, ISAF HQ, KANDAHAR, LAGMAN and MESCAL.

3. DATA ANALYSIS

The first questions aimed at finding out the Romanian soldiers’ motivations to participate in peace support operations in Afghanistan, a not very friendly theater of operations, with a local culture significantly different from their native one and which might put them in difficulty, in certain contexts. The answers were equally diverse, natural and expected. If most soldiers brought up both financial advantages and curiosity, the wish to encounter a theater of operations or the cooperation with allies in a conflict situation, a third of them declared that they were motivated only by their need for self-assertion, for testing own limits in various contexts and for enriching personal and professional experience, whereas only one of the respondents motivated his participation in the mission only for financial gains. Our conclusions to this initial phase of our research were that assertion, curiosity, exceeding own limits or leaving obscure institutions behind for a while, were the most important reasons for the soldiers’ taking the risk of participating in missions, and these answers were reflected in 14 out of the 15 interviewees. Out of the reasons mentioned above, for two thirds of the respondents, the financial gains prevailed, based on their disappointment with regard to the amount of payment received in their own country.

3.1 Mission planning. Concerning the mission planning, we intended to find out to what extent the data and skills achieved prior to the deployment to an unknown theater of operations, as well as the training specific to the mission cautioned the participants against a possible cultural shock on their first contact with the afghan culture. Bringing up the extent to which their military responsibilities in Romania prepared them for such a mission, 9 of the respondents considered that they were not useful. The other 6 respondents affirmed that the responsibilities they had in Romania were similar with those required by the mission abroad and they had generally been prepared, although mention should be made that their preparation was exclusively attributed to their military positions and specialization.

When asked about details of the mission planning, answers varied based on the branch where soldiers belonged (air force or land forces). The 10 soldiers belonging to the air force mentioned that there had been an initial theoretical training, achieved through one-day meetings, for several months, at the Air Force Staff, where they were presented the bases, the accommodation to the Afghan environment, especially to climate, information related to finances, logistics, medical facilities or humanitarian international law, as well as a short briefing about the Afghan culture. Secondly, the interviewees mentioned the practical training, consisting of firing training with the type of weapons existent in the military bases abroad, NBC (Nuclear-Biological-Chemical) training and engineering training. The training was about two weeks in length.

The soldiers belonging to the land forces benefited mostly of practical and specialized
training, consisting of various simulations and tactical situations, meant to implement the SOPs specific to their military positions, firing sessions with weapons they were about to use in Afghanistan, and intense physical training. The theoretical training included almost the same aspects like in the air force troops’ case, but minor focus was set on the Afghan culture. One of the respondents stated that the purpose of their training was the achievement of cohesion among the troops, taking into account that they belonged to various bases and their military positions aboard required reciprocal trust, their lives depending on their comrades. Regarding the soldiers’ knowledge of the Afghan culture at the moment of their selection for a mission in Afghanistan, most of them answered negatively. Only one respondent mentioned the fact that he had general knowledge of the Afghan culture obtained, out of his own curiosity, from colleagues that had been deployed there. The increased percent of negative answers is due to their lack of preparation with regard to conflicts of the past decades and the cultural differences implied by them. This type of preparation was out of the question since it was implied that soldiers participating in missions of this type were responsible for their personal preparation, such missions being, in most of the cases, a volunteering act, based on the reasons mentioned above.

To the question referring to the existence of an intensive module focused on the Afghan culture, 12 interviewees answered that it had been included in their theoretical training, though it was rather short, in terms of DOs and DON’Ts. Out of their answers, we can extract the following mentioning’s: it is not polite to refuse an Afghan; the left hand should not be used during meals; it is not advisable to stare or talk to an Afghan woman (without the permission of the man who accompanies her), it is not good to lose temper toward Afghans, it is not desirable to ask an Afghan man about his wife.

Only two respondents declared that, apart from this brief presentation, they were also directed to some bibliography on Afghan culture elements and available courses for supplementary preparation. On the opposite side were the three interviewees who stated that this module of preparation had not been offered to them, and that they had obtained information on this topic from some brochures offered to them by colleagues that had had the experience of a mission in Afghanistan, or from others’ stories.

3.2 The mission. Once deployed in the theaters of operations, the soldiers had to face a multitude of changes: climatic, social, cultural, organizational etc. Based on these realities, the following questions are more than natural: are there any difficulties of accommodation to the new changes? If yes, how do they manifest and how long is it necessary for them to disappear? Out of the total of respondents, one third affirmed that they had experienced a certain amount of discomfort in getting accommodated, manifested through feelings of ‘fear’ (R.C.), ‘paranoia’ (R.C.), ‘disorientation’ (C.I.), ‘tension’ (A.T.), ‘fear’ (C.P.), motivated by too big cultural differences, lack of culture knowledge or the impact of images related to the Afghan culture with which they were familiar from mass-media. The other two thirds denied the accommodation difficulty, but this fact was motivated through their limited contact with Afghans during the first part of their mission, through their more intense personal preparation regarding this culture or through the experience of a pervious mission in a Muslim culture.

On average, taking into account their military positions, the soldiers needed between one week and one month for accommodation. It resulted naturally, due to the accomplishment of their daily duties, routine, talks with colleagues who had already earned experience in this culture, their families’ and friends’ support, as well as, so as one respondent had declared, “a dose of madness that makes you ignore the danger and think of that place like of any other workplace” (A.V.).

In order to determine the extent to which the cultural shock was caused by nonverbal communication elements, we asked the soldiers about the frequency of their contacts with the Afghans. Two thirds of them answered that their contacts were frequent; 6 of the respondents met the local people nearby the base, and only 4 soldiers met Afghans who were working on base, either in the cleaning area or enrolled in the Afghan Police or Army. Out of the 6 soldiers that had established direct contacts with the locals, 3 answered the previous question on the difficulty of accommodation, saying that they had experienced feelings of fear and tension, whereas one of them stated that he had not shared these feelings due to an earlier experience with a Muslim culture. Therefore, our deduction was that the proportion to which soldiers established contacts with the Afghans is directly connected with their displaying some inhibiting and defensive feelings. Contacts with the locals working on base do not generate such feelings due to strict checking applied to Afghan nationals and equally, to their familiarization with the western culture. Opposing to this situation, one third of the Romanian soldiers had kept a low level of contacts with the Afghan population, based on their military positions, encounters being rare and only inside the base. The
next questions aimed the details of these encounters with the Afghans, from the nonverbal perspective. Thus, taking each instance of nonverbal communication we will present the soldiers’ appreciations.

As far as kinesics elements specific to the Afghan culture are concerned, the respondents admitted they did not have thorough knowledge. Therefore, we could only extract some basic aspects they had to take into account during encounters with the Afghan locals such as: avoidance of using the left hand, avoidance of showing the soles toward the Afghans or showing respect when saluting, by putting their hands over the heart to prove openness and honesty.

However, speaking about the most usual nonverbal elements used inappropriately by the Romanian soldiers in the presence of Afghans, we noticed that these are used without knowing their interpretation in the local culture. It is about the two recognized and unanimously understood gestures, used mainly in the western countries, especially in the U.S.A., for the OK term, meaning “everything is all right”: the former consists of the raised thumb and the other finger kept tight in the fist, and the latter gesture is represented by the thumb and the pointer kept in a circle, while the remaining fingers are raised and stretched. The significance to these gestures is totally different for the Afghan culture, the former gesture is obscene, similar with the American one with the middle finger lifted, and the latter transmits to an Afghan the message that his value equals zero. Regarding these gestures, not even one Romanian soldier knew their local significance; while more than two thirds of them admitted that they had used the gestures and that the Afghan had reacted normally to them. This reality happens due to the familiarization of Afghans with the allied forces’ behavior.

Related to proxemics, one third of the Romanian soldiers, in their interactions with the Afghan inhabitants, noticed that the locals had the tendency to get very close to them, an unusual posture for the Romanians: “...they were coming so close to us that we were almost touching. I felt it like a violation of my personal space” (C.I.). Another interesting aspect mentioned by one of the soldiers was that this tendency of coming close was applied mainly toward women from other cultures. It was probably caused by the major cultural differences regarding relationships between men and women in the Western countries. Inquired upon this aspect, two thirds of the soldiers said they had noticed that the woman was always going behind her husband, at a distance of a few meters. One of the respondents pointed out, a little bit amused by the occurrence, that the most evident gesture of public tenderness was for a man to allow his wife to follow him at a rather short distance of two meters. “Two instead of five!” (V.V.).

Facial expressions are universal, and their understanding is the same everywhere. A grimace or a smile has the same meaning in Romania and in Afghanistan, as well. Nonetheless, there was one instance which none of the Romanian soldiers could explain: manifestation of emotions and the losing of temper. Asked about these facts, less than one thirds of the participants knew that the public manifestation of emotions was a sign of weakness and equally a reason for losing the respect of others.

With regard to eye contact, most of the Romanian soldiers knew the fact that it was accepted only in relations with men, still, without being a lengthened one, of the staring manner, and totally forbidden with Afghan women because this gesture was considered an insult to their husbands or relatives. Half of the respondents argued that they had not been warned against such occurrences during the preparation phase of the mission, whereas the other half declared that they had avoid eye contact on base of common sense. Just one of the respondents, out of curiosity, stared at an Afghan woman, fact which caused a violent verbal reaction on behalf of the man that was accompanying her. The incident came to an end the moment when the soldier turned his eyes and left the location of the incident.

Being a contact culture, the Afghan culture possesses a multitude of gestures with various meanings which we attempted to discover in the Romanian soldiers’ experiences. Thus, they were asked about the touching between men and women, but also the ones between men and other men. All of the interviewees answered that they had not seen a man and woman touching each other, kissing or holding hands in the street, as it happens in the western cultures. Instead, two thirds of them noticed such gestures with men, fact which had been characterized by them as homosexuality, because the soldiers had not known that such gestures were in fact proofs of deep friendship and that they were absolutely natural. On the other side, all participants in the missions knew that Afghan women had not to be touched. Even the Afghan women working on military bases were being checked by female military personnel, and, for medical reasons, male doctors were allowed to examine them only on their approval.

As far as the Afghans’ concept of punctuality and the manner in which they understand time, 12 of the interviewees argued that Afghans were not punctual and they did not have the same notion of time, and described them in terms such as: “they do not show respect for punctuality” (O.C.),
“punctuality with Afghans does not exist” (A.T.), “time for them equals zero, everything is going on beautifully, artistically. They are not stressed, because all humans die finally” (V.V.), “time has a different flow in the Afghan culture” (C.R.). A common phrase used by the members of the coalition, which most of the respondents remembered related to the Afghans’ punctuality was: “the clock is with us, time is with them”. The three respondents who did not know any aspects about this topic motivated their unawareness due to the lack of any encounters with the Afghans, in which they had to establish punctual meetings.

As for artifacts, we took interest in the Afghans’ code of dressing and the way in which it influenced the Romanian troops in their contacts with them. Related to this topic, all of the respondents described the traditional manner in which the local dressed, without knowing the names for the clothing items. One exception, though, was related to the women’s dresses, which had been known to them as burkas. Among the participants to this mission, one third admitted that they had feelings of fear in front of Afghans dressed in traditional clothes, motivating that their fear was due to their conviction that the locals were hiding something under their robes: weapons or explosives. Because of these reasons, most of the times, soldiers kept distance when passing by the locals. One soldier admitted that he feared women especially, because he had learned that most of those who performed suicidal attacks were wearing burkas.

Out of the ten Romanians who motivated the absence of such feelings, two made it clear that they had been trained to observe the Afghans’ clothes thoroughly and if the local were hiding anything under their clothes, two others, due to their military positions, knew that Afghans they worked with were thoroughly checked on base. The others mentioned their preference of not thinking about things like those, not to panic or get demoralized.

Finally, with regard to space organization elements, we asked the soldiers about the Afghans’ homes and the manner in which they were organized. Out of the fifteen interviewees, only one had been invited to a local’s home. He mentioned that he had to take off shoes, to wash his feet and hands, to sit with his feet under him and he did not refuse any treat of the house (tea, food). Regarding his positioning inside the house, the soldier stood with his back to the door or at least, somewhere to one side, close to the middle of the room. Positioning in such a situation matters a lot to the Afghans. The more one is placed toward the center of the house and far from the door, the greater the respect one is shown by the hosts.

3.3 End of the mission. At the end of the interview, we assessed the manner in which the Romanians considered that the experience of a mission in Afghanistan would help them or if it had helped them for (an)other mission(s). Out of the six soldiers who had participated in two missions of this type, five mentioned that the feelings of fear and disorientation helped them a lot, and these feelings were replaced by relaxation in the moment when they became familiar with the Afghan culture or the manner of interacting with Afghans.

Out of the nine soldiers who had participated to one mission only, seven affirmed that their participation would help them with regard to accommodation and intercultural relations. The two soldiers who affirmed that it would not helped them at all motivated this fact through the absence of an intense contact with the locals of this culture, concluding that the information which they possessed about this culture is still at a low level.

Lastly, when asked if the manner in which they perceive the Afghan culture changed after their direct experience, one third of the respondents answered affirmatively. They underlined the fact that, although they understand the other culture better now, they became fully aware that those people cannot be changed by any coalition participating to missions in their country and consequently they must learn to respect their culture as it is.

4. DATA INTERPRETATION

Through this study, we intended to identify the existence of a potential cultural shock on first contact with the Afghan culture, to observe the manner in which this shock is perceived by the Romanian soldiers participating in missions under the NATO’s lead, and, at the same time, to delimit the causes of this shock – all of which without pretending exhaustiveness or representativeness of the study.

After having presented the answers of those who were interviewed, we can draw some conclusions. The soldiers, motivated by their wish of assertion, of knowledge of a theater of operations, as well as being interested in gaining some financial benefits, participate in the selection for missions of this type, without considering the clear lack of knowledge about major cultural differences. Once they get selected and are allured by such an experience, they take part in a much too insufficient cultural training. This training is focused on their practical military training and on administrative details rather than on gaining some intercultural communicative skills, in the absence of which, real conflict with the local culture may occur. In some of the cases, the soldiers are
suggested to continue their preparation on their own, which happened in case of two of our respondents, all the others imagining “they would manage the situation somehow” (P.C.). This personal conviction comes probably from a native ability of accommodating to any situation, starting from the Romanian premise that “we try to do our job and not to make enemies” (C.P.). Naturally, before going on such missions, everyone should refer to the “global achievable perspective” (Hanvey, 1975:16), which involves two dimensions: the awareness of understanding perspective and the capacity of cultural representation. In the case of the Romanian soldiers this is unachievable, due to their lack of knowledge and development related to the host culture. Once in the conflict zone, these soldiers are not of the cultural manifestations of the Afghan population, they only delimit certain taboo areas, apart from which interaction can take place.

Although their knowledge about the Afghan culture is limited, the Romanian soldiers have no problem in tolerating the ambiguities and lack of knowledge in intercultural relations, as well as the behavioral predispositions of the Afghans. Instead of knowing or explaining the Afghans behaviors, the Romanian soldiers rather prefer to apply the common sense or tolerance to the detriment of their forming certain intercultural competences.

The cultural shock is felt more strongly by those soldiers who, on their first weeks of the missions, establish contacts with the people of this culture, who are more traditionalists, and unfamiliar with western behaviors. It is caused by the very lack of knowledge of specific cultural elements. The effects of this shock manifest through fear, disorientation or paranoia, they materialize through a permanent feeling of alert, which may even cause insomnia. Nevertheless, these effects diminish after routine comes in place, and after our Romanian belief “if it is to happen, it will, over there and anywhere” (R.C). Related to the negative reactions of the locals, the Romanian soldiers have tried to gain their friendship and respect, by behaving friendly to them, by offering them food and water, or other things.

The lack of some proper knowledge of the Afghan culture leads to the interpretation of certain behavioral predispositions through the values of the Romanian culture, without filtering them through an intercultural understanding. This reality causes the major impact which instances of Afghan behaviors, especially the ones related to relationships between men and women, men and men or their manner of understanding time and punctuality, have on soldiers.

5. CONCLUSIONS

So long as one of the basic dimensions of the modern battlefield is the multinational dimension, implying interaction with the inhabitants of the local culture, in our case, with Afghans, the development of intercultural communicative competence, especially from the perspective of nonverbal communication, is a stringent demand. At peace time, in the light of mission preparations, there is need for the development of the intercultural communicative competence, by acknowledgement of the specific Afghan nonverbal elements, so as to avoid the cultural shock that may occur and to enhance the degree of efficacy in the soldiers’ participation to multinational exercises under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

This study has an important applicative dimension. Its results may constitute references for the redesigning of human resources in the military, in the context of an increased role of training activities or action in multinational environments.

Human resources are the most valuable to an organization, a flexible and adjustable resource, and the realignment to international standards and participation to international missions lead to the requirement of a new framework able to include the communicative dimension, fundamental for this desiderate.

The current paper may represent the preliminary to an ampler research, to be performed by specialists, in order to prove the importance of nonverbal communication in intercultural interactions of the Romanian soldiers participating in peace support operations in Afghanistan. Starting from our recorded data, the model may be extended to other types of missions, as well as other international organizations that plan and run military missions of a similar type.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE IMPORTANCE OF CIVIL-MILITARY DIALOGUE IN CÔTE D’IVOIRE U.N. PEACEKEEPING MISSION

Cosmina-Oana ROMAN*

* Department of Fundamental Sciences and Management, “Henri Coandă” Air Force Academy, Brașov, Romania

Abstract: To establish the nature of intercultural relations, I chose to analyze Romanian military participants in UN peacekeeping missions. Thus, I limited the research to UNOCI missions in Côte d’Ivoire, where civil-military assignments are included in the assignments of any military observer, with no precise or distinct tasks in this respect. After a closer look at how both sides manage to communicate, I reached the conclusion that the dialogue between civilians and their military counterparts is of high importance in terms of effective communication as well as efficient mission accomplishment.

Keywords: CIMIC (civil-military cooperation), intercultural communication, verbal/nonverbal behavior, cultural differences, language and cultural barriers

1. INTRODUCTION

Peacekeeping has proven to be one of the most successful tools used by UN to help host countries move from conflict to peace. It has distinctive strengths like legitimacy, burden sharing, and an ability to deploy and sustain troops worldwide. UN Peacekeepers provide security, as well as the political and peace building support. This is supplied by means of cooperation acquired through dialogue between UN missions’ members and local authorities or inhabitants. It fulfills the political and military objectives of operations, including political, military, civilian and humanitarian elements. In fact, this type of cooperation between civilians and militaries implies the incorporation of military capabilities into a joint reaction in front of all types of human needs. Therefore, the dialogue carried out within this type of missions is the attribute of military observers. They are part of United Nations Organization, from different countries in the world (UN Peacekeeping, 2016) and presuppose the peaceful interposition between belligerents to prevent the conflict outbreak, as a way of crisis management by deploying personnel mandated to maintain control in the area (see also Lesenciucl, 2012:99). Therefore, the role of military observers in carrying out an effective dialogue is of high importance. They are the main actors who must master certain skills to lead the dialogue to the desired end. These abilities should include good knowledge of locals’ cultural background (habits, traditions, life perspective, and life standard), communication means, language (even native), sympathy and awareness of how things work in that particular area of responsibility.

The United Nations Military Observers (UNMOs) represented the foundation in terms of facilitating the peaceful settlement of disputes within and between countries. They represent the entire international community, teams that observe, monitor and assist in implementing agreements worldwide. UNMOs are “Experts on Missions for the United Nations” as they are defined under Article VI of the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, therefore, they are not allowed to carry and make use of weapons. All these offer credibility and authority to their functions. As non-weapons-holders, they have the role of operational “pathfinders”, by means of observing, reporting, negotiating, and investigating situations as members of a multinational team. They are the symbol of the international authority of the United Nations. Military observers (MILOBs), military ambassadors of their countries, are key players in going in for the mandated way to accomplish the mission objectives.

To critically examine the intercultural relations as well as language barriers between UN workers and local Ivorian (as they entitle themselves), I
made use of the monographic guide proposed by the Romanian school of sociology, coordinated by Dimitrie Gusti, in order to highlight the natural framework of life organization within Ivorian settlements and communities as such (Golopenția, 2002:174-182). This approach allows not only focus on certain genuine sociological issues but it also contributes to certain intercultural pattern of communication, namely, the general framework, its actors, channels and means of communication, as well as certain norms and the type of interaction. Besides, what furthermore shapes the way a community thinks is determined by culture itself, by the limitations of the inhabitants of a definite cultural areal. The research will later on restrict to the interview, carried out by UN officers with a small number of inhabitants from Tengrêla Department, part of Bagoué Region in Savanes District, situated at the Mali border.

2. THE IVORY COAST – BRIEF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL OVERVIEW

2.1 History. Following the above mentioned scheme, a short historical and cultural Ivorian background should be brought into discussion. Thus, very little is actually known about the original inhabitants of The Ivory Coast. The first recorded history is found in chronicles of North African traders, who, from early Roman times, conducted a caravan trade across the The territory of the Mali Empire in Ivory Coast was limited to the northwest corner around Odienne. Its slow decline starting at the end of the XIVth century attracted internal revolts by vassal states. The dense rain forest covering the southern half of the country created barriers to large-scale political organizations. By that time, inhabitants lived in villages or clusters of villages whose contacts with the outside world were filtered through long-distance traders. Villagers lived mainly from agriculture and hunting. Ivory Coast became a protectorate of France in 1843/1844 and was formed later into a French colony in 1893. Nowadays, the country is a unitary presidential republic, with French as official language and independence gained on 7th August, 1960. The Legislative branch is Unicameral National Assembly (225 seats). The legal system is based on French civil law system and customary law. But the country went through two religion-based civil wars and one coup d’état (1999).

2.2 Culture. In the villages, the traditional spirit still lives. In fact, each village has a chief who is considered by the members as a God. For this, when visitors want to go there, he has to be invited by a village chief or take an appointment with him. Also all Ivorian families eat with their bare hands. This can be considered as a specific custom. Extended families can be found in Ivory Coast in which only the man has the first position as a chief. In fact, marriage is more a union between two families than between two persons to increase the members of these families. A family is usually composed of the husband and more than two wives with children because of the predominance of the polygamy. In fact, in one house lives a man with his wives and multiple children who usually don’t go to school and have to look for a poor job to take care of the family. Sometimes in addition to his wives and children, we can find in the same house the husband’s parents or brothers, as well.

Children do go to school. The term is improperly called as such because the place is not a building, but a poor location with some wooden desks and chairs. They really like learning and classrooms have pupils of all ages (ranging from children to adults). They write on wooden tablets with chalk and have almost no books. Even with these poor conditions, their willingness to study is overwhelming. Education is free, and primary education is compulsory. Higher education is very prestigious and available only to a select minority of the population. Secondary education is viewed as an important urban resource. A large proportion of students who enter primary school are eliminated at crucial points in the education process, especially as they encounter stringent admissions requirements for secondary schools and universities, but many also drop out throughout the system. Usually, students' educational achievements reflect their parents' level of education. Literacy is around 50% according to UNESCO, being thus, very low.

Women always carry their babies on their back when they go to work, in some cloth wrapped around their body. They carry them all day long, no matter what they have to do or what kind of job they have. Considering all these historical and cultural elements, it is easy to understand that communication is a very complex process that involves extensive background knowledge as well as adaptation to the Ivorian behavior. Thus, when having a conversation with a local, the UN officer should be aware of various historical and cultural aspects.

“I don’t get it! They walk barefoot, they don’t have drinking water and electricity but they all have smartphones and internet? Where do they have money from to pay for all these” questioned himself, one of the European officers (i.e. R.S., 41 years, Poland).
The answer came quickly. They sell fruit and vegetables in markets and with the money they get, they rush to the nearest shop and recharge their “made in China” phones. It is quite an astonishing gap between their low life standards and technology that “managed” somehow to reach them.

3. DIALOGUE IN IVORY COAST PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

To establish cultural language barriers found in the dialogue between UN officers and locals, I based my research on Gusti’s monographic theory, revised by Golopentia (2002). Thus, an interview type of research has been applied on a number of 10 officers, part of a 2016 UN mission, as follows: Capt T.A., (Tunisia), LtCol R.S. (Poland), Maj A.R. (Romania), Maj S.A. (Bangladesh), LtCol J.A. (Benin), Capt A.S. (Brazil), LtCol N.N. (Togo), Maj T.S. (India), Capt R.M. (Malawi) and LtCol O.N. (Bolivia). As military observers, their main task was to check and double check the data they have from the HQ, with the actual situation (from mapping to present situation in terms of population and basic needs). A well-drafted questionnaire has been sent to all these UN workers via e-mails. For suitability purposes, the research instrument consisted in an intensive type of interview. It was thus applied to a small number of individuals, to emphasize the approach profoundness. From the topic structure point of view, the interview was structured, approaching topics previously established. In terms of repeatability, the interview was of unique type. As for the content perspective, it was a documentary interview. Therefore, in terms of number of units of analysis, it is an intensive approach; I looked at a small number of units investigated. From this perspective, the research is a qualitative one. Going back to drafting a short village monograph so as to understand locals cultural behaviour, Golopentia identifies two study directions of Romanian village¹ that do apply in our case study, considering that all Ivoirian cities/locations are improperly called as such, they are actually poor villages. Consequently, a short mapping of the area is important in the first place, followed by a brief description of the situation in which inhabitants live together with a correct natural delimitation, accomplished through dialogue with locals and local authorities as well. So, when outlining the interview questions, I had in view the Gusti’s pattern, patented by Golopentia, biological framework. But, to make it simpler for the UN officer, I tried to adapt Lesenciuc’s version of it (2015:107), see Fig.1.

[Diagram of Biological framework]

Fig.1 Biological framework (apud Lesenciuc, 2015:107)

3.1 Total population is 27,702,000 (2015) (growth rate: 1.96%); birth rate: 29.25/1000; infant mortality rate: 60.16/1000; life expectancy: 58.01. Approximately 50% of the population is urban, with more than 20% residing in the country’s two largest cities, Abidjan and Bouake. The next three largest towns, Daloa, Gagnoa, and Korhogo, each have over 300,000 inhabitants. People have an average age of just over 19 years old. The average life expectancy is forty-three years for males, and forty-six years for females. Infant and child mortality rates remain high in rural areas. An estimated 95 infants per 1,000 births die in their first year of life.

3.2 Anthropological data. The terrain is forested, undulating and hilly in the west, with a tropical climate, semiarid in the far north areas. People are usually short, with very prominent

¹ Later on, in what Golopentia suggests, six-way approach: (a) cosmological framework, (b) biological framework, (c) historical framework, (d) economic events, (e) legal events and (f) political events, that give, in turn, the possibility of multiple approach, as follows: a1) type of settlement, a2) buildings, a3) soil, water, climate, flora and fauna, b1) population, c1) social past, d1) social-economic level, e1) „Do villagers fight against improvement below the minimum property life standards?”, f1) social structure, and f2) cultural level of the village.
bellies, especially in case of children. Their look is not clean, mainly due to the lack of running water and of the dusty terrain, they live in. They are dark skinned with dark hair that is always shortly cut. Women ever raze it (because it is very thick and they cannot brush it) and wear wigs to cover their head and look nice.

The main religions in Ivory Coast are Islam and Christianity. There are complex systems of belief and practice that incorporate multiple elements of several religions, including animism, fetishism, and witchcraft. According to most local belief systems, spiritual beings—a creator, ancestral spirits, and spirits associated with places and objects—can influence a person’s life and play a large role in religious worship and practice. Collective ceremonies and rituals are important to many indigenous religions, and include ceremonial dancing, ancestor worship sacrifices, mask carving and ceremonies, fetish priest ceremonies, and divination ceremonies. Ivorians conduct rites in a variety of sacred spaces, including a variety of shrines dedicated to spirits, Christian and Roman Catholic churches, and mosques. Most Ivorians believe that a person’s soul lives after death. Because often death is viewed as the transformation of an ordinary human into an honored ancestor, funerals are elaborately celebrated.

Among the animals that Ivorians worship, the elephant is seen as the wise chief who impartially settles disputes among the forest creatures in African fables. It is symbolically important to the nation of Ivory Coast (Côte d’Ivoire); the Coat of arms of Ivory Coast features an elephant head escutcheon as its focal point. As the most prominent symbol of Côte d’Ivoire, it depicts a shield displaying the profile of an elephant’s head, surrounded by two palm trees, with the rising sun above the head and a banner bearing the words République de Côte d’Ivoire beneath it.

3.3 Ethnicity. Their nationality is Ivorians. The country has more than 60 ethnic groups, divided in 5 ethnic groups: Mande Nokth and South), Gur, Kwa and Kr. Of the more than 5 million non-Ivorian Africans living in Ivory Coast, one-third to one-half are from Burkina Faso; the rest are from Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Benin, Sénégal, Liberia, and Mauritania. The non-African expatriate community includes roughly 50,000 French (this number may be inaccurate due to the evacuation of roughly 8,000 Frenchmen in November 2004) and possibly 40,000 Lebanese. Migrants from other West African countries account for up to 40% of the population.

3.4 Languages. Besides the official language – French that was introduced during the colonial period, there are 5 main branches of the Niger-Congo family, as follows: Mande, Kwa, Gur, Senufo and Kru languages. Mande is perhaps the most important in Western Sudan. Two subgroups have long been distinguished: one southern and one septentrional called mande-ta (mandekan) and mande-fu, after the two roots of the numeral "ten". But this division was lately rejected, the most important spoken ones being maninka and mende.

Tones have an important role in languages from the South than in those from the North, where their existence has not been noticed for long. Disyllabic roots are very common. The nominal class system is highly simplified: affixes have been completely lost. Two types of possession are encountered, where all nouns are distributed alienable and inalienable (parts of the head, relatives except for the wife). Compounding is a frequent method of forming words. There is also a rather developed system of derivation by means of suffixation (bearing the function of functional morphemes that denote the agent, refrain, the case, or grammatical categories: the verb, the number). This language has no nominal classes and the word order is fixed. Kwa group of languages spoken in the southern part of the Gulf of Guinea and in the African states from Liberia to Nigeria. It is among the most obvious tonal languages in the world. These tone actually suggest how things look like. For example, the ascending tone is used for large, heavy objects. Words have monosyllabic roots, with no morphological distinction between verbal and nominal roots. There is no grammatical gender. Some traces of nominal classes are found in languages spoken in Ghana and Togo. Words are formed by composition rather than derivation. Words are distinguished by concreteness of vocabulary: there is no general verb "to be" or "to have" but only "being in a certain place" and "having something" (Sala, Vintilă-Rădulescu, 1981:141-142). Gur stretches North of Kwa language group, across Mali, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Benin and Nigeria. It is a heterogeneous group of idioms and poorly defined due to imperfect knowledge of the language components (Sala, Vintilă-Rădulescu, 1981:103). Kru-(Kraw) is considered to be either a dialect of Bassa language, or related to it. Nowadays, it is spoken in Liberia by approximately 150,000 people. Senufo is considered a distinct language, either a group of diverse languages, or languages that belong to the Voltaic group. It is spoken in the Ivory Coast, Mali, Ghana, Upper Volta by 80,000 to 1 million people. It is also used in radio shows.

Nevertheless, French is the one taught in schools, being regarded as lingua franca. Furthermore, over 3 million people do speak immigrant languages, most of them coming from
neighbour countries, mainly from Burkina Faso. These are: Bisa (63,000), Dogoso, Eastern Karaboro (5,610), Glaro-Twabo, Jenaama Bozo, Khe, Ligbi (4,000), Malba Birifor, Môoré, Simou, Sicité Sénoufo, Soninke (100,000), Southern Toussian, Turkia, Vietnamese. According to latest released ethnologic report (Ethnologue, 2016), the number of individual languages listed for Côte d’Ivoire is 83. Of these, 82 are living and 1 is extinct (named Tonjon with no L1 speakers). Of the living languages, 73 are indigenous and 9 are non-indigenous. Furthermore, 4 are institutional, 36 are developing, 35 are vigorous, 5 are in trouble (Ega, Kodia, Krumen, Plapo and Mbre), and 2 are dying.

3.5 Non-verbal habits. For evaluating nonverbal behavior of Ivorians, we have reported on similar patterns from previous research (Ivanciu & Popica, 2015:414-422).

3.5.1 Appearance. The external appearance of Ivorian inhabitants give to a certain extent, indications on the health, on the existence of a morbid predisposition or a disease. Thus, most children for example, have big bellies, although they are poorly fed. This is a sign of poverty and disease.

“People are very slim, you can even see their bones and kids have these huge abnormal bellies…”, the South American officer remarked (O.N., 43 years, Bolivia).

Involuntarily they don’t consider their general look. Being mostly poor, they are usually dirty, especially in rural areas. Clothing is also limited.

“I get the impression that this kid hasn’t washed himself for two weeks!”, said one of the officers. (S.A., 36 years. Bangladesh)

3.5.2 Non-verbal communication. Gestures. One specific gesture that is worth mentioning is whistling. They usually whistle to draw attention, and this gesture is made as if they want to kiss somebody, a very noisy signal sent when they want to call a taxi, in a bar to make the waiter notice them or, whenever is needed to draw attention.

“It is quite uncommon to hear people whistling in the streets. I’ve got scared in the first place of not knowing what’s happening and how to react to it!” said T.A., 32 years, Tunisia.

3.5.3 Physical contact. Proximity. The way people think about privacy and personal space is very different. In general, people from Ivory Coast keep slightly less distance between one another when they speak. They tend to get closer to each other when they are enthusiastic, angry, or if they are trying to convince of something. Touching someone when speaking is acceptable, but usually only between people of the same gender. One may see two male or female friends hold hands in the street and nobody will presume that they are homosexuals. When with friends in public, men and women may touch slightly when talking or joking. However, if a man touches a woman in private (or the other way round) it means that something completely different and may be interpreted as an invitation to take things to another level. As in France, people from Ivory Coast give a firm handshake when first meeting. Thus, one should, keep an arms’ length from the person to whom you are speaking and give a solid handshake.

3.6 Sanitary Status

3.6.1 Feeding. “It is unbelievable! They actually eat with their bare hands” said R.S., 41 years, Poland. The fact that they eat with their bare hands, that their animals walk freely around, eat whatever they find, even garbage, means that eating is not a clean and healthy habit among most Ivorians. One of the traditional food prepared is called aitiu and is actually a corn paste used to prepare corn balls. Peanuts are also very used in dishes. Beside these, they eat fish, chicken, rice, potatoes and eggs, vegetables and fruit (mandarins, mango, passion fruit, sour sops, coconuts). Fried banana called Alloco is also very popular.

3.6.2 Water supply. “Hot running water is just a dream here!”; said Maj A.R., 38 years, from Romania, when he first visited a village in his area of responsibility.

The conflict that ended in 2007 has greatly affected regular maintenance and repair of water supply infrastructures, especially in the North of the country. This deterioration, coupled with poor sanitation conditions, increases the risk of transmission of water-related diseases, not only in rural but also in urban areas. More than 8 million people (43 % of Côte d’Ivoire’s population) lack appropriate sanitation facilities and over 4 million people still use unsafe drinking water sources, mainly in rural areas. Therefore, many children die every day from diarrhea and other diseases related to the lack of water and appropriate sanitation and many more suffer and are weakened by illness.

The lack of access to safe drinking water and appropriate sanitation has many other serious repercussions. Children – and particularly girls – are denied their right to education because they are busy fetching water or are deterred by the lack of separate and decent sanitation facilities in schools. Women are forced to spend large parts of their day fetching water (85.9% of women in Côte d’Ivoire are in charge of supplying their family with water). Poor farmers and workers are less productive due to frequent illnesses, and national economies
suffer. Without safe water and appropriate sanitation, sustainable development is impossible.

3.6.3 Hygiene. The Water and Sanitation sector faces some major issues. Many communities find difficult to access safe drinking water in sufficient quantities. The limited access to sewage infrastructures and latrines, and difficulties in discharging household refuse in urban centers are issued that reflect the lack of hygiene, poverty, all of these leading to diseases and ultimately, to death. Capt T.A. (32 years, Tunisia) notes:

These people walk kilometers to get drinking water. Women say that this process is time consuming and they cannot finish their daily housework.

Anyway, things tend to improve slowly as, since 2005, around 560,000 crisis-affected women and children have benefited from water supply through the rehabilitation of already existing water infrastructures. Community’s environment sanitation and restoration of hygiene conditions were made possible through supply of proper equipments and awareness raising activities on personal, food and environmental hygiene.

3.6.3 Diseases

“What’s really sad and astonishing in the same time, is the high death rate. Out of 12 kids in a family, approximately half of them die!” said A.S. 29 years, Brazil.

Ivoirians experience a number of health issues, including a large incidence of HIV-AIDS, female genital mutilation (FGM), unsanitary living conditions, unsafe drinking water, and a host of infectious diseases, including malaria, gastrointestinal ailments, respiratory infections, measles, and tetanus. Ebola was identified in Tai Forest in 1994 but the mortality rate was small. It probably came from chimpanzees. The Tai Forest is a natural reservoir of the Ebola virus. Malaria occurs in areas where mosquitoes are present. There are over a hundred different manifestations, some of them very severe that may cause even death.

3.6.4 Clothing. People wear both traditional and Western clothes. In cities and towns, most people wear Western clothing (pants or blue jeans and shirts). Nevertheless, many women still wear the traditional brightly colored dresses (pagnes) with matching head scarves. These are enfolded around their heads and carry huge water pots on them. Traditional clothing is most common in the rural areas. Women wear pagnes or blouses with long pieces of cloth that they wrap around themselves as skirts. Men wear shorts or wrap short pieces of cloth around their bodies. Many have long, beautiful robes for ceremonial occasions. In rural areas, most people do not wear too many items of clothing, especially children.

4. INTERVIEW OUTCOME

After the questionnaire was filled by the 10 chosen subject, attention-grabbing results came out. It is interesting to observe how Ivoirians enjoy talking about things that are familiar to them when they first meet someone. Thus, topics of discussion may be different depending on people or situations. UN officers should previously do some research in order to learn a bit about the persons with whom they will be talking to. Asking a basic question to someone who knows the person with whom you will be speaking will be enough to obtain the required. When talking to a member of the local political class, it is advisable to remain humble and put the emphasis on listening and asking questions about the country or certain aspects of work rather than trying to show off. Like this, locals will see the interviewer as a wise person who is eager to learn things and not as one that must find out more about them.

Rude jokes should be avoided. It is advisable to wait until one gets to know the audience a bit better before making such jokes. This kind of behavior is seen as impolite, and the person viewed as disrespectful when meeting someone for the first time. It is also well received to ask about someone’s family when you first meet, as family is at the core of Ivorian culture. Some previous research about the family should be done, if they have children, asking about them would be welcomed, as well. Furthermore, questions about their health and welfare are always appreciated.

Work is another general topic of conversation that helps establish the first contact and show interest in what he/she does. Other subjects include talking about the weather as people from all over the world worry about it and this is particularly relevant in Africa where many people depend on agriculture. Weather directly affects people’s quality of life (i.e., rain or drought result in plentiful or scarce harvests) as well as transportation systems since some roads become blocked in the rainy season.

It is always a good idea to ask about, or comment on, the country’s or region’s latest or coming sporting/cultural events (i.e. soccer games, music or film festivals, religious festivals) as this demonstrates interest in their country. If you have friends or acquaintances in common, you should mention them and ask how they are doing. Ivoirians like making these kinds of connections and discovering that you know their cousin, neighbor or even a local political figure. It is also
worth noting that people are generally very interested in learning more about other countries and cultures. Thus, any UN officer should be prepared to answer many questions about country’s cultural, political, and economic life and other queries about your family and friends. Depending on whether the situation is formal or informal, it may be appropriate to bring a small photo album of pictures of your family and region.

As the country is culturally diverse, the UN officer should take into account the ethnic background of the person to whom he is speaking as this may make a difference in the way of greeting someone. As a rule, people are tolerant and will not be offended if a mistake is made. As greeting is the first step to efficient dialogue, and as locals are really afraid and try to avoid “the white”, eye contact is very important. It shows interest in what the other person is saying. Other than the worldwide accepted handshake, one should not touch people when firstly met. This habit of avoiding white people, especially in uniforms is indeed a cultural barrier and should be considered as such.

“Women have a different status. They work more than women. That habit has to do with Arabs. That’s quite strange to me!” said R.S., 41 years, Poland.

Conversations between men and women are within acceptable limits. Exceptions do apply especially in case of Muslims. Although there are few offensive gestures, one should avoid belching in public, pointing at people one is talking about, or extending the middle finger out of anger. Sudden gestures and shouting may not be well received and may provoke violent reactions. A woman should not sit in a position that is considered to be "too relaxed" as this could give her a bad reputation.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Communication through face-to-face dialogue is of high importance for the UN officer, in order to accomplish the assigned tasks. It is the only practical means of getting to know the situation in the area of responsibility. It is not an easy job and there are many differences and cultural barriers encountered throughout conversations with local population or authorities. These barriers can be overcome by means of previous investigation and by personal communication skills. Out of ten officers interviewed, seven came from the African continent, therefore, language and cultural barriers were more easily swept away. Nevertheless, for the other three coming from Europe and South America, things stood differently. In the very beginning, everything seemed if not completely strange, at least out of the ordinary. They had to get used to the environment (to the heat), cultural habits and an uncommon language they have to deal with. Communication barriers had obviously been present, but eventually overcome through the military observers’ skillful abilities.

Long-term study together with language knowledge (of French or even Ivorian) is always a plus and must be taken into account by CIMIC officers. They should be peacekeepers who find those particular means of getting locals closer to them and carry a pleasant and efficient dialogue. As Ankersen (2014:177) states, “there is little conscious understanding on the part of those performing a complex activity, such as civil-military cooperation (…)” and all implied in such missions should focus more on this understanding of how things work in a different cultural area.

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MUSCNIANS AND THE SECRET FRONT OF INTELLIGENCE

Ella Magdalena CIUPERCĂ*

*Department of Social and Political Sciences, “Mihai Viteazul” National Intelligence Academy, Bucharest, Romania

Abstract: This paper aims to address in an interdisciplinary manner a field previously ignored by the intelligence literature, but so present in every major confrontation of the world, especially during intelligence wars which are so specific for modern times. The enrollment of the great musicians on the unseen front of intelligence clash will be approach from a historical descriptive perspective, but it will be enriched by studying the manner musicians involved themselves to support one side of the conflict or another. We will examine different data to conclude whether it is possible to find a model for musicians’ choices. We presume that education and socialization of musicians conduct to a specific mental model and a personality type that complement each other in order to explain their life choices including those made on intelligence front. The case of Romanian musician Maria Tănase will be discussed in this context.

Keywords: musicians, intelligence, personality, HUMINT

1. INTRODUCTION

While life is a mosaic composed of a lot of different pieces, we are scholarly treating them individually trying to understand all the mechanisms of one process but rarely considering pieces in their interdependency. But people will never understand social reality except they analyze the world the way it is. For this reason I chose to take a closer look to the relationship between intelligence and music, namely to understand the reasons why many great musicians involved in intelligence activities.

2. MUSICIANS AND INTELLIGENCE

2.1. Musicians’ specific personality. A topic regarding the specific characteristics of certain social categories are not of recent date. Only part of explanations has contemporary roots, while social psychology is substantially contributing to the field through a lot of theories within social identity, stereotypes, social representations, collective memory or social thinking. Of course the main coordinates of modal personality of a social class or another will prevail being salient to the others. Therefore, there is nothing extraordinary to refer to the personality of musician as a standalone prototype, which can imprint his behavior with a number of recognizable common elements. It is obvious that music requires a lot of sacrifices and therefore such a pattern contains cognitive abilities, high motivations, will and discipline. The special organization of these traits can provide a distinctive sign to all behavioral manifestations of musicians, structuring their emotions and even their perception of the world in a particular manner (Bogunović, 2012).

Regarding the musicians, the main question raised was what determines them to spend such a long time for studying or producing music. As expected, studies have revealed that there are major differences between the musicians and the others. According to a study conducted by the University of Melbourne (Kaufmann & Rawlings, 2004), the musicians are different from the rest of the population by being more open, conscientious and enjoyable. These results were confirmed in 2012 at University of Arts in Serbia (Bogunović, 2012), highlighting a significant correlation between openness to new experiences and independence of thought, imagination, creativity, spirit, active imagination, aesthetic sensibility, inner receptivity, preference of diversity, intellectual curiosity and divergent thinking. In addition, this study revealed the variability of these traits under the impact of cultural software (Hofstede, 1991) that every person is carrying.
2.2 HUMINT' abilities and musicians' characteristics? While it is a truism to assert that intelligence is one of the oldest trades of mankind, it is still necessary to clarify some of its concepts in order to allow us an interdisciplinary approach of human motivation for engaging in this type of activity. Gathering the data from society and their transforming in intelligence which support authority decision involves a multistep process called intelligence cycle. Intelligence cycle includes several stages that are logically succeeding (Waltz, 2003:34): planning and direction (identifying, prioritizing, and validating intelligence requirements and continuously monitoring the availability of the collected data), collection (developing collection guidelines that ensure optimal use of available intelligence resources), processing (conversion of the collected information into a form suitable for the production of intelligence), production (the process of analyzing, evaluating, interpreting, and integrating raw data and information into finished intelligence products for known or anticipated purposes and applications) and dissemination (conveyance of intelligence to the consumer in a usable form).

Michael Warner (2009:15) synthesized all the dimensions and understandings that specialists in the field associates with the term of intelligence showing that it represents in the same time the intelligence delivered to beneficiaries and the operations performed on the front of secret war.

As Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) stated that „intelligence is the knowledge and forecasting of the world around us, as a prelude for political decision” (CIA, 1999:7). Therefore, the collection of data and information needs different sources of information, which are called INT'S in the literature (HUMINT – human intelligence, SIGINT – signals intelligence, IMINT – imagery intelligence, OSINT – open source intelligence and so on) (www.fbi.gov/about-us/intelligence/disciplines). Regardless of space or historical period to which we refer, human intelligence (abbreviated HUMINT) is recognized to be crucial to the success of the intelligence cycle. HUMINT may include secret defensive and offensive elements such as casual informants, the information agent, the agent of influence, investigational agent, or support agent. In the same way the technical characteristics of a modern drones are essential to the quality of images and sounds you can collect, the personality of data collector is a crucial variable for the quality of information.

As defined by the Romanian Intelligence Service the information agent is a person who voluntarily provides and collects information, which can be correlated with data from other sources (technical, open) in order to provide a more complete view of risks and threats for national security (www.sri.ro/surse-umane.html). There are numerous historical references that illustrate how important is the personality of collector for the success of this process. Every civilization has its own pantheon of iconic references to HUMINT practices (Sayre Jr.).

Probably the most comprehensive references to human sources of information are found in China. The most influential Chinese military thinker, Sun Tzu (2004) advocated for type of warfare that prioritize strategy of avoiding and capitalize weaknesses, including the use of propaganda, disinformation or psychological warfare methods. But such activities can be conducted only by persons with special observation capability and decoding situations. Sun Tzu considered the sources of information as “the treasure of the sovereign” believing that they must be very generously rewarded.

Another imposing concern for human sources of information appears in Hindu Arthashastra treaty of government and military art. Traditionally, Kautilya is credited as the author of the text and is said to have been an Indian ruler advisor of the 4th century B.C. In his work he gives a central role to the intelligence system considering it as the only method to have a high degree of control inside the states. The Arthashastra includes characterization of different types of personalities (angry, greedy, diligent, or easily insulted) and also the guidelines on how to relate with them. Kautilya considers HUMINT 's integrity as the most important quality of sources, while they also need to be bold, nimble, intelligent, and having the knowledge of men and society (Kautilya, 1992:577-578, apud Sayre Jr.). Ancient Mediterranean civilizations, especially Alexander the Great and Hannibal, also employed HUMINT collectors to supply knowledge of the foreign lands, their cultures, and peoples.

The modern view is in close consistency with the views of the theorists of the ancient world. The ancient idea that HUMINT collectors must be characterized by integrity, intelligence, wisdom, subtlety, sophistication, and the ability to judge character as well as their motivation, truthfulness, and reliability is completely validated in the writings of modern practitioners and theorists. For example, KGB used a similar approach: sources of information should be honorable person in the broadest sense, have a total range of moral and social values, education and knowledge, the refinement of heart and mind, mental and moral virtues. From all ancient and modern sources one conclusion is underlined: the collector should be a person of great integrity, intelligent and wise,
subtle, sophisticated, courageous. Good HUMINT required discretion, patience, tact, calmness, subtlety, force of mind, and prudence, but also intelligence, emotional stability, social skills, observation skills, communications skills, and initiative, sense of humor, basic honesty (Laqueur, 1993), which are exactly the competencies described as valid for musicians' personality as the previous studies revealed.

2.3. Historical reference for sources of information within artistic field. States honors its collaborators, despite conflicting perceptions of the civil society regarding persons involved in intelligence activities, which scrolls between the James Bond romantic stereotypes to the unscrupulous spy. The French secret service uses a category of sources that works for free, only for honor, called collaborateur d'honneur. They offer their services out of patriotism and wish to remain anonymous. Also, the Germans considered that intelligence gathering is a noble trade (ist ein Nachrichtendienst Herrendienst) (Petrescu, 2007:76-77).

In the same way artists accept to offer the power of their arms in the service of the state. There are many examples of famous artists' involvement in informative activities, especially in the direction of influence, but also on the dimension of operative activities. The most important reason of this involvement is artists' personality which is a good prerequisite for obtaining desirable results in the intelligence activity. A simple comparative analysis of the findings of the two previous paragraphs illustrates the almost perfect overlap between the ideal portrait of the source of information and personalities of artistic world.

The first singer historically certificated to be involved in informational activities was the Italian Atto Melani (1626 - 1714), used as a secret agent by the famous Cardinal Mazarin. Later, during the Bolshevik revolution, Nadezhda Pleviţkaia (Grozovksy) (1884-1940) became a Bolshevik and she sang for Red Army soldiers. In 1930, she was recruited by Soviet intelligence service GRU (later the NKVD) and married to a representative of the opposition. Never abandoning her initial convictions, she was involved in the abduction and transportation from Paris to Moscow of the head of the Russian opposition, who was executed. The singer Zarah Leander (1907-1981) was successful in Germany, Scandinavia and the USA. She was not only involved in Nazi propaganda, but also in informative activities. It seems to have been in the service of Soviet espionage until the 1950s, under the code name "Rose Marie". A Soviet officer said she helped them to make a picture about the situation in northern Europe and the interests of Anglo-American and German in the region. The American singer Josephine Baker (1906-1975) obtained French citizenship through marriage and was directly involved in informative actions. She transmitted military information between France to Portugal which was written with invisible ink on his musical scores. Josephine Baker was using her beauty to determine various consulates to issue visas for undesirable persons for the Axis powers. Vico Toriani (1920 - 1998) was among the first singers of pop music in the West that made concert tours in countries beyond the Iron Curtain, including Romania. It seems he was also transmitting information about them.

While the previous examples refer to musicians as collectors of data, there are musicians that have assumed even the role of intelligence officers, e.g. the CIA employee, musician Miles Copeland, Jr. (1916 - 1991) who played an important role in a number of foreign policy operations. Boris Morros (1891- 1963) was a Russian violinist, who emigrated in 1922 to Great Britain, and in the US in 1930. He was recruited by Soviet intelligence in 1934, codenamed "Frost" and from 1947 he also becomes a FBI agent. This unexpected dimension of our world underlined once again how the “binding role of music is not limited to the actual understanding of music as language, but rather as a form of knowledge extending from linguistic and the communicative level to an integrative cultural level.” (Lesenciu, 2015), and this level could signify sometimes to defend their country and beliefs through all means.

2.4. An unexpected Romanian HUMINT - Maria Tănase. One of the most beloved singers of popular music in Romania, Maria Tănase (1913-1963) is a hot topic for historians of the era, who are trying to provide a pertinent answer to the question: Was Maria Tănase a Romanian intelligence agent? Her fans reject the possibility, as if such an activity could defile her memory. Others consider the relationships she established inside the high society of the time as an argument favoring this hypothesis.

Historians have found fairly consistent evidence about the intelligence activities of Maria Tănase. For example, in his memory book, Ivor Porter, a the British agent who carried out intelligence operations in Romania during the Second World War, states the existence of some connections between the head of the Romanian Secret Service, Eugen Cristescu, and Maria Tănase. Why and how did this great singer of Romania enter the backstage of espionage? The answer may seem complicated, if we ignore the previous principles of intelligence and refrain ourselves to a narrow paradigm of thoughts. But
considering what we underlined before, persons that is asked to help his country involving in intelligence operations should prove some specific characteristics of intelligence, subtlety, honesty, loyalty, openness of mind, and perseverance.

At the time, Maria Tănase was a beautiful woman, fashionable, having an unusual voice – she had all the ingredients for the success recipe. Being heard for the first time in 1938, at the station Radio Bucharest, she almost instantly became known, sought and desired on all scenes or in all restaurants. Being invited in almost every interesting event of Bucharest, it was almost natural to appear a man - Maurice Negre, a handsome French journalist, who conquered her instantly. For a while they formed one of the most fashionable couple of the time in Bucharest. Still, for the Romanian Secret Service, led by Michael Moruzov was not difficult to learn that Maurice was the French espionage resident for Romania and then for South-Eastern Europe. On neutrality principles, the French spy was tolerated until the moment when Romania changed its system of alliances hoping to gain some of its lost territories in exchange of helping the Germans. As Maurice Negre was arrested on charges of espionage and sentenced to 10 years in prison, Maria Tănase tried to help him by all means. In 1941, he was finally sent to France, but the two no longer had the opportunity to reunite. People say that the price of his release included the promise of further services to the Romanian Intelligence Secret Service.

In 1941, Maria Tănase was invited to sing in Taxim theatre for 60 days (www.stelian-tanase.ro/maria-tanase-la-istanbul/). But beyond promoting Romanian songs abroad, her interests were more insidious – she had the mission to liaise with the residents of British espionage, a difficult task especially because it was in opposition with the Turkish policy of neutrality. There she secretly met with Alfred de Chastelain, whom he had known from Romania, where he worked as a professor at the University of Bucharest. Although he proposed her to leave Romania, she refused and returned home where she was accused of cooperation with the British spy network and arrested.

Finally, she was released for lack of evidence. The historian Cristian Troncotă confirmed this piece of information and declared that the famous singer helped Eugen Cristescu, in a rather difficult period, with exchanges of information with a number of the Americans diplomats.

Concrete information about the singer informative activities are also included in her file from the Security, issued in June 1959 and labeled as "Top Secret". After the war, Maria Tănase was considered an enemy of the communist regime, but she was only kept under observation, as Security was aware that Maria Tănase had polarized public admiration and support. Because even some of the communist authorities were fascinated by her voice and tried to reward her in different ways, she received the State Prize (1955), the title of Honored Artist (1957), and a year later played an important role in the movie "Ciulini Bărăganului".

3. CONCLUSIONS

Safeguarding national security is achieved on various fronts and it needs its best citizens. Intelligence volunteer has its own concept history in western intelligence literature; still the extent to which individuals agree to engage in such activities is determined by various factors. From the previous paragraphs it follows that successful musicians who travel the world and relates to the different environments, are extremely attractive to the intelligence services. These people have the ability to understand the stakes of these activities, the risks they may face, the difficulty to manage derived situations, but also the huge benefits for national security. Their specific traits determine them to fully involved in activities that only scale personalities are able to understand and assume.

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LISTENING TO GOD’S LANGUAGE: STANCETAKING IN ONLINE COMMENTS ON ENNIO MORRICONE’S MUSIC

Raluca-Mihaela LEVONIAN*

*Department of Humanities, University of Calabria, Cosenza, Italy/ Centre for Romanian Studies, University of Bucharest, Bucharest, Romania

Abstract: The study investigates the discursive strategies employed by the commenters in the evaluation of a specific musical piece, Ennio Morricone’s soundtrack for the film The Mission (1986). The methodology applied is based on the theoretical conception of the act of stance-taking as comprising evaluation, positioning and alignment (Du Bois 2007). The results show that similarities and differences in the evaluations lead to the emergence of threads for dialogue, which highlights the intersubjective dimension of stance-taking. The commenters engage in a process of negotiation of meanings, attempting to express the transcendental dimension of the music played. The evaluation of the music represents not only the expression of personal tastes and experiences, but it also contributes to the discursive formation of communities, based on artistic, religious or ethnic criteria.

Keywords: music, film score, evaluation, alignment, community

1. INTRODUCTION

Receiving his first Academy Award for Best Original Music Score in 2016, Ennio Morricone said: “There isn’t a great soundtrack without a great movie that inspires it”. With modesty, the composer reminded the audience that the evaluation of music scores needs to be linked to the films they were created for. Being inspired by the plot or the scenes of the film, such creations are deemed to carry on or to complete the meaning constructed by the images presented.

After its release, the relation between the soundtrack and the original film tends to be glossed over by the public. Contemporary consumption patterns reveal that the fans tend to purchase soundtrack albums based on their preference for the composer and after having watched the film; however, they “indicated a preference toward listening to the film music separate from the film after their first listening experience” (Keown, 2016:10). Besides consumption patterns, the manner in which listeners evaluate such musical pieces deserves further research. A first question regards whether they judge the soundtrack in connection with or separately from the film. Another question refers to the musical genre ascribed to the pieces forming the soundtrack. For instance, Ferrer et al. (2012: 513) discovered that a consistent part of the respondents sampled rejected the genre-based measure as unable to explain the preferences for “a particular kind of music”. Various studies have also investigated the connection between music preferences and the listeners’ values (e.g. Gardikiotis and Baltzis 2010; Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald 2002). However, such studies take into account musical genres or artists, tending to gloss over film scores. Hence, a further question regards whether film music enthusiasts link the music and the original film with certain values.

The present study explores the manner in which listeners evaluate a particular film score, how they motivate their evaluations and what connections emerge between their judgment of the music and the message of the film. Focusing on a corpus formed by online comments posted to a YouTube video, the analysis regards the linguistic and discursive dimension of the listeners’ evaluation.

2. THE MISSION SOUNDTRACK

The musical piece selected for this analysis belongs to the soundtrack composed by Ennio Morricone for the film The Mission (1986), directed by Roland Joffé. The main hero is a
Spanish Jesuit priest, Father Gabriel, played by Jeremy Irons, who travels to South America in order to convert the Indians. He is helped by the former slave hunter Rodrigo Mendoza (Robert de Niro), who converts to Christianism. Music has a particular significance in the film, as Gabriel soothes the natives and establishes a relationship with them by playing his oboe. The piece “Gabriel’s Oboe” has become famous and has been interpreted by various artists, like Yo-Yo Ma or Sarah Brightman. Not surprisingly, the soundtrack received the appreciation of film critics and public; for example, Sheila Benson remarked “the sinuous and haunting score by Ennio Morricone, a seduction all its own” (Benson, 1986). The soundtrack won a BAFTA and a Golden Globe Award, but it obtained only a nomination for the Academy Award of that year. The online comments to the videos with Ennio Morricone’s music show that a significant group of listeners still appreciate the creation and consider that The Mission soundtrack should have won the Academy Award. At the moment of data collection, in early March 2016, the YouTube video selected had 5,474,552 views. Moreover, there was a clear gap between the positive and the negative appreciations: the number of ‘likes’ was 23,060, while the dislikes totalized only 526.

The title of the video chosen for analysis is “The Mission Main Theme (Morricone Conducts Morricone)”, referring to the original film. However, it does not present a film scene, but a fragment of a concert, where the orchestra is conducted by Ennio Morricone himself. The selection of a concert recording where the composer directed the orchestra lead to a variety of comments, including references to both the music and the composer. A further reason for the choice regarded the fact that this particular video was more likely to attract comments about the music played or the soundtrack, instead of general evaluations of the film or of the protagonists’ acting skills.

The commentators describe the musical piece as belonging to the genre of ‘classical’ music, yet such categorization seems rather simplistic, especially for a film score. Following the categorization proposed by O’Keefe (2013:96), it may be labelled as a music type “for which performer and the audience regard the composition as sacrosanct”. According to the factors identified by Gardikiotis and Baltzis (2010:149-150), the piece belongs to the category “sophisticated and complex”, encompassing those music genres which require cultivated skills and special knowledge from the listeners. The comparison to classical music appears often in the comments, indicating that the public views the creation as a modern form of classical music or as intertwining high and popular culture.

The first research aim was to identify the terms preferred by the commenters for the evaluation of the film score. Second, the research aimed to explore how commenters position themselves and in regard to the stances expressed by other users.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A consistent corpus on research on stance taking has previously investigated the linguistic expressions of stance, thus focusing on micro-level analysis. Significant insights have been provided from studies focusing especially on English language (e.g. Biber and Finegan, 1989; Fox, 2001; Clift, 2006). However, as Hunston (2007: 28) observes, the identification of stance requires more complex operations than the mere location of specific forms. The complexity of the phenomenon of stance taking has lead to recent trends, focusing on the sociocultural and the interactional dimension of stance (Englebretson, 2007: 18-19).

The necessity of contextualizing the act of stance taking implies taking into account the discourse as a whole. Various frameworks advanced for the study of stance acts emphasize the subjective and the intersubjective dimension of each act. Berman (2004) identifies Orientation, Attitude and Generality as the three main dimensions of the discursive stance, with the first one concerning the relation between the sender, the text and the recipient. In their study on appraisal in English, Martin and White (2005) introduce the concept of alignment, influenced by Bakhtin’s perspective on dialogism. Such studies point out that an act of stance taking should not be studied in isolation, but as a consequence of previous acts and as potentially influencing following stances. The attention paid to the sociocultural dimension of stance is connected to the reference to a value system in which each evaluative act is grounded. By expressing the speaker’s opinion, the evaluative act also expresses “the value system of that person and their community” (Thompson & Hunston, 2001:6). The framework employed for the present analysis, which takes into account all these dimensions, is the triangular understanding of stance advanced by Du Bois (2007). The dimensions of the stance act identified by Du Bois are:

a. the evaluation of the stance object,
b. the positioning of the stance subject, and
c. the alignment with other stances and stancetakers.
4. EVALUATION

The collection of the data implied a reading of all available public comments that have been posted in response to the video selected. In the first stage, only the comments in English and Italian have been selected. In a second stage, all comments which were not connected to the stance object were eliminated. The final corpus was composed of 356 comments, totaling 6,966 words. The analysis of the terms most frequently used for evaluation showed that the users express their appreciation of the musical piece according to three dimensions: an aesthetic dimension, a psychological and a transcendental one.

4.1. The aesthetic dimension. The comments were expected to express the judgment of the music in aesthetic terms. From this perspective, the English adjective most frequently used for evaluation was “beautiful” (18 occurrences in the corpus), followed by “great” (17 occurrences) and “wonderful” (16 occurrences). Other adjectives employed were “sublime” (10 occurrences), and “good” (8 occurrences), while the superlative “best” had 9 occurrences. For the Italian messages, the most frequent adjective was “grande” (“great”), with 16 occurrences. The noun most frequently used in both English and Italian messages was “maestro”, that referred to the composer and had 25 occurrences. The complexity of the users’ evaluations varied. While some messages were formed of a single evaluative term, with a very general meaning (e.g. “Sublime”), others distinguished more objects of stance, ranging from the soundtrack to the composer, to the interpreters in the orchestra and to the original film. Evaluative terms were either employed for each of the stance objects identified (“Che meraviglia. …splendido film, grandiosa musica” [What a wonder. …splendid film, gorgeous music]) or for more than one object (“Meraviglioso film e musica” [Wonderful film and music]).

The selection of evaluative adjectives indicated a marked positive evaluation of the musical piece, thus confirming the high number of views. The high number of positive comments lead to a certain degree of similarity between the messages; hence, the mere labelling of the piece as “beautiful” or “good” appeared insufficient to many commentators.

As a consequence, strategies of intensification were employed in a large part of the evaluative messages analyzed. The most simple form of intensification consists in the use of uppercase letters and/or punctuation: “GOOD!!”, “Wonderful!!!!”. Another form of intensifying the appreciation consists in the repetition of a particular adjective, either without other information, or as a part in a detailed comment:

“It’s beautiful [sic!], beautiful, beautiful!";
“Great, great, great!!! Love Morricone’s music.
This one specially: The Mission is a wonderful film.
About time he won the Oscar Award!
Congratulations Ennio you are fantastic!"

In the latter case, the repetition forms the beginning of a more complex evaluative text, indicating the general idea expressed in the comment. The last example quoted above includes not only the evaluation of the music, but of the film and of the composer as well. From the lexical perspective, the positive evaluation is here expressed through a constellation of adjectives, referring to all the aspects of the stance object: the music, the composer and the original film.

Many evaluations are concerned with emphasizing the exceptional character of the music composed and played. The process of evaluation of the stance object is realized, in this case, in terms of hierarchization. Most frequently, the users introduced superlatives: “Best music ever composed!!”; “il più grande di tutti grazie di esistere Ennio 😊” [the greatest of all thank you for being Ennio 😊].

The evaluation of the soundtrack was also made in terms of opposition. Such relationship was indicated by the adjective “real” which acquires a positive connotation when characterizing the music in the video. The adjective opposed Ennio Morricone’s work to more recent musical pieces, whose creation and production involves technological equipment. The idea of positive evaluation contrasted with a negative judgment of contemporary music was recurrent in the comments expressed: “Why can’t they compose music like this anymore????”; “Tremendous! And this 1986 best score nominee by Ennio Morricone may never be repeated. With the new technology, we are using less and less of the full orchestra’s. What a shame. This is just a “tremendous” piece of music…”

4.2. The psychological dimension. Various comments show that listeners judge music as an independent agent, able to exert an influence on the audience, and attribute to the music played the occurrence of specific reactions. Instead of advancing explicit evaluations of the piece, some commentators describe their physical and emotional reactions, serving as a proof or an indicator of the pervasive force of music: “Pelle d’oca, sempre.” [goose bumps, always]; “goosebump music!”. Surprisingly, references to crying appear often in the messages posted: “when I listen the clarinetto I cry”; “I cryed with this oboe!!!”
Such bodily reactions are not judged in isolation, but are perceived as indicators of an inner transformation. From this perspective, the comments indicate how music acquires a cathartic function for the audience. Besides their evaluative role, some comments appear as spontaneous confessions in front of the wide audience of Morricone’s music, as they disclose personal emotions. Reactions like chills (Juslin et al., 2014:613) or crying, which otherwise may be considered violent, are here mentioned with a positive connotation; they express the ability of music to set free the human soul, to alleviate suffering. Listening to music becomes a way of connecting to one’s deep emotions and to avoid indifference:

“THE SOUNDRACK OF THE FILM ‘THE MISSION’ IS SO BEAUTIFUL, THAT YOUR SOUL IS IN PAIN, FOR ALL THE AMOUNT OF EMOTIONS AWAKENING IN YOUR HEART”
(capital letters in original)

Music is viewed as a special form of language that is perceived emotionally, instinctively, not rationally. The following examples are based on a metaphor which is meant to convey the depth of the message carried by the music. Beyond the aesthetic value, Morricone’s piece is appreciated for this deeper meaning perceived by the listeners: “Music that talks to the heart”; “No instrument speaks to my soul more than the oboe”.

4.3. The religious dimension. Many comments point out a relation between music and a superior level; according to such perspective, the music is particular because it renders perceptible something which normally lies outside the human possibilities to experiment (the perception of other worlds). The music composed is considered to function as a signifier, standing for the presence of God. In both English and Italian comments, evaluations include terms which make reference to “heaven” (17 occurrences) and “God” (17 occurrences). To the same semantic field belong adjectives like “celestial” (5 occurrences), “divine” (2 occurrences), and “sacred” (one occurrence). The appreciation of the piece was motivated through its association with divine harmony and peace: “this is exactly something that you gonna hear, when you are in heaven”; “una musica così ha di certo una ispirazione Divina è come un affresco di Giotto” [such music surely has a divine inspiration it’s like a painting by Giotto].

The particularity of such evaluations lies in the fact that the soundtrack does not constitute religious music, approved by the Church or used for religious service, literally speaking. The religious association may be due to the message of the film, but it seems also that it is made spontaneously by the listeners – commenters; in other words, they consider it as transcendental, even if it is separated from the original film.

5. POSITIONING

According to Du Bois (2007:143), positioning represents “the act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value”. The positioning of the speaker is usually realized through personal pronouns or through affective verbs, such as “like” (Du Bois, 2007: 152). Both personal pronouns and affective verbs are frequent in online comments, which, similar to real-life conversations, aim to express subjectivity. At the most general level, each comment may be considered to express an attempt of self-positioning within the general discussion frame. In the case of comments to music videos, the explicit manifestation of subjectivity dimension allows the commenter to develop a sense of involvement. The commenters are no longer passive consumers of music, but they construct and present their personal image through their interventions.

The most common form of positioning regards the commenters’ self-presentation as music lovers. In this case, the speakers’ positioning is unavoidably connected to the judgment of the stance object. The musical piece discussed is viewed as a contemporary form of classical music, and, by manifesting their appreciation, the speakers position themselves as educated members of the public, able to understand a complex musical genre: “I just love music, could listen to this again and again.” Moreover, the comparisons made by some users indicate – intentionally or not – their vast musical culture: “This is the best oboe solo on “Gabriel’s Oboe” or “Nella Fantasia” that I have ever heard. I get chills when I hear it.”

A further form of positioning involves a perceived difference between the live experience of music and the mediated experience. The following comments show that some commenters attempt to overcome the status of consumers of online music videos, highlighting their experiences as ‘true’ music lovers or their aspirations to become such: “I wish I could see this live. It is one of my big dreams 😍”; “Maestro Morricone The pride of Italy! I will be in Prague the 15th Jan at his concert ...Immenso”

A group of commenters positioned themselves through the attempt to construct a community, in connection to the composer’s Italian identity. Many users highlighted their Italian identity as an
attempt to establish an alignment with the composer that overcomes the mere appraisal of his music: “io glie’lho do per questa musica l’Oscar complimenti è un onore per me essere una italiana” [I give him the Oscar for this music, compliments, it is an honour for me to be an Italian].

6. ALIGNMENT

In general, the discussion between the posters of YouTube comments is carried on at two levels. Besides the main thread, which includes the comments having the content of the video as a stance object, secondary topics of discussion emerge. In the latter case, a particular comment serves as a leading stance, to which other users reply. The replies are marked as such and the addressee is indicated at the beginning of each message, a trait serving to distinguish them from the main discussion. The latter case represents a form of expressing online alignment, defined by Du Bois (2007:144) as “the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, and by implication between two stancetakers”. For YouTube commenters, the intersubjective dimension is optional, as they can choose whether to take into account previous stances or not.

A striking characteristic of the comments analyzed consisted in the general alignment regarding the stance object. With two exceptions, all the commenters appreciated the music or manifested interest in the concert and/or the film. While the general agreement on the aesthetic value of the work was expected, a surprising finding regarded the alignment of personal stances. The commenters revealing their personal reactions while listening to Morricone’s music sustained each other and aligned to previous stances by disclosing their own emotional reactions:

“(User 1, 1 month ago): Questa musica è soprannaturale; quando è partito l’oboe, ho letteralmente pianto, spontaneamente e senza sapere il perché. Ti tocca l’anima e la sconvolge. [This music is supernatural; when the oboe began, I have cried literally, spontaneously and without knowing why. It touches your heart and affects it]
(User 2,1 month ago): +User 1 Magia vera :) [True magic]
(User 3, 1 month ago): Sì...è successo anche a me. ..magica... [Yes... it happened to me too. ...magic...]
(User 4, 3 weeks ago): Sì... Veramente una bellissima canzone. Grande Ennio...” [Yes... Truly a very beautiful song. Great Ennio... ]

In the example above, one comment triggers more discursive attempts of alignment with the first speaker, even if the topic is particularly delicate. Three of the four commenters are identified through male first names; however, they all show an understanding of the emotional involvement. Instead of manifesting disalignment; instead, they agree and sustain the first evaluation, by the repetition of the affirmation “sì” and of the terms “magia” and “magica”. The repetitions serve to mark the alignment with the first stance, but also to enforce the feeling of community represented by the public of the musical piece.

The general impression given by the comments is one of a general alignment, even if the references to prior stances are not explicitly mentioned in all the interventions. One message is particularly interesting for the understanding of the collaborative construction of the stance in the sampled texts. The commenter expresses his agreement to all previous stances, at the same time highlighting the singularity of such intersubjective relation:

“Non sono riuscito a smettere di leggere le recensioni, e ascoltando l’enorme composizione non posso che essere d’accordo con tutti. Non mi è mai capitato di ‘condividere’ sentimenti contrastanti con una marea di altri consensi. Grazie Maestro per questo immenso dono.” [I couldn’t stop reading the reviews and listening to the enormous composition I can only agree with everybody. It has never happened to me before, to ‘share’ contrasting feelings with a stream of other agreements. Thank you Maestro for this immense gift.]

In this comment, the author’s evaluation and the self-positioning are embedded in his generalizing alignment to all previous stances, a characteristic used by the commenter in order to demonstrate the pacifying force of the music.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the lexical terms employed in the evaluation of Ennio Morricone’s piece shows a marked positive judgment from almost all the YouTube commenters. Furthermore, the listeners attempt to overcome the mere labelling of the musical piece as ‘good’ or ‘beautiful’ by employing various intensifying devices, ranging from superlatives to discursive relations of opposition. Besides the evaluations that take into account the aesthetic dimension of the music, two other ideas emerge from the corpus. The soundtrack is viewed as able to trigger emotional reactions and to impress the listeners, leading even to physical reactions. Further, the musical piece is considered to be able to render accessible the transcendental sphere, allowing the listeners to
connect with the divinity. While all the three evaluative ideas are connected with the original message of the film The Mission, it is obvious that the soundtrack has also gained an autonomous life, being considered a contemporary masterpiece of the classical music genre.

Such judgment of the piece needs to be linked to the commenters’ manner of self-positioning and their alignment. Although the comments are posted by isolated individuals, the thread of discussion gives the impression that various communities are constructed. Besides the community represented by enthusiasts of classical music, other communities emerge, based on the criterion of national belonging or on the religious criterion. The spontaneous discursive construction of fans’ communities proves, by itself, that the soundtrack of the film has truly been well chosen and composed. The main message of the film is that music is an universal language, able to create bonds in spite of beliefs, ethnic, linguistic or political differences. Thirty years after the release of the film, this message is still materialized by the enthusiasts who listen to the soundtrack and express their appreciation for it.

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MUSICALITY AND GEOMETRIC PERFECTION OF RHYTHM IN THE
ROMANIAN POETRY OF ION BARBU

Daniela NAGY*

* Department of Fundamental Sciences and Management, “Henri Coandă” Air Force Academy, Brașov, Romania

Abstract: The current paper aims at illustrating a Romanian literary phenomenon, unique in its manifestation – the
semiotic revolution of poetry through rhythm. The poet Ion Barbu succeeds in transferring the weight of semiotic
relations from words, perceived as the poem’s nucleus until that moment, on the compositional units of the poem,
the verses. By doing this, the poet places his poems at a supralinguistic level, allowing the superseding of the
denotative and connotative signifying rapport, which are specific mainly to the literary criticism. Starting from a
reality of this kind, from such a meaning, later on associated with the “art of word” (the filling of a pre-verbalized
matrix with signified, “secret and revealed” content), we can understand the semiotic reform in Ion Barbu’s poetry,
which manifests largely through freeing the rhythms. Semantics loses the word, whereas the poem is situated in the
word’s temporal anteriority; the poem puts on the coat of semantics, not of linguistics (a particular case of
semantics, so as Saussure was to consider it) and opens the gates to the supralinguistic expression, using extra-
linguistics means: rhythm, onomatopoeia, figurative elements, all of which are powerfully charged with symbols.

Keywords: semiotic reform, pure rhythm, rhythm geometry, symbolical geometry

1. INTRODUCTION

The restructuring of the artistic sign functions, starting with the semiotic openness proposed by the
visual poetry, produced major mutations at the level of the Romanian literature, thus fostering a peculiar
semiotic interpretation of the new signs, but also multiple possibilities of identification of texture and
inter-textual interpretation of some signifier assemblies that surpassed the linearity of the writing
process, of psychological interpretation of the trace-grammes, of the interpretation of a work-of-art’s
polyphony from the perspective of poetics and style. The linguistic innovation and linguistic reform were
natural demands of a literary avant-garde that did not only oppose literary production in a language
which had exhausted its resources, but also the language itself, which generated empty forms to be
filled with linguistic contents, throughout the writing performance, in a mannerist process. Eco
highlighted this crisis of language, which generated the avant-garde:

Installed in a language that has already done so
much speaking: this is the problem. The artist
realizes that language, having already done too
much speaking, has become alienated to the
situation it was meant to express. He realizes that, if
he accepts this language, he will also alienate
himself to the situation. So he tries to dislocate this
language from within, in order to be able to escape
from the situation and judge it from without. Since
language can be dislocated only according to a
dialectic that is already part of its inner evolution,
the language that will result from such a dislocation
will still, somehow, reflect the historical situation
that was itself produced by the crisis of the one that
had preceded it. (Eco, 2002:272-273),

whereas the expression for overcoming the crisis
under the circumstances of slowing down the
metabolic functions of language became the code
abandonment, through the engagement of dialogue
between codes. Resulting out of the insufficiency
of literature and of culture, in general, literary
avant-gardes discovered the gaps between
languages, the ones between artistic signs and, to
compensate this reality, avant-gardes proposed
either substitutions, or even forms of mixed signs
coming from various languages, respectively,
hybrid signs, expressed by syntagmatic and
paradigmatic structures that would, any way, never
produce other discourses than the opposition ones,
articulated through manifestos.
2. PROJECT OF SEMIOTIC REFORM

Romanian experimentalist poet belonging to the literary avant-garde movement of the magazine *Contemporanul*, and also a collaborator of it, Ion Barbu was perceived as a follower of the Mallarméan philological hermeneutic. He was even included in the *History of the Romanian Literature from its origins to the present* (Călinescu, 1941) under the interwar avant-garde tendencies: Dadaists, surrealists and hermetics. His placement under this general umbrella was not entirely mistaken; nevertheless, Barbu, displaying an avant-garde impulse, even though, from the perspective of the act of literary creation it was hidden by his intention of solitary, constructive exploration, specific to experimentalism, defied modernity in itself and also criticism/exegesis. “Barbu had not gotten rid of a certain exegesis, but of the exegesis itself”, argued Şerban Foarte (apud Codreanu, 2011:9). The dream of the Mallarméan canonical book did not miss from Barbu’s vision; yet, the association with Mallarmé’s literary and philological hermeneutic did not please the Romanian poet, whose literary works were to be connected with the canonical hermeneutic.

They say I am Mallarmé’s equal, without noticing that Mallarmé’s hermeneutic is philological, and mine is canonical (reduction of expression to a canonical form, with as few parasitic terms as possible, in the sense of reducing the equation of an ellipse to the canonical form). (Barbu, 2000:997)

By rejecting all the –isms that characterized him, through the inclusion/classification of his literary work, Ion Barbu kept away from the reading standards of his contemporary fellows, resorting to a gesture – made out of vainglory - of separation and liberation from literature. Constantly manifesting hostility toward modernism, although he used to be a collaborator of *Contemporanul* magazine, Barbu disagreed with his placement within the literary avant-garde.

Ion Barbu proposed a profound semiotic reform. He transferred the weight of semiotic relations from words, perceived as a poem’s nucleus at that time, on the compositional units of a poem, the verses: “The simplest components of a poem are not the words, but the verses” (Barbu, 2000:20). Thus, his poetry was placed at a supralinguistic level, allowing the superseding of the denotative and connotative signifying rapport which the literary criticism tried to get close to. The meanings came to life in a pre-verbalized stage and the only one to have intuited some allusions with regard to the Barbian revolution of words being the Romanian poet Nichita Stănescu, at the time when he created the concept of nonwords. Unfortunately, Nichita Stănescu did not understand why poetry equals verse, and ended up by substituting the word of the modernist poetry for the nonword, ‘risking getting lost in a mass of nonwords’, missing the Barbian sea of verses, by excellence the geometricized sea of the second game, according to the Romanian literary critic Codreanu (2011:184). Nonetheless, the continuity Barbu-Stănescu was instituted in the light of the Barbian revolution continuation, following the translogical and translinguistic features, Stănescu considering the original writing translinguistic and keeping poetry away from the meaning of “art of word”:

The art of word is the least important in the profession of a poet. Kant asserted once that the form is the sublime case of thinking and that the perfect form is forever appealing. I do not dare contradict this marvelous philosopher, but I guess that a wonderful, secret and revealed content attracts a wonderful and revealed form. (Stănescu, 1982)

Starting from such an assertion, from such a meaning, later on associated with the “art of word” (filling of a pre-verbalized matrix with signified, “secret and revealed” content), we can understand the semiotic reform in Ion Barbu’s poetry, which manifests largely through freeing the rhythms, respectively, in Nichita Stănescu’s poetry, characterized by its keeping in the preverbalization status and even by its openness toward the visual. In both cases, starting with Barbu, semantics loses the word, whereas poetry places itself in the word’s temporal anteriority, puts on the clothes of semantics, but not of linguistics (a particular case of semantics, as Saussure was to consider it) and makes room for the supralinguistic expression, using extra-linguistics means: rhythm, onomatopoeia, figurative elements, all of which are powerfully charged at the symbolical level.

3. FROM THE GEOMETRY OF RHYTHM TO THE GEOMETRY OF SYMBOLS

The semiotic revolution of poetry through rhythm coincides with the Barbian belief that, in order to return to mysteries – once the canonical hermeneutic is deeply grounded on Pythagorean theorems, the human voice, a magical instrument, by excellence, must not allow deviation from the rhythm. Any magical formula is based on the pure rhythm, in accordance with the cosmic harmonies,

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1.“As far as poetry is concerned, the word is only the raw material of poetry”, declared Nichita Stănescu (1983), during an unconventional interview.
the Barbian poetry aiming at the incantatory magic. Commenting on Barbu’s appetite for the pure rhythm, in the poem Ritmuri pentru nunțile necesare (translated: Rhythms for the Necessary Weddings), Theodor Codreanu (2011:265) has built an explanatory itinerary that finds its finality in the Barbian increase, in accordance with Gregory of Nyssa’s projection with regard to reaching the state of peace and union with God, by the intellect’s immersion into the soul’s mirror, and thus, being placed “above the intellect, now lacking any thoughts or knowledge, by a simple impulse”:

The impulse is the leap from the intellect, knowledgeable of light, into trance. It is a matter of pure rhythm, of a simultaneous vibration of image and its model. This pure rhythm is perceived by Barbu in the prolongation of the first two rhythms, of the unchained passions and of the intellect, both impure, yet necessary. It is the deep meaning of the title Ritmuri pentru nunțile necesare (translated: Rhythms for the Necessary Weddings), the epiteth necessary being occulted by the exegetes. The “original innocence and beauty” are hidden in the increase, as pure rhythm, so as Moreschini reminds us when commenting the eschatology of Maximus the Confessor and of Gregory of Nyssa, innocence and beauty resulting after the atonement of sins.

Musicality and geometrical perfection of rhythm – these are the elements that join the rhythmical cells, even if, by analyzing the symmetry of the Barbian verses, we will rather find fractal deviations than a topological closeness, a variety of internal rhythms. Through the preservation of either measure or rhythmic symmetry, the geometry of verses multiplies internally, endlessly, starting from the rupture points, which thus provide the assembly unit of vibration. Starting from the rhythmic pattern of Ion Barbu’s poetry, Joc secund [Din ceas, dedus...] (translated: Second Game [From clocks, deduced...]):

Din ceas, dedus, adâncul acestei calme creste,
Intrată prin oglindă în măntuit azur,
Tâind pe înecarea cirezilor agresti,
În grupurile apei, un joc secund, mai pur.

Nadir latent! Poetul ridică însumarea
De harfe resfirate ce-n zbor invers le pierzi
Și cântec istovește: ascuns cum numai marea,
Meduzele când plimbă sub clopotele verzi.

Theodor Codreanu has built a projection of seeking and refining the Barbian pure rhythm:

The Barbian rhythmic pentad is at ease, confirming an unusual rhythmic mobility of the verse. Din ceas, dedus... begins with a verse of an impeccable symmetry, made up of two amphibrachs (“looking” at each other in the mirror!), guarded, still specularly, by two iambics, which, to the end of the verse, turn into trochees, following the combined PC symmetry (of parity and contrasts). The creative subconscious (in Barbu’s case, the more appropriate term would be infrasconscious) thus anticipates the mirroring formulated in the second verse, through the very presence of the word mirror, which, not by chance, marks the caesura. (...) What is amazing is that the iambic ternary of the second hemistich is subjected to a combined PC symmetry, as well: two iambics combined by parity, where the second is separated by the second caesura, marked by comma: un joc / se-cund, / mai pur. This last iamb is the strong ictus of the entire stanza, synthesizing more purely, through its phonic triads, the Barbian poetry of essences, which proves to be of a musical order, pure rhythm, in the second stanza (Codreanu, 2011:320).

The Barbian poetic construct, on whose rhythm we need to focus more in order to discover the refining efforts within a structure that surpasses the mere joining of individual significances of words in a general signifier structure, is the one that indicates a separation of Ion Barbu from the semiotics of units carrying sense and a positioning outside of them. The language is independent of the phono-acoustic mechanisms of the word, but it also enters the psychic depth of the human being that interacts with the verses, as an author or lector, through this phono-acoustic (musical) dimension. The language is perceived by Benveniste (1974:48) as “un système de signes où il n’y a d’essentiel que l’union du sens et de l’image acoustique, et où les deux parties du signe sont également psychic”. The rhythm is the one that, through its musicality, steps beyond the system of the language and it will be organized around another compositional unit, the verse. The verse (content of
the prefigured structure and equally rhythm) implies the association of systems founded on signifier units (the language, whose words are themselves carriers of rhythm and musicality) and of systems founded on unsignifier units (music). The sound cannot be considered a sign, it is dependent on the scale structure where it belongs, and on which it depends, and it is not an intrinsic significance bearer (Benveniste, 1974:58), but it generates significance when interpreted. Under such circumstances, the rhythm presupposes a superseding of language, by focusing on the unsignifier dimension of words in their phrasal chaining within a stanza scheme, and it needs the words’ support (or the support of those units holding semiotic potential), in order to reach the pure rhythm. Words will answer the sound challenge, the need for joining the poetic units, first as rhythmic units and then, as semic units, within the verse. Let us go back to the Barbian rhythmic scheme for the poem In memoriam [Stihuri pentru pomenirea unui câine cu numele nemțesc, e drept (dărău autorului de un prieten franc). Crescut, însă, la Isarlák.] (translated: In memoriam [Lyrics in the memory of a German-named dog, ‘it’s true, presented to the author by a French friend). However, raised in Isarlák.], as the author has mentioned it:

Cir-li-lai, Cir-li-lai,  
Precum stropi de apă rece  
În copaie când te lai;  
Vi-o-con-go-eo-lig.  
Oase închise afară-n frig  
Lir-liu-gean, lir-liu-gean,  
Ca trei pietre date dura  
Pe dulci leaspezi de mărgean.

In this poem, the unusual rhythmic exercise imposes the reading of onomatopoeias as joint cretic structures, suggesting the water music, first through rhythm, and after that through the iconic reproduction of the nature sounds, at the phonic level. There were multiple interpretations of these verses, many of which were exaggerated, indirectly and incorrectly connected with the concretist functions, for example, yet, the onomatopoeias’ role is to become a verbalized form and to put together the rhythmic unit, by means of some units holding semantic potential.

Coming from the field of mathematics, in which semiotics preponderantly uses other codes than the linguistic one, Ion Barbu also appeals to mathematical instruments, to the space, geometrized expansion, as a solution for openness toward the supreme ontological ascension, “the pure sound” EL GAHEL (E-L-G-A-H-E-L). The poem Încheiere (translated: Closure) is the one to fix the geometrical solution on the retina (and equally on the printed page), in a “tertiary-without-a-name”, so as Theodor Codreanu has identified it in the rhythmic propensity, where, probably, the name of Ion Barbu’s greatest love is hidden under an anagram: Helga.

Fie să-mi clipească vecinice, abstracte,  
Din culoarea minţii, ca din prea vechi acte,  
Eptagon cu vârfuri stelelor la fel,  
Şapte semne, puse ciclic:

[Diagram of a heptagon]

Codreanu sees in the Barbian visual representation a placement in the symbolic plan, the heptagonal geometry being an indicator of perfection, under the quadrature of the circle sign, to which the heptagon E-L-G-A-H-E-L is circumscribed, and which later on, in the poetic visual language of Nichita Stănescu’s, will take the shape of the symbolic self-closure reminding of the

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2 Matei Albastru, in an article published in the volume Lebăda aurbă (translated: Blind Swan), entitled Poezia concretă (in texte teoretice și ilustrative) (translated: Concretist Poetry (in theoretical and illustrative texts)), includes the Barbian poetry among the concretics manifestations, giving a puerile justification, taken out of context: “There is evidence for modernist-concretist elements in Ion Barbu’s poetry, as well. In his poem “In Memoriam”, we meet a “symbol of onomatopoetic and magical sonorities equaled by no other analogy in literature. The sweet and melodious syllables pass from the nature into the poet’s voice, who starts talking, indeed, the language of birds and water” (Tudor Vianu)” (Albastru, 2004:142).
ancient Uroboros serpent, symbol of primordial unity (with Nichita Stănescu, this closure is achieved by means of the wolves eating one another in a circle, a picture displayed on the cover of the volume Respirări (translated: Breaths)):

...Barbu had the chance of taking an ultimate refuge into mathematics, but the ending to the poem Second Game does not leave space for such a solution, because the text of the poem Closure stands for a real meeting with geometry, in the area of maximum transparency – El Gahel, the letter being endowed with the heptagonal perfection which it surrounds within the circle of life, symbolized by the serpent Uroboros. (Codreanu, 2011:150)

Geometry, similar with language, serves the construct, yet, it is not the ultimate goal. Through El Gahel, we shall not go back to geometry, but we shall seek for a visual openness through geometry, toward the star structure E-L-G-A-H-E-L. The reading is induced in a sense that reminds of the Cabalist rotation of YHW (Yahweh, יהוה, in the repetitive structure yod-he-wau-he) and contains the repeated structure El, standing for God, in Hebrew, in a whole that, reduced to the consonant skeleton, would become \(E(LG(A)H(E)L\). But our interest is not only in the hidden significance of the Barbarian heptamer, from the perspective of visual literature\(^3\), but rather in understanding it as a manner of expression beyond the possibilities of language, in poetry, which undoubtedly stands for a superseding of the syntagmatic linguistic structures and moving the focus from the stratum of signifying units on the prime stratum, based on Roman Ingarden’s linguistic projection. In general, through visual poetry there is achieved a re-evaluation of the phonemes and phonic units stratum, of graphemes, of units with iconic value, of unsignifier sound elements, in rapport with signifying units stratum, with the stratum of imaginative vision, respectively, with that of object-elements.

With the Barbarian poetry, we have a fortunate convergence of all those strata, by means of the first stratum, where geometry of rhythms and plane geometry represent ways of transcending toward significances of superior rank. The mere mentioning of the fact that Ion Barbu considered the edition of 1921 of his work După melei (translated: Looking for snails) a failure due to the book’s illustration (partially recovered in 1967, in the edition illustrated by the painter Sabin Bălașa), sends us toward the profound understanding of the fact that a literary work’s illustration should not be randomly performed, and that the role of co-image is fundamental for the configuration of the deep meaning, not a goal in itself, in order to bring insightfulness in a plane zone of the superficial, like in map readings. Ion Barbu’s visual poetry is profound, self-interrogatory, yet insufficiently explored. It becomes a path (toward the absolute), and not a goal in itself, nor the absolute that the avant-garde writers had aimed at, through their reform of the language.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Ion Barbu, on the one side compelled to adhere to the synchronistic\(^4\), modernist principles, and on the other side, forced to join the rebelliousness of the Contemporanal magazine, will find his way self-fulfills in a heptamer through A(lephe). The hexameter is the Selected Intellect of the world/phenomenal, mathematical, thorough and perfect, which accessible to the “mind’s colors”.” (Codreanu, 2011:358).

\(^3\) Codreanu’s explanation is deep and follows the spirit of meanings that he had included in his work Ion Barbu and the Romanian Modern Spirituality. The Canonical Hermeticism, for which he was awarded the Romanian Academy’s “Titu Maiorescu” prize for criticism: “The exhaustiveness accomplished through the representation of the sephera is structured of five sounds-letters (ELGAHEL) , where EL is repeated in an intended symmetry, EL also being the name of God, similarly used in Dante’s Paradise. (...) In Rimbaud’s poems there are still five primordial sounds, the vowels, Barbu, nevertheless, reconstructs the Universe, in an increate style, out of three vowels and four consonants, \(3^4 = 7\), and 34 poems, the number of poems the book comprises. What proves that Second game is the Barbarian Creative Act, a word offered to us through a demiurgical attempt, kept inaccessible to the superficial critical view, a universe hidden under the seven final signs/seals. Barbican vowels remake, at the sound level, the celestial triangle of the eye, combining it with the telluric quadrature of consonants, since there are three of them, one of which keeps repeating, the one include in the divinity’s name. Now it is clear why Barbu called it the virgin triangle of cut out to the world. And let us further observe another stirring symmetry in ELGAHEL: A (alpha, aleph) is the “world’s axle” that accomplishes the universal symmetry, the axe guarded by a double ternary ELG and HEL, a hexameter that

\(^4\) Eugen Lovinescu forces Barbu “to enter, by all means, the Procrustean bed of “cultural complexes” of a certain epoch, despite the author’s protests, which proved to be useless, fact that finally determined him to act proudly and keep distance from men of letters and poetry” (Codreanu, 2011:24); following Barbu’s decision not to accept the tempting western rhythms, Lovinescu (1970:279-280) was to reproach the former’s option and to attribute it to some incapacity of the poet-mathematician.
through the canonical herméticism, and thus, will keep distance from the avant-gardism, Valéry-ism and Mallarmé-ism, which the critics Cioculescu and Călinescu attributed to him, from the pre-Christian spiritualism, by means of which the critic Pompiliu Constantinescu characterized his literary works and from the philological herméticism within the boundaries of which the critic Tudor Vianu places him. Barbu himself was to “get rid” of the syntactic herméticism of Mallarméan origin:

They say I am Mallarmé’s equal, Barbu claimed in his Works II, p.997, without noticing that Mallarmé’s herméticism is philological, and mine is canonical (reduction of expression to a canonical form, with as few parasitic terms as possible, in the sense of reducing the equation of an ellipse to a canonical form) (apud Codreanu, 2011:63).

Codreanu (2011:131) asserts that “(...) Ion Barbu was not a hermetic, but a creator of a new poetic concept, namely, of the canonical herméticism”. If the critic Mincu saw in Ion Barbu’s literary work a space of textual instances germination, in a late textualist interpretation in which:

Self-speculation, self-reflexivity and self-referentiality are the only poetic operations that allow for the textual translation process; however, a process manifesting through the representation of an ambiguous corporeality, decodable by a lectorial body equally involved in the act of writing. The poetry object will now be the metapoetry, and the discourse lines display the infinite practice of an inevitable intertextualization. (Mincu, 2006:48).

Theodor Codreanu interprets the Barbium experiment in the light initiated by Mincu in 1971, after defending his Doctoral Thesis (Poetic Work of Ion Barbu, finally published in 1990), and continued by Eugen Simion, Solomon Marcus or Mandics György. The textualist re-interpretation, in a post-modernist key (by considering Barbu a precursor of the post-modernist literature), reaches a point of negation of its own foundations. The association with the Open Work/ opera aperta, cannot be the key to the forest of Barbium significances, because in Barbu’s works one cannot speak of the “infinite dispersion of message”, but of a poetry of closeness. Given these facts, the interpretation of the Barbium poetry as meta-poetry is inadequate, so long as the coat of post-modernism does not fit him, the only theory sufficiently fit to him being that of transmodernism (Codreanu, 2011:134).

The Romanian experimental literature, both the modern and the post-modern, supplied the raw material for the study of the verbal-iconic in the Romanian poetry, contributing, from this standpoint, at least as much as the literature of the avant-garde did. The experimentalism/neo-avant-gardism manifested through solitary voices, both throughout the local avant-garde waves expression: for example, Ion Barbu, prefigured the new integrating avant-garde and kept distance from the nihilist, denying impulse of the magazine Contemporanul, which would promote him obstinately.

The main problem of our literary approach is that, as long as the historical literary avant-garde was not completely integrated within the public consciousness, the experimentalism/neo-avant-garde are not perceived in this light, either, but rather, in relation with the main-stream, which they kept influencing at the level of an imposed poetry and of its attached linguistic projection.

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(EN)CHANTED WORDS IN AN AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL AND TWO CHINESE TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS SONGS

António BAPTISTA*

*Department of Musical Sciences, NOVA School for Social Sciences and Humanities, New University of Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: This paper is based on a work done in the seminar Classical and Traditional Religions in the Integrated Master in Theology of the Portuguese Catholic University. It focuses on indirectly exploring the words sung in traditional religious ceremonies of Australian aborigines and in those of three Chinese main ones: Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. Being difficult the treatment of different cultural contexts and different languages and not being able to handle the original texts, this work is based on documents that have a legitimate translation into a known language. Once verified the existence of these reliable sources that had translated the lyrics, the texts of the three songs treated were translated from English to Portuguese. This work concludes that although the philosophical and linguistic "abyss" between Chinese and Aboriginal culture is clear, one may notice that most of the lyrics sung serve the same purpose: to teach younger generations how to behave in order to have a pleasant life, using language in parables or proverbs causing the message to be scrutinized throughout life. Words seem to resonate in the thoughts of the musicians themselves.

Keywords: Chinese ritual music, aborigine ritual music, human migration, intercultural context, communication

1. INTRODUCTION

The theme and title of this work appeared as suggestion by watching the documentary titled Palavra (En)cantada (Vasconcellos et al., 2008), which deals with the poetry of Brazilian music and the intimate relationship between them. I wanted to make this exploration about the meaning of the word that is sung and accompanied by instruments, also looking for the reason of music presence in celebrations of these religions, in the rite or other religious expression. I sought to explore the word that is sung in traditional religious ceremonies, particularly in the Aboriginal religion and the three main Chinese, since the latter coincide plenty culturally and musically. The difficulty of treating not only different cultural contexts but also different languages required recourse to documents that have an accurate translation into another language I know and therefore I cannot treat the original texts.

2. MUSIC IN RELIGIONS

2.1 Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian Chinese cultural and religious reality is quite syncretic. Many elements of these realities came to Chinese villages by those crossing trade routes, such as the “silk route” where they did not merely exchange goods. They could emerge from foreign countries or even other Chinese villages for the Chinese topography allows a great isolation allowing that within a province there are several languages and therefore disparate cultural traditions and rituals when it comes to music (cf. Miller & Shahriari, 2012:183).

Stephen Jones tells us that “basic tenet of ethnomusicology [is] that musical culture is intimately related to the society which nourishes it” (Jones, 1999:27). Traditional Chinese music is all connected with religion and even today folk religion still practiced by these village associations is an age-old synthesis of Buddhism and Daoism, whereby the protection of a range of gods is sought in order to guarantee abundant harvests, good health, and proper relations with the ancestors (Jones, 1999:28-30).

Today we can study the traditional Chinese music because it was preserved by associations known as “Music Associations” and “Buddhist Affairs Associations” which, resisting many dictatorial regimes, wars and attacks, “these ritual
associations have remained intrinsically conservative, maintaining their social and musical core - in context, instrumentation, and repertory. We may observe a certain “improvement” (Nettl, 1983:349-54), and some temporary adaptive strategies, but little innovation” (Jones, 1999:32).

It’s some of these associations that perform some religious celebrations, especially in the villages where there remains a popular religion that is a Buddhist and Taoist syncretism, since “though some associations claim "Buddhist" or "Daoist" transmission, their pantheons are syncretic, and even the names Fo ("Buddha") and Dao are often used interchangeably” (Jones, 1999:28-30). Most public religious celebrations held today, with or without cleric, are especially funerals, rituals scheduled to the gods and the Chinese New Year and all of them are celebrated with liturgical music, regional folk songs and / or narrative theater which is always set to music (cf. Miller, Shahriari, 2012:190).

“Chinese music is primarily based on melodies that can exist in any number of guises and contexts, be they vocal or instrumental, solo or ensemble. Most have programmatic titles that allude to nature (e.g., “Autumn Moon and Lake Scenery”), literature or myth (e.g., “Si Wu the Shepherd”), a mood (e.g., “Joyous Feelings”), or even musical structure (e.g., “Old Six Beats”). Whether a composer’s name is known or not—most are anonymous—the tune exists at an almost conceptual level, ready to be performed as an unaccompanied or accompanied instrumental solo, an ensemble piece, a song with or without accompaniment, an orchestral piece arranged for modern ensemble, or even as an operatic aria or modern popular song” (Miller, Shahriari, 2012:191).

Thus, there is a great connection of Taoist rituals to wonder and contemplation of nature (cf. Allen, Hsiao-Lan, 2005:54-55) and Buddhist rituals in the search for spiritual elevation by stimulation of every individual in the Five Skandhas (cf. Adler, J., 2002:77).

However, in Buddhism, the various forms of worship that emerged from the various schisms allowed greater emphasizing in some rites. The Pure Land Buddhism, which gained a large popular expression, is rite based on intonation of the name of the Buddha Amitabha.

In Chinese, the song is simply Nanwu Amituofo (“Homage to the Buddha Amitabha”). It can be done silently or aloud, individually or in groups, without any change to each normal lifestyle.

Thus, the sung words are especially faithful invocation of Buddha Amitabha’s name, which would make reborn as a human “instantly reaching Buddhahood”1, one who has faith in him. Thus, singing practice chanting the Buddha’s name also “became (...) part of what in medieval China, meant to be Buddhist”2.

The music of Confucian rituals has a much more rigid structure because Confucius was explicit in his teachings to give to music a very important and close relationship with moral values, so that even the contemporary Confucians tend to seek the fulfillment of the moral capacity in music, especially singing the writings of Confucius or Mencius (cf. Taylor, 2004:94).

Besides this vast body of instrumental and vocal music, there is also the now rarely heard but once vibrant narrative tradition in which singers combined speaking and singing to tell long tales, accompanied by one or more instruments. More prevalent today are the nearly countless regional forms of theater, all of which have music and singing as integral parts (Miller, Shahriari, 2012:191).

2.2 Aborigínes Traditional Aboriginal religion is closely linked to nature through animist complex spiritual and totemic systems, through the close relationship with the ancestral spirits (wondjina) and through its cosmogonic myths (cf. Miller & Shahriari, 2012:68). All Aboriginal knowledge has been preserved to this day from generation to generation by oral tradition through music and dance. Thus, “a child who does not hear the stories literally grows uncivilized and uncultured”3.

The music is mainly linked to the ritual dimension which, according to Aboriginal belief, was bequeathed by ancestral spirits and remains unchanged to this the present day (cf. Miller & Shahriari, 2012:68). Aboriginal cosmological belief, Dreaming, states that were these songs that ancestral spirits performed to form the earth, for the earth was flat and lifeless, but began to gain relief when spirits began to name the mountains and by name, came into existence. The names began to have rhythm and melody and became songs, thus becoming the creation to be “sung” (cf. Bahr, 2005:68).

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1 “Em chinês, o cântico é simplesmente Nanwu Amituofo («Homenagem ao Buda Amitábha»). Pode ser feito em silêncio ou em voz alta, individualmente ou em grupo, sem qualquer alteração do estilo normal de vida de cada um” (Adler, J., 2002:84)
2 “alcançando instantaneamente o estado de Buda” (Adler, J., 2002:84)
3 “tornou-se (...) parte daquilo que, na China medieval, significava ser budista” (Adler, J., 2002:84)
4 “uma criança que não ouve as histórias cresce literalmente incivilizada e inculta” (Bahr, 2005:66)
Today traditional Aboriginal music can still be heard in initiation rituals or burial rituals and night *corroboree* that combine music, dance and stories but interdicted to the uninitiated. Also in these rituals the songs tell stories, for they have the belief that

through the correct performance of these [history-songs], the Aborigines are able to tap into this ancient and creative power left behind by the ancestral spirits (Miller & Shahriari, 2012:68).

The fact that music in Aboriginal religion is essentially vocal, its complexity is dependent on the Aboriginal language and “thus effective research on music traditions often requires specialized linguistic study” (Miller & Shahriari, 2012:62). The simple structure of Aboriginal language makes the language of the songs simple (cf. Elkin, Notes, 1953:2-7). Unlike the Chinese tradition, in which the teachings were written, oral tradition allows greater simplicity of the sung texts for they can immediately be explained about their implied meaning in the fabulous and parabolic style with no misinterpretations of the stories.

### 3. MUSICAL STRUCTURE

#### 3.1 Music for Qin or Khin

This chordophone consisting of a wooden resonance box and originally seven silk strings is considered the oldest zither in the world and is now agreed that the instrument maintains the structure for nearly three thousand years (cf. Thompson, *Origins of the Qin*, 2013). It is easy to notice that there is a great melodic and symbolic richness for Chinese music (cf. Courant, 1913:93) and for *Qin*, is no different (cf. Thompson, *Qin Tunings, Some Theoretical Concepts*, 2013). Played in the form of melodic fingerling, melodic-rhythmic or played by chords, the *Qin* is in most of the sung parts an accompaniment of the melody in unison or with melodic chords, but never in polyphony.

To complete the idea of the *Qin* music, it should be noted that the rhythm is irregular; it follows the poetic rhythm [in which each note corresponds to a syllable, thus being marked by the sung lyrics (cf. Courant, 1913:134)]; however it is common, not constant, that one word match to a main note, the secondary notes, glissandos and other ornaments remain without verbal exchange; sometimes two words match to a single note⁵.

This melodic structure is widely used in singing poetic literature and in the chant of Confucius’ and his philosophy disciples’ teachings, existing testimonies claiming that Confucius himself traveled with his own *Qin* and did his "preaching" and greatness of soul teachings (cf. Courant, 1913:164; cf. Thompson, *Qin songs and Confucius*, 2013). Also for Buddhism and Taoism are found works to *Qin* in the book “Paired Music for Three Religions (Sanjiao Tongsheng, 1592), a *Qin* handbook with a melody from each of China's great religions (or ways of thought), Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism” (Thompson, *Canon of Purity and Tranquility*, 2013) and from this book will be used the Confucian and Taoist chants to analyze.

Music for *Qin* is then widely used as a communication method of a lyrical or poetic message and many of the titles of ancient music and arias for *Qin* are attributed to Confucius (cf. Courant, 1913:165), amongst other well-known authors. So each song that sing his words are a way of praying and can be a moment of life confrontation with religious teachings. In fact, as the Confucian tradition evolved, the title of “sage” comes out of antiquity and begins to be applied to any appropriate individual. The Neo-Confucians in large part sought a form of personal education that would help one become a sage, not simply a form of learning that venerated the sages of antiquity. Thus, for the Neo-Confucians, Confucius and Mencius were sages, and they had heard the Way of T'ien. As such, their teachings contained the wisdom of the Way of Heaven and could be used by others who wanted to learn how to become sages, too (Taylor, 2004:42).

The traditional musical writing for *Qin*, a bit like the Chinese writing is by tablature. In Thompson’s we can see the illustrations of the gestures of the hands and realize that being taught to those who want to learn to play the instrument, the musicians should know the meaning of each position. Therefore also composers such as Confucius, played with this interpretation accuracy and tablatures, which were written by the disciples observe the master playing, have this information (cf. Thompson, *Rhythm in Early Ming Qin Tablature*, 2013).

#### 3.2 Didgeridoo and wooden clapsticks

The didgeridoo is for aborigines a sacred object (*Tjurunga*) (cf. Bahr, 2005:72) that establishes a connection between “various levels of the cosmos—that is, they connect the ordinary world to the *Dreaming*” (Bahr, 2005:72).

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⁵ “Pour compléter l'idée de la musique de khin, il faut noter que le rythme est irrégulier; il suit le rythme poétique un peu sur le modèle des hymnes pp. 131 et 134; toutefois il est fréquent, non constant, qu'un mot réponde à une note principale, les notes secondaires des glissés et autres ornements restant sans contrepartie verbale; parfois deux mots sont pour une seule note.”, (Courant, 1913:173); (cf. Thompson, *Qin songs: pairing lyrics and music*, 2013).
While the didgeridoo makes a basso continuo sound, a vocalist tells the story “shouting his words to all who would listen, including ancestral spirits”, (Miller & Shahriari, 2012:64) and uses the wooden clapsticks to mark a rhythm that the didgeridoo can follow (cf. Nasman, n.d.: bars 5, 8, 7 and 11). This Tjurunga can only be played by men, being taboo for women (cf. Miller & Shahriari, 2012:69).

Aboriginal chant also has, as well as the language, a simple structure (Elkin, Notes, 1953:5-6): only the intuition of a consonance with the tones of the didgeridoo give him the notes to sing. Because of the "yelled" register that the singer uses the outline of the vocal melody line is usually descending (cf. Miller, Shahriari, 2012:66), as can be seen in Nasman’s transcription of an Aborigine chant to music staff (Nasman, n.d.:7).

Each descent may be thought of as being in two parts (Image 1). If we take the didjeridu note as C, the first part of the descent explores the five notes descending from B a seventh above the drone through A, G and F# to E, while the second part explores the series descending from E to the lower C (the singer frequently concludes the descent on D) (Marret, Barwick, 1993:19).

4. STUDY CASES

4.1 Mingde Yin / Kongsheng Jing (a musical setting of Confucius’ Great Learning)

The lyrics for the short Qin melody Mingde Yin [Bright Virtue Prelude] are extracted from the commentary by the neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (1130-1200) on the Da Xue (Great Learning), attributed to Confucius. Mingde Yin serves as a musical prelude to the longer Kongsheng Jing [Sacred Confucian Canon], the lyrics of which are the canonical text of the Da Xue itself (Thompson, Bright Virtue Prelude / Sacred Confucian Canon, 2013).

In the quoted Thompson’s page we can follow the music and the translation of this song’s lyrics, which is taken from the book Paired Music for Three Religions and understand its message. Mingde Yin begins by emphasizing the importance of Da Xue, for it advises to look into where the elders were instructed because it will be somewhat a safer way. The basic ideas of the excerpt sung of Da Xue has to do with the will of the human being to change all that is evil in the earth, to change the world, to change “all below Heaven” (Thompson, Bright Virtue Prelude / Sacred Confucian Canon, 2013). For it is then necessary to change the scale and change smaller things that are within the reach of every human being. Thus, by instruction and education, one can change his own heart, and from there, change the smallest community that is the family and, as a result, his village/town/state and the world, “for the root to be in disorder but the branches to be orderly: this has never been the case” (Thompson, Bright Virtue Prelude / Sacred Confucian Canon, 2013).

4.2 Qingjing Jing (a Daoist morning chant)

It heavily quotes and paraphrases the Dao De Jing (sometimes called the Book of Laozi), which is the great philosophical text of Daoism. Other parts of the Qingjing Jing text also have strong Buddhist influence, for example, the emphasis on tranquility of mind and freedom from desire. Qingjing Jing might thus be seen as a meeting between so-called philosophical and religious Daoism (Thompson, Canon of Purity and Tranquility, 2013).

This chant also taken from the book Paired Music for Three Religions has as its text a song that was important during the Northern Song Dynasty in their prayer services of the school of Taoism Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) (cf. Thompson, Canon of Purity and Tranquility, 2013).

Qingjing Jing presents much of his philosophy in the form of sayings and proverbs, with dense of meaning short sentences, to be reflected and confronted with life itself and then used as a philosophical principle or culminating in the application of a line of thought. Thus proverbs may be prone to confront more man's ontology: “The human spirit is fond of purity, but feelings disturb it” (cf. Thompson, Canon of Purity and Tranquility, 2013) and “Observe emptiness using emptiness, and see there is no emptiness” (cf. Thompson, Canon of Purity and Tranquility, 2013); indicate a method that Tao, by Buddhist influence, can serve as an “ ejaculatory prayer” or “aspiration” repeating it throughout the day: “Cleanse the mind, and the spirit clears itself” (cf. Thompson, Canon of Purity and Tranquility, 2013); but also, more concretely, as proverb about the man’s actions: “The highest gentleman does not fight; the lesser gentleman loves to fight” (cf. Thompson, Canon of Purity and Tranquility, 2013).

4.3 Djerag (a sung Aboriginal history)

Although it is not the recording (Elkin, 1953) whose lyrics are more noticeable, this Djerag song has one of the biggest stories of this album Tribal
Music of Australia, translating it. In the album’s notes we can notice that it’s told the story of a shark hunting two fish and their flight (cf. Elkin, Notes, 1953:5-6). As has already been said, the aboriginal language structure is very simple which means that much of the language is not only verbal but also visual and auditory, as is natural in a culture of oral tradition. In this example it isn’t noticeable but most animals are called by the sounds they make, as in the case of the kookaburra bird that in various tribes has earned names like akkaburra, googooburra, gurgara, gingara e arkooburra.

The story features a fable whose moral needs a context to be understood but in oral tradition, especially in the celebrations initiated confined to men and women, this context exists and therefore the story does not need to be clearer. However, being Djerag the story of a fishing people in northeastern Arnhem Land coast, it appears to teach to the younger fish behavior in order to teach to be a better fisherman, knowing the dangers of the sea and also seems to teach to recognize in the relationship fish the relationship between men. It is not possible know without more information if this story has any direct connection to the Dreaming and if it represents the direct action of ancestral spirits, but one may believe that it does, since it belongs to the ceremonial “half” of the community which is traditionally responsible for indigenous subjects and object (Elkin, Notes, 1953:5).

5. CONCLUSIONS

It is clear the role that language has in music. The texts of Chinese philosophers, which allows that there is a concern that they’re read by someone outside that religious context, have a very complex philosophical thought which can be seen in the ideas of the annihilation of thing’s ontology and the objectification of nothing in Qingming Jing’s text. Such words will not be possible to find in an Aboriginal song and probably, neither in any other religious text as liturgical chant. Nevertheless, although it is clear the “abyss” of philosophical baggage and language between these two traditions, we can see that most of the lyrics sung serve the same purpose: to teach younger generations how to behave in order to have a good life using a language in parables or proverbs causing the message to be scrutinized throughout life.

Furthermore, also the idea that singing and music help the universe to maintain its order and run its natural flow is present in these religions, whether by a more philosophical way or a more animistic and totemic mode.

So it seems to me that the music in these religions has the role of emphasize the importance of words which are transmitted from generation to generation as essential to the life of the listener and by putting them into practice one will follow the same path as those that have already traveled it. This emphasis that music seeks to give to the words is common in these religions, just like Confucius himself points out: “For what is substantial to be slighted, or what is slight to be given substance: this has never happened” (Thompson, Bright Virtue Prelude / Sacred Confucian Canon, 2013).

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SOUNDS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE

Elena-Raluca CONSTANTIN*

*Department of Foreign Languages, Military Sciences and Management, Military Technical Academy, Bucharest, Romania

Abstract: Interdental fricatives stand for an area of conflict between English and Romanian. Determining factors such as age, register, typological markedness, developmental effects and universal constraints are also looked into within various L-2 phonology based models such as the Speech Learning Model (Flege 1986), the Ontogeny Phylogeny Model (Major: 2001) and the Markedness Differential Hypothesis (Eckman 1977). Both the collection and the analysis of the data obtained are entirely my original contribution to the scientific study under consideration. Spectrographic and statistical analyses are mainly employed throughout the current article to substantiate the soundness of all the three theoretical frameworks reference was made to.

Keywords: spectrographic analysis, interdental fricatives, register, typological markedness, L2 phonology

1. INTRODUCTION

According to Yavaş (2006:177), interdental fricative production is problematic across languages. The overlay of the native phonemes on the target English inventory gives us an overall picture of the ticklish status such target sounds have in the literature. Thus, I will go briefly over Yavaş’s (2006: 198) findings and, subsequently, I will proceed to Romanian utterances of English interdental fricatives. It seems that in Portuguese interdental fricatives are missing from the consonantal inventory. The same goes in French, Spanish, Turkish, German, Russian, Korean and Persian. It is in French and German that interdental fricatives are substituted with /s/, /z/ respectively and /t/, /d/ in the other previously-mentioned languages. In this sense, Romanian patterns both categories of languages, that is German and French on the one hand, and Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, Russian, Korean and Persian on the other hand, with greater tendency towards stopping which is consistent with Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, Russian, Korean and Persian.

1.1 The Speech Learning Model (henceforth SLM). The process of acquisition of an L2 sound is triggered by the degree of phonetic similarity the particular L2 sound bears to an L1. Linguists employ the term new versus similar sounds when making this assumption. New sounds designate the L2 sounds which are not found in the phonological inventory of L1, whereas the L2 sounds which bear some degree of phonetic similarity to L1 sounds are considered similar to them. Flege (1986, 1987) deals extensively with the new versus similar sounds in his SLM. Equivalence classification is the notion that stands for the key concept of his framework. Equivalence classification is defined as a mechanism which may cause L2 learners to merge the acoustic characteristics of similar L1 and L2 sounds; therefore, this mechanism may hinder or even prevent the establishment of phonetic categories for similar sounds. This means that L2 learners can produce and perceive new sounds faster and more accurately than sounds similar to L1 sounds. As for the age of acquisition, the SLM suggests that phonetic categories both for new and similar sounds can be added until the age of 5-6; after that age phonetic categories can be added only for new and not for similar sounds.

1.2 The Ontogeny Phylogeny Model (henceforth OPM) captures the basic patterns of interlanguage, the relationships between L1 and L2 as well as universals. “As L2 increases, L1 decreases, and U [universals] increases and then decreases” (Major, 2001:82). The frame OPM postulates accounts for how developmental and transfer effects interact in the process of L2 phonological acquisition. It is thereby claimed that transfer effects predominate in the early stages of L2...
phonological acquisition, and then gradually decrease, while developmental effects increase in the middle stages of acquisition, and then gradually decrease. In terms of phonological similarity of the L1 and L2, Major (1997:2001) postulates that for similar phenomena, transfer effects will be more common but for phenomena that are dissimilar, developmental effects may play a greater role in acquisition and production. Besides, Major further hypothesizes that production in different speaking styles is worth taking into consideration. Thus, as the formality of the style increases, there is a decrease in errors due to transfer, whereas errors due to developmental effects increase and then decrease. Major (1987:1995) tested his model by investigating data collected from beginner and advanced Brazilian Portuguese speakers’ acquisition of final consonants across three tasks designed to elicit different styles showing different levels of formality. His findings indicate a trend, which was not statistically sizeable, of advanced learners producing more instances of errors due to developmental effects and beginner learners producing more instances of errors due to transfer effects.

Another test Major (1994) applied in order to support the OPM examined the data belonging to native Portuguese speaking Brazilians. The aim of the test was the production of English L2 double consonant onsets and codas in monosyllabic words. The subjects were examined over an extended period of four weeks. Major’s (1994) findings provided some support for the model in the sense that transfer effects decreased over time, and a higher frequency of correct production was achieved. Nevertheless, developmental effects remained stable instead of increasing when transfer effects decreased, and style had no effect. Since the study lasted no more than four weeks (a short limited period of time), it is far from straightforward to consider the data relevant to illustrate change between the effects of transfer and developmental constraints.

On the whole, the literature (Flege & Davidian 1984, Hancin-Bhatt & Bhatt 1997, Hecht & Mulford 1987, Major 1987, Mulford & Hecht 1982) indicates that transfer and developmental effects may interact in L2 acquisition, with L1 prevailing in the early stages of acquisition and developmental effects increasing as L1 transfer effects decrease. It seems that both influence the production and acquisition of a single segment. Furthermore, it has also been found that developmental effects are predicted to affect substitutions.

1.3 The Markedness Differential Hypothesis. (Eckman 1977: 321):

a. Those areas of the TL which differ from the NL and are more marked than the NL will be difficult.

b. The relative degree of difficulty of the areas of difference of the TL which are more marked than the NL will correspond to the relative degree of markedness.

c. Those areas of the TL which are different from the NL, but are more marked than the NL will not be difficult.

2. METHODOLOGY AND TESTING

2.1 Informants. I selected four distinct categories of subjects according to their level of English. Nevertheless, the participants in this study had to meet the following criteria: their speech and language developed at a normal pace, and they had no siblings in speech therapy. It is worth mentioning that all the selected subjects speak Romanian as their mother tongue and learn English as a second language. They all started studying English when they were around four/five years old, therefore before the critical period. The subjects belonging to the second graders’ category and sixth graders’ category were recorded over a period of two years being tested in accordance with eight experiments I conducted. There were two distinct subgroups within the kindergarten category and the FCE category that were recorded over a period of one year only. With the view to avoiding any discrepancy in their performance due to different subjects as well as to a different input and intake (Piske & Young-Scholten, 2009), the subjects underwent different experiments within the same category. Given the fact that the number of students slightly differs from one experiment to another because of the subjects’ availability or lack of it, and that in time the category changed (i.e. the second graders’ category turned into the third graders’ category) I consider it crucial to specify both the number of subjects, their age (where necessary), and the category involved when I move on to the section concerning the experiments.

The kindergarten category includes children of age 4 and 5 who have been studying English for three years. This category is exposed to a number of seven English classes per week consisting of 5 regular classes and 2 English club sessions. The teaching methods are interactive and student-centered. All pupils belonging to this category get audio and visual input. The two subgroups within the kindergarten category belong to two different private institutions: Aricel kindergarten and Just4Kids kindergarten in Bucharest.

The second graders’ category, also referred to as the third graders category in some experiments conducted within the second year of recordings, includes eight and nine year-old young learners
who have been studying English for four and five years respectively. The subjects are prepared to sit for the Cambridge YLE-exam, level: Starters and Movers. All students belonging to this class attend 3 English classes every week. All the primary pupils within this category attend the public lower secondary school no. 149 in Bucharest.

The sixth graders’ category, also referred to as the seventh graders’ category in the experiments I carried out within the second year of recordings, includes twelve and thirteen year-olds who have been studying English for eight and nine years respectively. They attend a number of five English classes. All subjects are prepared to sit for the PET Cambridge exam which is assigned level B1 according to the Common European Framework. All the students within this category attend the public lower secondary school no. 149 in Bucharest.

The FCE category comprises young adults of age 17, 18, 20, 21, 22 who have been studying English for eleven years and thirteen years respectively. The seventeen-year-olds and the eighteen-year-olds were attending a training program in order to sit for the Cambridge FCE exam which is assigned level B2 according to the Common European Framework. With respect to the twenty-year-olds, twenty-one-year-olds and twenty-two-year-olds, it is to note that they have already sat for the FCE exam and have had an upper-intermediate level at the time I examined and recorded them. The subjects belonging to this category attend 4 English classes per week and get audio and visual input. The two subgroups within the larger FCE category study in two different institutions: a private one and a public one. The private institution I cooperated with is Road Language Centre and the public one is my institutional affiliation, the Military Technical Academy in Bucharest. With respect to the English fricatives, I conducted a production experiment on a total of 36 informants. Thus, 7 pupils were queried in the kindergarten category (source: Aricel kindergarten in Bucharest), 11 Romanian learners of English were examined in the second graders’ category (source: School no. 149 in Bucharest), 7 lower students were investigated in the sixth graders’ category (source: School no. 149 in Bucharest), and 11 subjects were tested in the FCE category (source: Road Language Centre in Bucharest). The main question which guided this experiment is formulated in (1) What kind of phenomena (i.e. stopping, fronting) occur when Romanian learners of English produce the interdental fricatives?

2.2 Recordings and procedure. I used a laptop Dell Vostro1310 make, series: 5Q1864J. Besides, a Canyon outer microphone CNR-MIC2 was required as well as speakers Logitech make, series: 3L0288. All the target words were digitized onto the Praat speech analysis software at a sampling rate of 44100 Hz. I have used Praat – a program designed by Boersma and Weenink (2010) at the Department of Phonetics of the University of Amsterdam – to conduct the phonetic speech analysis since it is constantly being improved and a new build, featuring extra options, is published almost every week. More precisely, Praat provides objective and precise data (spectrograms, formants etc.) concerning the acoustic parameters of phonemes. In my dissertation I have used version 5.2.03 as well as the edition for Windows XP. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that Praat is restricted to processing mono signals in mono files. I have worked only with WAV format and measured the mean values of the required formants with the formant tracker function. After saving all speech samples as WAV files, I assigned a directory for each type of test. It is mandatory for the formants to be set to a value suitable for the speaker. Thus, the standard value of 5500 Hz is suitable for females and children, whereas the value of 5000 Hz is strongly recommended for males. Following Boersma and Weenink (2010), if the value 5500 Hz is used for an adult male, two few formants are obtained in the low frequency region. Nonetheless my main concern had always been that all recordings should take place in a quiet a place as possible. As a result, I conducted the experiments individually, within the school building, in the library or in classrooms, attempting to avoid as much as possible the occasional background noise that interfered with the speech samples I obtained from the selected subjects. Since all the recordings I made didn’t take place in a soundproof booth in phonetics laboratories, I considered it necessary to filter the data before analyzing it in order to get accurate mean values for the formants.

3. SPECTROGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

3.1. The acoustics of interdental fricatives. Fricatives are acoustically and aerodynamically complex. Fricatives, by definition, involve an occlusion or obstruction in the vocal tract great enough to produce noise (friction). Frication noise is generated in two ways, either by blowing air against an object (obstacle frication) or moving air through a narrow channel into a relatively more open space (channel frication) (Hagiwara: 2009). The noise component (the continuous distribution of energy over a range of frequencies) is crucial to
identify interdental fricatives. This is specified by the effective frequency range and general level of intensity together with any peaks of intensity, also the speed with which the general intensity of the sounds builds up at particular frequencies (O’Connor, 1973:92). Furthermore, fricatives are consistent with random noise pattern, especially in higher frequency regions (Ladefoged, 1982:185).

3.2 Collected Corpora. Figure 1 clearly indicates that the substitution belonging to Subject MS is of different nature. Therefore, both the manner and place of articulation change. Thus, Subject MS realizes an alveolar stop instead of an interdental fricative. Consider the selected portion on the spectrogram in Figure 1 which shows that an alveolar stop was realized instead of an interdental fricative. No random noise can be associated with the realization of the alveolar stop [t] since there is no friction to identify. There are several dimensions in the acoustic identification of stops. First of all, I would like to take note of the formant transition.

![Figure 1: thumb (Subject MS. The second graders’ category). Word list](image)

As pointed out in the literature (Yavaş, 2006:105), formant shifts in CV sequences reflect changes in vocal tract shaping during stop-to-vowel transition. As shown in Figure 2, there is a downward transition to a vowel with low F2 in CV. When it comes to the release burst, alveolar bursts generally have a center frequency that is higher than the F2 of the vowel (above 2000 Hz). My measurements indicate that F2 measures 2019 Hz. This brings phonetic evidence in favor of the realization of the alveolar stop [t]. Moreover, the pattern is diffuse and strong and there are no scattered marks after the release before vowel formants begin, in initial [t] of the given stressed syllable. All of the above make me claim that aspiration is not present in the current utterance.

I will proceed now to the accurate realization of the interdental fricative in the seventh graders category. I will thus discuss the rendition of [θ] in two different distributional positions: in the onset, on the one hand, and in coda, on the other hand.

Figure 2 is a spectrogram of an accurate utterance of the word *healthy*. The random noise can easily be observed on the messy faint formant structure. Recall that the lower the intensity (amplitude) of the sound energy present at a given time of frequency, the fainter will be the mark at the corresponding point on the printout. My measurements indicate appropriate high-frequency values as follows: F1 measures 996 Hz, F2 is 2480 Hz, F3 equals 2905 Hz and F4 measures 3844 Hz. All these figures are consistent with the elicited realization of the interdental fricatives.

![Figure 2: healthy (Subject CL. The seventh graders’ category). Text reading (Constantin: 2013)](image)

Figure 3 shows a scribbly pattern of [s] without regular horizontal or vertical lines. The subject’s airstream is funneled smoothly through the groove formed in the surface of the tongue blade and tip. As the air picks up speed it begins to tumble noisily.

![Figure 3: tooth (Subject OL. The kindergarten category). Picture labeling (Constantin: 2013)](image)

The tumbling noisy air jet generally strikes the edge of the upper incisor, or edge of the lower lip, and creates additional edge or spoiler turbulence noise. These noises produced by the sibilant [s] are long, strong in amplitude, only o few decibels less than that of the neighboring vowel [u:], and marked by a rich, high frequency noise spectrum.
(Yavaş 2006: 107) ranging between 1028 Hz (the mean value consistent with F1) and 3517 Hz (the mean value obtained for F4). The two remaining formants indicate the following mean values: F2 is 2323 Hz and F3 is 2828 Hz. Still referring to the present spectrum, I would also like to clarify whether the spectrogram indicates that Subject OL realized a voiceless sibilant and not a voiced one. In his studies, Yavaş (2006:108) makes the clear-cut distinction between voiced and voiceless sibilants in terms of acoustic parameters. Therefore, voiceless fricatives have longer noise segment duration, and higher friction noise than their voiced counterparts. The lower friction noise of the voiced fricatives is explained as a result of the total airflow available for producing turbulence at the constriction. Since the glottis opens and closes for vocal cord vibration, the airstream is interrupted, and the friction noise is not as loud in voiced fricatives. Furthermore, voiced fricatives have formants produced by pulses from the vocal cords as well as more random energy, produced by forcing air through a narrow gap. Since the airstream loses some of the kinetic energy to the vocal cord vibration, the friction noise in these sounds is not as loud in their voiceless counterparts. As a result, they have fainter formants. Given all these subsequent comments (especially the ones regarding the dark formant structure), I will safely conclude that there is no doubt that Subject OL realized a voiceless sibilant and not a voiced one.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In summary, SLM receives support from the experiment on the acquisition of the interdental fricatives. Romanian learners of English turned out to be accurate when producing the English interdental fricative targets. Since they do not have such counterparts (exhibiting the same phonological matrix) in the Romanian consonantal system, Romanian learners are prone to create new categories for these phonemes perceiving them as distinct underlying representations. In conclusion, when phonemic substitutions occurred, they were triggered by the assimilatory power that the similar sounds in Romanian (the other types of fricatives and stops) exerted over the English fricatives.

Furthermore, the register factor as treated within the OPM context is not supported by the current data as shown by the phonetic evidence obtained. The tokens in the less formal types of tests were felicitously uttered unlike the targets in citation forms. Accordingly, it is not transfer which is overridden by developmental effects, but the other way round. The less felicitous methodology and procedure employed also account for the oddity of the results. Additional support for the limitation of the experiment also comes from the types of tokens required. I noticed that the lexical word thumb I used in the testing samples really created pronunciation problems when the interdental fricative in onset position was elicited from the Romanian informants. Instead of urging students to produce this word across the three types of tests, I used it only in word lists, as a citation form. Consequently, the informants’ rendition of fricatives was less accurate in word lists where more difficult words were asked from the subjects. Therefore, putting together the difficulty of tokens required and the reversed order in which the three types of tests were dealt with, I will conclude that the analysis needs further investigation to be reliable.

One counterargument against MDH may be the acquisition of the interdental fricatives. Even if they are marked segments, Romanian learners of English employed them successfully. However, MDH does account for those cases where substitutions to [t] [d], [f] occurred. I concur with Lombardi (2003) who claims that the foreign speakers’ tendency of substituting the interdental fricative [θ] with the dental stop [t] is triggered by the fact that dental stops are less marked than fricatives. As pointed out hitherto, stops are the first type of consonants sounded out by children! when they acquire their mother tongue and they tend to replace the interdental fricatives with stops. Still, with respect to the other types of substitutions, it is to note that articulatory reasons should also be mentioned. In other words, those particular subjects that replaced the interdental fricative [θ] with another type of fricative tended to keep the same articulators whenever they replaced the target sound with a similar one. As for deletion which occurred in coda position, sonority reasons may be one possibility to account for this phonological process.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

EXTEMPORANEOUS DANCE

Raquel OLIVEIRA*

*INET-MD / Faculty of Human Kinetics, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: This article briefly describes my doctoral practical research which resulted in (1) the creation of the soloist choreographic work “Inspiration”; (2) the creation of a personalized Dance Technique, the Extemporaneous Dance; and (3) the organization of workshops to present and transmit the knowledge acquired with the research. Focused on the Yoga relationship with Dance, a particular highlight was given to the synchronization between movement and breathing and to the awareness of the body we all inhabit and that can and should be enhanced through movement.

Keywords: body, breathing, movement meditation, dance, Yoga

1. INTRODUCTION

The Extemporaneous Dance workshops result from my will to pass on the knowledge acquired with my experience as a dancer and Dance teacher since 1996, my Yoga practice since 2008 with my Yoga teacher, and the knowledge consolidated in the scope of the practical research for my Ph.D. This Ph.D. is part of the new regime of cycles leading to a doctoral degree at the Faculdade de Motricidade Humana (Faculty of Human Kinetics), that includes in the speciality of Dance an authorial choreographic work. In this faculty, “the speciality of Dance admits methodological concepts such as practice-based research, practice-led research, [...] among a multiplicity of resources.” (FMH, n.d.). At the heart of these methodologies is the fusion between the creative and the cognitive components, with a discussion and a shift of the “factual report” into the “report with a view”, and the observation of others into the reflection on oneself. This process authorizes the experiential description and legitimates the experience resulting in its scientific value (Tércio, 2015). As a result of my practice-based research, I created the choreographic work “Inspiration” that crosses the languages of Yoga and Dance establishing a personalized artistic expression, the Extemporaneous Dance.

Fig.1 Practice-based research schematic presentation
2. EXTEMPORANEOUS DANCE – DANCE TECHNIQUE RAQUEL OLIVEIRA

The mind is incorporated, that is, thought requires a body – not in the trivial sense that we need a physical brain to think, but in a much deeper sense that the structure of our thoughts is conditioned by the nature of our body (Correia, 2013:5)

Similarly, we may say that the structure and the quality of our danced movements are conditioned by the nature and specific characteristics of our body and the synergies in which we are immersed (Duarte, 2010). Based on this, the primary goal of my doctoral research was to explore and discover my body’s movement. My body has its structure and anthropometric measurements, with its quality of movement, with all its constraints and adaptation and transcendental physical abilities, that went through many languages and dance techniques, but to which I had never fully appreciated the opportunity to express its language and danced movement. Through Yoga, my body has been doing a work of cleaning movements and techniques learned over the years, experienced and borrowed from other bodies with other characteristics, particularities, and perceptions, and that had been incorporated/ embedded in mine. Consequently, the purposes of my research are technical, in the sense of exploring the possibilities of natural movement of my body and the way the movements and the typical Yoga positions can relate to movements produced by my body.

The practice-based research requires method, structure, organization, coherence, striving capacity in observing and understanding the illusory processes of the mind and the hostile thoughts regarding the creative process. When the energy of the emotions is fluid and observed without judgement like the waves at the ocean’s surface, the structure allows attaining deeper levels of awareness and finding tranquility without currents of thoughts, as one who dives into the ocean. Layer by layer the illusions of the past/future time become the present of inhalation/exhalation, where the here and now of creativity, such as a living flame, burns all distractions: only the breath, the feeling of the gesture and the ability to observe exist. It is the state of alert / conscious attention of the only force of life (Duarte, 2015).

In my practice-based research I used autoethnography, which “is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyse (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno)” (Ellis, 2004; Holman Jones, 2005 apud Ellis et al., 2011). According to Blanco (2012), one way to see autoethnography is through the epistemological perspective holding that an individual life can account for the contexts that person lives in.

Experiments in learning how to choreograph either single-authored or collaborative projects can present significant challenges for dance students. Early experiences of dance are often characterised by direct replication of taught material derived from codified vocabularies. It can be tempting for students to continue to rely on these formative doctrines to underpin their maturing choreographic practice (Bannon & Kirk 2014: 289).

As a dancer and Dance teacher, whenever I created choreography, for others or myself, I would look for the movements outside, in different dance techniques I had learned, avoiding the process of discovering and accepting my body and my movement, and thus create a personal language. The research I decided to do when I started my PhD, makes me realize that this creative fear largely stemmed from my training in Dance, mostly consisting of Classical Dance and Modern Dance techniques, both rarely allowing students to express their choreographic creativity.

This is ultimately how I was trained, to execute skills as defined by a certain codified way of moving, within the ballet dance vocabulary. […] I had yet to encounter and fully explore my own creative voice as artist, dancer, and choreographer (Lussier-Ley, 2014: 15).

During my training in Dance, I had some contact with classes of choreographic composition, which should encourage the student’s creativity. However, by then formatted as I already was, I rejected the responsibility to recognize my body and my movement, not so much because of the coded language of Ballet or Modern Dance, but rather immersed in the comfort of the teacher’s decision on what is right and wrong regarding movement, and in the fear of not having the endorsement of the other. Besides teaching composition techniques, the teacher of choreographic composition should create safe and acceptance environments to help the student rely on their creative abilities. They should learn how to feel motivated to explore and get out of their comfort zones, trusting their view and learning to withstand the opinion of others, which is their right, but that should not undermine the student’s creativity.

It was through the practice of Yoga, with the teacher Judite Duarte, in 2008, many years after my training in dance, that I started relying on my creative abilities. With the Yoga practice taught by this teacher, my body awareness has changed, and I placed more reliance in aspects such as health and the uniqueness of bodies and their movement.
I started discovering and accepting my movement. Therefore, I decided to create a soloist choreographic work that somehow included Yoga, challenging myself to choreograph for my body.

Santillano (2007:202), in her master’s thesis, interviews several dancers who practice Yoga and confirms the value that the practice of this activity had in the life of each of them:

The most delightful surprise was how profoundly yoga has already shaped many leading individuals in the dance world, and how major dance departments were affected by this phenomenon.

2.1 The Creative Process. In my creative process, the basic elements were the body, the breathing, and consciousness. In the lonely studio work, since I created a soloist choreographic work for myself, where I was both choreographer and dancer, I often was aware of listening to the body and its movement and allowing it to be the choreographer. By being conscious of this synergy with the body, I feel I respected it and did not impose to it an ideal of body or movement, so common in the world of Dance.

In Dance, and in Yoga (Hatha Yoga), in general, the body is subjected to the technique one wants to practice and it has to adapt, bound to disintegrate to be integrated. However, all bodies are different and unique, and everyone should learn to respect and accept their body, freeing themselves from the prison of wanting an exterior body ideal, and should learn how to integrate without the need for disintegration, respecting the characteristics and limits of their body (Duarte, 2008).

In the lonely work of my practice-based research, I aimed to listen and respect my body in an interior personal time, allowing it to feel harmony and natural balance. I found the respect for life in me, for the body, the great accomplice of my dance. And I found my breathing, as a stimulus for the creation of movements.

In the past, it was the music that gave rise to my will to dance, but music is something coming from the outside. Thus, in this work, since the very beginning, I decided not to use music, rather just the sounds of nature such as the heart, breathing, the wind, the water. The sounds of the body. And the word. This choreographic work includes poems, and the word requests another kind of relationship with movement and breathing.

2.2 Technical description. Extemporaneous Dance praises beauty and simplicity of the gesture. It is connected with health and breathing. It is a moving meditation, beyond time, space and ego. According to Duarte (2016), the Extemporaneous Dance freed and diverged from the prejudices and judgements of the mind, lives the conscious freedom, honouring life. It does not need to hurt to save, to cause sickness to heal, to deconstruct to reconstruct. It has its structure, and it is systematized with the creation of life, which allows us to focus our attention, without any tension, to transcend and commit with ourselves, and the truth. It is to make the journey, enjoying each unique moment, aware that no gesture/moment will be repeated. The characteristics of this movement result from the physical features of the author of the technique and the body characteristics of each practitioner. It is a movement to be felt by who does it rather than to impress the beholder. It is a Dance technique that, above all, respects the health of the body, and accepts it as it is at the moment, in an attempt to empower it through movement so that it reveals its true nature. The body has beauty and dignity, which is what I want to portray with the movements. These are a means to an end, a ramp for a more active and dynamic state of awareness achieved through gesture and introspection/ reflection/meditation that leads us to become aware of what we already are and already have, and the added value that it is to achieve our goals from there.

2.3 Key features. Movement synchronization with breathing (in Yoga, the conscious breathing is a fundamental element and the movement of Extemporaneous Dance is based on the coordination of movements with breathing. Thus, in general, upward movements are made inhaling and the downward movements, exhaling);

Gentle, delicate, soft movement (symbolic of effortlessness and respect for the body);
Verticality (the movement has its starting point in balance and laterality standing Yoga “Asanas”, evolving to the movement/gesture from that base, rarely resorting to “Asanas” that create a relationship between the body and the ground. The ethereal connection of the body with the “air”, the element of inhaling, is intentional);

![Fig.3 Verticality](image)

Straight lines (symbolizing the focus, attention, awareness, strength, balance and the confidence of the being);

![Fig.4 Straight lines](image)

Wavelike lines (symbolizing adaptation to change and the movement both of water and air);

![Fig.5 Wavelike lines](image)

Rotations and Translations (symbolizing the movements of rotation and translation of the Earth)

3. EXTEMPORENOUS DANCE WORKSHOP

On a more personal level of discovering my movement and, therefore, closer to my roles in Dance as a dancer and choreographer, this doctoral practice-based research led me to question my role as a Dance teacher. As such, I have perpetuated the teacher’s legacy that only transmits knowledge, not giving the students space to explore and to express themselves (and it could not have been otherwise so far, as I had not done it with myself). The Extemporaneous Dance workshops allow me to rephrase my activity as a teacher and to put into practice all I found through research, creating and discovering other dynamics in synergy with the students. The main goal is to develop a method allowing the empowerment of the students, to give them tools to make them feel confident and safe to discover their creativity and the natural movement of the body, through the creation of customized movement sequences.

The Extemporaneous Dance workshop, focused on the relationship between Yoga and Dance, proposes through simple and accessible exercises, the contact with breathing and awareness of a body we all inhabit, and that can and should be enhanced through movement. The participants will acquire the basics of these two body techniques and learn some positions and movements from the choreographic work “Inspiration”. Emphasis is given to learning how to synchronize movement with breathing as a way to the body awareness and the personalized movement. Also to the relationship with other participants, in the moment of the choreographic composition TIME: (1) each at their pace (the pace of the movement led by the individual breathing); (2) everyone in synchrony (breathing led by the movement of a leader). Furthermore, in the moment of the choreographic composition SPACE: where different spatial formations,
distances among bodies and orientation of the bodies in the space are explored.

Depending on the level of experience of the participants and the workshop duration, choreographic sequences of Yoga and Dance may be learned (technical and choreographic memory work). Also, choreographic composition tasks through games and exercises exploring personalized movements to promote confidence and trust in the students leading them to discover their movement, the movement their body does, which is unique, simply because their bodies are also unique.

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MUSIC, MOBILITY & CITIZENSHIP: NAVIGATION TIPS

Maria de São José CÔRTE-REAL*

*Institute of Ethnomusicology, NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities, New University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: Questioning mobility of people and music is coming to the forefront of Ethnomusicology, namely from the sphere of music and migration studies. Political implications in approaches to nationalism and related critical assessments (Smith 1986, 1991, 1998, 2002 and Guibernau 2004) are touched in some studies that relate this field of inquiry with those of music and power, political propaganda, identity and protest (Baily & Collyer 2006, Côrte-Real 2010, Scheding & Levi 2010, Toyne & Dweck 2011). Theoretical discussions move this field of social responsibility. Valuing subject-centred perceptions of moving citizens, music producers, mediators, researchers and listeners, this paper focuses on moving processes to highlight complex dynamic structures involved in them. To do so it uses elementary knowledge from Navigation Sciences. The idea is to metaphorically point at relative relations specific to mobility, underestimated in Social Sciences. Challenging established sets of categories from classifications of music genres, nationalist perceptions and historical constructs it equates close and distant forces needed to locate positions in the process from previously determined ones. Information for this study was collected in field and archival work done in the Music Departments and the Centre for Ethnomusicology at Columbia University in New York and the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the New University of Lisbon, the Sailing School of the Naval Association of Lisbon and the BMW Sailing Academy of Terra Incógnita, also in Lisbon. Public state owned and private documentation sets were useful as were the moments among fado and other Lusophone songs’ practitioners, from 1988 to 2016.

Keywords: Migration and politics, Navigation and Social Sciences, national constructs, music mobility and citizenship, Ethnomusicology and Lisbon.

1. INTRODUCTION

The catenation of navigation conditions involving time, place and direction, acknowledging magnetic forces of different kinds potentiates the knowledge that the traveler needs to locate its position in the moving process on the planet Earth. Besides involving referents from many different fields, this knowledge includes the awareness to value the continuous renewal of references that it implies. The process of mobility, thus made clear, results, relates and depends on fluid conditions of different nature and artifice. This paper aims at developing theoretical ground to unequivocally value behaviors that denote recognition of the importance of valuing references and their renewal among those who move, as well as among those who politically or academically deal with them. In this article, a citizen is understood as “a legally recognized subject or national of a state, (...) an inhabitant of a particular town or city” (AAVV, n.d.). This old political construct, apparently born in Europe, in the ancient Greek culture, was, since its origins, made directly subject to laws ruling over geographical places through temporary ideological principles. It was and is the political representation of a, thus civilized, person. One shall recall at this starting point that the person has the inherent capacity and freedom to move. Nation-state conditions, involving cultural webs of meanings (Geertz, 1973: 5), resulting from nationalist principles or demands, do obviously interfere in the life of citizens, being them more, or less, settled or nomad/moving ones. To contextualize our thought in the complex process of an informed mobility I propose here some references from navigation knowledge to relate geographic and ideological fields of inquiry. The idea is to highlight the value of acknowledging relative and fluid positions to relate individual, group and larger contextual layers in the process. In this learned strategy, when there are no artificial roads or rails to run in, estimated waypoints in the open water, land or air, are considered essential
parts of the journey. They represent marks needed to plan or to study the travel course. Only knowing the previous will the traveler be able to estimate the coming one, and to calculate it, different variables need to be taken into consideration. Without that knowledge, it is impossible to arrive at an estimated point, or to identify a point of arrival. Neglecting the catenation mentioned implies, then, uninformed journeys. I illustrate my reasoning here, regarding the use of related knowledge to interpret the roles of more, and less, informed music travelers, with details from Portuguese related fieldwork contexts in dictatorial as well as in democratic, post-colonial ones. Main purposes are to discuss how music was used to build national identity markers in the dictatorial colonalists' times of the late 1960s, why and how were those markers unveiled and challenged through Ethnomusicology in migrant contexts abroad in democratic environments in the early 1990s in the USA, and finally how postcolonial mobility to Lisbon did develop new interpretations of historical memories, questioning and challenging nationalist constrains and performing supranational roles of identity, to claim freedom of belonging ties.

Three ethnomusicalogical case studies illustrate and nurture, chronologically, the insights here presented, involving music and people on the move in Lisbon, from Lisbon and to Lisbon, the capital city of Portugal, the most Western and Southern country in Europe. The illustrations here used focus on nationalist constructions of a music genre in the first case, emigrants' reactions to the perceptions of these nationalist music categorization in the second case, and a post-colonial music festival context through its organizer related discourse, governance and performance. The studies were developed respectively from 1994 to 2000, within my PhD research at Columbia University in the City of New York, USA, with the academic supervision of Dieter Christensen, partially about the documentation and oral memory of the fado contests organized by the dictatorial government in Lisbon from 1968 to 1974 (Côrte-Real, 1996, 2000, 2002, in process) and in a restudy, of the same data included in the recently started PhD research of Maria Espirito Santo; the second, from 1987 to 1991, among Portuguese practitioners of fado of Lisbon in and around New York city, within my MA research studies in the same university, with the same academic supervision (Côrte-Real, 1991) and in a restudy of the same data in 2009/10 (Côrte-Real, 2010); finally the third case study was developed from 2008 to 2016, among Lusophone musicians in Lisbon and elsewhere, within the PhD research of Bart Vanspauwen in process with my supervision at the School for Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon, Portugal (Vanspauwen, in process).

2. MUSIC & MOVING CITIZENS

For an integral critical view of nations and nationalism in the twenty-first century, Montserrat Guibernau reminded that it is impossible to ignore their tremendous political leverage in modern societies (2004: 129). Guibernau’s opinion, in a critical assessment of Anthony D. Smith on nations and national identity (Smith, 1986, 1991, 1998 and 2002), points out a flaw in his ethno-symbolist approach. Though focusing on the cultural aspects of nations and nationalism, she says, he lefts practically untouched the political aspects (ibid.: 126).

Involving many for long, links between music and mobility, heavily associated with international war and peace diplomatic representations and actions (Côrte-Real, 1997), military action (Urbano, in process) have increasingly interested different fields of inquiry in the field of Ethnomusicology. International academia, market and governmental affairs are some arenas in which such existing relationships have gained meaning. Noticed, in some cases recognized, and even nurtured, mostly in cosmopolitan scenarios, these relationships have been particularly studied in different fields of Ethnomusicology to interpret individual and group identities and citizenship procedures since the 1970s (Reyes Schramm, 1979). Since then, the quest for intellectual reasoning and interpretations of human experience, through music, has increased the production of theoretical notions shifting from interests on abandoned origins and novel, usually difficult and fragile, situations in new environments, to the accommodation, in pacific or challenging processes, to the local cultural diversity of modern societies (Reyes Schramm, 1990); and finally to concerns, perspectives and the study of performances of international scope with the creation of hybrids, voicing outer and inner worlds of existence (Carneiro, 2010) to mark identities individually and / or collectively (Lundberg, 2010) or just to sound renewed and thus newly innovated expressive behavior. Especially aware of structural as well as circumstantial complexities of the linguistic system in which to communicate, this discussion moves on words (Appadurai, 2015) to nurture terminological fields for informed studies of navigation enterprises, crossing domains of distinct scientific inquiry. Thus, advocating the interest of valuing the phenomenon of renewing
references to challenge established categories of thought (Côrte-Real, 2010) the discussion that follows uses some basic knowledge concerning navigation to metaphorically call attention to the complexity and fluidity of the process of mobility.

3. SPECIFICITIES OF MOBILITY

3.1 To move in an informed way from one point to another, on Earth, is called a dead reckoning (Webb & Manton 2002). This refers to the process of estimating a position: the calculating of which, in cartography, uses the knowledge of a previously determined one. The complex information, today accomplished by the resources of the so-called GPS (Global Positioning System), implies the knowledge that the positioning of humans on Earth is dynamic. From the Sciences of Navigation, we know that to be informed of the place of one’s position in a mobility process it is needed to know at least three basic vectors or headings: the true, the compass and the magnetic. For purposes of this paper, this means that to understand human mobility related knowledge, specific to regions and/or nations, subject to different traditions, uses and rules, it is very interesting to know these three conditions. This will help to advocate the need to consider multiple forces, dependent on one side and independent on the others, of the will of each one in the mere process of moving from place to place in an informed way. One may obviously move in uninformed ways, in pre-established rails and processes, basically without thinking. When there are nice routes on solid ground, decently built and well signaled it is easy, but when one moves on a desert or on an ocean, this knowledge becomes synonymous of survival.

3.1.1 The true heading is the navigation concept for the angle between the direction in which the nose of the moving object is pointing and the reference direction of the cardinal point North (0°). Because the Earth is not a flat surface on which vessels, aircrafts, any kind of vehicles or people move in strait forward direction, but rather a close to spherical shaped volume, an oblate spheroid, that is a sphere that is squashed at its poles and swollen at the equator (Choi, 2007), subject to capricious magnetic forces, the navigation procedure on its surface is a quite sophisticated enterprise. To plan or to interpret a moving procedure, one needs to calculate positions using information about the direction and the distance travelled from a known point. This procedure, called a dead reckoning, is required to estimate where and when one may arrive. To estimate the time of arrival at a planned place for example, one needs to consider a catenation of three basic conditions or vectors of navigation. These vectors relate to the notion of direction, and they exist because of the direction wanted and the magnetic forces of the Earth on one hand, and those of the vehicle on the other. Thus, the course of a moving vehicle, the “real” way it follows is yet a fourth direction that depends on the calculation of the three considered before. Metaphorically speaking, and considering the purpose of the reasoning here proposed, let aside the real course run, I conventionally consider the true heading as the vector of individual responsibility in the process of mobility. Relating the geographical references of navigation mentioned before to ideological ones, in music related processes, the true heading would then represent what the moving person thinks by him or herself, in an ideal situation. The moving person would, in the case of the ethnomusicological researches done, be a migrant musician, a Portuguese fado singer or player in New York (Côrte-Real, 1991, 2010); a mediator of the musical phenomenon considered, a retired Portuguese singer who indicates new singers to the restaurant owner in Newark, New Jersey (ibid.); an applicant to a fado contest, a producer, an Angolan singer-song-writer, organizer of a music festival in Lisbon (Vanspauwen, in process); or merely a listener involved, a foreign tourist in a music festival in Lisbon (ibid.); any kind of participant in a performance situation, even those who have moved from nearby places to a performance site. His or her own individual impressions, such as those motivated by tastes, music or other individual related knowledge, long-lasting or temporary preferences and whatever one may personally relate within his or her inner and outer implicit or explicit worlds of existence, are considered as constituents of the thus accorded true heading vector of ideological / geographical navigation.

3.1.2 The compass heading, the concept of navigation for the direction resulting from the action that the magnetic forces of the vehicle itself exert in the navigation process (also an angle), called deviation, corresponds in the metaphorical image proposed to the collective thoughts of small groups of people involved in any of the musical situations eventually considered. This angle, with expression in the navigation process, though different from the true heading, relates with it, as the collective ideas of a group, though independent from those of an individual, relate with his or hers, exerting influences of different sorts. Examples of this kind of collective or contextual responsibility, independent though influencing the individual
decisions, opinions, thoughts or actions, are, for instances, the adjustments needed in the places of performance in the Portuguese restaurants, associations or clubs in New York, Newark, Elizabeth and other locations around New York (Côrte-Real, 1991, 2010); the rules and the jury decisions in the governmental amateur fado contests’ editions in Lisbon in the early 1970s (Côrte-Real 2000, 2007); as well as the conditions imposed by governance principles, of many kinds, in the Lusophone festivals or radio programs in Lisbon, mostly involving performers directly or indirectly coming from far and not so distant places (Vanspauwen, in process). All these conditions, influencing individual practice, though somehow independent from it, need to be considered for the analysis of migrant and non-migrant music performance related phenomena.

3.1.3 The magnetic heading, finally, the third condition / vector of the catenation mentioned, depending on the magnetic forces of the Earth itself (also expressed in an angle), called variation, works for the course to follow by the vessel as well. Different places on Earth are subject to different magnetic forces. Studied by specialists, they are registered in the charts, being them old fashioned paper ones or modern ones in electronic equipment. In the metaphorical system proposed, the magnetic heading would correspond to influences larger than those created by small groups and rather contained contexts, influencing people on the move. For the sake of the citizenship analysis here proposed, this vector would represent national constrains such as laws, religious believes or other sets influential constructs conditioning the behavior of those who move. This navigation vector includes thus grand notions such as those built with nationalist purposes: the idea that fado represents Portuguese national identity (Côrte-Real, 1991, 2010); that which assigns Fado Menor as the most representative of the fado categories for whatever reason in Lisbon and abroad (Côrte-Real, 2000); or the idea that Lusofonia related musical initiatives shall replace colonial injustices of different sorts in post-colonial times (Vanspauwen, in process.).

3.2 Other aspects, specificities of mobility, exist, conditioning navigation, aside from those proper of the vehicles – the moving objects themselves – with all the diversified equipment in them. Among others, natural ones such as winds, tides, currents, weather conditions, times of the day, characteristics of bottoms; or legal ones such as traffic rules and other formalities of different sorts; safety ones such as buoys and beacons, lights, fog sounding signals; emergencies, etc. Those who move, engaging in dynamism, are indeed subject to myriad information. The better informed they be the better they will perform their moving process. Among the skills to develop for the success of the informed navigation, be it in the ocean, or through land, as a moving musician or as a moving citizen being helped by musical accompaniment, there is a special one: it is characterized as a kind of curiosity, the awareness to value the renewal of references.

4. RENEWING REFERENCES THROUGH MUSIC

Citizens, always mobile in larger and smaller travelling scales, musicians or not, we all profit if we learn how to renew our references continuously. Each one of the headings considered above, true heading, compass heading, and magnetic heading, in the navigation catenation needed to estimate the course, is constantly subject to the need of renewing references. If the observations and measurements are interrupted the calculation is impossible, and the process collapses. The navigator misses the point if he or she neglects the information needed, and the most probable result is to be lost.

4.1 The V Contest of Amateur Fado, in the Market of Spring, in Lisbon, in 1974, organized by the Department of Festivals of the General-Direction of Popular Culture and Shows of the Secretary of State of Information and Tourism of the Portuguese dictatorial government took place in a very meaningful date. When the singer candidates applied to it they had no idea of the revolution that would take place during the contest time itself. Curiously enough, the application form of the young winner was signed on the very day of the Coup d’Etat, the 25th of April. Among the remaining documents of the Contest, stored in the dictatorial archives of the State, found in the old storage of Pendão in the Summer of 1993, the list of fados mentioned in the “Order of Performance”, dated from May 30, 1974, represents a navigation like catenation for a dead reckoning. Referring to the individual selection (the true heading) of each singer, naming the fado songs to perform, the list, filled out in handwritten calligraphy, classifies 50% of these names as menor. This indication, reflecting a rule of the contest (the compass heading) represented a much larger meaning of nationalist aim (the magnetic heading) to value the menor category of fado as an ethno-symbol of national identity (to use a term loaded by Smith, 1986, 1991, 1998 and 2002).

4.2 The Great Fado Night, in a restaurant in Newark, New Jersey, in March 1991 (Côrte-Real, 1991, 2010), by my analysis of its structure (the
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compass heading), alternating singing fado’s sessions of Portuguese identity symbolism and dancing lambada ones of Latin-American symbolic identity (the magnetic headings), made the interviewed musicians and listeners rethink their individual position facing these belonging related feelings and their associated values, for the performance of their current citizenship profile (their true headings) in the migrant situation in the USA.

4.3 The Musidanças Festival use of the idea of Lusofonia (Vanspauwen, in proc.), as a postcolonial recharger of old losses, an account adjustment’s field for an eventual political balance of diplomacies between Portugal and the Portuguese speaking countries in Africa (the magnetic headings), is finally establishing a ground recognized as an object of Ethnomusicological analysis to value hybridity and mestizo culture (the compass heading). The valorization of hybridity and mestizo culture, practiced within the festival results directly from the true heading of its main organizer, himself a mixed product of Portuguese and Angolan origin, as he points (ibid.).

5. CONCLUSION & ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Musicians as nature’s travelers and skippers, eventually more than some other kinds of citizens, because they deal with very dynamic environments, do share special awareness to the value of renewing references in their respective daily life activities. Because of this, they may be particularly open to the understanding of the fluidity of complex constructs, and their relationship through national borders. In this perspective, for these moving people, ideas such as national identity markers, belonging feelings and advocacy of hybridity become issues subject to continuous renewal of references. The metaphorical strategy used in this article helps, perhaps, to unveil how political uses of music, being sometimes so effective in dominating citizens, overlapping individual emotions, national feelings and State purposes, may in its turn be so efficient in deconstructing such artificial caprices.

A word of acknowledgment is due in this occasion to all collaborators in these three illuminating case studies. Not only those in the research fields in the USA and in Portugal, but also those in the academy, challengers among professors, colleagues and students. Far from recalling all, for the fault of missing someone, a special mention is due to Dieter Christensen, my academic advisor, producer of a line brought to Portugal by Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, who since the far away Spring term of 1985 has, soon in a team, promoted a flourishing school challenging generations of national and international students who have developed Ethnomusicology as a rewarding intellectual tool to interpret the world around. As the author of this paper, I take full responsibility for its contents and scientific approach.

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STEREOTYPES AND MIGRATION

Răzvan-Lucian ANDRONIC*

*Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, Spiru Haret University, Brasov, Romania

Abstract: Romania has so far eluded the migration flow that crosses now the "Balkan route" to Western Europe and is waiting for the first refugees who will be hosted in specialized centers. The problem of integration of these refugees and others to come was approached so far only in economic terms, without exploring its psychosocial implications. In the absence of a genuine cultural exchange, the knowledge about populations that migrate in new territories only summarizes the most common stereotypes. The paper aims to examine these stereotypes and identify ways in which they can be managed, in order to facilitate the integration of newcomers into the Romanian society.

Keywords: stereotypes, human migration, community

1. INTRODUCTION

Perception of groups (including refugees) is subject to three categories of interference sources that can act whenever the perception of a group occurs (Crider et al., 1985: 420):

- stereotype ("a set of beliefs about the characteristics of the person belonging to a group, a belief that is widespread in almost all its members");
- prejudice ("the attitude towards a person or a negative evaluation of the person based only on their affiliation to a group");
- discrimination ("the expression of prejudice in behavior") or, in a more complete form, "any behavior oriented on people because they are identified as being members of a group" (Brehm & Kassin, 1993).

The groups of refugees now crossing the "Balkan route" to Western Europe are frequently subject to the stereotyping process, which consists of "applying a stereotypical judgment to members of a group, making them interchangeable with other members of the same category (Leyens et al., 1996 apud Stânculescu 2013:30).

The importance of knowing how the stereotypical perception of these migrants (future residents in the EU, even potential future citizens) is being done, doesn't only refer to those who produce stereotyping, but also to the migrants themselves; there are already numerous studies of social psychology that describe the phenomenon of "stereotype threat" (Steele, 1997 apud Cracker & Quinn, 2003: 248-249):

- stereotype threat theory predicts that although members of stigmatized and non-stigmatized groups may be in the same situation, such a standardized test, the situation has different meaning for the stigmatized and the non-stigmatized, and, consequently, different outcomes.

The "stereotype threat" explains a whole series of behaviors that minorities referred to by a stereotype get to confirm it, unintentionally.

2. ORIGIN OF STEREO TYPES - A PSYCHOSOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

The origin of stereotypes concerning groups (including ethnic groups) can be traced from several points of view:

- historical (seeking an historic event that would substantiate their existence);
- political and economical (seeking the reasons for which those who have the power "offer" and maintain various stereotypes);
- socio-cultural (seeking their origin in differences between various social groups, seeking thus "the kernel of truth" of these unilateral and rough ways of perceiving the groups).

All these perspectives of approaching the stereotypes bring with them the viable elements in identifying the genesis of stereotypes, but given the fact they are approaches at the macro-social level,
they fail to explain the ways in which stereotypes, once produced at this level (in a specific cultural context) act on the person.

Social psychology explains the emergence of a stereotype by two interrelated processes: social categorization and out-group homogeneity effect. Categorization is the tendency to select objects in the perceptual field in groups rather than considering them each one as unique. Categorization occurs naturally in the act of perception, and in the case of perception of people it takes the form of social categorization - classifying people into groups based on their common attributes. Social categorization is needed in social perception, as it allows the person concerned to form a quick impression (in real time) and to use previous experience to guide themselves in new interpersonal interactions. In addition to the aforementioned benefits, social categorization has a major disadvantage, leading to overestimation of the differences between different social groups and the similarities within (between individuals composing them).

The second psychosocial phenomenon that promotes stereotypes is precisely this effect of groups homogeneity obtained as a consequence of social categorization. Social categorization being made based on personal experience, is strongly conditioned by its manifestations within the group of affiliation, a group where people find at least some of their individual attributes ("in - group"). Out-group homogeneity effect - represents to "tend to assume a greater homogeneity between out-group members - than among members of the in-group" (Brehm & Kassin, 1993).

This trend affects the relationships between different groups whose members have characteristics that are clearly distinguishable and who delimit each other easily based on them (as is the case of relations between the peoples of Europe and refugees). The emergence of this bias in the perception of refugee groups could be explained by the scarcity of contacts with the "out - group" - contacts which occur in a limited number of cases and with a limited number of out - group members.

3. SURVIVAL OF STEREOTYPES

Regarding the ways in which stereotypes are perpetuated, several theoretical explanations have been issued; they cover, for example (Brehm and Kassin, 1993): (1) Illusory correlations, consisting in overestimating associations between variables that are only weakly correlated or not correlated at all; (2) Under-categorization: stereotypes sometimes survive and even though constantly refuted by those perceived in relation to the object of stereotype, which raised a series of questions about their explanation only with the help of illusory correlations. Unlike the classical vision on stereotypes that identifies the subject of a stereotype with a large category of people, nowadays it is recognized the fact that many stereotypes refer to groups of people more limited in terms of numbers and presenting a number of features more specific, to subcategories of people.

The main conclusion of this explanation of stereotyping would be that, in order to better understand the characteristics of a stereotype, we must know, in the most precise manner, the nature of the group to which it refers – a process where identifying the precise different subcategories that may occur is a necessary element.

4. POSSIBILITIES OF CHANGING STEREOTYPES

Elena Stănculescu (2013:128-132) describes the variables that contribute to changing stereotypes, which can be classified into two categories: (1) interpersonal and intergroup (direct contact, transforming conflicting / competitive relations in relations of cooperation); (2) intrapersonal or intrapsychic (cognitive complexity, reviewing categorical beliefs, individuation, subgrouping vs. under-categorization). Regarding migration flows that cross Europe today, of immediate concern seems to be especially the research that aims to change stereotypes by conditions favoring a proper direct contact. Bar-Tal (1994, apud Stănculescu, 2013:129) listed the conditions in which stereotypes may change through direct contact:

1. Contact is established between individuals of equal status;
2. The contact takes place in a social climate in which authorities and rules are supportive for intergroup interactions.
3. Interaction is close and not formal and superficial;
4. Having a pleasant interaction in a comforting, rewarding context.
5. The contact occurs in a context of cooperation with a common purpose of a higher level.

These ideal conditions are at the opposite pole to the reality largely reflected by the media on the contact between Europeans and refugees, capturing an image of a severe limitation of intergroup contacts, primarily for security reasons.

4. CONCLUSIONS

How the European authorities manage the issue of migration is in obvious constrain to the ideal
conditions of intergroup contact aimed at changing stereotypes, including those about migrants. As we all know, the European states have been allocated the shares to receive a number of refugees on their territory, with the hope that they will find the appropriate arrangements to accommodate and integrate them.

The discussions about the groups of refugees to come are worn now in terms of resources to be allocated, hosting space, etc., so solely in economic terms or logistics. This speech is present in decision makers especially in countries that have been bypassed by the main migratory flow, as is the case in Romania. At least at the level of political and public statements, the research on stereotypes (briefly presented in this article) and its importance in managing intergroup relations are ignored. Therefore, there are created prerequisites which are extremely favorable for a widespread stereotyping of refugees, with negative consequences on them (the phenomenon of "stereotype threat") and on those who will produce the stereotyping of migrant groups.

In other words, the risk is that instead of hosting and integrating, prerequisites for the radicalization of newcomers might be created.

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HUMAN MOBILITY AND THE MEETING OF CULTURES

Maria STOICOVICI*

* Department of Foreign Languages, Military Sciences and Management, Military Technical Academy, Bucharest, Romania

Abstract: The profound changes that took place after the Second World War have been associated with a complex process of globalization, and caused, among other things, powerful social polarization both within states and between different regions or states. The "social decline" caused migration flows that had various consequences regarding the safety of the host countries and of the migrants themselves. But migration can also have its positive effects, as long as it facilitates the meeting of cultures and offers the opportunity to discover in what way they are different. That is why the twenty-first century cultural differences should not be a separation factor; on the contrary, they should encourage the discovery of "the Other", of its culture and identity, thus, enriching one another.

Keywords: globalization, social issues, migration, culture, identity

1. AN OVERVIEW ON GLOBALISATION

Everything changed in the aftermath of the World War II. The state strengthened its role as the main player on the social and economic stage (by establishing the Welfare State in the United Kingdom through then forcement of the Beveridge Plan in 1943 and that of Sécurité sociale in France, in 1945) in order to social achieve reconstruction, social reforms, and the transformation of the national consciousness. By intervening with a high authority in all fields and industries, the state was attempting to instil the idea that the nationalisation of the economic activities was the only solution able to lead to progress.

Later on, modernity, backed by the free enterprise and by the market, has helped reducing the role of the state, which used to be interventionist and has become one of a different type, while striving to attract foreign investments, to facilitate national exports, and to support the emergence of transnational companies associated to financial networks. In parallel, the new technologies have much helped this process by ensuring data travel in real time. The production turns international at the present and the exchanges are favourable to the economic globalisation.

The first step of the economic globalisation, which took place from the mid-70s until the 2001 terrorist attacks in New York (Touraine, 2005:36), started with the oil crisis. That period was characterised by the development of all industrial and economic sectors, by the market globalisation, the emergence of transnational companies and of various Internet networks. The latter allowed the financial system to send information in real time, the broadcasting corporations could stream live, the media could broadcast faster, and the quality increased in the advertisements for mass cultural products, especially the American ones.

An influential opposing movement (the alterglobalisation) has been arising since the American cultural products were distributed throughout the world, insisting on the impossibility of generalizing the American model and providing the example of the stock exchange crisis and its serious consequences, triggered subsequently to significant speculations on the technological values (Touraine, 2005:39).

Globalisation imposed its own logic upon the states by means of its institutions (the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation), with no care at all for social and political goals. The researchers all agree, as a matter of fact, that this process would be just as difficult as the reverse one (the emergence of the national states) since everything occurred at international level, while the economic mechanisms were slow-paced and sometimes unsynchronised, which could lead to decline.
Globalisation can also have cultural or social implications. One of the cultural consequences is the creation of a mass society in which the same material and cultural products move freely in countries with extremely different life standards and cultural traditions. One may conclude that consumption gets standardised and that the entire world lives like the Americans do. It is false, because consumption in the richest countries gets more and more diverse, while the other countries try out ingenious schemes and manage to also vary their local productions.

As far as the social implications are concerned, it is enough to notice that the strength of trade unions worldwide gets weaker and weaker, and in case it still resists, it is at the at the middle class level, because the poor people “cannot fight anymore”. Taking into account that the global society (or the information world) is merely technological, it does not touch social issues. This fact has led to a “gap” in the society (Touraine, 2005:42). Class fight as a part of globalisation disappears, since conflicts do not concern the domestic production issues, but the world-oriented strategies of the transnational companies and of the financial networks.

In the globalisation phenomenon, there is no notion of social class, because there emerge other very general categories, such as humankind, poor nations, and future generations. This process is characterised by the dominant role of the market, the competition, interest-based coalitions, and corruption. Competition is established between the developed countries which are more or less social – democratic, on the one hand, and the poor countries, where there are no trade unions, on the other hand.

“This is one of the reasons for which it is impossible to coordinate the social and fiscal policies within the European Union”, noticed Alain Touraine.

2. “THE SOCIAL DECLINE”

If the social reality was before judged in terms of politics (nation, people, revolution, Republic) (Touraine, 2005: 43), the industrial revolution and capitalism replace the political paradigm by the economic and social one. The social classes, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, the social inequalities, and the strikes have thus become the most important aspect of the society. At the present, some new revolution – the technological one – brings in its cultural paradigm (since its effects are social and especially cultural), while weakening the social links fostering the individualism.

If, in late 19th century, progress meant the transition of the communities towards an organised society, the trend nowadays is to have closed communities lead by an authoritarian power and rejecting the others as enemies.

The individual denies the Other out of passion, yet without getting a conflict with them. People would rather take full responsibility, only to leave the boat in times of despair caused by poverty, violence, or wars, to go searching for a better world, by facing geographical and socio-cultural changes (which may sometimes ruin people’s life, rather than improve it).

The society is massively polarised both at the domestic level (irrespective is the country is rich or poor) and at the international level between rich and poor countries¹. Socio-economic disparities are destabilising, because those occur in the poorest countries, those lacking social security. The financial and moral despair pushes people towards extremism (such as the communism in a ruined Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War, the Marxist guerrillas in the developing countries in the 1960s and the 1970s, the radical Islam nowadays, among others)² or towards common law crimes perpetrated by isolated criminals and by members of the Mafia structures, as well as by those of the drug cartels in Latin America or Asia.

Human trafficking, as well as organ trafficking ³ would be the first source of dirty income. The first type is mainly occurring through various forms of prostitution and clandestine immigration. The more the social side declines, the more the cultural aspects get accomplished.

3. HUMAN MOBILITY AND THE “CLASH” OF CULTURES

Our 21st century is conquered by technology and influenced by social and political turmoil, by increasing migration movements, by excessive urbanisation phenomena causing people from all over the world to live closer to each other. The meeting of various cultures may cause some “shocks”. The population movements have thus taken the Western Europeans by surprise. The latter had to adapt to repeated quick changes, considered as a clash of opposing norms and cultural values systems. Once they arrived in the Western world, individuals from other cultures were forced themselves to adapt and obey to the

¹ source [online], according to the EAPN (European Anti-Poverty Network) publications. See http://www.eapn.eu/fr/qui-sommes-nous/eapn-cest-quoi
² There are no less people who claim that they have joined terrorist groups not for murdering, nor for restoring the Caliphate, but for money, which is vital for them to be able to feed their families.
³ source [online], see Diploweb.com (the December 24th, 2015 issue)
norms of the hosting society, which was seeing itself as more civilised.

3.1 How to understand the Other? Nowadays, cultural relativism studies social interactions. It claims that to understand an individual, we need to take into account the historical aspects having marked them. We thus need to be aware of one’s social and historical conditions, to render one to the context in which one has been developing, to understand one’s own interpreting of one’s own situation. In other words, we need to notice one’s behaviour face to other people’s behaviour.

The human being has therefore to be understood as a cultural individual: the product of a certain culture and a cultural producer. The society one lives in defines one’s model of the individual one wishes to become.

3.2 A little bit of theory. Culture, perceived with these four dimensions (collective, cognitive, social, and descriptive) could have only existed as determined by the spirit of each and every person. It was the fruit of creation and the treasure collected in space and in time by various human communities. The closer people get to each other and better they know each other, the more they realise how different their cultures are. Let’s not forget that culture as a sum of several sub-cultures (one of the concerns of the Anglo-Saxon and the American sociologies) promotes the importance of cultural diversity and the need to treat the various human cultures equally.

Culture has got several characteristics we shall be looking at in the further paragraphs.

First of all, culture is universal and it is concerned by general topics. Yet every people has got its own culture, whose complexity level depends on the relation to those topics. The culture of each people is therefore selective and its cultural element distinguishes it from the other cultures.

Secondly, let’s not forget “the cultural pattern”, because “each behaviour, within a certain civilisation, is being shaped by that pattern” (Herskovits, 1950:117). For instance, the way of getting married. The pattern is not a constraint, it only points to the behavioural directions to follow, as a general rule. Culture is also adynamic, expandable process. The cultural evolutionism theory claims that to reach its present state, the individual has been going through different evolution stages going from an inferior to a superior one. The habits of the peoples considered to be “advanced” have survived, to witness their passage through previous stages whose remains can still be seen. Culture is a living product of the social players. The social life is a founding element of living beings. “Socialising” means integrating (completely or in a more or less harmonious way) the individual in the social body. From the group perspective, this integration is mandatory. Without is, the individual is being marginalised or excluded. Culture exists before and after the individual. It is therefore somehow independent in relation to the individual which experiences it. Culture is not completely owned by any of the individuals distributing it, because each of them only owns a few elements of it, which are sex-, age-, profession-, and education-determined. Rarely do individuals experience their own culture in a conscious way. They are more or less determined or set by the environment in which they are integrated, which constantly pushes them to obey the norm. The personal reactions of the individual within its culture are determined to a great extent, which reduces what we call “personality”. Culture is experienced by each individual to a different degree. The subjects receive and transform it. The individual only experiences a fragment of its own culture, on which he or she acts personally. We notice that one culture or another tends to change in one way or another. This change results from the individuals’ action. No trend occurs randomly, but the individual variations make this trend evolve.

The cultural relativism approach claims that all value judgment depends on the cultural framework having produced it; similarly, any judgement rule is relative, since judgments depend indeed on norms, the latter varying with the groups which have produced them, therefore with the various cultures. The differences among cultures are seen in terms of the requirements to adapt the behaviour to the physical and social environment.

But irrespective of the way the social players contribute in the same society, the individual variations fall into a pre-established matrix to which everyone adapts. The coherent sum of these matrixes or “codes” makes it possible for subject from the same culture to “socially move” freely through the same system of typical circumstances.

3.3 So how to get along? People have always been different in terms of traditions, language, and ways of understanding the reality, the way of structuring the institutions. People have created many cultures, but have been bothered by their being different. Some individuals are mainly concerned by their close or large family, by their neighbourhood, their region or their country, while others are rather concerned by the social and ethical, political and religious borders. All their life long, certain people are dominant in relation to others, while ignoring any barrier. Out of curiosity, the man has been exploring new remote worlds which they were not sure of. Man has gotten into contact with other cultures.
Culture is an innate element of the human behaviour (Vinsonneau, 1997, 2000), while education is a means of learning culture, an apparent factor, since it often triggers opposition, even defensive reactions. Education is the one which makes the difference between various behaviours, social relations, reactions to a certain number of set situations, precise gestures (the way of eating, of getting seated or dressed, of shaking hands…) which are directly transmitted.

Education is also the one allowing people to interiorise certain ways of thinking, of reflecting, of perceiving the world. It plays an essential role in the development of the intellectual, aesthetic, moral, and spiritual functions. Although the education models vary depending on the society, they still remain closely related to culture. Education is sometimes identified or mistaken for culture itself since it may indeed be considered as a purpose it itself. There is no such society without education. Any society proposes or enforces upon its members a certain number of rules, laws, norms, and know-how forming an education system which is more or less smooth, refined, or subject to either a conformist or a counter-conformist ethic.

Culture may be conveyed through imitation within the same society, among individuals of the same group or belonging to different groups, and even among several distinct societies. Thus marked by ways of living within their own group, the individual manages to “naturally” accomplish a task or another without knowing the reason for it, its meaning or even its usefulness; and their behaviour may become an automatic reflex, considered as “natural” and which finally does not need to be justified. Enculturation or the influence the society has over the individual is extended to all the life’s levels. The child thus acquires basic habits: this is the primary education, of an extreme importance. Enculturation lasts in adults for the rest of their lives, in an unconscious form (acquired and/or renewed habits) and in a conscious form: faced to new situations, they chose their behaviour and adapt it depending on traditions and social pressure.

3.4 How to perceive cultural differences?

Cultural differences concern very distinct phenomena, such as identities, cultural particularities, minorities, etc. To be able to distinguish various types of cultural differences, first we need to acknowledge that “cultural differences have been lasting for some time and that their members try to claim, to keep, and to defend”. Last, but not least, cultural differences are unceasingly renewed. A nation, a state, a certain society may aggregate different groups existing on that territory before its creation, such as the minorities (Wiewiorka, 2001:107), which have their own social life, their political principles, their own institutions, and their culture. Belonging to a certain culture, language, or identifying oneself with a certain space prove the maintenance of local remote identities ignoring they belong to the political and cultural unit represented by the nation-state. Such separate entities may have two political approaches: either the separation, based on a nationalist ideology, or the pressure exercised to obtain collective rights and a certain acknowledgment within that state.

The modern times, through colonialism or the advancement of the borders, have determined migration waves putting the people having settled earlier on that territory on a lower position (the Aborigines in Australia, the Indians in the three Americas or the Maori in the New Zealand). The populations of these days are “relics of history” to the eyes of the conquerors, but seen from inside their community, that world “cannot but be altered by the contact with others”. This resulting in their reserve in relation to the multiculturality policies placing them at the same level as the immigration-born minorities.

There are also various minorities which have been banned from building a cultural identity for themselves. The example here are the American black people who have been forcedly removed from their shores, taken away and settled far from their homes, deprived of their culture and of the means to recreate it in a new setting, uprooted against their will. Moreover, they have been alienated, discriminated for race-related grounds, dehumanised. They struggle to adapt to the values of the American society to be able to get integrated, but they lack the economic and material means for building a reinvited or a regained identity for themselves.

The first-arrived migrants come from very different communities. Their original culture is not necessarily a traditional one. Their culture is different from that of the hosting country, yet that difference could not be the cause for the people or groups being pushed away towards the ghettos and put in a situation where it is impossible for them to be integrated in the society. This situation can nevertheless turn into a ban if those communities feel indifferent towards the political life and if they get a distance in relation to any civic integration.

4. THE MIGRANTS’ IDENTITY

Migrants are progressively assimilated to the host society (they only preserve vague traditions reminding of their origins). Robert Park, one of the representatives of the Chicago School (Park, 1950)
was mentioning the four-phased migrant integration: arrival of the migrant (getting integrated by their work and getting into competition with the local populations on the employment market); approaching other migrants (which strengthens their social insertion); adapting to the civil and political operating rules of the host society; assimilating general values and the culture of the host society. According to this School, the assimilation process is quite similar to the socialisation one.

Yet Didier Lapeyronnie (Wiewiorka, 2001:251-265) also mentions a “second migrant’s portrait” – the one who, despite their full integration into modernity, in one or two generations’ time, in an individualist world, despite their assimilation or integration, “bears some difference individualising them from the rest of the population”: the physiological features of their name, of their parents’ religion, or of their national origin are the ones singularising them. Starting to exist by getting rid of what they or their parents are produced by, this second figure results from the society’s work upon themselves, as well as from their own work upon themselves. It is a complex figure which, in the same time, shows self-reflection and is willing to get involved in the modern life they entered.

In a host society advocating values of equality and brotherhood, the stigmata disqualifying some individuals on behalf of a cultural or natural identity (disease, phenotypic features) is rejected because it bans them from fully benefitting of those values. As a consequence, the individuals change their name or try to erase that stigmata (whiten their skyn, straighten their hair, striving to melt into the environing society or at least claiming their “right to indifference”). There are also people who cannot free themselves from the dreamt identity and become ethnics, turning a deficiency into difference, appropriating the stigmata to turn it into an acknowledged identity.

5. LET’S TURN THE CULTURE “CLASH” INTO DESIRE TO KNOW AND TO SHARE NEW VALUES!


New travelling forms have emerged since 1951. It may happen that the demographical increase, the urbanisation, the climate changes, and the food, water, and power insecurity mutually worsen, leading to instability and conflicts, thus to forced movements4.

Under these circumstances, nobody can stop or would stop human mobility. Massifs refugee flows like those Europe is experiencing at the present are difficult to manage, but serious measures must finally get enforced.

We know well that the European identity is based on the symbiosis of ethnical, cultural, and national elements, a “symbiosis which both makes distinctions and excludes” and which refuses to understand the new political model of the new structure of the world exceeding the national borders. The main threats for the Europeans are migration and the changes triggered by the integration process, as well as by the conflicts between the ethnical groups. These changes concern identity dimensions, such as: language, religion, and culture. From the old continent perspective, the nation keeps being the place for privileged identification and a regulatory engine. The nation goes beyond all types of differences (social, religious, identity-linked) among various populations and integrates them into an entity organised in a joint political project. The nation also created the political space or the framework for regulating relationships, rivalries, and conflicts between individuals and groups. For Europeans, belonging to their nation means belonging to their state. Accepting and helping the Other get integrated (though they do not share the same ethnical and cultural features) is being contrary to the identity construction approach, disorganising it. For all the European citizens, preserving their national identity means keeping some source against the impoverishment of their existence. The identity crisis is revealed through the negation of the Other and the lockup (cessation of any form of communication). Moreover, there is “an inferiority complex hidden by a superiority complex that nobody admits, manifested by reactions of frustration, despair, and helplessness anger”.

Under these circumstances, can European identity still be interested in finding ways of getting into contact with the Other? One fact is certain: it is too late. In the European society, cultural diversity has already become a daily reality, thus respecting it means respecting fundamental rights, it is a multitude of consciousness, wisdom, dynamism, it is a collective force of humankind acknowledged by more and more international forums. When the second generations of migrants settled on the European soil are already European citizens, help creating European values, observe

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the requirements of those states, and speak European languages, not only do they want to be acknowledged, but they also want to get “roots” on the European soil.

The settlement of various populations with different cultural and political traditions needs the Europeans to adopt new policies to control and reduce the differences brought by these foreign populations settled here for the rest of their life. Several causes will accentuate migration and an increasing number of people of different origin are to live on this territory in the future. Moreover, the increasing dependence of the states on each other places their inhabitants within a worldwide integration process. Certain thinkers consider we are in a first stage of a worldwide integration process (Norbert Elias). This phenomenon shall require the dialogue between cultures and civilisations, otherwise no peaceful life can exist.

There is a solution to everything. One of them is introducing the idea of citizenship in the definition of identity. Since the citizenship allows communication, it is to also determine the process of adapting and renegotiating one’s identity, to help reducing the identity crisis.

Another solution may be the Manuel Castells’s concept of “projected identity” (Boacă, 2007). It helps the social players build their new identity using the cultural materials at hand, thus backing the transformation of the overall social structure.

Since the cultural diversity may block communication, the people need to be made aware of the difference by means of the intercultural education, which aims to cultural interaction. Schooling shall therefore bring people closer to each other. Education is being delivered through a certain language. The difference must not be perceived as a menace, but as a possibility of cultural and spiritual enrichment. Education and the philosophy of several new trends such as the interculturalism (making aware of cultural diversity) and the transculturism (or equal rights to develop transurban, transregional, transnational, and transcontinental relations) become more and more visible and prove the contemporary world’s tendency of moving, of getting transformed, of getting closer. It is obvious that the social aspects are more important than the political ones and that the social grounds ask the political ones to regulate. We cannot leave culture, religion, or languages at the reach of those wanting to turn them into conflict and hatred vehicles!

Every one of us can speak two or several languages. Multilingualism may be an individual or a collective phenomenon, a layering or an exclusion factor. Several languages may coexist or get into conflict on the same territory. Those conflicts may be regulated by linguistic policies. Each of us has an external, as well as an internal multilingualism. Each of the languages we can speak expresses us one way or another. We can speak several languages or several variations of the same language. We have got a group language, a family language, a state language, and one or several international communication languages. Each of these languages changes the data on one’s identity, thus proving that unique identity is utopia. We protect our own identity which protecting the others’ one.

A multilingual world must be educated in the sense of respecting the Other. The intercultural education has got a crucial role to fight the reactions of rejecting the Other and it happens by means of the language, which is the privileged way of reaching a different culture. Each and every one of these matters makes us consider the migrants’ adaptation issue in a different light. By knowing them, we realise the significant role of fair, coherent, right, and systematic policies to be enforced in order to reach the desired goal: mutual understanding.

To be able to educate, the teachers need to be taught themselves. Then, the essential mission of schooling is to provide all the students (local or migrants) with the necessary tools to effectively master the language of the destination country both in terms of its various oral forms, and its written code, in order to get integrated properly. Today’s intercultural teaching needs to set as a target to succeed, at least partially, to overcome prejudice, national stereotypes, and the conflicts which might arise from that – all this to enforce a feeling of identity and European community. The goal is to create some active multilingual and multicultural citizenship. All these aspects have already been included in the Common European Reference Framework for Language Learning, which has started to be implemented throughout the Union.

We do share so many things, such as the taste for art. What human being does not love music? Each and every people has got its own traditional music, each generation has got its favourite rhythms. We love music more or less with all its aspects, all its genres, but the fact is we simply love it because, first and foremost, music is for everybody and “its role is to reconcile the individual with his or her own” (Plato) and “to deeply change, according to several dimensions, our self-consciousness in relation to ourselves and to the world” (Gilbert, 1990). The acknowledgement of other cultures is a must in a fast-pase world. The Other must be acknowledged as such, as being different; but only if they accept, as I do, the universal principles defining the modernity, that is
the belief in the rational thinking and the assertion that there are personal rights which any state and any society is not entitled to breach.

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WHERE DO THEY BELONG? THE DIFFERENCES IN BETWEEN THE SO CALLED “SECOND GENERATION” OF MIGRANTS

Denise SCHUBERT*

*Department of Ethnomusicology, University of Music and Performing Arts, Graz, Austria

Abstract: This article shows why the wording “Second Generation of Migrants” is inappropriate when we talk about Migrant’s descendants. As migrant’s descendants never experienced the process of migration, we cannot treat them as a second generation and have to accept that their culture is different from their parents. According to that, this article lines out different categories of migrant’s descendants. These categories are based on the contact and relationship of the children with their parents culture, with the culture of their birth country and in which of these two cultures they are accepted as members (either in one of them, both of them or nowhere). These categories also include the case when a child is seen as a Migrant’s descendent even if the child is not technically one (for example in the case of adoption) and show the problem of nationality. They also bring up when a child is born in a country which is not its mothers or fathers home country. All these categories were developed after a rethinking of my 2 years of fieldwork in the Capeverdean Community in Metropolitan Lisbon. The aim of my article is to provoke a new consciousness of the diversity in between migrant’s descendants, helps to rethink programs to integrate migrant’s children in society and is an approach to develop advantages out of nowadays multicultural societies.

Keywords: music, human migration, community, collective identity

1. INTRODUCTION

Since Hornbostel and Sachs, musicology developed different path in dealing with music. Thereby, the relationship between the musical protagonist and the society became more and more a central object of scientific investigation. These investigations turned into a debate about music in culture (cf. Merriam, 1960) and music as culture (Rice, 1987) which shows precisely how far away we got from analyzing just the music towards music in its context (Nettl & Bruno, 1983). This can be e.g. a certain geopolitical, cultural, local or historical moment. To see music in its various contexts, music anthropologist nowadays understands music as mutable social phenomena. One approach to comprehend musical action is to focus on individuals (Danielson, 1997) or groups (Feld, 1982). On the one hand, even by respecting their uniqueness, global conclusions can be carefully done by analyzing the works and behaviors of an individual or certain group of people (Blacking, 1973). However, it is important to give these generalized conclusions space for flexibility and diversity. On the other hand, generalization can mislead to wrong conclusion, which in retrospect cannot always be proved by single cases. This predicament might be the reason, why children of migrants are still called the second generation. As they are also linked to migratory processes like the first generation it seems to be obvious that the first and the second generation of migrants share equal characteristics or at least take part of the same social or cultural group. Nevertheless, I wondered, if this obvious thought is really valid. The impact of that question comes from my fieldwork in Metropolitan Lisbon. Living in a Capeverdean Community in Portugal showed me very well the differences between the first and the so called second generation of migrants. It also turned out the diversity in between the second generation. After that empirical research in the Capeverdean Community in 2012-2013, this summer will be collected further data in the African Community of Graz in Austria. This establishes an even wider perspective on the topic and puts previous research results forward for discussion. With the help of the AFRICAN UMBRELLA ASSOCIATION STYRIA (Graz, Austria) this new fieldwork starts in summer 2016.
The following article emphasizes the importance to discuss the unequal identity of migrants and their descendants and builds the basic for the upcoming ethnomusicological research in the African Community in Styria. In conclusion, the article firstly points out the differences between the first and the second generation. Secondly, it provokes a rethinking of the diversity in between the so called second generation and shows further concerns.

2. COMPARING MIGRANTS IDENTITIES TOWARDS MIGRANTS DESCENDANTS IDENTITIES

An important starting point for that discussion are the reasons why people are forced or migrate voluntarily. Beginning with the geographer Ernest George Ravenstein and his seven laws of migration, push and pull factors are in the center of attention since the second half of the 19th century. (Ravenstein:1885). Ravenstein turns out that the migrant intention plays a meaningful role. Today it is well known that this intention includes if the migration is supposed to be temporary or permanent, the choice of and against a particular receiving country, even the choice of an internal migration or a long distance migration, as well as if it is a single choice or made by a group. Thus, migrants vanquish many crucial issues and experiences, such as adapting new behaviors, linguistic challenges and resolving administrative barriers. That shows that analyzing human migration is a very complex issue, because several causes, processes and objectives in time force individuals and groups finally to migrate. There are plenty of categories to classify these reasons, objectives and processes. Among others, they are based on geopolitical, economical, environmental, historical, religious, social and cultural motivations. However, the central turning point is to emigrate from a place of residence to immigrate to another receiving place.

On the following page 1 I will bring up shortly three different examples of collective identities, by comparing different Capeverdean communities in the diaspora, to show the diversity in between the migrants. Migrants creates their own new Lifeworlds as soon as they settle down in the receiving country. Sieber draws a wide picture of the Capverdian diaspora and shows how entangled the construction of the new world is with other communities. He compares the Capeverdean community in Boston, which does not associate themselves culturally as a lusophone environment, to the Capeverdean communities in New Bedford and Massachusetts (Sieber, 2011:132). The two last mentioned are connected with Portuguese immigrants in the U.S. and that is why they are capable to built a cultural lusophone conformance with other Portuguese speaking communities while living in the U.S. (Sieber, 2005:132). These are the first two examples to show that apparently similar migration turns out to pursue in different directions.

Besides interfering other cultures the moment of migration is also important. Before the independence from Portugal in 1975, the Capeverdean educational elite who lived in Portugal, was educated by the Portugues society and gained a strong relationship to Portuguese history and culture. Obviously, this has a fundamental influence on their own identity. After the independence Cape Verde „emphasize what is culturally unique and independent in cabo-verdianidade“ (Sieber, 2011:132). Hence the independence has also a deep influence on its members. It is notable that even on the Islands were groundbreaking changes between the identity of the society before and after the independence in 1975.

Another example is obtained from Halter. She describes in her work the rejection of Capeverdeans to identify themselves as part of the African-American community in the U.S.. She speaks in particular from the settlers form the Islands Fogo and Brava around the social movements of the 1960s in the U.S. (Halter, 2008:37). During my fieldwork on the Capeverdean Islands in 2015-2016, it seemed till today not always to be clear, if the Capeverdeans consider themselves culturally more African or more European. Of cause the Creole Identity is aspirational but there is still for many Capeverdeans an open discussion of how African are they.

Referring to Sieber once again, his turning point in „Popular music and cultural identity in the Cape Verdean post-colonial diaspora“ is that even by these directions all communities have a similar understanding of „cabo-verdianidade“ (Sieber, 2011:132). Explaining this Capeverdeaness, Monteiro attracts attention to the Capeverdean musical environment in Lisbon (Monteiro, 2011). He provides a quantitative overview of the local music scene. His concentration on Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura during his research conveys an collective identity deeply intervened by the Islands culture. Significant is the practice of very traditional music genre, where he pays a special attention on Batuku from the Island Santiago, which is continual performed in Portugal (Monteiro, 2011:220).
As well known, *Batuku* is the only musical Capeverdean genre which is dominated by women. All the other musical actions are dominated by men. That is why, the presence of women in the music scene in the diaspora shows precisely the complexity of connecting two worlds. Indeed, the musical environment in Metropolitan Lisbon put the women in center of attention. Either the woman plays a special role in a traditional way as a *Batukadera* or as a feminine singer of traditional music like Mornas and Coladeras. Here are to mention Celina Pereira, Maria Alice or Ana Firmino who reached a name of recognition while singing in the diaspora.

In sum, the new Lifeworld of immigrants in the diaspora is based on the interaction between on the one hand remembering, saving and practicing one’s own culture and on the other hand the permanent incoming influences of the cultural environment of the receiving country. The objective is to create a new home which results even though in creating a new identity.

Before the text goes through the arguments of the differences between the first and the *second generation* it might be helpful to understand why children from immigrants are considered as the *second generation*. Therefore it might be helpful to draw a comparison. The taxonomy *second generation* in technology e.g. signifies a newer version of a prototype, while they both share the same basics. Albeit, the newer generation is a more sophisticated version of the previous model like the sequence of generations of Smartphones or Cars. In that case we are talking about a development of a product line. To think now about the *second generation of migrants* it seems very inapplicable to get migrants and their descendants into one line. Firstly, there is no such thing like a prototype. Migration is an action, motivated by certain circumstances. Whatever makes people to move from one place to another there is no way to repeat the same process. There can be similar other migration because of comparable historical, geographical, financial or political analogies. Secondly, children of migrants cannot be seen in the same line as their parents, because they neither experienced the process of making the decision to migrate, nor did they proceed the action of migration. Indeed, they live with the consequences of their parents decision to migrate from one place to another but differently from their parents social intercourse. While migrants are building a new home and identity and pursue processes to integrate themselves somehow in the society of the receiving country, their children get already born in their parents created new Lifeworlds. Tabel 1 encounters the main elements of Lifeworlds, constituted by the parents, and unfolds various kinds of worlds.

As said, the *first* and even though the *second generation* struggle with the consequences of the decision to migrate. However we have to admit that they do it out of two dissimilar positions. The *first generation* faces these issues as an active migrant, while the *second generation* is a non-migrant but linked to processes of migration. Before there will be explored the *second generation of migrants*, it is reasonable to get an overview of how many different types of the *second generation of migrants* exist.

Mainly known are children from migrants, whose parents come from the same country or at least the same cultural background. In a modern globalized world this is not the only frame. For my theoretical approach I decide to include three societies in which children from migrants can participate by nature. The Table 1 heads two options for each of these three pathways. Either the child is informed about the culture or it is not informed. That means, letter A stands for the child who knows the cultural background of his father. This is the case, when the child has direct contact to the community where the father is coming from. This can be by regular visits, learning specific behaviors, a particular language and so on. Letter B signifies that the child is not informed about its fathers cultural background and has no direct contact. Letter C and D are corresponding to that model, regarding the mothers origin and letter E and F for the child’s country of birth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Migrants Descendants Lifeworlds</th>
<th>Culture is known</th>
<th>Culture is unknown</th>
<th>Integrated in Society</th>
<th>Not integrated in Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fathers Origin</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers Origin</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of Birth</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination 2^3 = 8</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2^3 = 8</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2^3 x 2^3 = 64</td>
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</table>

Now these opportunities of knowing or not knowing the parents cultural background can be combined. For example ACF stands for a child which knows the cultural origin of its father and even though of its mother plus its own country of
birth. In comparison ADE means that the child knows well the cultural origin of the father, not from the mother but again from its country of birth. All in all this concludes eight combinations of knowing and not knowing the cultural background of its parents and its own country of birth.

The child also can be seen as a part of the society of the fathers origin, of the mothers and of its own country of birth. Here we also keep the same logical structure as in the left part of the table. Either the child is integrated in the society of the fathers origin (1) or it is not (2). Here we have also eight different combinations of being a part or not of the fathers, and mothers’ society of origin and its own country of birth. Putting the two half of the table together, we find out 64 possibilities from which we have to withdraw impossible combinations.

Table 2. Impossible Descendants Lifeworlds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exception, all combination of:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 x 4 = 16


4 x 4 = 16


4 x 4 = 16


48

64 - 48 = 16

Evidently, a child cannot be a part of the society of his father's origin, when it does not have any contact. The same issue rules for the mothers society and the country of birth. They are coded by all combinations with B and 1 (e.g. BCE135), D and 2, F and 5. These impossible combinations constitute 48 of 64. That means, the theoretical approach exposes at least 16 possibilities of how to be a child of migrants in respect of knowing the parents cultural background and being linked to their societies and also claims the relationship in the society of its country of birth.

Now as this is much theorized, it might be more convincing to show some case example. To stay in line it will be exposed cases from the Capeverdean diaspora. Many children belong to the typ ACE135. Both, mother and father, come from the Capeverdean Islands. It is even not unusual that they come from the same Island. Their child, who is born in a foreign country, is well informed about its parents cultural background. As the child is attending a school and is a integrated member of the society of its birth country, it is also well informed of that culture. The child speaks Capeverdian Creole as good as Portuguese or English, regarding to the national language of its birth country, knows the history of Cape Verde more or less well like the history of its birth country and has different peer groups in both societies. A lot of famous musicians are belonging to that group. e.g. Lura Criola (Portugal), Maria de Barros (Senegal) or Tony Fonseca (Holland). They were born in different Capeverdean diaspora at different times, but are strongly connected to the Capeverdean music scene. Also young Batukaders in Metropolitain Lisbon, who do not all have been to Cape Verde are continuing the musical tradition of their mothers.

Nevertheless, there are a lot of kindred cases. Belonging to that, the migrants’ child is technical in a position where it could be strongly connected to his parents’ culture as she previous examples presents. As a consequence of a normal generation conflict, the child can have problems to identify itself with his parents’ background. It happens e.g. when the society of the parents home country changes intensively. That can be in case of civil war, (in)dependence, changing religious policy and so on. The child has to distinguish between its own experiences with the parents society of origin, and the input by its parents, who were educated by a community which does not exist in that way anymore. To say it in other words, the parents’ society of origin has changed so much, that their child has no opportunity to connect to this old live, to whom the parents are still linked. However it can connect to contemporary society of his parents’ home country and its alignment. At this juncture, I want to pay attention to an actual case, which influences radically the European media and also current elections. At the moment Europa is confronted with a high increment of refugees, who left their home country because of war. In few years from now Europe has to deal with thousands of children from refugees, who will built their own identity in a lot of different countries in Europe. So they will see their parents’ country of origin, e.g. Syria, in a different way than their parents remember Syria before they had to decide to emigrate. Besides that, as the refugees are spread to whole Europe, their descendants will grow up under different social, political and economical circumstances, which also influences the descendants identity. The question we cannot answer by now is in which direction they are going to establish their identity. We just can say for sure that it will be different form their parents.

Even in the same family, two children born in their parents’ diaspora can develop two different identities. Regarding to the migration point, the circumstances in which the children where born, can be totally different and influence the children's
collective identity. For example children of Capeverdeans who grew up in the U.S. e.g. in 1960s (social movements and Black Power) differentiates them from children who grew up around 1975 (Capeverdean independence from Portugal), in the 1990s (globalization) and nowadays after 2000 (digital World).

Another strong distinction between the migrants and their descendants, besides the general generation conflict, is simply the fact of having and not having passed migration. Passing migration is such a decisive turning point in human lives, that after that we barely can put the identity of migrants and their descendants in one line.

As previously said, migrants children create an identity apart from their parents. Connected to their peer group within their Lifeworld, created by their parents which can include descendants from other immigrants too, it also can be that the new identity is more linked to the cultural background of descendants from other immigrants. For example a child from Mozambican immigrants in Loures, who is surrounded by children from other nations like Angola, Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau adopts also habits of the other kid's parents and creates with its peer group a new identity under the umbrella of their divers parents worlds. There are already plenty of studies about music from the descendants of migrants. Producing hip hop and rap in the Capeverdean diaspora is phenomena to which some researchers already are dedicated. These two musical genre have always been a symbol of musical social critique. It helps to express anger, frustration, concerns, describes the Lifeworld of the protagonists. Now this seems to be an ideal musical path to go through the process of understanding ones own community and social life, as well as it helps to process the creation of a new identity (Martins, 2009:255-256). Batalha writes in this context from a new pan-African identity and that

“[...] youths born in Portugal to Cape Verdean parents are classified by the white mainstream as ‘jovens de origem africana’ (youths of African origin). [...] Because they are perceived as ‘Africans’, their integration is difficult; reciprocally, because they see in their skin colour [sic!] a reason for rejection, they tend to interpret their relation to the mainstream in terms of race, which in turn pushes them to develop an oppositional, ‘African’ identity” (Batalha, 2008: 64).

But not just hip hop and rap offers an opportunity to create a new world. The musician Sara Taveres was raised by a Portuguese. Later on she started a new path. She is an example of how children from migrants can get access to their parents’ worlds in their later life. The reason in the first place could be that the parents do not want to confront their child with their own cultural background. Another reason is that the child gets to know its biological parents later in its life because it was raised by others, who are not part of their parents Lifeworld. Getting back to our example, Tavares career shows how she became more and more influenced by also the Capeverdean music. Her Album Balance is a climax where she mixes Portuguese with Cape Verdean and other musics. Her mixture is a new trait and can be seen as a musical example of World Music\(^1\). The most obvious feature of her music is the language where she combines Portuguese and Capeverdean Creole with English. An example is “One love” with the letters “You know I need you, I can't live without you, não há ninguém como tu. Ka tem ninguém cima bo” (Tavares, 2005). Besides the language it is also interested to analyse further musical characteristics, in particular the instrumentation she uses in live concerts. That shows us that descendants from immigrants can stick to one category like ACE135 or they change from one category like BDE245 to ACE135 by choice and possibility to get to know their parents culture. That brings us to the question if we concern children like them also as descents of migrants, because they were not educated by migrants and miss some essential phases in their lifes, what children from migrants have to pass.

Last but not least, I point out the nationality. The nationality of descendants is a bureaucratic factor which distinguishes one child of an immigrant from another, who was born in another country. The reason why their parents migrated and also the time can be similar but nevertheless the kids have two unlike nationalities. We have to think about that a nationality is not just a paper. It defines rights and duties to a community. How does a child of immigrants gets into one by law? To say it in simple words, either the child receives the nationality of its birth country by the right of ius soli (e.g. Brasil), its parents nationality by ius sanguini (e.g. France) or there is an option model (e.g. Germany) like double nationality or choosing one (Conrad and Kocka, 2001:94).

\(^1\) The term World Music is very controversial. In that case it means basically that World Music combines varies musics from different Lifeworlds. By including, connecting and mixing them, the musicians create a new style in between, which is Worldmusic in that frame.

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3. CONCLUSIONS

As seen, the world of descendants of migrants is very complex. Influenced by time, cultural diversity, access points and politics the children from migrants develop various path of collective identity. These models cause to alter nowadays structures. Social debates about integration and segregation appeal people’s emotions and influences thereby, recently notable in the last two years in Europe, political decisions. Lately the elections in Austria and few states of Germany show precisely the communities awareness and concerns of receiving immigrants. That will not just stay for by that. In few years from now, the immigrants children will be active in the process of changing society. We have to be prepared in which direction cultural differences forms society. That leads to acceptance of diversity, rethinking in educational institutions and structures, challenges and advantages of a multicultural society. We also have to be aware of the Andorra effect. While working with the AFRICAN UMBRELLA ASSOCIATION STYRIA in Austria during the last three years, I recognized that many children from African Immigrants are defined by their parents. Max Fisch “Andorra” (Frisch, 1960) is a literal work about being seen and treated as someone just because of one single characteristic. His play is about prejudice against a boy who is considered as Jewish in an anti-Semitic society until his father reveals the truth that the boy is actually not Jewish. But during the whole time the society expects several behaviour and dedicates all his life to being Jewish until even the boy considers himself as Jewish and relates all his life this false identity. The Andorra effect, named after this play, signifies how people influence irreversible the character of another person. In our case of descendants of migrants it could be that a individual might probably feel like a stranger just because of being treated as an migrant (e.g. casa of adoption or raise by someone else but its family).

Even if migration was never experienced this linked the individual to a communities identity which is not suppose to be its, unless the individual creates a new collective identity with others in the same situation. For the society it means to see children from migrants not as strangers in society but as they are as active members of worldwide societies.

All in all gives an overview about the complexity of this topic. Firstly, the Lifeworlds of migrants creates divers social backgrounds for their descants. Secondly because of various reasons, children are well connected – not connected – or changing their connection to their parents identity and the relationship to their parents culture of origin. That provokes an even more heterogeneous group as the connotation second generation implies. Newer studies have the duty to analyze precisely the various schemata of the culture of descendants of migrants to distinguish them from their parents and also in between. This last thought is maybe the most important task. Many branches like media, social networks, educational systems, professional groups need to know the advantages and disadvantages of the large group of descendants of migrants.

The AFRICAN UMBRELLA ASSOCIATION STYRIA is a social Austrian organization which is dedicated to work with children from African immigrants. With the help of that organisation, ground breaking studies starts to motivate a new field of research.

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INTERCULTURALITY: AN ATTEMPT OF RECONSTRUCTION IN A WORLD OF DECONSTRUCTION

Diana Ilișoi*

*Department of Fundamental Sciences and Management, “Henri Coandă” Air Force Academy, Brașov, Romania

Abstract: We live in a complex, ultra-dynamic and uncertain world for the human being, a world subjected permanently to an avalanche of challenges and demand that are often unpredictable. The understanding of the contemporary society and of its evolving course calls for an approach to the topic of culture. Together with the economic issues, the cultural subjects have gained increased importance in accomplishing and understanding social development and geopolitical transformations. More and more realities and phenomena of the contemporary world are being explained through culture, which has become one of the decisive non-economic factors of advance. The idea of a new paradigm of culture is being launched, as a result of a reconfiguration of its internal structure, through the expansion of knowledge and communication, of consumer culture, of post-modern forms of art etc. At the same time, we witness an alteration of social mentalities, cultural conducts, taste, of the contemporary man’s whole lifestyle. If modern cultural globalization has initiated the expansion of western values and lifestyles (occidentalization of the world), then, the development of informational society and the amplification of communications have caused a multi-directional development, a non-unilateral globalization, very hard to understand and manage. Interculturality, as a theoretical and actional principle, is intended as the path toward understanding and solving the contemporary world’s challenges.

Keywords: culture, interculturality, globalization, deconstruction

1. INTRODUCTION

The antidote to this profound crisis that has covered the world should be, among others that function independently, the theoretical and action principle of interculturality. In order to underline the surpassing of previous stages, pluri- and multiculturality, interculturality, through its prefix inter highlights interaction, exchange, reciprocity, openness, solidarity. Culture becomes a potential instrument for remaking the mankind’s unity, for installing harmony among people. The respect of the cultural pluralism, of diversity, is converted into interculturalism.

2. INTERCULTURALITY – AN ATTEMPT FOR RECOVERING MANKIND’S HARMONY

The antidote to this profound crisis that has covered the world should be, among others that function independently, the theoretical and action principle of interculturality. In order to underline the surpassing of previous stages, pluri- and multiculturality, interculturality, through its prefix inter highlights interaction, exchange, reciprocity, openness, solidarity. Culture becomes a potential instrument for remaking the mankind’s unity, for installing harmony among people. The respect of the cultural pluralism, of diversity, is converted into interculturalism.

The founder of phenomenology, Edmund Husserl, analyzing the spiritual configuration of Europe (Kulturgebilde), finds out the unity of spiritual life, “the self-unifying character” of cultural products: “Beyond the conflicts among European nations, they preserve in their spirit a specific internal connection that overcomes national differences” (Husserl, 1997:27). There is a European spiritual telos, beyond the European crisis of human existence.

The German philosopher and sociologist Georg Simmel criticizes modernity as a world in which not only object but also human values are reduced to the status of merchandise. It is a world in which money dominates the social life, quantity prevails
over quality and semblance ignores essence. Although his vision has pessimistic and tragic accents, it contains the manifestation of trust in the repairing, unifying effect of culture: “Culture is the path from the close unity concealed through a large manifestation of plurality, toward the unveiled unity” (Simmel, 1998:211).

The Antillean poet Derek Walcott, laureate of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1992, born at the confluence of cultures, witnesses the tumults of his contemporary world, “found in a painful process of better understanding itself, torn apart by vanities and sharp contradictions” (Walcott, 1993:61). The poet’s sensitivity perceives the world as a Babylon of languages and images, races, ethnic groups and cultures, “in a land that seems not to be able to accommodate us, suddenly becoming too small”, which causes the contemporary cultural and moral crisis (Simmel, 1998:63).

The recovery of mankind’s harmony implies its redefining under the conditions of the contemporary life. Etymologically, the term comes from the Latin “humanus”, derivate of “homo”, man. Regularly, it designates the human gender, but also benevolence toward kinfolk. The concept of humanity resulted by opposition to animality (Clement et al., 2000:534). Due to his capacity of learning, his consciousness and language, the man creates a new ontological level, in his hypostasis of creative being that founded the path toward culture and history. In this respect, humanity transcends particular individuals, reflecting the continuity of the manifestations of typical human traits, on the time axis. Scholars consider the man as being the expression of the universal: each human being comprises the essence of humanity (humanitas), is the bearer of humanitas, which makes possible his connection with the universal, namely, with what exists for ever and everywhere (semper et ubique). This aspect is to be found in the specificity of the cultural process, in its internal chemistry, rendered by the objectivization of subject and the subjectivization of object. Thus, culture performs the leap, the unity between personal and superpersonal, because it is that “type of individual perfection that can occur only through assimilation or the use of superpersonal creation” (Simmel, 1998:218).

Olivier Reboul defines humanity by means of three values: communication, equality and solidarity, values that converge toward the accomplishment of communion of all spirits, transgressing their diversity (Reboul, 1992:25). Out of these constituting dimensions of humanity, the universal right of each individual to be recognized as human comes forward, an idea that brings back to actuality the Kantian categorical imperative: “Act so that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in that of another, always as an end and never as a means only” (Kant, 1999:238). The man cannot be treated as a simple object (reification of man takes place in modernity), because due to his very humanity, he possesses absolute value, a sacred character. The moral obligation that derives from this status is directed toward him and also toward others.

The thinker Herman von Keyserling, a fine observer of the European intellectual effervescence but equally the turmoil that lacerated Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century, warned:

The idea of humanity lost its entire force and prestige. Therefore, if a profound change does not occur in our souls, we will have to expect decades or even centuries of massacres…” (Keyserling, 1996:7).

In his opinion, the excessive intellectualization of modern man, the overestimation of homo sapiens ignore the sentimental value of the notion of humanity:

the inhumane being or dehumanized is not the imbecile, but the individual lacking superior feelings: and the latter are the ones that offer the connector which lay the foundation of communities (Keyserling, 1996:50).

Pleading for the spiritual revival of man and the suppression of the existent discrepancy between external (material) progress and the internal one, his thoughts are directed toward the future, to the possibility of the human being to reach harmony and plentitude, to a new humanism.

Rene-Jean Dupuy, on basis of analyzing the idea of community, distinguishes five meanings of humanity, highlighting its relativity: captured humanity, tolerated humanity, unified humanity, scattered humanity and open humanity (Cuçoș, 1995:85). Captured humanity belongs to a socio-cultural group pretending to be the embodiment of the perfect value of humanity. The majority group, the “chosen” one, that tolerates the others, embodies the tolerated humanity. The pretension of expansion from the western culture is attributed with the expression of the unified humanity, through the assimilation of all the others within an imposed unity. The result of exacerbation of racial, ethnical, confessional etc. differences led to the appearance of scattered humanity. The open humanity corresponds to an ideal, that of the unity in diversity, which supports the affirmation of both similitude and difference, within a harmonious plurality.

Nowadays, all these forms of humanity coexist, in various proportions, and with various highlights, based on the actual socio-historical characteristics
of the place. In this context, interculturality becomes the promoting instrument for the open humanity, through the achievement of a balance between equality and diversity, the free manifestation of differences and the avoidance of spiritual dissolution. The dynamics identity-altersity or closeness-openness is defining for the world today and for cultures’ fate. A culture proves its value not only through itself, but also through the “manner in which it allows openness toward reverberations from outside” (Cucos, 2002:132).

Universal communication, the free flux of words and images that spread around the world represents accelerating factors of cultural globalization. In this context, the cultivation of identity and the requirements of globalization need to be situated in a complementarity rapport. Own identity becomes the premises for openness, access to universality and equally, the conscientization of own cultural identity, it implies knowledge of other cultures, similar to the manner in which the path to oneself passes through the Others:

any culture periodically needs confrontation with a different one. And this confrontation involves knowledge, prior intimacy with it, in other words, influence (Gasset, 1997:25).

This oscillation could lead to reinvention of “community” to the detriment of the contemporary “society”.

The German philosopher Max Scheler (1874-1928), follower and exponent of the phenomenological movement, analyzes the distinction society-community: As a “general cultural attitude that proposes an ample and optimistic openness in confrontations with reality”, phenomenology offers the right register for reading and understanding the contemporary world (Enciclopedia de filosofie și științe umane, 2004:966). This philosophy gravitates around values and their role, in different forms of human organization. This aspect makes the difference between “society” and “community”. Community presupposes a net of interactions among individuals, and, on the other side, values shared as community values. These are values that circulate through communication, are based on recognition and interiorization. When this nets tears apart, “society” appears, as a unity based on “remains”, “waste” resulted from internal processes of the scattered community: “When the unity of community life is no longer capable of cultivating individuals as vivid organs of its body, society appears like unity based only on a contract” (…) , “an arbitrary, artificial inter-human bond…” (Scheler, 1998:163). The distinction belongs to the German sociologist and philosopher (1855-1936), and it appears in his work “Community and Society” (1887). If for the pre-industrial society community is specific, in industrial and post-industrial societies it becomes impossible to achieve because both individuals and social classes and categories take action to satisfy their own needs and interests, in a selfish manner, by means of laws and contracts. Natural, spontaneous and powerfully charged emotionally relationships are replaced by formal relations, of contractual type. Individuals composing the society live “next to each other” without being “together”, strangers to one another. This estrangement manifests not only in relations with the others, but also toward themselves. “Global society” does nothing else but to multiply, at planetary level, through a space-temporal expansion, this matrix of social relationships specific to “societies”.

Overcoming the pessimism of Tönnies’ approach, there are many voices that invoke culture and interculturality as being possible key factors for the “healing of countless wounds caused by the hatred and intolerance that dominated most of the twentieth century” (Delors, 2000:178). Prevention against the peril of dehumanization and the reconstruction of “homo humanus” involve the accomplishment of an internal evolution of an individual endowed with freedom and responsibility. Learning how to live not next to the other, but together with others, equals learning how to live harmoniously within oneself. Inner and external harmony of the relationship with the world is reciprocally demanded. The term harmony, due to its semantic universe, expresses the telos of this endeavor. Often used to express the quality of interhuman relationships, or of the socio-affective climate, the concept derives from the Greek „harmonia“, signifying “equilibrium, balance of contrasts” (Peters, 1993:113). The theory of harmony was developed by the Greek Pythagorean School: the reduction of music intervals to mathematical rapports and the proposal of number as the constitutive principle of all things (arithmos), led to a cosmological theory based on the musical harmony of the world. At the same time, the term was used to explain the mixtures (holon), or to convey the psyche, as harmony among contrasts. From the esthetical perspective, harmony stands for absolute agreement among the elements of a whole (…). According to tradition, the parts or functions of a whole need to be organically structured, yet equally distinct, in order to produce a unitary general and balanced effect (Lăzărescu, 1995:38).
In other words, harmony is the one that assures “unity in variety” or “unity in multiplicity”.

This meaning of harmony leads us to the European Council’s calls “All equal – All different” (Cozma, 2001:22) or “Unity in diversity”. Furthermore, appealing to esthetics, we can invoke the chromatic harmony and its similarities with the European multi- and interculturalism. Traditionally, there are two types of chromatic agreements: by analogy, within which the chromatic dominant (the main color) is the one that creates the general hue and imposes its character, the other hues being subordinated to it (notice the assimilation process of the minor culture by the host culture); the second type of chromatic agreement is by contrast (polychromy) that is based on some dissimilar or complementary colors’ contrasts. In the contemporary art, these modalities are abandoned, to leave room for some unlimited series of intermediary, new harmonies, whose character, although it may be consonant, assonant, dissonant, there is an internal coordinating logic in each of them, a coherent system of relations. By analogy, we can assert that the European cultural polychromy corresponds to that type of harmony that abandons the idea of psychic comfort and introduces the dissonances, shock, variation of distributions and rhythms, of surprise elements.

This is the European cultural framework, whose polychromy and harmony should be supported by the common element of humanity. A significant contribution, in this respect, comes on behalf of ethology, which highlights the fact that intimate feelings and human conducts possess as resources systems of impulses coming from phylogenetic or cultural foundations, and they are part of a well ordered and harmonically functional system. Therefore, the preservation of what has already been tested (traditions, habits, values etc.) represents an essential condition for the evolution of culture, just like a genome is for species’ transformation (Lorenz, 2006:73). In the Austrian ethologist Konrad Lorenz’ view, culture, through the system of promoted social behavior models that represents the very skeleton of a culture, forms the connection of a cultural group and any arbitrary removal of an element may have unpredictable effects on the quality of interhuman relationships and, implicitly, on the health of the social community. Under the circumstances of the contemporary world, removal of traditions and the explosion of the new, ultradynamism, incertitude and unpredictable leave its imprint on the relationships between people, with effects on their humanity. Lorenz identifies a series of factors that pose the threat of culture destruction: the powerful underestimation of irrational knowledge thesaurus (or the overestimation of science); overestimation of the thesaurus produced by homo faber, which becomes the source of the malicious arrogance of reasoning, to which national hatred adds. Another disturbing phenomenon is the hatred between generations, the equivalent of hatred between different ethnic groups (Lorenz, 2006:77-78). The generation gap, between parents and children is the source of weakening and gradual altering of the entire net of social relations, of the capacity of having human contacts. These realities confirm the theories released by the social psychology that strengthen the socio-cultural substance of the human personality, in its hypostasis of socio-cultural construct, of emergence of constant interactions between an individual and its life environment. Although it is the product of its individual experiences, of its existential progress, it will contain typical models of behavior, generally recognized and accepted by the members of society and fundamental for the values they share. Thus, a type of “cultural behavior” is shaped, and it is defined through the totality of actions, reactions, attitudes, beliefs which an individual manifests in a preset social situation. The process becomes more intricate at the psychological level, under the conditions of the current intercultural texture, through the acculturation phenomenon. The concept launched by the American anthropologist G.W. Powel, at the end of the nineteenth century, designates the profound transformations produced in the reasoning and acting manner of migrants, on their encounter with the American society of insertion. The acculturation process produces durable modifications over individual and collective personalities, reconfigurations of values and attitudes, sometimes discrepancies, which affect the inner equilibrium of people, who lose their unity and the harmony of their inner universe. Their regaining is difficult, at considerable costs, although sometimes this reality is minimized. Social and cultural heredity come in place, yet, psychological studies show that, through their mechanisms, “the value, attitudinal and behavioral model of a community changes only after three generations from the alteration of that community’s composition” (Gavreliuc, 2011:55). Intercultural experiences represent real challenges for the individual identity profile. Even though there is an axiological nucleus, relatively stable, of each individual, its cultural identity is permanently subjected to alterations and reconstructions, and it permanently redefines itself. Out of the axiological universe that dominated the world today, the value that is worth restoring is the human being and its humanity, value that was gradually absorbed by the material values of the last two centuries.
3. CONCLUSIONS

Beyond the economic interests or political statements, the real challenge of interculturality consists of identifying the shared value of humanity, fact that implies a repositioning of values. The top position of the pyramid should be occupied by MAN and his humanity, whereas the reconstruction of communities becomes the indispensable condition of this aspiration. This is the great mission of education in the twenty-first century: the development of humanity in every human being - a very difficult endeavor that implies (re)learning how to live together.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

VOICING BALKAN IMAGINARY: IDENTITY METAPHORS OF KUMPANIA ALGAZARRA IN LISBON

Maria ESPÍRITO SANTO*

*Department of Music Sciences (DCM), Faculty of Social and Human Sciences (FCSH), Nova University of Lisbon (UNL), Portugal

Abstract: This article addresses the relationship between music and identity in a collective of bands that perform Balkan music in Lisbon. Supported by a theoretical and methodological framework based on Ethnomusicology studies on music and identity, I proceed to analyse the emergence of the founding group of this collective – Kumpania AlgaZarra. I particularly aim to understand why Balkan music is chosen; what are the sound elements used in its representation; which are the processes of musical signification; and how the Balkan phenomenon is reflected in the lifestyle of the performers under study. The results of my participant observation and fieldwork analysis confirm the existence of an identity construction based on the Balkan’s imaginary that the musicians aim to reproduce. I trace hypotheses that lead me to consider this collective as a musically imagined community, based on the sharing of autonomous symbols, verifying that music’s evocation of imagined identities can lead to the transformation of both individual and collective identities. I conclude by proposing the studied music as a metaphor of a specific social identity, sustained by a musically imagined collective.

Keywords: Balkan music, identity, musically imagined community

1. INTRODUCTION

In this article I analyze identity relationships of a group of bands that play Balkan music in Lisbon, trying to substantiate their appearance, the representation of the music they perform, and the ways in which they build a musical identity based on Balkan imaginaries. My investigation involved ethnographic work with the group Kumpania AlgaZarra in Lisbon between 2013 and 2014. I tried to understand the reason for the growing appearance, in the last years, of youth groups playing Balkan music in Portugal. Did the performers frame their music as a representation of Balkanism? If so, how does this representation mirror itself in the musics that are played, and what sound characteristics make us listen and relate it to Balkan music? Furthermore, could this universe of bands be a musical community and - in a final analysis – does it create a specific social identity?

Theoretically, my research is mainly based on the connections between music and identity, with a particular focus on the role of music in understanding societies in transition in central and Western Europe from the 1970s to the revolutionary period of 1989/90. As main references, I cite authors like Donna Buchanan (2006) and (2007), Mark Slobin (1996), Martin Stokes (1994), Timothy Rice (2001), (2003) and (2007) and Georgina Born (2000).

2. B OF BOOM, B OF BALKANIC

The large number of broadcasts of Balkan sounds, especially in the last two decades, has given rise to a trans-Balkan musical phenomenon that has hugely impacted Eastern Europe. All over the continent, important names associated to Balkan music have received international acclaim, such as Emir Kusturica, Fanfare Ciocărlia, Gorán Bregovic and Ivo Papazov, all of whom, in their shows, have utilized musical elements that lead back to this region. Portugal has been no exception with the rise (in Lisbon) of bands, made up mainly of young people that have tried to reproduce a model characteristic of the Balkans in the last ten years. Kumpania AlgaZarra, founded in 2004, was the first band in Lisbon to receive popular attention. Afterwards, other groups formed by Portuguese musicians that identified themselves
with Balkan music emerged, such as Farra Fanfarra, Original Bandalheira, Peña Kalimotxo, Bizu Coollective, Gapura, Pás de Problème and Marco i Blacky.

The end of the communist period created space for the appearance of a new category within world music - Balkan music. The wide circulation of this new market label increasingly incited appetite for Balkan sonorities, leading to the proliferation of musical ensembles that started playing this type of music all over Europe. In this same period, a common representation of the Balkan imaginary began to assert itself, strongly marked by Kusturica films and their soundtracks. Speeches about Balkanism, its sonorities and ways of living became more and more common, recreating commonly shared symbols, wrapped up in a Kustirican imaginary, of an explicit Romani universe, connected to rurality, festivity and music.

In my case study, a young musician named Francisco Amorim (or Kiko) was very important in the appearance of this phenomenon in Portugal. Kiko experienced musical contact with the Balkans, which led him to incorporate, recreate and reinterpret related musical practices and ideas as groundbreaker in pioneering bands of Balkan music in Lisbon. In the summer of 2000, during a cultural exchange in Bosnia to reconstruct a church destroyed during the war, Kiko got familiar with a musical universe that was strikingly similar to his proper profile as a musician. He went back to the Balkan region in the following years to do community work, establishing connections with different Bosnian, Serbian, Hungarian and Romanian musicians. In 2004, he then founded Kumpania Algazarra with four befriended musicians.

As I referred above, Kumpania Algazarra is arguably the first band in Lisbon (and in Portugal) to affirm a series of characteristics and musical elements that refer to Balkan music. According to its members, the group was born "in a street in Sintra on a normal day, during a chat among befriended musicians in a good mood". Since its foundation the band has presented itself in several types of performances that go beyond the usual stage concert, thanks to its acoustic and mobile component: street entertainments, demonstrations, weddings, and private parties. During these performances, band members play, sing and dance, always with a festive humor, together with the audience, and accompanied by a megaphone, through which Trinta (vocals and saxophone) sings and interacts with the audience. This megaphone has been the band’s trademark since its first performances, and band members consider it one of their key instruments. Kumpania Algazarra has already traveled the country from north to south and has also done several international performances.

In 2012, the band experienced a momentum in their history: they went to Guca, a folk festival that takes place in the Serbian village of Guca, considered to be one of the greatest music festivals worldwide by ethnic music lovers. Guca occurs on an annual basis and lasts seven days. Within the festival there is a brass band competition, in which "the best worldwide instrumentalists" are selected. The bands that intend to compete here must send a recording of one of their performances to the festival organization and, after a triage, only twelve groups are selected. In my case study, Kumpania Algazarra’s participation in what is considered the biggest and most important festival of Balkan music celebration is established as an interesting phenomenon. This was the first time a Portuguese band took part in the festival, asserting itself as Balkan music performer, especially for its participation in the contest. However, the musicians indicate that locals perceived a Portuguese band playing Balkan music as something rather exotic, as they appropriated and reinterpreted music in their own way. Nevertheless, for the band, the fact that they were, in a way, "assessed" as Balkan music performers was an important challenge and, above all, implied a growing consciousness of a bridge between their Balkan imaginary and what they saw and heard in Serbia.

Kumpania Algazarra normally plays original compositions; street entertainments are the only time when the band plays covers in acoustic format. On stage, the repertory has always consisted of original music and lyrics, created by the members of the band. During their twelve years of existence, Algazarra has produced four recorded albums: Kumpania Algazarra (2008), Kumpania Algazarra Remixed (2010), Ao Vivo FMM2011 (2011) (Live FMM2011), Kumpania Algazarra - A Festa Continua (2013) (The Party Goes On) and Acoustic Express (2015).

Nowadays, there are at least ten bands in Lisbon with similar characteristics as Kumpania Algazarra that equally performs Balkan sonorities. This leads to the question: what sound characteristics make us listen to these bands and relate them to Balkan music? And how is this sonic Balkan imaginary mirrored in the music?

The first element that meets the ear is pitch. Pitch refers to an idea of Balkanism, especially regarding group instrumentation. There is a predominance of brass (trumpets, trombones, tuba and sousaphone) as well as saxophone, and

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1 Interview with Pedro, May 26th 2014, Sagrada Familia, Lisbon.
sometimes clarinet and percussions. This composition model is very common for brass bands of the Balkan region. It is also the model that Kusturica presents in his films, and the model that appeared in Portugal, first with Kumpania Algazzara and in the bands that were founded later.

To the pitch element, one can add musical rhythms, generally additive rhythms, or uneven ones, rather characteristic of Balkan music (5/8, 7/8, for example), usually repeated in continuous patterns or by alternation of long and short length. Regarding the harmonic-melodic system, music is generally modal, with the melodies prevailing on the harmonies. The chords take an ornamental function, while the melodies are complex and masterful. We can also notice augmented second interval, generally used between the second and the third degree of the scale (which, since the half of the XIX century, was used to represent the "other", as, for example, in Hungarian, gypsy, Turkish and Arabic music). The musical sentences frequently have irregular and uneven lengths and in their performances (especially mobile performances), musicians spontaneously prolong the themes *ad libitum*, linking different melodies without separation, and building long sections of improvisation.

2.1 Balkan musical identity: the beginning of a new musical community. The boom of Balkan bands in Portugal occurred in a period in which people started hearing about the economic crisis, which enabled interpretations of music as a form of manifesto, political protest, and cultural resistance. During my fieldwork, musicians in fact stated that their music follows a protest trend in search for an alternative to mainstream culture. They also indicated that they tried to promote their ideas through their music’s original lyrics with a social purpose that, to my understanding, is based on three goals: political protest, cultural resistance and incentive to social change. In other words, the musicians proclaim a better society, with better living conditions, based on the ideals of freedom and equality for all. In this respect, the presence in political demonstrations has always been a distinctive feature of Kumpania Algazzara: they have already taken part in demonstrations all over the country, from the typical demonstrations of the 25th of April, to demonstrations of JCP (Communist Party Youth), and their frequent presence in Festas do Avante (Avante Festivals), among several other cultural actions. In this light, music is claimed as a social metaphor, in that musicians identify as a "musical minority" in society, given that they started in street performances and keep on being marked by this particularity. The interviewed musicians recognize they are socially considered as of "lower importance"², whether by their posture or by the way they represent their type of music and repertory. The representations themselves, built around the Balkanism, easily slide towards the "cliché" of the gypsy musician, virtuoso, but who plays on the streets and is socially diminished. These performers adopt music as a way of marking difference in a society with a poor political and economic state of affairs, in which they feel unstructured and unidentified.

I contend that the Balkan music acts that I have presented act as expression and symbol of a specific group, on the one hand, and as integral part of a process that generates, changes and supports a collective, on the other. From my fieldwork, a series of factors emerges that announce the presence of a musical community. This collective self-understanding is evoked not only in music, but also in tastes, attitude, speech, vocabulary, and costumes. Socially, the majority of these young people are in a similar situation of work precariousness, as they gain their income mainly through music, and share an interventionist political and cultural position. In addition, they also share a similar value system; I have noticed, for example, a strong involvement in voluntary projects, social solidarity, environment preservation and animal defense.

A community is based on the sharing of specific symbols, such as musical performance in this case. Music is a form of communication, not only because it enables a way of successful and shared interaction among its members, but also because of expectations of a self-reflexive attitude towards the shared symbology that comes with performing in these bands. This self-reflexive attitude consists in the learning process of the particularities of the music that is performed: the Balkan music these musicians (re)present covers a series of characteristics that had to be learned and assimilated, as, for example, the diatonic melodies, the arpeggios of top extension to the eighth, the frequent use of chromaticism, uneven rhythms and exaggeration in vibrato and staccato. This means that they are expected to organize their own narrative and produce symbolic orientations that community members can easily recognize. They create emotional connections, taste and interest in a type of music that was “exotic” or different at the beginning, developing an imaginary reconstruction of music and the surrounding musical environment (the so called Kusturican Romani ruralism), which eventually gave rise to their own identities. The identity constructions recreated by the musicians

² Kiko's interview, May the 15th 2014, Fontanelas.
therefore constitute experiences of their cultural imaginary. Using the term developed by Georgina Born, I call this collective "musical-imagined community" (Born, 2000:14).

Kumpania Algazarra, apart from being groundbreaking in its typology in Portugal, is still a strong pillar in the musical community mentioned above, through the organization of several initiatives with a view to promote the development of the music they perform. The Festival Brass de Ferro (Iron Brass Festival), first held in 2013, is perhaps the best example of this. According to the musicians, the festival’s purpose is to promote the brass band culture and create a bond among the different bands. The Brass de Ferro features an annual band contest in which the majority of the groups I contemplate in this musical community has participated. It is the first huge event of Balkan music in Portugal, made up only of Portuguese bands. To my understanding, Brass de Ferro can be considered as the medium of a musical style that goes against mainstream cultural order, while also expressing the search for a collective identity.

The social order and formal identity of the groups themselves is temporarily suspended so that a communitarian feeling may arise. The soundscape for the festival night (which I witnessed) includes a series of stylistic musical characteristics that support the Balkan sonic imaginary while also evoking a specific musical identity. Brass de Ferro promotes a specific social identity, both conveyed and structured through the meaning that Balkan music carries for the members of this musical community.

3. CONCLUSIONS

I conclude that the Balkan music acts in this case study stand out as both an expression and symbol of a specific group. In addition, a number of factors announce the presence of a musical community, based on the sharing of featured symbols with a narrative organized by the community. To my understanding, musical collective has created an imaginary reconstruction of Balkan music, leading musicians both to the exploration of their individual identities and the assimilation of a collective identity. Music appears in this universe as a metaphor of a specific social identity, voiced by a musically imagined community that voices Balkan imaginaries in Lisbon.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY
RURAL MUSICAL CULTURE OF MIGRANTS FROM DINARIC REGIONS SETTLED IN CENTRAL SERBIA

Jelena JOVANOVIĆ*

*Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract: Specific culture of the inhabitants of the Dinaric mountains region in the Western Balkans has already been observed primarily by ethnographers, antropogeographers and historians, and in recent times also by ethnomusicologists. This paper is dedicated to intriguing subject of the elements of Dinaric traditional rural musical idiom in the regions where these people settled in central Serbia mainly through their intensive and large migrations during the 19th century. The prominent elements of their rural musical traditions – interrelations of the folklore genres and melodic models, different structure and stylistic elements – have been kept as recognizable and compact in hilly and mountain regions on the West, but were changed and evolved in new musical forms (mixtures with the elements of other musical traditions/sensibilities) in the East, lowlands of the central Serbia.

Keywords: rural folk tradition, Dinaric migrations, Serbia, two-part singing, highlanders

1. DINARIC MIGRATIONS FROM THEIR HOMELAND TO SERBIA

The subject of specific culture, character and temperament of the inhabitants of the large Dinaric mountains region (named according to the mountain Dinara in the hinterland of the Adriatic Sea) have already been critically observed by anthropologists and historians; it was found that it is about a specific psychological type (Cvijić [1922], 1966; Dvorniković [1939] 2000:157). Recently, ethnomusicologists have contributed to the research of their musical tradition(s), pointing out both musical and expressive elements that characterize their recognizable rural musical culture. It is significant that main elements of this rural culture have been shared among the carriers of different religions originating from the same cultural milieu – Christian (Orthodox, and both Greek and Roman Catholic) and Islam.

For centuries during the Ottoman rule (from the 15th to 19th c.) people who have not turned to Islam have migrated from Dinaric (and from other regions) to other Balkan and South Pannonia areas spatially spreading also the influence of their traditional culture. In some areas their rural musical idiom prevailed, while in some other it was overwhelmed by the musical culture of the indigenous or other groups of inhabitants. The case of the central Serbia to which the Dinaric people (mainly the Orthodox Serbs) massively migrated in the early 19th century, is especially interesting, because on this territory they met other (mainly Serbian) inhabitants with different musical traditions. In these conditions, some specific general features of the rural musical culture on this territory developed as a symbiosis of Dinaric and of other rural musical sensibilities. Also, this territory is confirmed as a territory of passage between larger, different cultural areas (Jovanović M. 1979:107; Drobnjaković 1932:203). For these reasons, this region might be recognized also as a paradigm of Balkan areas, where larger rural cultural influences meet.

Central regions of Serbia have been also considered by ethnologists and anthropologists as one of the Balkan areas that absorbed the greatest mixture of inhabitants of different origins. At the same time, this is also an area of passage between the larger areas settled (in the West) primarily by Dinaric and (in the East) by Dinaric and other groups of inhabitants, e. g from: 1) Kosovo and Metohia (this migration stream is considered to be the oldest and of the strongest continuity and consistency), 2) North Greece, Macedonia and South Serbia (so-called migration stream of the Morava and Vardar Rivers), 3) Eastern Serbia (the Timok River and Braničevo vicinity) and 4) Shop
regions (this region encompasses both contemporary West Bulgaria and Southeast Serbia; Drobnjaković 1932:199, 203). On the other hand, there is another anthropologists’ division of central regions of Serbia, according to the altitude and geographic configuration of the land: in the West and South West there is mountain region, with the height from 500m to about 1200m, in the middle there are regions of about 300-400m, and in the East, North and North East there is lowland, 300m and less. This has been proved as one of the key factors in “reading” the elements of the traditional culture in their spatial distribution.

This study has been based on the results of the field work conducted mainly in the second half of the 20th and up to the beginning of the 21st century. That means that the elements of the old layers of the musical tradition have been kept in the living practice approximately until the 1980s. Nowadays, the oldest singers are able to show it for the purpose of recording, but practically never in the original contexts. Thus, the paper shows a kind of a reconstruction of elements of old rural vocal tradition as it surely used to be present in these regions in a long continuity of time up to 1970s and 1980s.

The key historical event that moved a huge migration of Orthodox people from the Dinaric regions is the formation of the first Serbian free state entity after the four centuries of the Ottoman rule: in the region of Šumadija, central Serbia. After the success of the First Serbian Uprising against the Turks (1804-1813), the liberated territory attracted Serbs (and others) from the regions that were still under the Ottomans in the neighborhood or in more distant regions, so they migrated from different areas and settled here. The largest and the most massive migration was the one from Dinaric regions and it occurred in 1809. It was a massive movement from the region of Sjenica (nowadays South West Serbia) where already a mixture of Dinaric people was formed during the previous times (Nedeljković, 2000:102). The migrants were moving in the direction of the North and Northeast. Beside the massive, there were also successive migrations, lasting in phases, but lasting constantly (it could be said, by nowadays). On their way, some of them settled in the regions of West Serbia, before they reached its central parts, so the trace of their path is possible to be followed as a continuation of cultural elements, toponymes, family names and family relations. Dinaric migration stream had several “branches” (term using according to Drobnjaković 1923:249).

The first of them was the most massive in the period during the two Serbian Uprisings, in the period between 1804 and 1815. It moved from the regions of Bijelo Polje, Sjenica, Pešter, Bihor, as well as of Herzegovina and Montenegro, settled Stari Vlah and Dragačevo and highlands of central Serbia. It resulted by settling of numerous families and homes in central Serbia (Drobnjaković, 1923:24; Nedeljković, 2000:111). The second path led from Novi Pazar and Stari Kolašin, through the valleys of the Ibar and Gruža rivers (Drobnjaković, 1923:250); the third group came from the region of Osat in Bosnia relatively late (in the second half of the 19th century) and is considered as a “younger” migration stream (Drobnjaković, 1923:251), not compact, but in individual settings.

Jovan Cvijić supposes that the reasons of Dinaric moving towards the new lands were primarily of historical and psychological, but also of economic nature; in central Serbia there is much more fertile land to till, than in rocky regions in their homelands (Cvijić, 1966:152). In the new settings they also needed a lot of free mountain spaces for cattle breeding as their primary occupation. The mountain regions of central Serbia they recognized as the most suitable for them and most similar to their old homeland (Drobnjaković, 1932a:312), but as more “friendly” to live there. Ethnologists found that, as a result, it turned that “rough” Dinaric features were “gentled” by more comfortable life conditions and friendlier natural environment, but they kept the brightness in their thinking and reasoning and their abruptness. However, coming down to the lowlands, they accepted the other cultural elements and changed many of their recognizable identity features (Cvijić 1966:171), including their speech characteristics. Dinaric settlers were in a kind of “friction” with other, numerous groups of inhabitants; for a long time they did not choose their spouses among them (Cvijić, 1966:68-9). It can be assumed that the process of their socialization in wider society at the same time meant process of loosening their main cultural characteristics and replacing them by the other ones. Observing further to the East and Southeast in Serbia, the features of Dinaric culture are generally less and less recognizable, or completely absent, despite the percentage of people of this origin in the villages (Jovanović, 2014:83). They adapted to the other cultural environment and changed their musical expression (Jovanović, 2014a).

It is found that there is an “imagined frontier line” in direction NW–SE that divides the territory of central Serbia with prevailing different groups of inhabitants (Cvijić, 1966:227). In the hilly regions in the West, Dinaric people are present in the number of above 90%. In the lowlands, they
are present practically everywhere, but in number that varies, going up to about 50%; they are also less compact as the population here, so their cultural features are less influential.

It is logical that the area of Dinaric culture was never limited to any state borders. Generally, it could be said that the continuity of this (both material and spiritual) culture spreads in the whole continuity of the Dinaric mountain regions in the direction West-East. (Anthropogeographer Jovan Cvijic considered even the wider area that encompasses Dinaric one as only a part – e.g. the whole of the Dinaric-Pindus geological region spreading continually in direction South and Southeast, to Albania and West Greece. However, it will not be considered within the frames of this paper). Thus, its Eastern region (naturally) encompasses hilly areas of the West Serbia, in geographic continuity of Dinaric mountain complex.

Strong patriarchal family connections are the main characteristics of Dinaric social organization (which are partly kept by today). Thus, despite certain differences that they acquainted in the new life settings of central Serbia, the traces of this kind of social pattern(s) remained also here (Nedeljković, 1996:109), especially in its hilly West and Southwest regions.

2. DINARIC RURAL VOCAL TRADITION IN CENTRAL SERBIA

2.1 Elements of Dinaric rural vocal tradition. In the regions of central Serbia they have been identified on the basis of comparative insight in existing materials from the successive and original regions of Dinaric people, i.e. in Western and Southwestern areas of Serbia, from Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina – from the depth of the area of Dinaric vocal idiom. Some parallels and similar phenomena have been recognized, and often also existing of geographic continuation of certain elements of Dinaric vocal expression. In East parts of central Serbia where the mixture with other groups of inhabitants is present, the features of Dinaric way of singing are expressed rarely as the whole musical forms, but more typically in traces. The elements of Dinaric speech and music tradition are changed into the idiom of the other groups, even in the regions with Dinaric majority.

In this study the elements of rural musical vocal tradition in central Serbia, recognized as belonging to Dinaric culture will be presented. It will be shown through: folk music genres and related melodic models; musical structure elements – scale, types of two-part singing, role if the interval of second; stylistic elements in performance according to specific aesthetic demands, also connected to certain genres/melodic models and to private or public context of performance. Dinaric musical idiom is shown as compact and recognizable only in the West of the central part of Serbia. In the East it might be noted only in separate elements, never as a rule and rarely in combination with other elements of the kind (Jovanović J., 2014:292). According to these findings, certain assumptions and conclusions of the Dinaric ethnogenesis in central Serbia have been derived and explained in the author’s published doctoral dissertation (Jovanović J., 2014), methodologically based on the experiences of areal dialectological research, primarily applied in Russian ethnolinguistics (see for ex. Plotnikova 2004).

2.2 Folk music genres and melodic models. Genres are (partly) determined by the use of certain melodic models as genre markers, so these two criteria will be discussed here as a whole. The presence of Dinaric (musical) culture may be recognized in: songs that the adults sing to the children, as well as Christmas songs, laments, slava songs, so-called counting songs (brojenice), solo travelers’, epic and narrative songs (Jovanović J. 2014:89-122; Radinović 2008), as well as a special way of men’s public call for the spinning parties. All these genres are marked with the use of certain specific melodic models, applied mainly in Dinaric culture. (There are also some specific forms of ritual speech forms, such as those within Christmas family rituals, as celebration of the Christmas candle (sjakanje), and within wedding customs (aminovanje), the remnants of Dinaric traditional culture. Since there is no musical component but only speech, it will not be discussed in this paper).

As (one of) the most striking example(s) of specificities of Dinaric vocal sensibility seems to be a genre connected to a specific melodic model: it is about the drone two-part singing (called na glas) that has already been identified as one of the general markers of Dinaric culture in the Balkans (Dević 2002:34, 47; Example 1). In the central Serbia it is also emically considered as a clear element of Dinaric cultural identity; the emic term for the Dinaric people singing it is Erci (meaning people from Herzegovina; this kind of singing is called ersko). Elements that mark Dinaric musical culture in this kind of singing are as follows: ornamental tones in lower second alternative breathing, so that the phrase could last long with no pause, singing in rubato rhythm with lots of

Some of the melodic models (all connected to specific genres) are spread in geographic continuity within the original Dinaric regions, via the successive areas of the migrations, all the way to the central Serbia. However, there is also a case of one of them that can be found only in one original Dinaric region – Sjenica, and in central Serbia, with no geographic continuity between these two areas. This points to the difference in the nature of migrations that brought these models: in the former case, it is about the trace on the way of a successive migration in the longer course of time; the latter case might be a result of the sudden, massive movement from Sjenica and quick spread in central Serbia (at the beginning of the 19th century), keeping the compactness of the culture elements in the new environments (Jovanović, J., 2014:255-258).

It is significant to note that the difference in the interpretation of melodic models also depends on the geographical configuration of the terrain: in lowlands, there is no signs of Dinaric musical elements (as a whole musical form), despite the majority that they might make in certain areas. This, intriguing geographic aspect of ethnomusicological work has been explained as "ethnogeomusicology" by Izaly Zemtsovky (2005).

2.3 Elements of the musical structure. Markers of Dinaric musical idiom among structural elements are these: a specific scale of narrow, non-tempered intervals (Jovanović, J. 2014:155); old two-part singing of heterophonic, heterofonic-bourbon, and bourdon texture, with specific roles of the interval of the second, including the cadences (Jovanović, J. 2014:233) – among the features that differ the musical idiom of Dinaric people from that of the lowland inhabitants is perfect, bright unison rural singing that shows another aesthetics and folklore musical expression (Jovanović J., 2014:179). Other identified features are refrains longer than a melodic verse (Jovanović, J., 2014:272) and exclamatory syllables hoj or oj in cadences (Devic, 1986:4).

A scale we are mentioning is also present in rural music tradition in original Dinaric regions: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, partly Croatia, and whole West Serbia (Jovanović, J., 2014:227). In central Serbia it is the musical idiom of inhabitants of Dinaric origin.

2.4 Stylistic elements. General elements of the style in Dinaric performances are, on the first place, long, prolonged, steady tones (ersko singing, seen by the lowlands inhabitants as the practice of Brdjani / highlanders; Jovanović, J., 2014:208). The “long, continual duration of the song, in which the alternative breathing is of key significance” is seen as part of the heritage of Dinaric musical culture (Dević, 2002:40). Also, there are noticeable accents on melodically and rhythmically emphasized (naturally accented) syllables (Example 2, as opposed to soft movements and sometimes to glissando with the aim of peaceful leading of the melody course), so the listener has the impression of somewhat static character of the melodies. Also, the counting songs are sung in a manner of a “motor rhythm” (Jovanović, J., 2014:180-181), and in a kind of rhythmic chant of the text.

2.5 The context. Survival of the Dinaric models in central Serbia depends also on private or public context(s) of their ‘life’ in the new environment. It also influences the musical structure, depending on the musical idiom of the people who continue singing these models (Jovanović, J., 2014:261-262). For example, the Dinaric model of the slava songs remained longer as a more transparent presence of Dinaric way of singing in the public domain, not only within the family but also during the spinning parties (Jovanović, J., 2014:261-262).

Despite the majority of Dinaric migrants in many regions of central Serbia, including the East parts of the region, their influence on the rural musical culture is nowadays generally not noticeable any more, except in hilly and mountain regions in the West and Southwest. The causes of disappearing of Dinaric way of singing in the lowland may be explained by: change of way of life and of cultural environment in the lowlands; the majority of other groups of inhabitants and prevalence of their cultural influence; lack of the context(s) for performing some folklore genres in the new settings; influences from the town music.

There are points that show two different ways of ‘further life’ of Dinaric musical idioms in the new environment: 1) their disappearance and replacement by elements of other kind; and 2) their survival and implementation into other musical forms.

Speaking of the disappearance and/or replacement of Dinaric musical elements, it is characteristic that in the West and in the East of central Serbia the same melodic models are differently interpreted, depending on the prevailing musical idiom/aesthetics. It may be about: the scale, and/or replacing certain melodic formulae within the same models by the other ones, together with a different musical sensibility; at the same
time it may be singing in two parts or in unison (Examples 3-6). There could also be found ornamentation by the movement of lower second in the model of harvest songs (Jovanović, J., 2014:179; Example 5).

The implementation of Dinaric musical elements into the music forms of the other kind can be seen in the songs of the newer rural layer, and also in so called hybrid forms that encompass both older and newer style (Jovanović, J., 2014:305), developed probably in the course of the 20th century. It is about cadences in second, drone-form accompanying lower part, and alternative breathing in newer style of singing (Jovanović, J., 2014:305; Examples 7, 8). The obvious testimony of the awareness of our informants about these features as Dinaric is a sentence one of the singers told to his fellow singer: “You prolong the tone like an Era [singer from Dinaric regions]!” (Jovanović, J., 2014:180).

3. CONCLUSIONS

It is important to stress that the findings of the linguists and ethnomusicologists are in concordance considering these questions (Jovanović J., 2014:307). Dinaric influence both in traditional music and speech is less and less prominent in the lowlands of central Serbia, despite the findings of the ethnologists and anthropologists of their majority in many areas.

Change in the structural features within Dinaric models and their mélange with other elements illustrates the phenomenon explained as “crystallization of the mixture”; this term is coined by ethnolinguist Pavle Ivić (Ivić, 1955-1956:104-105; Jovanović, J., 2014:303-305). It is about the establishment of musical and speech forms that appeared as results of pervasion of different features and forming of the new constants in the common tradition.

Generally, central Serbia, with Morava River in the central position of the country, seems also to keep a central position in the Balkan Peninsula as well, being a meeting point and the melting pot of different rural Balkan cultures, as well as of Oriental, Middle European and Mediterranean cultures. That is why in this area many unique rural musical forms can be found, as results of hybridization of these influences during a longer course of time.

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**MUSICAL EXAMPLES**

Example 1 – old Dinaric bourdon two-part singing (na glas).
Taken from Petrovic R. and Jovanovic J., 2003, example 15.

Example 2 – slava and wedding melodic model, with strong accents.
Taken from Jovanovic J., 2013, example 15.
Example 3 – wedding model from Sjenica region.
Taken from Jovanovic J., 2014, Appendix IV, example 8.

Example 4 – the same wedding model in the East central Serbia.
Taken from Jovanovic J., 2013, example 7.

Example 5 – a part of the harvest melodic model in the West central Serbia.
Taken from Jovanovic J., 2014, Appendix III, example 136.
Example 6 – a part of the same model as in the Example 5, in the East central Serbia. Taken from Jovonvic J. 2014, Appendix IV, example 12.

Example 7 – a *hybrid* form of old and new rural vocal layer. Taken from Jovanovic, 2014, Appendix III, example 219.

Example 8 – a song of a newer layer with elements of old Dinaric singing. Taken from Jovanovic, 2014, Appendix III, example 274.
SOMEBODY BETWEEN DISPLACEMENT AND BELONGING: JAZZ, MOBILITY, AND IDENTITY IN EUROPE

José DIAS*

*Institute of Ethnomusicology, NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities, New University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: Jazz in Europe is largely shaped by the mobility of its actors, and informed by both the experiences of actors on the ground and their projection of what European identity is or should be. The mobility provided for European Union Member States by the Schengen Area has exploded the ways in which Europeans perceive and collaborate with each other. Jazz musicians and promoters identify mobility as part of their practices. Contextual factors – such as easier accessibility to communication and mobility – contribute to reshaping the European jazz scene, by creating a new generation of jazz actors who seem more integrated within Europe and who more naturally develop collaborations with their counterparts from different countries. The official discourse of the EU often stresses the notion of ‘Europeanness’ as a set of fundamental abilities. Promoting mobility of its citizens is a key aspect to ultimately inform the notion of a Pan-European ideal. However, contrasts between European counties, such as geographical and economic peripherality and centrality, and differentiated cultural and education policies, still stand as significant challenges to those who operate in the field. The fact that mobility opportunities for artists across Europe are still irregular raises a number of questions around music practices, identity, aesthetics, and the role of the different actors within the ecology of jazz in Europe.

Keywords: jazz, Europe, identity, mobility, networks, collectives, cultural policies

1. INTRODUCTION

To understand Europe you have to be a genius – or French.1

Both Europe and jazz in Europe are intricate frameworks where different cultures, identities and negotiations coexist. In fact, one could argue that there are several Europe, where numerous kinds of jazz are being made. Europe has developed itself through history as a constant flow of people and cultural products. These continuous interchanges have largely helped to provide Europe with a sense of cultural unity and identity (Bohman, 2004:34). Mobility is a crucial element of music practices all over the world. Jazz music, as essentially improvised collective music, is built upon cooperative creation. Jazz artists constantly seek and feed collaborations, not only with their national counterparts but also – and increasingly – with others from different nationalities.

In the US, in the beginning of the twentieth century, alongside radio broadcasting and film, mobility played an important role in the dissemination of jazz across its fifty states and the Western World. In post-WWII, the touring of American jazz artists across Europe was a powerful tool for diplomacy and a sonic and performative metaphor for the establishment of a ‘New European United States’, which would be shaped in line with the American democratic and cosmopolitan values as part of the Marshall Plan. European jazz artists rapidly adopted American jazz narratives and canons as their own. However, in the late 1970s, jazz education in Europe began taking its own path – largely led by the innovative approach to improvised music studies at the University of Stavanger – and the notion of a genuine ‘European jazz’ was introduced – mainly due to a challenging choice for iconography, artists and repertoire by Manfred Eicher at ECM records.

Jazz today is a part of the cultural fabric of many of the European countries. From its role in music education, to cultural programming and academic research, jazz is present in various forms

of cultural production in Europe and in its official rhetoric.

In fact, in the political arena, the official discourse of the European Union often stresses the notion of Europeanness as a set of fundamental abilities. Promoting open trade among Member States, mobility of its citizens, multicultural peaceful coexistence, and a European common foreign policy are key aspects to that ideological trail. ‘Jazz’ is often used as representation of an idealised notion that can channel distinctive – and, in some cases, contradictory – ideological messages: it can be as much a symbol of national cultural heritage, as of Europeanist policies, or of international trading partnerships. EU official institutions not only construct different narratives around ‘jazz’ at will – they also interpret those narratives according to their agenda. ‘Jazz’ is just a small part of an immense jigsaw of assembled narratives that promote an ideal. And ‘jazz’, as an ideal, legitimises and authenticates national and European constructed idiosyncrasies: an inherent engagement to promote culture, multicultural coexistence, and its citizen’s mobility.

Contextual factors – such as easier accessibility to communication and mobility – have exploded the ways in which jazz artists today create collaborative work within Europe. The digital revolution in the 1990’s, that led to a radical paradigm shift in the music industry and in the ways in which music is produced, disseminated and consumed, seemed to provide artists with new tools to produce and gain higher control over their own recorded music. A world wide access to the Internet seemed to give musicians and promoters a chance to publicise their work, their festivals and their image. Affordable travels between countries inside Europe and the Schengen Treaty of 1985 seemed to deliver artists the prospect of creating international links and expanding their live audiences. In short, physical and virtual mobility seemed to provide artists with exciting new scenarios where the industry’s middle man were finally excluded, where artists could open direct lines of communication with their fans, where artistic collaborations would bloom throughout Europe, and – most importantly – where the contrasts between peripheral and central countries would be smoothen.

Time, however, would prove them wrong. The economic crisis of 2008 not only exposed the frailty of the model of the emergent independent music industry, but also accentuated the schisms between peripherality and centrality within Europe. Virtual mobility proved to be effective only when combined with strategic institutional support for physical mobility, which, in turn, evidenced that it was not equally accessible for artists from different parts of Europe.

What has mobility brought to jazz in Europe? What kind of impact has it on the aesthetics of the music? More importantly, how can intra-European mobility inform the notion of a pan-European jazz identity?

As a result of my personal experiences as a jazz musician, I approached the field with the assumption that discourse does not always concur with practice. Musicians continually build and reinvent their own narratives and image by responding to institutional discourse, peer-review, press and audience reception, so that ‘their’ storyline will help them communicate their music, capture new audiences, achieve greater media exposure and/or obtain public funding. In the role of jazz academic, I believe the phenomenon of musicians building their own narratives warrants considerable exploration.

2. IDENTITY

2.1 Europe. In Philip Bohlman’s (2004) Nationalism and the Making of the New Europe, it is argued that the process of building national identities is the key to understand European music, in the sense that it contributes fundamentally to the ontology of European music, that is, to music’s ‘way of being’ in Europe (Bohltman, 2004:xxii). Drawing on Bohlman’s notion that music-making articulates values and attitudes of social groups and, therefore, it contributes to celebrate or challenge identities; I argue that jazz in Europe represents both a celebration of, and a challenging to European identity. Moreover, Bohlmn suggests that national identities are constantly being defined and redefined by different people in different places, even if the music that sets the process in motion is originally from someone and somewhere else.

Europe is often represented by its political institutions as a cultural whole. However it is an ever-changing and multidimensional entity. In the same way, cultural products within Europe tend to serve as complex and, at some points, contradictory representations of European and national identities. Europe is, per se, a cultural network. It has developed as a constant flow of people and cultural products between different European cities, which have become, throughout history, more or less important actors of that network. However, over time, defining Europe has proved to be an arduous task and the subject of extensive academic dispute. More than a geographical entity, Europe is – and always has been – a complex construction and an idealized projection of ‘political significance and immense
symbolic weight… without agreed boundaries’ (Wallace, 1990:7). Rather than a peaceful harbour for religious coexistence – between northern Protestantism, southern Catholicism, the eastern Orthodox world, the Jewish diaspora and the Islam – Europe has built its history upon tangible discrimination. Caught between its past and its present, the once ‘Old World’ that introduced and imposed itself on Africa, the Americas and Asia, has become the destination for African, South-American and Asian immigrants, migrating from former imperial colonies. Today, Europe culture is composed of some 50 languages and 30-40 ethnic groups and, while trying to define the ‘self’, Europe inevitably establishes boundaries to the ‘other’ (Tonra & Dunne, 1998:11). Subsequently, the official rhetoric around Europe as a cultural whole is also an intricate construction of thorny complexity.

It is safe to say that today Europe’s cultural identity results from a long line of adjustments to an ideal set of social and political values – participatory and pluralist democracy, liberal humanism, freedom of thought, belief, speech and association. This set of values is very close to – and inspired by – the democratic model inherited from the US.

European leaders have defined ‘Europeanness’ not as a set of distinct ideals, attitudes or symbols, but as “the will to hold together their fellow members’ disparate sets of values, behaviours and emblems” (Sassatelli, 2009: 47). Europe can serve as an ideal place for the construction of an ‘imagined community’, where its members may have similar interests or identity (Anderson, 1983:72). Therefore, European cultural identity could be perceived as ‘the nameless and indefinite stance’ that derives from that precise act of will (Boylan, 2006:288).

2.1 Americanisation. The Americanisation of Europe played a decisive role in understanding jazz practices in Europe. The mutual fascination between the US and Europe has, particularly during the twentieth century, nurtured that process. On the one hand, Europe has been largely influenced by American cultural products, of which jazz is an important part. On the other, Americans welcomed (and to some extent craved) the legitimation of jazz by European enthusiasts. America has always been appealing to Europeans. Since the first settlers’ reports began arriving in Europe, their accounts fed the desire of the ‘Old World’ for this ‘New World’ (Pells, 1997). But from the beginning of the twentieth century – not least due to the growing exposure to American culture through imported film, literature and records – Europe would ultimately embrace the myth of America as the paragon of modern democracy.

In its 2004 edition, the Berlimale Film Festival screened a curious set of rediscovered short documentary films from the late-1940s and early-1950s. They were part of an extensive film program made as part of the Marshall Plan, designed to promote a new beginning for post-WWII Europe. The benefits of international cooperation, free trade, democratic (re)education, multilingualism, tolerance of multi-ethnic societies, and the promise of a ‘New United States of Europe’ were translated into audio-visual narratives featuring boys and girls from all over Europe, symbolising the future generation according to American democratic ideas. These films, alongside radio and advertising, were crucial elements of mass media propaganda for democracy, which used recurrent re-enactments of economic success stories attributed to Marshall Plan aid (Mehring, 2012:2). By making use of young people as actors to introduce the ‘new Europe’, the European Reconstruction Program – the official name for the Marshall Plan – redefined Europe as ‘young Europe’. Ironically, ‘new’ and ‘young’ seem to have been the European’s chosen adjectives to define the mythic notion of the America (Ellwood, 2012).

If, from its early reception in Europe, jazz has been embraced as a symbol of the exotic (Gioia, 1989) and elevated by Europeans to ‘serious music’ during the interwar period (Prouty, 2010), in post-WWII the desire for consuming American cultural products increased even more.

The profusion of Hollywood’s 1930s and 1940s musical films often featuring jazz musicians on screen; the dissemination of V-discs by American troops in WWII across liberated European countries; the European exile of many prominent American jazz musicians; and even French Nouvelle Vague’s mystification of American popular culture references taking jazz as its constant soundtrack were only some of a whole range of contributions to the notion of cultural imperialism.

However, over the course of time, Europeans seem to have gradually incorporated American cultural symbols and products as their own and have abstracted them from many of their American foundations. American cultural icons in Europe today are essentially value neutral, perceived as icons of a global youth culture (Dunne & Tonra, 1998:13).

2.2 Between displacement and belonging. From Hot Club in Lisbon, to Jamboree Jazz Club in Barcelona, the Unterfahrt in Munich or La Fontaine in Copenhagen, we can see the same iconographic elements: print-memory from
previous local jazz festivals, pictures of jazz musicians, and even the display of old trumpets or saxophones on the wall. When combined, these elements nurture a narrative and convey a very precise message: you are in a jazz club. Apart from the local dialect featured on the flyers lying on the tables, almost everything else loses its locality. That jazz club could be anywhere else in Europe, if not anywhere else in the world and even maybe at any time in history. In most cases, those iconic elements and narratives seem to be used as ways to legitimise that place’s jazz authenticity; and as result of that, local features appear to be constantly blurred by global communicational codes.

Jazz artists live between displacement and belonging. On the one hand, both jazz and jazz communities have been and are, more and more, global and nomadic, less and less associated to a particular culture. On the other hand, part of an artist’s jazz identity is his or her nationality.

2.4 The white canvas. This paradox is even more evident in the case of European jazz artists. In the course of my PhD research on jazz networks in Europe, from 2011 to 2015, I interviewed many jazz musicians from different parts of Europe and some from the US. In contrast to American jazz musicians, most European jazz musicians thought of themselves as free from the weight of the jazz tradition. However, at the same time, when asked to elaborate on why they choose to play jazz, they often engaged in a discourse very close to the American narrative, justifying their choice through their assertion that jazz is a symbol of multiculturalism, pro-active democracy, and struggle for the individual voice.

This seemingly ambivalent discourse – and puzzling, at first – between rejecting a parallel with the ‘other’ while adopting his narrative is ultimately the core of theories developed around the notion of identity from authors such as Jacques Derrida, Stuart Hall and Simon Frith. Derrida’s (1982) principle of ‘constitutive outside’ establishes that it is impossible to draw an absolute distinction between interior and exterior – every identity is irremediably affected by its exterior. In a markedly similar approach, for Hall (1996) identity is built through the relation to the ‘other’ – the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks and to what it does not want to be.

While elaborating on the reasons for their choices to play jazz – as Europeans –, the musicians may have done precisely that: they reject jazz as their musical tradition but they take its idealised narrative – thus projecting their own ideal of what jazz should or might be. In fact, an identity is always already an ideal, what we would like to be, not what we are (Frith, 1996:121-123). And for European jazz musicians, in the face of a musical genre that is traditionally assumed as not their own, jazz may work as a white canvas on which they impose their own narrative on musical identity.

Identity is a dynamic process constructed both internally and externally. Similarly, it is crucial to assume that the establishing of an official jazz narrative may be a key element to that process. Jazz’s official narrative has been largely built by instituting differences and finding similarities between jazz and other music genres. Moreover, the narrative around music may verbalise social and political ideals, thus providing music its meanings. The European jazz narrative is deeply rooted in its historical reception of American jazz and the appropriation of its anecdotes, styles, and its glorification of individualism. The European jazz narrative is deeply rooted in absorbing the American liberal capitalist metropolitan ideology.

Any official narrative is the construction of a myth, which may or may not concur with practice. It is a goal, constantly in construction – as is the case with the myth of Europe.

As argues, the construction of identity is a ‘form of self-understanding’ that is ‘accomplished when identities are being changed’ (Rice, 2007:26). Perhaps jazz actors tend to construct their discourses around their métier as a form of better understanding it and defining their role within it. Europe’s identity, as Bohman (2004) debates, is ever-changing. Maybe jazz actors in Europe create narratives around what jazz in Europe is by projecting their idealised notion of what Europe should be.

3. MOBILITY

3.1 European mobility and all that jazz. In 2004 the European Parliament together with the European Council issued the Directive 2004/38/EC, which granted EU citizens the right to work and reside freely within member states. Three years later, when the implementation of that Directive was on the agenda, the EU Cultural Programme for 2007-2013 established three main objectives: ‘transnational mobility of cultural players’; ‘transnational circulation of artistic and cultural works and products’; and ‘intercultural dialogue and exchanges’. Shortly after, the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) issued the Programme’s official brochure, introducing some of the projects that had been granted financial support. One of those was Europe Jazz Network – a trans-European umbrella organisation with around 90 members, which includes national and non-national organisations –
venues, associations and festivals (Goh, 2011), whose info made very convincing links between ‘jazz’ and ‘mobility’ inside Europe. In fact, the whole notion of jazz networking across European States is very close to the Programme’s motto and the brochure’s title: Crossing Borders – Connecting People (2007).

‘The World of jazz’ was perceived here as an embodiment of Europe’s ‘mixing and cross-fertilization of cultures’, and of ‘the positive impact of migration patterns on Europe’s culture’.

Towards the end, the short text concluded that ‘the positive experience of jazz encouraged a more widely held appreciation of the enriching impact of migration on European culture in general’ (Crossing Borders, 2007:32).

3.2 Cultural, economic and geographic peripheries. Mobility is indeed an essential part of jazz practices in Europe. However, cultural, economic and geographic factors establish crucial differences between European jazz artists. On the one hand, there are substantial dissimilarities between the levels of commitment and investment that each European country makes towards cultural policies to support its national jazz sector. On the other hand, the geographic factor within the European Continent is also a significant one.

Scandinavian countries have a long history of cultural policies designed to promote their jazz artists domestically and abroad. Such fact is particularly evident in the Norwegian case, where specific funding schemes allow artists to tour around Europe as part of the country’s commitment to export national culture. Artists from Central European countries – such as The Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany and Austria – have the proximity factor on their side, which allows them to surpass the impact of distance when touring abroad. Contrariwise, artists from peripheral countries – such as Ireland, Greece, Spain and Portugal – suffer the consequences of both the distance factor and the lack of cultural policies that support the export of national music.

These three differentiating factors – cultural, economic and geographic – are crucial to establish contrasts in the impact that mobility has on the jazz sector of each European country.

3.3 Erasmus and jazz education. Jazz education in Europe has developed widely over the past three decades. Institutions offering high education in jazz performance have multiplied. Some have established themselves as important references to European jazz and became young international talent attraction poles. The mobility provided by Erasmus exchange programmes and the growing demand for higher education have created a new generation of musicians who seem more integrated within Europe and who more naturally develop collaborations with musicians from other countries. Nevertheless, significant differences between the kinds of education each country offers seem to exist, which appears to be closely linked to each country’s cultural and educational policies.

Many young musicians perceived studying jazz outside their countries a rite of passage. This concept introduces an interesting angle on how young musicians today perceive their process of building a professional career. For them, mobility is a fundamental part of their professional and personal development. Studying and living abroad are perceived as life experiences that can enable easier access to a wider labour market and, therefore, to wider prospects of success.

However, once arrived to that market, many quickly realize the dimension of the competition they now have to face. That competition has been raised up to both trans-generational and trans-European levels – trans-generational, because older musicians have already settled their own space; and trans-European, because mobility is now common-place.

3.4 Tracing movable objects. Musicians’ mobility may add new challenges. For local cultural programmers, mobility may signify an added difficulty in retaining a regular basis of artists who they could create consistent collaborations with. This fact may also compromise the notion of national jazz identities, which are the base for national culture export policies. On the other hand, mobility also encourages new aesthetic crossovers in European jazz. And because jazz is in itself an essentially permeable music genre, the outcomes of these crossovers will surely be interesting to analyse in the future.

The fact that the construction of jazz identities – as all others – is constantly being negotiated and functions as a form of self-understanding through music (Rice, 2007:26)

4. CONCLUSIONS

Mobility is an essential aspect of jazz practices in Europe. Europe has been built as a culture of networking cities, and as result European jazz actors function within this logic.

Across countries, the very perception of what jazz is – as sound and as cultural experience – finds different meanings. Mobility opportunities for artists across Europe are irregular. The intricate set of factors associated with mobility deepens the
complexity of jazz practices in Europe. The paradigm shift in the music industry; cultural, economic and geographic peripherality and centrality; the booming of jazz education across Europe; Erasmus and similar programmes that promote mobility for EU citizens – are crucial elements in mapping and understanding jazz as a European music practice.

Jazz is created and reinvented in the process of its dissemination and practice (Johnson 2002). I suggest that jazz identities in Europe result from the negotiation between discourse and practice (Sassatelli, 2009). As such, jazz catalyses the process of defining and redefining national and pan-European identities – somewhere between displacement and belonging.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LEARNING ITINERARIES & TRANSGLOBAL RELATIONS
INITIATING THE HOT CLUBE DE PORTUGAL’S JAZZ SCHOOL

Pedro MENDES*

*Institute of Ethnomusicology, NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities, New University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: The jazz field in Portugal was marked by an event with wide implications during the turn to the 1980’s: the creation of the Hot Clube de Portugal’s School of Jazz. Through the activity of this school, it was established an autonomous form of jazz teaching, provided with its own curricular programs, teachers and with learning methods based on concepts and values which the agents held as being representative of this musical expression. The intent of this paper is to analyse the ways in which the mobility of musicians (and other agents) and their interactions in a variety of situations contributed the development of jazz education models in Portugal, specifically in the case of Hot Clube de Portugal’s School of Jazz. It will be considered the interactions between agents with different geographical backgrounds, the contact among institutions and the circulation of products related to jazz.

Keywords: jazz, Hot Clube de Portugal, jazz education

1. INTRODUCTION

During the first half of the 20th century, more accurately in the 1930’s and 1940’s, jazz enthusiasts in Europe and U.S.A. started to organize themselves in order to share some records and to promote that musical expression. The hot clubs were an example of this kind of organizations, where enthusiasts could build networks to share and produce jazz records, and to organize concerts and jam-sessions (Lopes, 2004: 164). In the European context, hot clubs were created in countries such as Spain, France or Belgium. Also the jazz enthusiasts in Portugal followed the trend which was taking place in other European countries and started with its own associations. Hot Clube de Portugal (HCP) - which is still active currently - was founded in the turn to the 1950’s under the influence of institutions such as Hot Clube de France (Curvelo, 2010). Luís Villas-Boas, its main founder, was also an important jazz promoter, responsible for the broadcasting of jazz contents and, later, for the organization of several jazz concerts and festivals. The creation of HCP is a landmark for a new kind of jazz perception in Portugal: jazz was no longer just a repertory or a set of stylistic characteristics of the music played in the night clubs for dancers; jazz was starting to be perceived as a musical universe with its own history and tradition, and as an autonomous practice in relation to both popular music and European art music (DeVeaux, 1991). In addition to Hot Clube de Portugal, there were some more attempts to create jazz clubs in Portugal, as was the case of Clube Universitário de Jazz (1958/1961), a Lisbon based club founded by the jazz promoter Raul Calado (Félix, 2010). In the broadcasting scenario, jazz acquired a place of its own. In the radio, programs such as Hot Club (Emissora Nacional, 1945, presented by Luís Villas-Boas), Cinco Minutos de Jazz (Rádio Renascença, 1966, José Duarte) or Tempo de Jazz (Emissora Nacional, 1958, Raúl Calado) were examples of spaces specifically dedicated to jazz contents; TVJazz, presented in the 1960’s by Manuel Jorge Veloso, was an example, among others, of the space granted to this music in the TV schedule. Also the emergence of jazz festivals, mainly since the 1970’s, generated important contexts to the musician’s performances (Veloso et al., 2010). These elements, among other institutions, events and individuals, were providing the basis, in the Portuguese context, to what Paul Lopes – following the work of Howard Becker
(1982) – calls a “jazz art world”. Focusing the case of U.S.A., Lopes describes this jazz art world as the “magazines, records, books, clubs and concerts developed to support this music”, providing “the organization, production, criticism and audiences to make jazz a distinct genre and specialized market” (Lopes, 2004: 4). Also the jazz teaching would guarantee a space specifically conceived to grant musicians some knowledge and experience about this musical expression. In the late 1970’s, doublebass player Zé Eduardo became involved with the idea of developing a school specifically dedicated to jazz teaching. Eduardo’s project would become part of HCP’s activities: after a first attempt in 1977, which would last for three months, Hot Clube de Portugal’s School of Jazz begun its activity in 1980 with the financial support of a governamental institution – Secretaria de Estado da Cultura (Culture State Secretary)¹. With this project, it was established a platform specifically dedicated to jazz teaching, provided with its own teachers and curricular structure.

This article intends to explore the way in which Hot Clube de Portugal’s School of Jazz was developed under the influence of the jazz teaching practices and institutions abroad, mainly through products and individuals who became related with the school activities. The analysis will be focused on three topics: the use of pedagogical materials such as instructional books; foreign teachers who arrived at the school with formal training in music education institutions; and HCP’s students who started to go abroad to deepen their studies and then came back working as jazz teachers in Portugal.

2. PEDAGOGICAL MATERIALS: INSTRUCTIONAL BOOKS AS A BASIC TOOL TO JAZZ TEACHING DEVELOPMENT

In 1977, Zé Eduardo created a big band composed by young musicians which were, in their majority, conservatory music students interested in playing jazz. Orquestra Girassol, the group’s name, was, according to Eduardo’s version, an experiment based in his desire to make a jazz big band where he could try to apply the notions and techniques which he was studying from the books of authors such as William Russo². To the other musicians in the band, Orquestra Girassol also worked as a place where they could learn some techniques and harmonic concepts about jazz. Luís Caldeira, one of the saxophone players in the band, reminds that “Orquestra Girassol was an ensemble where people could learn something, […] the idea was to learn how to play in a group”³. Zé Eduardo started to assume the role of a pedagogical leader to the other musicians. Trumpet player Tomás Pimentel tells that Zé Eduardo “always felt the need to have a pedagogical action and to make people evolve in the jazz language”⁴. Besides having a special interest in pedagogical issues, Zé Eduardo also had an important point which contributed to the development of his pedagogical capacities: the contact with jazz instructional books which guided his own study. As a regular reader of the jazz periodical Downbeat, Eduardo started to purchase some jazz instructional books that were announced in its pages. Those books included the methods of authors such as Jamey Aebersold, David Baker or William Russo, consisting in guidelines for the jazz students with scales and arpeggios exercises, harmonic concepts, stylistic considerations and repertory analysis, among other things. Eduardo reminds that he started to study with these books in a period in which they were very rare in Portugal⁵. With those materials, Zé Eduardo made contact with organized and structured methods for jazz study, having an order “in which the components of a musical system are learned” as described by Bruno Netti (1995: 49).

But these instructional books had a wider effect in the development of the jazz teaching in Portugal. Since he was the pedagogical mentor of Hot Clube de Portugal’s School of Jazz, Zé Eduardo developed the learning contents to be applied in its activities. Eduardo explains that he “took all the American methods which were useful, namely the play-along methods from Jamey Aebersold […]” and also methods from David Baker and from other authors linked to the universities [in the U.S.A.]⁶. By searching in the school documents and in the notes made by Zé Eduardo, it is possible to find several references to this authors and methods ⁷. In this case, the

¹ “Escola de jazz no hot clube: 1º período termina sem chumbos” in SE7E, 20/05/1980; “Escola de jazz do Hot Club: experiência solidamente inovadora substitui-se ao nacional auto-didatismo” in Portugal Hoje, 29/03/1981.
² Interview with Zé Eduardo conducted by the INET-md researchers Miguel Lourenço and Pedro Roxo (Faro, 25/07/2013).
³ Interview with Luís Caldeira conducted by Pedro Mendes (Lisbon, 09/03/2015).
⁴ Interview with Tomás Pimentel conducted by Pedro Mendes (Lisbon, 18/07/2013).
⁵ Interview with Zé Eduardo conducted by the INET-md researchers Miguel Lourenço and Pedro Roxo (Faro, 25/07/2013).
⁶ Interview with Zé Eduardo conducted by the INET-md researchers Miguel Lourenço and Pedro Roxo (Faro, 25/07/2013).
⁷ This documentation is available in Hot Clube de Portugal’s archives (Zé Eduardo’s collection).
circulation of products such as magazines and books about jazz had a significant influence in the development of Hot Clube de Portugal’s School of Jazz and, consequently, in the development of jazz teaching in Portugal: the instructional books were an important reference when Zé Eduardo was structuring the school learning contents.

3. THE EXPERIENCE OF FOREIGN TEACHERS

In 1980, when Hot Clube de Portugal’s School of Jazz launched its activities with public financial support, the president of HCP at that time, Rui Martins, asked the British organization Jazz Center Society for some support to the school activities, requesting some experienced teachers who could help in a first phase. HCP received the visit of three teachers recommended by the Jazz Center Society: Michael Garrick, Don Rendell and Tony Faulkner. Zé Eduardo, talking about the presence of these three teachers, stressed that “Portuguese jazz musicians could finally understand that the only reason why foreign musicians were better than them was due to fact that they work hard and with method”8. Working with method was, according to Eduardo, an element which was missing in the Portuguese musicians, and people such as Garrick, Rendell and Faulkner were important to show that.

In the school activities it was always important to have a teacher who could think and apply a curricular program. Zé Eduardo was the first person doing that, supporting himself in the instructional books, which were important to guide his own study, and in the experience he acquired as a leader of groups such as Orquestra Girassol or Arapirap9. After the departure of Zé Eduardo to Barcelona in 1982, where he worked as director in the Taller de Musics’ School of Music, another musician arrived at Lisbon to become in charge of HCP’s School of Jazz: the doublebass player David Gausden, who came with formal jazz instruction acquired in U.S.A.. Rui Martins claims that Gausden had a huge importance by “working on the pedagogical structure of the school […], with the influence of the jazz educational system in U.S.A.”. The knowledge held by Gausden and his attitude as the pedagogical responsible for the school, turned him into “an important reference to young musicians [that were studying at HCP] at that time”10.

Another foreign musician important in the initial development of a formal jazz teaching in Portugal was the North American Mike Ross, also a doublebass player. Ross had in its curriculum the musical studies in North Texas State University and his work as a member of Stan Kenton’s orchestra. It was already stated, in the beginning of this text, that there was a first attempt to establish a jazz school in HCP which lasted for three months in 1977. One of the school teachers during those three months was precisely Mike Ross. After that period, the school stopped its activity, and Luis Villas-Boas decided to create his own jazz school at Lusiana, a club of his own, inviting Ross to be the teacher responsible for all lessons. Some young musicians attended the lessons at Lusiana, but the school (and also the club) was closed few time later.

Although the short term of these two projects, Mike Ross was still recognized as an important mentor by the young jazz students who worked with him. As an example, bass player Fernando Júdice da Costa, referring the times when he was starting to play jazz in the 1970’s, states that “sometimes we needed to understand things that were not clear for us, like harmony concepts and other stuff, and when Mike Ross arrived, he was disclosing everything”11.

Musicians like Ross, Gausden, Garrick, Rendell and Faulkner arrived at Portugal in a period when the materials about jazz were still scarce. The fact that Zé Eduardo had access to jazz instructional books was an exception among the other musicians. It wasn’t easy even to find musicians with a systematical knowledge about jazz, who could assume the role of teaching in a jazz school. When those foreign musicians came to Lisbon, they were among the few ones who had that kind of systematical knowledge about jazz. Following that, it is not difficult to understand that they easily acquired some prominence among the younger musicians who were looking to improve their jazz skills. They brought their own experience, acquired, in much cases, in the jazz educational institutions, using it to contribute to the establishment of a formal jazz teaching in Portugal; also through them, the jazz educational system that was already developed in U.S.A. and in some European countries extended its influence to the Portuguese context, since they were people who, more or less directly, had some kind of connection with that system.

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8 “Escola de jazz no hot clube: 1º período termina sem chumbos” in SE7E, 20/05/1980
9 Arapirap was an important group in the Portuguese jazz scene, active between 1975 and 1977, constituted by Zé Eduardo (doublebass), Emílio Robalo (piano) and João Heitor (drums).
10 Interview with Rui Martins conducted by M. Lourenço, P. Mendes and P. Roxo (Lisbon, 04/12/2014).
11 Interview with Fernando Júdice da Costa conducted by Pedro Mendes (Lisbon, 04/02/2015).
4. HCP’ STUDENTS GOING ABROAD AND COMING BACK

During his years as the pedagogical director in Hot Clube de Portugal’s School of Jazz, one of David Gausden’s struggles was to convince his students to deepen their jazz studies and experience going to U.S.A., Rui Martins tells that

David [Gausden] was insisting with the young students, telling them to go to New York. […] He was arguing that they could not restrict themselves to the local standards, they had to compare themselves with the international levels, and New York was a place of high standards for jazz music12.

Following Gausden’s advice, some HCP’ students went to U.S.A. to experiment the local jazz scene and to improve their musical skills. One of those cases was the guitar player Pedro Madaleno, who attended some classes in Berklee College of Music (Boston) and New School of Social Research (New York), taking also some private lessons with local jazz musicians. In addition to the background that Madaleno acquired as a local jazz performer, he also developed the experience which enabled him to consolidate his activity as a jazz teacher. After his return to Portugal, in the early 1990’s, Madaleno became in charge of the guitar, harmony, and composition classes at HCP (Roxo, 2010a).

Guitar player Sérgio Pelábio was another HCP student who crossed the Atlantic to meet the North American jazz scene and, specifically, its jazz educational system. In 1985 he arrived at New York where he studied with John Abercrombie, and, after that, he established himself in Boston for a period of six months as a Berklee student (Roxo, 2010b).

Returning to Portugal, Pelábio became not only a teacher but also the director of HCP’s School of Jazz, in a period when David Gaudsen was not available for such task. Talking about that period, Sérgio Pelábio tells that

I returned from U.S.A. with a lot of ideas. I had several books with me. HCP’s school was in a problematic phase. So, I organized a study program and put together a team of teachers. My intention was to give consistency to the study program and more visibility to the school activities13.

Another important event during the pedagogical direction of Pelábio was the foundation of the International Association of Schools of Jazz (IASJ), which had Hot Clube de Portugal’s School of Jazz among its founding members. IASJ was an association of jazz schools from several countries, mostly European, projected by the saxophone player David Liebman. Pelágio considers that Liebman’s intention was “to create a network of schools of jazz with regular meetings”14. Another person who accompanied the the first years of HCP as an IASJ member, besides Sérgio Pelábio and Rui Martins, was Bernardo Moreira, who became HCP president in 1992. Moreira states that:

IASJ directors assumed the intention to constitute a lobby to ask the governments for an investment in music teaching for the youth people, especially in jazz15.

In addition to the interaction promoted with other jazz schools beyond borders and to the fact that HCP’ School of Jazz positioned itself into a jazz education network, IASJ would have direct consequences in the school organization. Bernardo Moreira reminds that in the middle of the 1990’s, HCP was represented in one of the IASJ annual meetings by his son, the saxophone player Pedro Moreira. Through the IASJ meeting, which promoted the interaction between the representatives of each school, Pedro Moreira made a contact with the directors of the New School for Social Research, presenting the activities of Hot Clube de Portugal and sharing some impressions about questions of jazz education. Sometime later, Pedro Moreira was invited to study in New School for Social Research. His father, Bernardo Moreira, tells that through the experience of Pedro in New York, it was possible “to understand how the New School for Social Research worked at the pedagogical and administrative levels, so that we could be able to transform HCP’ School of Jazz in a school influenced by the New School methods”. Besides that, Bernardo Moreira claims that he begun to ask the New School directors to send some teachers to HCP, during small periods, so that they could explain HCP teachers how the things were done in their institution. He explains that “we started to make small changes in our program according to the experience that Pedro was sharing with us from New York”16.

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12 Interview with Rui Martins conducted by Miguel Lourenço, Pedro Mendes and Pedro Roxo (Lisbon, 04/12/2014).
13 Interview with Sérgio Pelábio conducted by Pedro Mendes (Lisbon, 17/07/2013).
14 Interview with Sérgio Pelábio conducted by Pedro Mendes (Lisbon, 17/07/2013).
15 Interview with Bernardo Moreira conducted by Pedro Mendes (Lisbon, 07/10/2014).
16 Interview with Bernardo Moreira conducted by Pedro Mendes (Lisbon, 07/10/2014).
4. CONCLUSIONS

First of all, the elements that were being exposed in this article reflect the fact that there were some individuals particularly important in the development of the jazz teaching in Portugal. These individuals, who were determinant actors in the way in which Hot Clube de Portugal’s School of Jazz developed itself, had already some kind of contact with the jazz educational system existent in U.S.A. and in some European countries. It was through the circulation of products and individuals that HCP created a jazz teaching program in line with the principles and methods of educational institutions of those countries. Zé Eduardo, by the contact with magazines and instructional books, confronted himself with the methods of some North American jazz educators such as David Baker and William Russo; Mike Ross and David Gausden were musicians with formal jazz training whose importance at the pedagogical level is recognized by the students who worked with them in the Portuguese context; Michael Garrick, Don Rendell and Tony Faulkner were influential musicians in the initial phase of the school.

Authors such as Henry Kingsbury (1988) and Bruno Nettl (1995; 2005) have already stressed the relation of music teaching with the values and concepts of a specific musical universe. Considering the mainly influence of the North American jazz educational system in institutions such as Hot Clube de Portugal, there are some evidences about the impact that this system had beyond borders, not only by shaping jazz teaching but also transforming this musical universe (see Wilf, 2014). It is possible and relevant to query how this influence expressed itself in individual actions, methods and programs; on the other hand, it remains valid to ask the way in which those principles were locally appropriated. In sum, to analyze the way jazz education developed itself is a determinant point to understand the transformations in jazz universe.

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FOLLOWING THE PATH OF THE ANCIENTS

Davide PANZETTI*

*Department of Musicology and Cultural Heritage, University of Pavia, Cremona, Italy / INET-MD, FCSH/NOVA, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: Spilamberto, a little town in the middle-north of Italy, has a Sinhalese Buddhist community, formed in the last fifteen years. The heart of this community is the monk, who lives in the temple hosted in a farmhouse rented from a private. The Theravāda tradition of Sri Lanka preserves the ancient heritage of texts in Pāli language, that in modern times is only written but not spoken, so only the monks preserve the knowledge of this language, which is used to chant the set of texts of the Theravāda tradition during the rites. Nowadays, also the Buddhist community of Spilamberto continues to practice this kind of rites. Moreover, analyzing the life inside the community and the chanting performances during the rites according to an ethnomusicological perspective, I found out some interesting connections between practice and memory. Through the adaptation of the Sinhalese rites in Italy, the community rebuilds the bound with its tradition. The core of this process is the monk, who is the keeper of the memory. Despite the observation of all these practices, the community had to adapt its rites to the new socio-economical and cultural context. As a result, the spiritual life of this migrated community has become the only moment in which the Sinhalese reconnect themselves to their Sri Lankan identity.

Keywords: Buddhism, chanting, Pāli language, Theravāda, Sinhalese community

1. INTRODUCTION: BACK TO THE ORIGIN

The community around the Maitri Vihara temple in Spilamberto, near Modena, in the middle-north of Italy is formed by all the Sinhala people of the entire region of Emilia-Romagna. The rural place re-adapted to host a Buddhist temple, the only one in the region. However, other Sinhala community is present throughout Italy creating a network between them. All these communities and temples belong to the Theravāda tradition, which is considered the ancient one. Sri Lanka is the heart of this tradition but also other countries like Thailandia, Vietnam, Burma, Laos recognize themselves in this tradition. Despite the fact that the contemporary political and social problems make us aware of other traditions (in particular Vajrayāna from Tibet or Zen/Chan from China and Japan), Theravāda tradition has a lot of temples all around the world in other Asian country as well as in European ones.

The Theravāda traditionally originates itself directly from the community of monks around the Buddha. In the following centuries after the death of the Buddha (478 B.C.) some councils called Saṅgīti, took place in order to debate and consolidate the doctrine and the rules of life given by the enlightened one. From this process, between myth and reality, all the Buddhist traditions are born.

In the island of Sri Lanka the Buddhist doctrine arrive with the missions of Mahinda, a close relative of Asoka the famous emperor of the Maurya Empire in the Indian continent. Mahinda were well-received by Devānampiyatissa, king of the Sri Lanka from 250 b.C to 210 b.C. and in the in the next years some important monasteries were founded to let the Buddhist doctrine grow. The line of Buddhism in Sri Lanka is uninterrupted since the arrive of Mahinda in the island. Consequently, the role of the ancient teachings is essential for sinhala Buddhists.

2. CHANT, MEMORY AND IDENTITY

2.1 From the first council to the recitation practice. The first council after the death of the Buddha tried to create an identity of the Buddhist community. To collect the rules for disciples and the teachings of the enlightened the memory of the monks, especially Ānanda and Upali, has been
fundamental. These two disciples, according to the tradition, had a very good memory. They reminded a large number of Buddha's discourses, and, in fact, they recited all what they can remember while the community was actively listening. The initial core of the Theravāda tradition is therefore based on the memory of the community and the identification in the oral discourses.

2.2 The community, the rules and the monks. The monks have to follow some important rules to deserve respect and veneration from the secular people. These rules passed down since the first council, then stratified and perhaps, they have been adapted to new contexts. However, the hinges of the lifestyle for a monk have not changed. Some rules, which are not so strict, are presents also for the secular in order to create an ethic, a way of life, a reference and then an identity. The community created by this set of things is nevertheless a macro-community. The case of Maitri Vihara is a special one, which requires a deeper analysis.

2.3 Rites, recurrence, returns. In a new context, far away from Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese community has to create by itself a sort of a calendar to recreate the main events of the Buddhist tradition. In the case of this community, I documented that every Sunday the group of the youngest Sinhalese goes to the temple for meetings where they can listen to some histories about Buddha or the Sinhalese Buddhist tradition, to learn some dances or songs, to discussing with the monk or create decoration for the temple during the main holy day in order to maintain alive their identity. Not only the young are involved in the activities of the temple. All the families collaborate to create events, rite and communal meals. This is far away from strict conservation: in fact the community is variegated and free from rigid boundaries. This process, connected with the identity is completely spontaneous.

The most important events are four:
- The New Year's Eve, celebrated between the 12 and the 15 of April. It is a secular recurrence but absorbed from the Buddhist context.
- The Vesak celebrated on the full moon of the month of may is the most important day of the year: during this day falls the anniversary of the birth, enlightenment, and death of the Buddha.
- The Poson reminds the arrive of the Buddhism in Sri Lanka in the III sec. B.C. and it falls in the full moon of June.
- The Kathina is the events dedicated to the saṅgha, the community of monks. During this celebration, between the months of October and November, the secular community creates and donates a new cīvara (the dress of the monks) in order to overcome the cold months.

Generally all the celebrations delay to the adjacent week-end, in order to allow the majority of the community to be present. The will to maintain the chance of collaboration passes above the “right” day of the celebration and adapt its meanings to the new context. In fact, the week-end is the best moment to celebrate rites: especially on Sunday, the community celebrate the Pūjā (the offer to the Buddha), creating a moment of devotion and shared time.

Fig.1 Dyeing of the new cīvara during the Kathina of 2015

2.4 Adapting the place and the recurrences. In order to have a social role in the city, the community created two associations: the first to promote the Buddhism in the region and the second to help every single person of Sinhalese community to keep in contact with its country.

The bounds with the territory are important. In fact, visiting Spilamberto, gives the possibility to note some Sinhala markets or little restaurant. The history of the community is strictly connected to the re-arrangement, re-adaptation of rural area. The Temple is itself a perfect example. The traditional rural house was adapted to host an hall for meetings and rites, a room with relics, artifacts and objects to receive devotes and to allow the monk's meditation and daily observance. This structure, in fact, has another role: The other role of this structure is hosting the monk. As a consequence, inside the structure there is also an apartment. It is essential to say that further bedrooms are present to let other monks spent some nights in Spilamberto's temple. This is a very common practice in the Buddhist temples and gives the possibility to create contacts with other monks and communities in Italy and abroad.

During the last 2 years the Maitri Vihara temple hosted a great number of monks from other Italian temples, and also one of the most famous monk of Sri Lanka, the Ven. Galigamuwe Gnanadeepa Thero. The association, in connection
with the community of Spilamberto and in collaboration with all other Italian communities creates a sort of “tour” and give to all Sinhala people in Italy the possibility to go and listen to sermons from one of the most important monks. Moreover, they can participate to rites and chanting practices. The ability to organize these events is applied also to everyday opportunities.

Everyone is involved in this process. Organizing a celebration like the Vesak implies a certain organized plan: prepare offers for the Buddha (flowers, lights, foods, drinks, incense), the meal for hundreds of people, create decoration for the temple, complex candlestick and lighting set. On occasion such as Kathina, the community has also to prepare the space needed for the new dress destined to the monk; they use sewing machines and, in an external place experts will paint it with the traditional red.

Fig.2 The Maitri Vihara temple

In addition to this, in everyday life the community has to collaborate by offering meals for the monk. Day by day, in fact, a family or a single volunteer gives something to eat to the Ven. Vimalaratana Thero, monk of Maitri Vihara temple. This act derives from an everyday practice of the monk: begging food during the day. This singhalese tradition, also followed by other countries of the same religion, implies the fact that monks go out of the temple with a bowl, walking down the street, and people get out from their homes to donate lunch to the local sāṅgha.

3. THE MONK, HEART OF THE MEMORY

During all the rites chants and recitations of important sutta are inserted. A sutta is literally a discourse, a sermon, spoken by the Buddha in pāli language. These texts are inherited since the first council as a starting point in the first council and transmitted originally in oral form. Then they were written down in the ancient Sri Lanka language. All the community knows by heart a certain amount of important texts like the Mettāsutta, Mangala sutta and many others ritual texts (Namaskāra, Tisaraṇa, Tiratana vandanā, Pañcasīla, and others). Other important texts, not necessarily known by heart, are quotations of books or anthologies, like the Pūrīta, the book of protection.

Fig.3 The community recite a sutta during a rite in the Vesak day of 2015

The first step to underline in order to understand this practice is that the community does not understand the Pāli language; as a result, here the role of the monks becomes fundamental. The monk has to guide the recitation and, if necessary, explain the contents of the suttas. This happens in particular after long and special suttas, even in important recurrences. Even though in the ordinary practice sermons are not fundamental, in other solemn or more private contexts the explanation of the meanings of some suttas becomes central. A sutta is a pretext to create a discourse which can help people in their everyday life to take important decisions, but, most effectively, it contributes to create an identity of the community which can reconnect itself to the monks identity and the ancient's knowledge giving a sense of a deep spirituality.

4. CHANTING STRUCTURE

4.1 Language and rhythm. As we said the chanted texts are one of the vehicles of the memory and identity. This possible also for the smart structure of the chant, which make possible the participation of all people inside the community.

The structure is closely connected to the Pāli language which gives to the recitation a perfect rhythm both in poetry and prose. Pāli belongs to indo-european languages and share with them a metrical conception related to the quality of each syllable. In fact, every one of them can be “light” (lāhu-) or “heavy” (garu-). The poetry is basically founded on different types and conceptions of the verses which can create a defined structure with a recurrence of poetic feet. If we read a prose text we can always create a rhythmic sound. Due to their oral origins, the texts maintain – especially in the
prose – a high number of repetitions, which can create a pattern even in irregular context.

This is not the place to talk extensively about this point but give a practical example can be useful to understand the process.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{X} \quad \text{X} \\
\end{array}
\] (x 2)

Fig. 4 Siloka metre structure.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{X} \quad \text{X} \\
\end{array}
\] (x 2)

Fig. 5 Ancient Giti metre.

In the case of the prose the presence of repetitions is fundamental to give musicality and rhythmic sense to recitation. In addition, it can help memory, synchronization and it can create a deep symbolic meaning. In the final part of Dhammacakkavattanasutta, for example, there are a lot of repetitions: the announce of the enlightenment of the Buddha resonates for twenty-three times, like an echo, a celestial word-to-mouth in all the skies of traditional Theravada cosmology.

4.2 Melodic structure. Combined with the rhythmic aspect there is also a melodic structure which can be explained like a “wave” structure. In fact the voice oscillates from two main notes, in general distant a third or a fifth. These borders create two poles: high and low. In general, the voice marks the poetic structure of the verse with the creation of a melodic arch. The passages from the lowest to the highest note can be different: direct jump or scalar movement even with simple decorations. In this case, the main interest is not the musical form, but the creation of a structure which can give more regularity to the text and chant in order to generate a inner sounds cape. Also, in this case, a graphic example can explain the idea of the “wave structure”.

In these three graphics we can see the intonation of the Silokas, of the famous text Dhammapada as sang by Ven. Vimalaratana. The first intonation is used for the first verse, the second for the middle verses an last to conclude a section. With two simple expedients the voice can mark the metrical structure and create symmetry in the chant. Another kind of example is given by the Mettāsutta recitation. In this case we have a similar structure applied to another structure.

Comparing this two following transcription (Ex.4a and 4b) of the first verse we can find out the main structure of the intonation of the Ancient Giti (Ex.5). As we can see in the first half of the verse there is a sort of “initial wave” which leads to a lower note, giving a sense of non-final cadence. Instead, in the second half two “waves” are present: the first (which is omitted in the recitation of the Ex.4a) more regular and basic, lead to the second, more condensed and generally full of passing notes, creating a sense of cadence.

Fig. 7 First version of the first verse of the Mettāsutta.

Fig. 8 Second version of the first verse of the Mettāsutta.

These kinds of structures are easy adaptable to other kind of verses, and give the possibility to
create a skill to chant all the poetry present in the canonical texts. This practice consequently influences also the prose, were we can find the same expedients applied to the text. For example, the repetition of some rhythmic patterns, the syntax of a period or the repetition of entire section can be underlined with a lower note or simple melodic additions.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The idea is to maintain a bound with the original words of the Buddha, transmitted from time to time, from monk to monk, from heart to heart. The main aim is to reconnect the community to this stream, passing by the authority of the monk, creating a imaginary line, never interrupted, with their origin. Everyone, while reciting a sutta, can create an echo of the words of the Buddha, imagining himself as Ananda.

The role of the memory –from the monk, who can understand the language and know by heart an huge number of texts, to the entire community, which shares a common memory – builds an identity which is not closed but, on the contrary submitted to constant expansions.

Despite its contemporary written form the Pāli canon still has an oral function, giving the possibility to create external or spiritual inner place where everyone can be connected with the knowledge of the Dhamma (the doctrine of Buddha), as in the case of the Dhammacakkavattanasutta, where chant makes true, once again, the words of the text, and everyone can live and share the experience.

Perhaps, it may not be a coincidence that the name of this tradition “Theravāda”, literally means “the path of ancients”.

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FROM PARQUE MAYER TO TEATRO MONUMENTAL: VASCO MORGADO’S EMPIRE IN LISBON

Gonçalo ANTUNES de OLIVEIRA*

*Institute of Ethnomusicology, NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities, New University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: This article aims to introduce the relationship between the mobility of music, symbolic power and urbanism in the context of an Entertainment Industry based on Commercial-Musical Theatre in Portugal. This relation will be shown through a Revista show entitled “Esta Lisboa que eu Amo”, that premiered in September 24th, 1966 in the Monumental Theatre (Lisbon), promoted by Vasco Morgado’s Company, the most prolific Impresario of theatre and music during the third quarter of the 20th Century.

Keywords: Revista Theatre, Entertainment Industry, Music in the City, Mobility, Popular Music Theatre

1. CONTEXT AND THEORETICAL MODEL

The theoretical assumptions of the subsequent argumentation are based on the research model developed in my PhD Dissertation entitled “The Theatre of the People or for the People: I’m the one who Makes it”, Vasco Morgado and the Revista Theatre in Lisbon (1951-1978”), currently on its final phase, under the guidance of Professor Salwa Castelo-Branco, President of the Institute of Ethnomusicology – Center of Studies in Music and Dance (NOVA University of Lisbon). My initial scope of observation started with the theoretical model developed by John Louis Styan (1923-2002), Professor and specialist in Literature, Theatre and Drama. Considering that in my approach the Impresario is the main focus in the Entertainment Industry (Show-Business Industry), I imported and adapted Styan’s nine dimensions model (Styan, 1975: 14): Genre; 2. Author, Composer, Choreographer, a.o.; 3. Script (text), Music, Dance, a.o.; 4. Stage; 5. Actor, Musician, Dancer, a.o.; 6. Theatre; 7. Society; 8. Audience (Public). The 9th dimension, “Producer” constitutes my central element of analysis. Additional layers were added (Entertainment Industry and Cultural Policy of the Estado Novo | New State) to provide the necessary context. Entertainment is defined in this model as

a trained, paid group who do nothing else but produce performances which have the sole (conscious) aim of providing pleasure (Dyer, 1992: 17).

In the case-study to be presented ahead, the connection between the dimensions Theatre | Audience | Society will also stand as a fundamental relation for this article. Theatre is considered here as a space of sociability, where social conventions of taste are transferred and also negotiated. There is therefore a symbolic power attached to this particular building that will determine the type of Audience attending the shows, which will in turn shape and be shaped by Societies’ consumer lifestyles and values.

Fig. 1 My PhD’s Research Model
Although the *Revista* Theatre emerged in Portugal in 1851, the first space that came to concentrate several theatres dedicated to this particular *genre* was *Parque Mayer*, inaugurated in June 1st, 1922. It was a place of entertainment and sociability that offered its consumers *typical fairs*, cafes, restaurants, clubs, cabarets, games, e.o. By this time, this location had only one theatre – *Maria Vitória Theatre*, ending up to four by the mid-1950’s.

This Lisbon area quickly became an attraction point that encouraged the mobilization of population from the whole country, motivated by the desire of fruition of the *Revista* shows, their stars and musical repertoires they interpreted. Lasting over almost thirty years, this context changed in the beginning of 1950’s with the arrival of a new *Impresario*: Vasco Morgado (1924-1978).

2. VASCO MORGADO

Vasco Morgado secured a continuous theatrical and music production. His companies and partnerships produced over 400 theatre shows and plays of different *genres* in more than eight theatres, in Portugal and abroad, during his 27 years of activity.

![Fig. 2 Vasco Morgado in London (courtesy of National Museum of Theatre and Dance)](image)

His first project as a *Producer* occurred in 1951 at the Avenida Theatre (Lisbon), with the Portuguese adaptation of J. B. Priestley’s *An Inspector Calls*. But the actual affirmation of his incursion in the Entertainment Industry occurred with the inauguration of the Monumental Cine-Theatre in November 8th, 1951, featuring the premiere of the operetta *Three Waltzes*.

Conceived by the architect Raul Rodrigues Lima (1909-1980), this performative space emerged in the context of the ruling Dictatorship Government’s (*Estado Novo* | New State) strategy of urban development, consisting on a symbol of recent wealth brought by industrial progress, (...) an obligatory passage for the bourgeoisie of the time, the main investor of this new phase of Industrial civilization (Frétigné, 2005: 25).

This building had a theatre with a seating capacity of 1086 people and a Cinemascop-equipped Cinema with 1967 seats. It was considered a place that privileged cosmopolitanism, where, aside the theatre shows and movies, people could actually see and eventually meet the actors, musicians and other *stars* in the Cafés and Clubs that also operated there.

The idea of

(...) developing the Saldanha Square (location of this theatre) and its surroundings to create a new urban position that would relieve the Downtown Area of the city (...) (Frétigné, 2005: 27)

was decided by Mayor Duarte Pacheco (1900-1943), having in mind the

(...) construction of a solid and luxurious building that would be a great house of spectacles, capable of receiving important achievements in the field of theatre and cinema (Frétigné, 2005: 27).

This was directly aligned with Vasco Morgado’s business conceptions.

![Fig. 3 Monumental Theatre – Duque de Saldanha Plaza (courtesy of National Museum of Theatre and Dance)](image)

In fact, the producer spared no effort in order to obtain the rental of this building (it was hence popularly known as the *Headquarters of his Empire*), thus establishing a distinction regarding the theatres in Parque Mayer. The set I called *Lisbon Series* is a manifest demonstration of this strategy. It consisted on *Revista* shows that always had the word “Lisbon” in their designations, as well as trilingual
programmes that usually had “Revista for Tourists” printed. The Impresario sought to create a line of Revista targeting the bourgeoisie and higher social classes. These shows focused on large-scale productions, that stood out by the glamour and sumptuous ambience that could be seen on a Broadway or a West End Musical, but incorporated in the classic Portuguese Revista structure.

At the same time, and following a similar path of its predecessors, Vasco Morgado expanded his operations in Lisbon, Porto and even outside Portugal, namely in Brazil, Angola and Mozambique. Independently, or partnering up with other Impresarios, based on the of the shows I’ve identified through the intersection between the periodicals of the time and the Censorship Processes filed in Lisbon’s National Archive (Torre do Tombo), his expansion in Lisbon has evolved as follows: 1954 – Variedades Theatre (Parque Mayer); 1960 – Maria Vitória Theatre (Parque Mayer); 1965 – Capitólio Theatre (Parque Mayer), 1967 – Villaret Theatre and 1968 - Laura Alves Theatre (former Cinema Rex that he converted into a theatre). Accordingly, his Empire dominated the entire axis Liberdade Avenue, Fontes Pereira de Melo Avenue and Duque de Saldanha’s Plaza, three of Lisbon’s most luxurious arteries, a status still existing nowadays.

The appearance of Vasco Morgado also caused an impact in the Revista Theatre. At least as far as his strategy is concerned towards this theatrical genre. In his own words, he intended to be a “pioneer of the music-hall in Portugal. Initiator, without continuators, of the Great Revista” (Morgado, 1969), by deliberately follow the way of the New Revista, searching for new processes, finding new solutions of humour but without betraying (completely) the traditional format. Just giving it more suitable perspectives that are more adequate to the day on the calendar today (Morgado, 1972).

He also promoted the idea of

(...) a constant search for different paths and ideas and new forms without betraying (and why would they be betrayed?) the sources and legitimate traditions of the Portuguese-language Revista Show (Morgado, 1973).

This avowed promotional discourse ended up being later criticized by the two main Revista Theatre Historiographers – Luiz Francisco Rebello (1924-2011) and Vítor Pavão dos Santos (1937) – who stated that Vasco Morgado had fixed a new formula of Revista Theatre that was constantly repeated to a point of exhaustion in Monumental Theatre: a kind of compromise between the French féeerie, the American Music-Hall and the Traditional Portuguese Revista (Rebelo, 1984 v2: 132), an uninteresting, hybrid show with pretensions to Music-hall that had some or no success at all (Pavão dos Santos, 1978: 59).

Nevertheless, assuming a commercial logic moved by a strong passion for theatre, Vasco Morgado’s approach consisted in selling the Revista Theatre as one of several ranges of products oriented to the entertainment of the masses. His business activity was anchored in a Star System that created and was itself the result of embodied familiar social and cultural types of actors and music for the general public. By doing so, he guaranteed full-houses and sold-out venues. Furthermore, his company invested heavily in marketing and advertising campaigns based fundamentally on the taste and preferences of consumers in Lisbon, thus attracting tourists to the Capital City as well as people from the less populated and urbanized areas or Portugal.

I always emphasize the phrase ‘A Vasco Morgado Show’, because my name is a sort of brand just like in the movie companies, Metro or Fox. (...) With all
the problems people have deal in their everyday life, they prefer to go to the theatre to get distracted. I have already done inquiries about genres the public prefers and they are the Revista Theatre and the ‘Boulevard Theatre’ (Morgado in Porto, Geada, Gomes, 1972: 59).

3. VASCO MORGADO PRESENTS: ESTA LISBOA QUE EU AMO

Such is the case of the Revista Show Esta Lisboa que eu amo | This Lisbon that I Love, that premiered in the Monumental Theatre on September 24th, 1966, between 09h10 pm and 0h55 am.

Inaugurating the Winter theatrical season of 1966/1967, it was, according to the newspaper Notícias (8/10/1966), “the largest sum ever spent on the presentation of a show in Lisbon”. Furthermore, the newspaper O Século (8/26/1966) announced that this was “an authentic artists’ parade with the best team of technicians ever assembled in a show of this nature, making up a total of 150 people” (8/6/1966).

Flama magazine (9/9/1966), stated that:

the cast is indeed more than enough to impress the public: the great Revista Stars Camilo de Oliveira (1924-2016), Maria Dulce (1936-2010), Aída Baptista (1929-2008), José Viana (1929-2003), Simone de Oliveira (1938) and António Calvário (1938), the controversial Angolan ensemble The Rock's, led by singer Eduardo Nascimento (1944), and a wonderful English Ballet with 14 female and 4 male dancers.

After weeks of intense journalistic coverage, which anticipated the cast and other particulars related to this production, the official posters and statements about of this Revista Show issued by the Vasco Morgado Company always stressed the ideas of a “Musical Superfantasy” as well as “It’s more than just a Revista”.

Fig. 5 “Esta Lisboa que eu Amo” Revista programme cover (courtesy of National Museum of Theatre and Dance)

In fact it can be read in the newspaper O Século (11/5/1966) that, despite some stumbles in the show,

there is at least one thing we all owe to Vasco Morgado: having taken the Revista from the its classic moulds. We understand classics here as dusty and routine moulds in which the Revista show has been going on for years (...). Now the Revista Theatre has been civilized for the eyes and ears of the audiences. ‘Esta Lisboa que eu Amo’ is undoubtedly a standard. A new conception of Revista. And hooray for that! The public will be grateful, oh Morgado, by lining up in the box office.

The main song, also entitled “Esta Lisboa que eu Amo” was composed by Frederico Valério (1913-1982), a maestro “that the public knows well and likes” (Republica Newspaper, September 1966) and “performed by the orchestra directed by Fernando de Carvalho” (1913-1967) (O Século, 9/25/1966).
Both maestros, alongside with António Luís Gomes and Eduardo Loureiro, constituted the jury of yet another promoting initiative developed by Vasco Morgado: a band contest. This event took place in Parque Mayer on the day of the show’s premiere. In addition to considerable cash prizes for the winners, all competitors would parade from the venue to the Duque de Saldanha Plaza where they would perform the song in a march format in front of the Monumental Theatre, almost simultaneously with the opening of the theatre drapes (Diário de Lisboa Newspaper, 8/27/1966).

This marketing action had multiple meanings: first, it solidified the strategic image of Morgado as a great promoter of spectacular events; on the other hand, the parade from Parque Mayer up to the Monumental Theatre is to be seen as a demonstration of the strength and the extension of the Vasco Morgado Company both in territorial and symbolic levels; and finally, the interpretation in a march format of the Fado-song that would be sung by Simone de Oliveira later in show with the same name as the show, would facilitate a more efficient memorization by the public, disseminating this repertoire piece in an extremely effective way throughout the different media. According to the Diário Popular Newspaper (10/25/1966), Simone de Oliveira and António Calvário, the Queen and King of Radio, constituted precisely “the specialized singers with whom Vasco Morgado enlivened the phalanxes of admirers of both sexes”.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Understanding the distinctive nature of each of the theatres he explored, Vasco Morgado was the creator of several synergetic strategies capable of consolidating and sustaining his dominion until his premature death in 1978. It was not just a question of presenting different shows for different audiences | public. Music, which plays a central role in the Revista Theatre, has been a key element in all of his activity.

Rare was the exception amongst the significant number of interviews I conducted over the past few years that had not highlighted Morgado's habit of taking long walks between Parque Mayer and the Monumental Theatre. The businessman was a true connoisseur of the shows he had on stage and of the theatres he explored. This logic allowed him to understand how urban dynamics operated in Lisbon, having created situations, such as the one presented in this article, in which music effectively mobilized people, thus establishing a direct relation between Theatre, Audience and Society. Curiously, a similar path was carried out after his passing by thousands of people that wanted to pay him an appropriate homage for his contributions to the Entertainment Industry in Lisbon and in Portugal.

The role of media was paramount in this whole process. The fact that he had deliberately pre-announced the initiative, the agents and the route, transformed what could have been a simple premiere of a Revista show into a celebration in the city of Lisbon, one that stretched along three of its main and busiest arteries that were, at the time all recently equipped with subway stations, a sign of progress and modernity. Music and passers-by moved along the sound of a march that was to be interpreted in another format by the Queen of the Radio. In a context of innocuous texts stemming from censorship imposed by the Estado Novo | New State’s Cultural Policy, this form of Entertainment was not only consented but eventually desired by the regime: people weren’t simply having the Vasco Morgado’s Empire on display. The grandeur of those new Avenues (Avenidas Novas), the investment in the development of Lisbon and the freedom of movement: all arguments of the propaganda strategy of a dictatorial regime with which Vasco Morgado was often connoted and not entirely correct.

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SOUNDS AND MEMORIES AMONG MIGRANTS FROM ANGOLAN DECOLONIZATION

Gianira FERRARA*

* Institute of Ethnomusicology (INET-MD), Faculty of Social and Human Sciences (FCSH), Nova University of Lisbon (UNL), Portugal

Abstract: From 1975, as a result of the decolonization process, more than half a million people left Angola, where they resided, to head to Portugal. It was forced migration due to the political, economic and social instability, during the period of decolonization of Angola. Migrants, mostly Portuguese or of Portuguese origin, once they arrived at their destination, were called “retornados” (returnees). This paper discusses the role of music in the phenomenon of forced migration in which “naturais e ex-residentes de Angola” (natural-born and former residents of Angola) were the protagonists, as well as the ways this displacement is now experienced by them. This article presents two case studies, results of fieldwork conducted in Portugal. The first concerns gatherings that are held annually in the city of Caldas da Rainha by former residents of Angolan city of Huambo, where music and dance are of great importance. The second is focused on the expressive practices of Pedro Coquenão, who was born in the city of Huambo, radio announcer, musician, DJ and mentor of the performance project “Batida”. In both cases I analyze the role of music and performance in the integration, affirmation and re-invention of identity. I emphasize the importance of memory and its uses, and the sensorial expressive practices of the participants, since they promote the continuity and the reconstruction of their “angolanidade” (Angolanity) in Portugal.

Keywords: music, forced migration, returnees, Angola, memory

1. MIGRATIONS OF DECOLONIZATION

One of the main consequences of decolonization of lands dominated by European countries was mass migration of white populations that lived in the colonized territories. Due to the independence of the former colonies, to the general insecure conditions, to the difficult relations with the African nationalist movements and for being identified as promoters of colonial regimes, these people were forced to return (or in many cases to go for the first time) to the so-called “metropolis”. This was a real exodus, although not immediately identified as a migratory phenomenon. It was common to define it as repatriation and the exiles were designated as “repatriates” or, in the Portuguese case, as “returnees”. Forced displacement of several thousands of people from the former colonies was considered over time just as being a “return to the motherland” or “homeland” and not as a migration, assuming a priori that returnees belong to their motherland and that there has been an assimilation process in the place of origin (Smith, 2003). The notions of “motherland” and “return” have been used in an ambiguous way and even used as a political tool. I will attempt to clarify why this happened. As Andrea Smith mentions, migrations of decolonization represent one of the least studied phenomenon in the academic context. One of the reasons why this migratory category was invisible in the academic world was, for instance, due to a long political silence; colonial governments intended to obfuscate all the mistakes and the disasters caused by colonial systems. The migrants’ exodus from the colonies provided clear evidence of the end of an unsuccessful political panorama that caused extensive economic losses and a large number of victims as result of the violence of colonial wars. In this context, the definition of “repatriated” became an instrument to obscure the more critical and difficult aspects related to the migration to Europe of people with European origins (Smith, 2003).

1The migratory category used in this section is proposed in Smith, A. (2003) (ed.) Europe's Invisible Migrants, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.
Over a long time this type of displacement has been decoupled from broader studies on migration as there is a strong distinction between “migrant” and “repatriate”. The migration arising from decolonization can then be considered a forced migration phenomenon due to the involuntary nature of this displacement.2

1.1. The Portuguese case. In contrast with other European colonizer states whose colonies gained independence during the first decades of the 20th century, the Portuguese decolonization came later. The Estado Novo (“New State”), the dictatorship led first by Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, and later by Marcelo Caetano, was overthrown on 25th April 1974 by a military coup with the so-called “Carnation Revolution”, an event that opened the doors to the end of colonialism in 1975. From then, Portugal would receive more than half a million people from the former colonies. Those migrants were called “returnees” even if many of them had never stepped foot in Portugal. The arrival of the returnees changed the face of Portuguese society, bringing with them different lifestyles. They had to face the difficult process of reconstructing their identity, as individuals and as a collective, becoming a focus of huge public attention.

Once in Portugal, these migrants had to deal with a thorny process of adaptation, not only due to a phase of great disruption and economic and political change in a post revolution country, but also because they were stigmatized in different sectors of society. After a difficult process of integration, this phenomenon became less visible and became part of the Portuguese society. The case of the “returnees” was rarely mentioned. For decades, the academic silence on the subject has been associated with the silence of the public opinion’s silence; except for their short period of return, this issue has become a problematic and almost forbidden “taboo”. Recently there has been a renewed interest about this migratory episode in the academic community, and also among writers and journalists who have published articles, essays and romances on this topic.

The purpose of my research is to understand the role of expressive practices and memory in reconstructing identity in this post-colonial migration context. The model suggested by the ethnomusicologist Adelaïda Reyes (1989; 1990; 1999) has been the starting point for the analysis of represented expressive practices; the paradigmatic lens proposed by the author, related to involuntary displacement phenomena, allows to identify pre-migration, departure and re-establishment phases of decolonization migrants. I focused mainly on the re-establishment phase, this is, their settlement in the geographic territory of arrival: Portugal.

2. NATURAL-BORN AND FORMER RESIDENTS OF HUAMBO GATHERINGS3

One of the contexts where I realized my fieldwork were two yearly gatherings – one in 2012, and another in 2013 – of natural-born and former residents of the Angolan city of Huambo (called New Lisbon during the colonial period). The name of the gathering is “Huambo100” and it is organized every year at Caldas da Rainha City, in the Leiria district of Portugal, precisely in Mata Rainha D. Leonor Park, a green area administrated by CHO – North West Hospital Unit in Caldas da Rainha. It lasts two days. It is just one of the many gatherings that happen during the year in this city. These gatherings have been happening for forty years, namely since the arrival of the participants in Portugal. The gatherings consist in the aggregation of hundreds of people aged between sixty and eighty years that lived in the same Angolan city. During the event they share common references and stories of their past in Angola. These references consist in the food, the chosen meeting place – the park – which, according to the participants, is reminiscent of African forest, and also music and dance. It is important to underline that expressive practices are a main prerequisite for the success of the event.

One or more musical groups are invited every year to the “Huambo100” gathering in order to perform live music. In 2013 two African musicians were chosen to participate. Their activity has been centered mainly in Lisbon for a long time. The first, Zezé Barbosa, is a Cape Verdean singer and guitarist, and a resident musician in the Associação Cabo-verdiana de Lisboa (Cape Verde Association in Lisbon), whose repertory mainly includes mornas and coladeiras from Cape Verde, Angolan semba and Brasilian samba; the second, Mestre Capitão, is an Angolan percussionist, and performs with an Angolan traditional group of dancers that participate in the Ballet Tradicional Kilandukílo.4

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3 The definition of “natural-born and former residents” (“naturais e ex-residentes”) used in the title of this section is an emic definition. Considering that the informants do not identified themselves in the concept of “returnees”, they prefer to use this definition as it defines their belonging to the Angolan territory as place of birth or as place of residence in the past.

4 The Kilandukílo Traditional Ballet is a group of Angolan traditional music and dance. It was created in Luanda in 1984. Since 1996, some members of the group live in Portugal where they promote their work.
Zeze Barbosa’s performances happened over two days and his repertoire was based on the genres mentioned above. During his performances, I noticed that some recurrent musical themes induced people to get more involved in dancing practices. Some of these were the sembas Mariquinha and Comeram a fruta hits of the Angolan singer Bonga; the funaná Tunuka by Orlando Pantera, and the coladeira Nho Antone Escadeirado; the mornas ’m Cria Ser Poeta by Paulino Vieira, Lua nha Testemunha by Dani Silva and Ondas sagradas do Tejo by Francisco Xavier “B. Leza”. Zeze Barbosa also interpreted some songs by Duo Ouro Negro⁵, an important musical reference for many of the Angolan former residents, as for e.g. Moamba, Banana e Cola and Muxima, an Angolan traditional song, popularized by the Angolan group Ngola Ritmos, and later by Duo Ouro Negro.

I observed that the performances - live music and dancing - represented some of the most important moments of socialization and amusement for the participants, and opportunities to re activate body memories. The performance of the Angolan group was directed by Mestre Capitão and it occurred in the second day of the event. The musicians and the dancers performed some Angolan traditional music and dances. The group was composed by two musicians and three dancers, two women and a man. The musicians played membranophone instruments (djembe and congá) and aerophones, namely whistles. Differently from the performance of Zeze Barbosa, I noticed that in the case of Mestre Capitão the participants did not respond to the sonorous stimulus. In a certain way, this attitude determined the group’s performative choices in order to encourage dancing reactions among people, who just limited themselves to stare at the stage, or to take photographs.

During Mestre Capitão’s performance, there was a significative moment. He started to sing Muxima, a very important and famous song in Angola and abroad. As Marissa Moorman says, it can be considered as an unofficial anthem of the Angolan nation⁶:

Muxima summons pure nostalgia. Today, when a band plays this song the entire audience sings and sways along and if they do not all of the lyrics they at least know the refrain. [...] Countless versions of the song exist and, as Ze Maria o Ngola Ritmos noted, “it has already gone around the world” because it is the song that musicians traveling overseas and representing the Angolan nation cannot fail to include in their repertoire. (Moorman 2008:121).

Although it sometimes awakens a sense of national belonging and it is considered a distinctive symbol of “angolanity”, the audience, however, did not respond to this song in a strong participative way. In order to counter this, Mestre Capitão exhorted the participants in the gathering to sing in a more convincing way, recalling participants’ “Angolanity”. According to him, “if they were true Angolans”, they should sing Muxima with more involvement.

Some of the participants told me that, according to them, Mestre Capitão’s performance was a sort of “spectacle”, highlighting the presence of dancers and the choreographic aspect. However, I could observe that the participants felt less identified with this kind of expressive practice, when compared to that of the Cape Verdean musician Zeze Barbosa.

The occurrences caused by the Muxima performance show the existence of two “Angolanities” that meet each other in a symbolic and bodily dialogue. Through the performance, musicians, dancers and audience dispute with each other a notion of “Angolanity”, or of “true Angolanity”, as suggested by Mestre Capitão. These two Angolanities are expressed, represented and claimed in the act of representation or self-representation. While the “white” audience seeks to affirm and legitimate their Angolan identity, Mestre Capitão contests it due to historical colonial reasons. This situation takes us back to the definition of identity, in ethnic, symbolic and national terms. Who could be considered as being a true Angolan? Which and how many Angolanities exist? How could they be legitimated?

According to the provocative affirmation of the musician, there is a preconceived idea about who is a true Angolan. The little involvement of white Angolans in the performance stressed such opinion, and highlighted the existence of a border between these two Angolanities; at the same time, his provocation was an opportunity to share a common reference from their home country.

For the former residents of Huambo, this gathering represents a strategy to dialogue and to construct self-representations through memories and references of the past, re-signified in the

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⁵ Cf. Cidra, R., 2010a.
⁶ Muxima is an Angolan folk song, which became famous through the arrangement and interpretation of the group Ngola Ritmos. The group formed in 1947 and was led by “Liceu” Carlos Aniceto Vieira Dias. Muxima is a word in African Kimbundu dialect meaning “heart”. This name also designates an Angolan city where there is a catholic sanctuary that is a pilgrimage destination. It had a strong importance for the European colonizers, as well as for the indigenous population. (Moorman 2008:121-122).
The possibilities of these self-representations are explored through a “reenactment” of the past, with sensorial, imaginative and symbolic pursuits. This quest for the past is also made through spatial references. On one side, we have a geographical space, which is the ancient colonial space, rethought and imagined in the present; on the other, the place where the “Huambo100” gathering occurs, which becomes the stage for a ritual commemoration which provides new memories. Therefore, both kinds of spatial locations - real and imaginary – are just some of the ways in which memories can emerge.

Having these ideas in mind, it is possible to consider the gathering as a commemorative ceremony (Connerton, 1989). Even though “Huambo100” isn’t connected with a specific past event, or with the commemoration of an important person, such as in Connerton’s definition, the notion of commemorative ceremony could be used for this case study, considering that the gatherings represent a common past ritually reenacted, that is, the customs or the gatherings in Angola before the independence. Furthermore, the gatherings operate within a specific temporal framework: the migration of decolonization in 1975, a recurrent topic in participants’ conversations. According to Paul Stoller, an anthropologist who emphasizes the importance of the senses in the ethnographic work (1992; 1997), the commemorative ceremony could be considered as a sensorially constructed event. A performance could be seen as an arena where different memories and powers come into contact. They are disputed and represented and they engender a resignification in the present, out of referential context.

The use of memories in the performative present is realized in several ways. Different generations can manage memories very differently, just as the second case study will show. It focuses on the activity of a Huambo natural born DJ and performer, that uses the past to reconstruct the present in his performative experiences.

3. BATIDA: MEMORY OF ANGOLA IS NOT SAUDADE7 OF THE PAST

Pedro Coquenão, mentor of performative project Batida, comes from a Portuguese Angolan family. He was born in 1974 in Huambo, Angola. Coquenão belongs to a later generation compared to the one of the participants in the gatherings.

Being so, his expressive practices and his use of memory are very different from the previous one.

With the independence of Angola, in 1975, he migrated with his family to Portugal. His link with that African country was based on memories transmitted by his family. He started working as a DJ and as a radio announcer from an early age. He collaborated with some Portuguese radio stations: Radio Marginal, Radio Radar and Radio Antena3. His work is marked by an urge to promote and spread African contemporary musical cultures, or, according to his own words, music with “an African inspiration or influence”. For this purpose, he created the Colectivo Fazuma (Fazuma Collective) in order to promote the works of several artists, supporting the organization of concerts, and the edition and release of audio records, video clips and documentaries based on African contemporary sounds.

In this paper I will just explore his last (and ongoing) project, Batida, having followed some of its performances between 2013 and 2014. Batida was created in 2007 as a radio program transmitted by Portuguese radio station Antena3. The name was inspired by audio bootlegs sold in the streets of Luanda or in the kandongueiros8, where it is also possible to listen to them. These CDs are “best of” compilations of current modern music, according to their sellers. These compilations are called “batidas” and they constitute an informal way to promote not only already known musicians, but also new ones by spreading their works.

Besides Coquenão, Batida is also composed of a varying group of people. They are Luaty Beirão, the MCs Kapa and Sacerdote (who also compose music and lyrics), the sound engineer Bruno Lobato (Beat Laden), and Catarina Limão, who collaborates with vocals, sound production and photo editing. One of the most important characteristics of Batida is the attention given to the new trends coming from “the African urban musical scene”, or the ones which are of “African inspiration”. These expressions constitute emic concepts used by Coquenão to define his work. However, it was not easy for him to import this repertoire from Angola.

Coquenão decides to compose his music according to an idea of sound mix (“mistura sonora”). Bazuka is the first musical composition done by Pedro Coquenão. He uses some melodic fragments taken from the homonymous song by Carlos Lamartine, an important Angolan singer of semba, adding to them rhythmic patterns composed by him and based on kuduro.

7 Saudade is a Portuguese word used to express a nostalgic feeling. It evokes the absence or the loss of someone or something that belonged to the past, which is not present anymore and cannot return.

8 In Angola, the kandongueiro is a collective passengers transport.
The collaboration with the record label Difference Music was a turning point for Coquenão’s work because it gave him access to a large number of phonograph records from the sixties and seventies recorded in Luanda by Valentim de Carvalho. By having access to this musical archive, and encouraged by the success of his first soundtrack, Coquenão decided to record his first album, *Dance Mwangolé*. It was published in 2009 by the Portuguese record label Farol and it is composed of sixteen tracks. All the compositions are based on samples taken from original Angolan songs from the sixties and the seventies, mixed with rhythms composed by Coquenão and inspired by Angolan kuduro, South African kwaiito, and dancehall. *Dance Mwangolé* was later withdrawn from the market in order to be re-released internationally in 2012 by the English label Soundways Records, retitled *Batida*. In 2014 his third album, *Dois*, is released by the same label. The album still maintains the mix between semba and kuduro, but it also includes other musical styles and genres such as rock, jazz and punk.

After the first album release, Coquenão’s music starts being presented as a performative project called Batida, defined by himself as a “show”. It merges music, dance, video and scenography with the aim to contextualize and transmit a message to the audiences, often an interventional message which characterizes the whole project. According to Coquenão, some concepts have a particular importance in Batida performance practice, such as the concepts of “community”, “belonging”, “memory” and “change”. His performative practice aims to gather people, recreating a community link that is of great importance for him; his multiple belongings are reaffirmed through the performance; it allows him to reconstruct and reinvent his own identity through the cultural allusions provided in his work. Thereafter, it is possible to consider his approach as being a dynamic approach to the migratory past.

Coquenão’s work is built upon the renegotiation of familiar memories, and the construction of new meanings. His work seeks a dialogue between different musical realities, also bringing attention to political and social issues. Batida carries within it an interrogation, a transgression, a transformation and not just a quest for a lost past. It involves the audiences in different representative possibilities (performative, political, interventional).

In one of the shows I attended in the course of my fieldwork, Pedro Coquenão wore a hat which reminded him of the ones which were used by the colonizers. Later, during an interview, he told me that the reason for using that hat was mainly provocative. His idea was to present a dichotomy between the image of the colonizer that is generally associated to the one of the *rebornados*, and the interventive message transmitted by his performance.

Batida is directly derived from Coquenão’s memories, memories that could be considered embodied (Connerton, 1989), memories inscribed in the body and transferred into the performance. The stage became a place to receive and gather people, revivify a connection with the past, but within a new interpretation. The performative occasion contributes to shape the represented events. The shape of this representation varies depending on the musicians and dancers involved, where the performance takes place, and the specificities of each audience. The performance is multidimensional and engender new meanings (Behague 1984), becoming a place for the negotiation of identity.

Coquenão converges semba, its strength as a tool of protest and social impact, with hip-hop and kuduro, which are seen as contemporary dissident responses to the Angolan sociopolitical situation. It merges sound and performative identities in search for a possible identity reconstruction and interventive proposals.

### 4. DATA INTERPRETATION

The performances analyzed occur in the ethnographic present. However, they aggregate pasts that are not in opposition to the present, but in a dialogic position: the diasporic dimension is projected by the informants of this research in different existential levels, being revitalized with mnemonic practices.

The “Huambo100” gathering could be seen as a response to a long historical silence about a mass migration from the former colonies and a way to affirm a collective identity circumscribed in the performative space. It is built upon a sensorial apparatus, mainly by music and dance, which solicits memory to confer new meanings to the present. The participants are this way connected to their African past. According to an informer, these performances have the potential to make him “imaginatively throw himself” into his past, “through images”.

Expressive practices solicit recollections inscribed in the body (Connerton, 1989; Stoller, 1992), with these recollections being reinterpreted in the performance. The gathering

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9 *Mwangolé* means Angolan, Angolan natural-born.

10 Personal Interview with A.P. 28th July 2012, Caldas da Rainha.
also represents a strategy that some participants use in order to claim their “Angolanity”, a characteristic that they sometimes feel as being contested.

In the same way, Pedro Coquênão projects his past in his shows, and in the music he composes, using or re-elaborating Angolan musical repertoires from the sixties and the seventies. Compared to the first case, the shows of Batida transmit a different ideology: they constitute a form of protest which is more focused on the present, and not so much on the past. He does not just want to criticize social and political history, but also contemporary issues. All his works have an interventive character which resides on the promotion of African expressive practices which are less familiar to the western ear, and through provocative and critical messages about the Angolan sociopolitical situation, transmitted to the public through all the components of his performance: music, lyrics dance, videos, and scenography.

Different reactions to traumatic events determine the different positions that can be found between one performative context and the other. Firstly, in the case of Coquênão, the contacts with his home country were not interrupted, making it easier to collect new memories and attribute new meanings in his relation with the past. Secondly, Coquênão belongs to a younger generation compared to the one of the participants in the gathering. As Rui Cidra writes in relation to Cape-Verdean migration:

Contrary to the immigrant generation of their parents, their musical practices were not motivated by a ‘defensive’ relationship (Gross et al., 1994) with ‘memory’ and references to their original territory, but, on the contrary, they professed the formation of ‘assertive’ identities (Gross et al., 1994), highly political and very complex from the point of view of identifications, adjusted to interpret their experience in Portuguese territory. (Cidra, 2008: 117)\(^1\)

Finally, it is possible to identify different uses of memory in these two case studies. In the first case, remembrance is used, through various sensorial expedients, to reenact collective moments, and a general sense of a past which has disappeared. In the second case, the shows are also built upon memories associated with a pre-migratory past; however, this past revivification is different. Within it, we can find a more “assertive” identity that searches for a contemporary Angolan.

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Bibliography


\(^1\) My translation. Original quotation: “Contrariamente à geração migrante dos seus pais, as suas práticas musicais não foram motivadas por uma relação ‘defensiva’ (Gross et al., 1994) com a ‘memória’ e as referências de um território de origem, mas preconizaram, antes, a formação de identidades ‘assertivas’ (Gross et al., 1994), eminentemente políticas e complexas do ponto de vista das identificações, ajustadas a interpretar a sua experiência em território português.” (Cidra, 2008:117)

DISCOGRAPHY
MEMORY AND LEARNING: EXPERIMENT ON SONATA KV 331, IN A MAJOR BY W. A. MOZART

Stela DRĂGULIN*, Claudia-Ligia ŞUTEU*

*Faculty of Music, Transilvania University, Braşov, Romania

Abstract: The brain is the most complex object studied. Musical research results showed that classical music could improve spatial-temporal abilities. Music written by great composers is used in order to cure disorders and develop the brain. My experiment presents the very well-known Sonata KV 331, in A Major, including the third part – Alla Turca in a minor, as a background for a thirty minutes logical test. There are two groups, each one containing 5 people. During this test, the first group will listen to the piano sonata while the second one will solve it in complete silence. As many studies showed, music helps the brain to function better. Music activity involves every part of the brain and improves it temporarily. Of course, if such a music therapy is constant, it can get to permanent improvements. This experiment involve a temporarily situation, in which classical music helps the individual to concentrate better and to focus on the final goal. It is surprising what a song can do, but the group that solved the test in complete silence was far more slowly that the one that was accompanied by music. Experiments like this one and the therapy with music play an important role in increasing the brain mobility but also in helping movement rehabilitation. Music can bring down blood pressure and this can lead to relieving the muscle tension. In what concerns listening to classical music and solve a logical test, the results were significantly better for the group that listened to Mozart, the written exam being finished earlier and exam’s grades being higher.

Keywords: brain improvement, piano sonata, memory and learning higher skills

1. INTRODUCTION

Rauscher, Shaw and Ky (1993) claimed that brain reacts to classical music, especially when it comes to young and middle-aged people. Performances of any kind are highly improved if the subjects were listening to this type of music. As many studies reveal the qualities classical music, this article would demonstrate the power of it, piano sonata KV 331, in A Major, written by W. A. Mozart being listen to, before a logical test. Classical music should not be used instead of learning and educational practice, but as a method of improving the brain functions and also a way to enhance the spatial-temporal reasoning.

IQ tests demonstrate that after listening to classical music, there is a temporary improvement of spatial-reasoning, highly bigger than sitting in silence, in the same period of time, or reading.

There are many studies that prove the benefits of classical music, one of the explanations being the aspect of music’s vibrations. “The secret is in the vibrations of music, which penetrate everything – including the water, the sewage and the cells”. The present investigation tries to show the contributions of the great composers’ music and the differences between two groups of students, whom results are compared after a solving a logical test in a session of listening to a piano sonata by Mozart and an equalled period of time of resolve it in silence. The subjects rated their elicitation and mood and the test’s results showed the differences between the two groups.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Participants. There were used 10 students (20 to 23 years of age). Participants came from Faculty of Music in Braşov and had almost the level in what concerns grades during the whole semester.

2.2 Apparatus and Stimuli. The entirely piano sonata KV 331, in A Major, including the well-known third part – Alla Turca, composed by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, was played by a laptop, with professional external speakers, in order not to affect the quality of music. The
recording was performed by a student at the Faculty of Music in Brașov. The control condition for the first group, formed by five students, consisted of listening to the entirely sonata, put on repeat, to cover 30 minutes for the logical test. The test had 15 logical problems, with graded levels. They listened to the first movement, in A Major. The opening movement is a theme and variation and the tempo marking is Andante grazioso. The second movement of this piano sonata is a minuet and a trio in A Major. The minuet is 40 measures long and the trio is 52. The third movement, Alla turca, is one of the most popular pieces of all times, being also known as Turkish March.

The second group had to solve the test in silence for the same period of time. There were used two separate rooms for each group, 10 chairs, one for each participant, the experiment being simultaneously developed. The chosen moment for the experiment was a short period of time – 30 minutes. Before this period of listening and resolving the problems or solving the test in silence, they were waiting another 5 minutes and after this, the examination papers were being given. All participants had the same subjects for this test and the maximum time for solving it was 30 minutes. There were 15 questions, from a lower level to an advanced one, including little puzzles and questions that require logical thinking. The logical exercises were the ones used in IQ tests (See Figure 1). The participants were being chosen in order to be nearly equally, in what concerns the level. The average medium of these students is between 9.50 and 9.75, during the last semester.

2.3 Procedure. The procedure was controlled by a computer program created in order to replay music at a very high quality, exactly as it was recorded. Participants in the first group were listening to Mozart’s piano sonata, during the whole test. The logical exam was from 11 A.M. to 11:30 A.M. The 10 participants were tested individually, in two classrooms, in complete silence, with no cell phones or computers opened. Sessions were conducted Saturday in the morning when the building of the Faculty of Music was quiet.

After the paper examinations were provided, students were given the opportunity to ask questions. In the examination period, there was a 10 seconds warming of the end of each 10 minutes period. After time elapsed, all participants were asked to rate their mood during the test and the power of concentration and the sheets were distributed. They had to grade with marks from 1 to 5, depending on their capability to focus, on their speed in solving the tasks and on their mood, after listening to Mozart’s music or solving the test in complete silence.

3. RESULTS

Classical music had so much influence on the focus control in the first group. As musical perception is processed in the right hemisphere of the brain that involve spatial abilities and long-term sequencing operations, the second group, the one that solved the test in complete silence, had results that were less than expected. The differences between grades of the first group and the second one can be easily noticed (see Fig.2).

Fig.1 Example of one type of exercise used in the logical test, in this experiment, this being a very easy one.

The time in which every subject finished the test, was written on a paper, in order to be compared. The tests were quickly graded by a professor who didn’t know the name of the students. Participants also provided a global rating of mood, elicitation and power of concentration, on a scale from 1 (weak) to 5 (strong).

At the end of this test, the grades, the speed and the participants’ rating would be compared in order to present the results of this experiment.

Fig.2 Grades in the logical exam, for each group.

The background of the 10 participants was slightly similar, so that we can’t describe the results as unrighteous. As we saw the grades, the average for the first group was 91 points out of 100 and for the second one, 64 points out of hundred.

A more important measure is to assess changes at the level of individual. The global rating that was required is relevant for this experiment. Table 2 shows us how participants from the first group, evaluate their mood, on a scale from 1 to 5, their power to stay focused and their capability of
remaining calm in stressful situations such as exams (see Fig.3).

![Fig.3 Self-evaluation realized by the participants in the first group](image)

Table 3 describe the situation in the second group, concerning the capacity of self-control, the capability of staying focused during the entire exam and the self-control in a stressful task (see Fig.4).

![Fig.4 Self-evaluation realized by the participants in the second group.](image)

As it can see in the results, the participants evaluated themselves objectively. The participants in the first group claimed that the piano sonata that they listened to, relaxed them and helped also for a better focus. They managed to remain calm and focused for the entire period. They also finished sooner that they have expected, in less than 25 minutes. The subjects in the second group got exhausted easier and they finished in 30 minutes. Grades were relevant and the quantity and quality for the first group were far better than in the second one.

4. DISCUSSION

This study analyses the effects of exposure to classical music on a specific spatial-temporal activity. In this experiment, performance was significantly better after participants in the first group listened to music during a logical exam than after participants in the second group sat in silence. Classical music is physically accessible to the general audience. The participants were chosen from a faculty that apparently doesn’t have an obvious connection to mathematical thinking. They may be keen on logical and puzzling tests but the experiment proves that every person can be helped by classical music. As I claimed in this article, his music is not a substitute for any kind of activities but it is an extraordinary way to improve brain’s activity, aspects that concern memory, on short or long-term.

Scientists agree that there are neurological foundations for music’s effects on cognitive ability. Theory of sensory stimulation is another explanation that should be considered when it comes to this experiment. When listening to classical music, the brain is excited by stimulation and finally there would be improved conduits of brain function. Also, it is very important to specify that music similar to classical music, concerning tempo, structure, melodic and harmonic consonance and predictability has also the same results as classical music. There are also opinions that see the negative side of this more important aspect but as John Hughes says, “Skeptics could criticize the IQ studies but this is on paper: you can count discharges and watch them decrease during the classical music”. Also, Rauscher and Shaw presented their studies and results in many articles. The “neural resonance” theory of Rauscher is about stimulation which is the confounding variable that mediates the relationship between spatial ability and music that defines this amazing effect on listeners. When Rauscher claimed that, after listening to classical music for 10 minutes, normal subjects would show better response to tasks than after a period of silence designed to lower blood, there were lots of studies that would agree or contradict those statements.

This very studied aspect of music, the classical music’s effect on people, is so popular due to its claim to be a quickly way to improve short and long-term condition, due to its capability of enhancing the mood and its power to keep one individual focused longer on advanced tasks. The results of this experiment prove that classical music is far better than complete silence, especially when it comes to activities such as logic problems and challenging situations such as tests, exams or public performances. The brain has a certain plasticity, it’s able to change and music can be one element that influences its activity. The injured brain can be reeducated and a normal brain can be highly improved, when it comes to a link between it and the classical music.

Techniques such as functional magnetic resonance, imaging and electroencephalography, are combined to
music and the results are amazing. Even though, studies regarding this network that present this amazing connection between art and health are not being known among people. In my opinion, there should be a culture in this direction, because it is a very accessible therapy for every person and it isn’t a complicated manner to boost the brain and its activity. Listening to classical music increases the neurotransmitter dopamine, which plays a very important role in motivation. It also boosts spatial intelligence and this is one of the reason this experiment used classical music for a logical test.

The experiment tried to prove the existence of classical music benefits when it comes to multiple tasks. Even if the subject is well-prepared is very important to use stimulation that excites the brain in different situations, so that it can be created a relaxing and enhancing atmosphere that help the individual to perform better and think faster than usual.

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MUSA GULAM JAT AND JODIA PAWA - FROM SINDH TO BANNI

Iulia Nicoleta RASCANU*

*Department of Modern Languages and Communication in Business, The University of Economic Studies, Bucharest, Romania

Abstract: The history of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial India is replete not only with changes and movements of people across numberless borders but also with their stories of life that have been re-made and retold over and over again. Although these sometimes have not been recorded in written form, myths and music have always served as oral vehicles of transmission of culture for migrant and nomadic communities. This paper explores the connection between one man’s music, cultural and ethnic background, and the geographic environment that offered him and his community a home to which he would constantly return. Shri Musa Gulam Jat is renowned for his unparalleled expertise in playing the double flute thus opening possibilities for him in Western European countries such as France, Germany and Britain. Member of a nomad community, the Jat community, and himself a nomad since the age of twelve, Musa Gulam Jat has settled in the Banni area of Kachchh, Gujarat, India, close to the Indian-Pakistani border. Having changed places and multiple homes in search of food for his cattle, Musa has always kept his instrument - Jodia Pawa - along, with which he refined the sound of the double flute playing Sufi music, the music of his ancestors. Since there is no much academic work on Musa Gulam Jat’s art if at all, most of the information obtained for this article is based on the testimony and writings of Shri Umesh Jadiya of Bhuj, Kachchh, himself an artist and ethnomusicologist.

Keywords: Musa Gulam Jat, Jodia Pawa, Sufi music, community

1. INTRODUCTION

It is not uncommon for migrant or nomad communities to carry along their culture, customs and art. Unlike in a Western context in which the encounter of cultures may generate fricas and sometimes open conflicts, the type of cultural encounter tackled in this paper illustrates how history, migration, art and religion co-exist in harmony. The particular physical space referred to is called Kachchh1 - a district of the state of Gujarat, India situated in the most north-west part of the state. Characterised by dry desert-like weather with scarce sources of water, Kachchh is bounded in the north by the Indian Ocean, by the Gulf of Kachchh in the south while the east and the south east are crossed by the Great Rann and the Little Rann of Kachchh respectively, two deserts inhabited only by nomadic communities that survive on cattle breed (buffaloes, goats, sheep, camels). In the north part of the Rann stretch the Sindh and Thar deserts of Pakistan. It is significant to note that the Indian-Pakistan border appeared only post Partition (1947) when Pakistan formed as a self-governed state which generated an exodus of people to and from the newly-born Pakistan. Sindh itself was divided in the Sindh of Pakistan and that of India. Entire families have been also divided by the new border which determined the Indian government to allow Hindus living in Pakistan to abandon their homes there and move to India. Concomitantly, Muslims who wanted to go and live in Pakistan could do so as well.

In this process there were also some migrant communities from the Sindh of Pakistan that crossed the Indian border mainly in search of food for their cattle. Shri Musa Gulam Jat, the protagonist of this account, comes from the Jat community, the Khalita group whose traditional caste occupation include barber and musician2.

1 Previously known as the princely state Cutch, later on (1947-1956) called the Kutch state, it is now a district of the Gujarat state. All spellings - Cutch, Kutch, Kachchh - are accepted.

from a family of herders. If one googles the name ‘Musa Gulam Jat’, one finds one short recording of Musa playing his Jodia Pawa and very few details about him as a traditional flute player. Musa - as he is known among those who knew him - is probably the best player of Jodia Pawa, the double flute, according to all available data obtained from online sources, newspapers and to Shri Umesh Jadiya, my interlocutor. Musa Gulam Jat has lived mainly in the Banni area, in Gujarat. As I was already in India at the time I found out about him, I set to Bhuj, the district headquarters of the Kachchh district, in order to find out someone who could give me more information about Musa and his art. Having visited Bhuj and the Kachchh Museum in 2013, as part of my doctoral programme, I settled a meeting with Shri Jadiya, the museum director who knew Musa personally. Since Musa passed away last year (2015) in October, I could not meet him face to face, therefore the only genuine information about him that I could obtain was from Shri Umesh Jadiya.

2. MUSA GULAM JAT’S ANCESTORS - THE JAT COMMUNITY

The specific geographical area envisaged in this paper is called Banni, mainly populated by communities engaged in cattle breeding: the Jat, Mutwa, Node, Korar, Sameja, Sama, Sunra, Raishipotra, Halepotra and Bambha communities (Jethi, 2014: 10).

Shri Musa Gulam Jat comes from the Jat community in Banni, Kachchh, that migrated from Pakistan to India, along Sindhr. As Umesh Jadiya explains in his book entitled Kachchh, ‘the term “Jat” has been used to describe a multitude of groups with different cultural and ethnic background living in parts of northern India and Pakistan’ (Jadiya, 1997: 26) but almost instantly he adds that ‘the Jats who live in Kachchh are particularly conscious of their identity as a group and their sense of unity comes from a perception of shared historical tradition and a belief in common ancestry’ (Jadiya, 1997: 26).

According to Asher and Talbot (2006), “Jat” is a label applied to a wide-ranging, traditionally non-elite, [a] community which had its origins in pastoralism in the lower Indus valley of Sindh (269). Khazanov and Wink (2012) and Wink (2003) also refer to the Jats’ origin as a people from the Indus river-valley of Sindh that migrated north into the Punjab region, Delhi, Rajputana, and the western Gangetic Plain in late medieval times (cf. Wink 2004). Both Wink (2003) and later Wink and Khazanov (2012) state that these people were, back in the seventh century, a pastoral-nomadic population raising cattle from which they derived their livelihood (177). Wink (2003) also went deeper into the history of migration of this population asserting that a part of it migrated to Iraq, others to the north in Pakistani Punjab, while others came to India. The same researcher notices that the Jats became rather sedentary peasants between the 11th and 16th century as they ‘continued to live in the thinly populated barr country between the five rivers of the Panjáb, adopting a kind of transhumance, based on the herding of goats and camels’ (92-93). Umesh Jadiya notices that the Jats, as most herders, became pastoralists in time taking up farming while still depending on their herds (2).

Religiously, the Jats can be of either Hindu, Muslim or Sikh faiths, while socially they are classified as Other Backward Class (OBC) in India. The Jats living in Kachchh are entirely Muslims (Jadiya 1997, Jethi 2014). Nonetheless, religion does not represent a socio-cultural barrier between people in general and cultural circles in particular. The Jats that arrived in Kachchh migrated from Half, in Iran, about five hundred years ago (Jethi, 2014) and reached the Rann of Kachchh becoming known as the Gharasiya Jat (id.). There are two other clans of Jats: the Dhaneth Jats (cattle owners) and the Fakirani Jats (devoted to the study of the Koran) (Jethi, 2014).

Musa Gulam Jat is a Muslim and a Fakirani Jat who migrated with his family when he was only twelve from the Sindhr of Pakistan. They moved to various places in the Banni area where forty Jat hamlets were put up. In time, the family became more sedentary and returned to settle in one of these hamlets, in an area called Nani Banni, the Nana Luna village. Just like the Jats’ migration route from Iran, Iraq, Afganistan, Pakistan to Kachchh, the double flute changed its name from Donali (in Afganistan), to Satara (Pakistan), to ‘Algora’ (Pakistan and Rajasthan), according to Shri Umesh Jadiya. Musa brought along from Pakistan his instrument, the one we know it today as the Jodia Pawa.

3. JODIA PAWA, SUFI MUSIC AND THEMES

As Shri Jadiya told me, the study of musical instruments is comparable, and therefore as important as that of history and literature because it speaks of various aspects of the culture of a society, as well as of its various religious taboos and worship. Along with other folk musical instruments - Surando, Sundari, Bhorindo, Kani, Morchang, Santar, Nagara, Nagfani, Jodia Pawa expresses ways of life, spirituality and tradition but they are now fast on the way to extinction.

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Jodia Pawa or the double flute is usually made of sesum wood or Tali, Ker, Kau, Sopari (the word for ‘mouth freshner’), rose wood or of bamboo and prepared on lathe. In order to protect it from breakage, a copper wire is wrapped on some parts of the Jodia Pawa. It is a pair of flutes of the same size (20 to 22 inches) generally blowing both flutes simultaneously which is very strenuous for the player. Popularly called Alghoza or Alguja, Jodia Pawa is made up of a male flute called Nar and a female one, called Madi or Mali. Shri Jadiya describes it as follows:

Nar has eight equi-distant holes for maintaining a drone or Sur. The Madi weaves the melody on this base over twelve holes on top which fingers move. Of the twelve holes of the Madi, only the upper six are used functionally to manipulate music while the lower six are left open and free. (9)

In order to obtain different melodious notes, the artist uses wax which is stuck on the mouth of various holes, thus temporarily blocking them. Shri Umesh Jadiya asserts that the Jodia Pawa is exclusively made in the Sindh of Pakistan, therefore whoever wants to get one, s/he needs to order it from there. As Musa asserts in the documentary, one year the monsoon was so heavy that the rains took away almost all of his belongings, including the Jodia Pawa he had from his father. One can see how distressed he felt for losing it although the deepest concern was more linked to Musa’s dependability on the Jodia Pawa as the main source of income for his family and to the fact that herding is necessarily done along with the playing of the flute. It is not said in Notes from the Desert, but I was curious to find out what Musa did without his Jodia Pawa. Shri Jadiya told me that a friend of his, Shri Agni Hotri, a journalist from Pakistan managed to replace Musa’s old instrument with a new one so that he continued playing and living the kind of life Musa had always led so far.

The type of music played by Musa is Sufi music. Sufi music is played on a maximum of 36 notes out of which Musa himself could play fifteen on a double flute - an instrument that is not exclusively played by Sufi artistes. Musa played it as a Sufi artist. In the only documentary made on Musa Gulam Jat, Notes from the Desert (directors mohan Hari and Ramesh Soni), in which Umesh Jadiya was a researcher and co-ordinator, Musa asserts that he is the follower of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (a Sufi Saint of Sindh) who created a series of poems known by the name of Surs and musical themes (Rag Ragnis). In Notes from the Desert, Musa demonstrates his virtuosity by playing parts of the eleven Ragas that he could play3 out of a total of thirty-six contained in Sufi music: Rano, Manz, Telang, Bhairavi, Kiliari, Sorath, Fathej, Asa, Sarang, Malhar, Hussaini.

Some of the themes illustrated in Musa’s Ragas are presented by Shri Umesh Jadiya in his book on Kachchh. Thus, the one called Rano can also appear as Mural and Rano, the story between two mortals who fall in love with each other, who lose that love which in the end is re-interpreted as endless love for all humans, irrespective of caste and class. The story starts with a prince who falls in love with a beautiful maiden called Mural. As the girl does not return his love, the prince goes away to become a yogi of the Lahutis type (who are said to have seen glimpses of God). As Rano meets the yogi, he is told to go to the waters of Kach where he will find love. Rano indeed falls in love with Mural, marries her, but soon has to go far away. When he returns, he finds someone else sleeping beside Mural which makes him leave her. Many years after, a messenger announces his arrival saying ‘Whoever comes to Rano is welcome regardless of caste and class’.

Another song is called Sorat, telling the story of a king’s power of self-sacrifice only to gain more understanding: Sorat is the name of a queen (or of a region governed by that queen, now called Junagadh, according to Shri Jadiya); Sorathenschains the king, Rai Diyach, who is once visited by a minstrel; wishing to pay the minstrel for his beautiful song, the latter only wants to take the king’s head; the king agrees but when the minstrel returns, he gives back the head and says ‘Sorath is dead’, symbolising that the queen was no more and the king has a different thinking.

A third theme is the theme of hope, Asa. This song celebrates godly power when man submits self entirely to it: ‘No one, who is loaded with “self”, will ever see the other side’ (26). This is a religious message encouraging people to appreciate selflessness as one step towards God’s ‘kingdom’ (heaven). Shri Jadiya continues by saying that ‘one should have strong hope, implicit faith, utter resolution, and keep a divine “Lawyer” within one’s soul so as to ready for Judgement day’ (id.). In order to accomplish this, yet another message is deployed: ‘destroy coarse multiplicity with unity’ (id.).

One last theme presented here is Sarang, meaning the rainy season - the only one that celebrates elements of the weather. For herdiers, the rainy season is both awaited and feared. If rains are too heavy, the waters can wash away everything.

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3 Musa states that he can play twelve Ragas and the documentary contains only eleven.
including the little belongings of those such as Musa Gulam Jat. Nonetheless, rains are a source of joy and happiness for cattle owners and agriculturists as they depend almost entirely on their crops and their cattle, which need vegetation to graze. If *Asa* celebrates the ‘God-lover’, *Sarang* praises the ‘God-reminder’ (rain) and by lightning and thunder which announce the coming of the rain. The sound of the Jodia Pawa would be joined by the poet’s verse: ‘O! Rain, were you to take lessons from my poor eyes, your drizzle would never stop. Remembering “the Beloved”, my tears flow night and day’ (27-28).

**3. CONCLUSIONS**

The music of Shri Musa Gulam Jat celebrates the spirit of living rather than one particular community. As it is explained in the documentary on Musa, it also feasts the coming of the monsoon, a crucial natural phenomenon for herders such as Musa. It is indeed more important for nomad communities who survive on their cattle to set their homes in places where there is enough water for the cattle than to worry about religious majority populations. India in general and Kachchh in particular are made up of a great variety of communities with their own habits, culture, languages and religions, and all live together in peace. Even more than this, nomad communities lead a unique lifestyle in harmony with nature, a lifestyle conveyed through the music played by artists such as Musa. I thought of him as a member of a very small minority population (Muslim) in Gujarat as well as of a very poor community. Asking Shri Jadiya why Musa did not go back to Pakistan, I was told that there were not good enough reasons for him to return to the Sindh of Pakistan.

Shri Musa Gulam Jat had become an Indian citizen with rights and obligations. Even if he could have found a solution to return to his native place, he would most probably not have wanted it. As an Indian of OBC (Other Backward Classes), he could benefit from governmental help which he would not have gotten from Pakistan. He obtained legal documents from the Gujarat state and access to the ratio card used for buying food, kerosine and other goods from governmental shops. Gujarat is also known for its extremely hot and dry climate and for heavy rains during the monsoon which make the life of nomad communities very difficult: during the hot season, they have to move home very frequently in search of grazing lands; during heavy rains, they must temporarily settle on hilly areas to avoid the floods. Additionally, these are minority communities. In spite of all these obstacles, Musa and his community stayed put thus contributing to the variety of cultures and traditions of the area rather than disrupting it. Due to his expertise in playing the *Jodia Pawa*, he also contributed largely to the good renown of Kachchh both in the country and abroad.

In the documentary called *Notes from the Desert*, the voiceover tells the audience that Musabhai, as he was known by those closer to him, was invited to play and teach in various countries in Europe, especially in Germany and great Britain. Another documentary, from 1986, called *Lessons from Gulam* combines the study of musical enculturation and education. The same source explains that Musa also taught *qawwali*, a form of Muslim devotional music found in India and Pakistan and also a genre of media-disseminated popular music. Shri Umesh Jadiya acknowledges that Musa used to run an amateur *qawwali* group (called *Saz aur Awaz*, ‘Music and Song’).

After having his slice of the Western world, Musabhai returned to his community. In *Notes from the Desert*, he admits that ‘our land is our very own dear to one’s heart. There is no greater pleasure than playing in our own country for our own people. After all, it’s our motherland’ (*bharat* = mother, motherland). These words are filled with more than just patriotism. They reflect an artist’s hybrid identity who is concomitantly aware of his origins (he is a Fakir Jat from Pakistan), proud of being an Indian from Kachchh - ‘our land’, the one that gives him the needful, and an artist.

The documentary shows the tough life conditions of the artist and his community as well as other complications (such as his wife’s heart condition) that require amounts of money that are out of Musabhai’s reach. The prizes and awards he won over the years - he was approved artist of All India Radio, Bhuj, a ‘B’-high grade artist, he won the Gujarat State Pride Award from the Government of Gujarat (1995), the invitations to perform in important gatherings - e.g. Heritage India Magazine, in Pune (Maharashtra), did not help Musa improve his own and his family’s life. Unable to ask Musabhai directly, I must be satisfied with Shri Jadiya’s belief that music helped Musa Gulam Jat surpass his condition of migration and with Musa’s own words in *Notes from the Desert*, where he says that after all, he is a Fakir, a free soul who lives in the present and for whom the future only resides in his music. His

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5 In India, the hierarchisation of artists is the following: ‘A’-grade artist (the highest), ‘B’-high grade artist and ‘B’-grade artist.
greatest wish was to be able to pass on the playing of the *Jodha Pawa* to other generations but, as Shri Umesh Jadiya acknowledges, it is harder and harder to teach the new generation the beauty of folk traditional music.

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BORDERS, WHAT’S UP WITH THAT?: MUSICAL ENCOUNTERS AND
TRANSMATIONAL MOBILITY IN K-POP

Michael FUHR*

*Center for World Music, Institute of Music and Musicology, University of Hildesheim, Hildesheim, Germany

Abstract: The question of music and identity is sitting at the core of ethnomusicological studies about globalization. At this juncture, migrants play a significant role in negotiating processes of musical encounter and exchange and also in yielding new musical genres. They often hold a key position as ‘cultural brokers’ at best acting as symbols of successful social integration (e.g., as ‘model minorities’) and at the same time signaling the shifting boundaries of discourses about nationality and ethnicity. In the realm of contemporary South Korean idol pop music, also known as K-Pop, second and third generation overseas Koreans have been increasingly flowing back to their ‘home country’ since the early 1990s to work in the music industry. Due to localization strategies in recent K-pop music production and growing K-Pop fandom around the globe, more and more foreigners have also been intruding into the domestic star system. By capitalizing their specific status as cultural brokers, immigrant K-Pop idols enjoy transnational stardom and are part and parcel of the industry’s ‘globalization’ activities. But they can also easily fall prey to othering inclinations unleashed through the K-Pop specific star production system or by hyperbolic patriotism of the public. The paper highlights the productive intersections of music studies and globalization theories and sheds light on the multiple entanglements of K-pop stardom, transnational mobility, identity politics, nationalism, and transnational consumption. These will be illustrated with examples taken from recent field research in South Korea and Germany.

Keywords: music, human migration, community, intercultural context, communication

1. INTRODUCTION: MUSIC AND TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY

The intricate relationship between music and human mobility has pervaded ethnomusicological thinking from its earliest stages. Borrowed from cultural anthropology, conceptual models of cultural evolutionism and diffusionism have provided the paradigms for comparative musicologists in the early stages of the discipline to explain the spread and transformation of music cultures. Until the late 20th century, anthropology and the social sciences have principally considered culture and society in fixed spatial terms, which put much emphasis on theoretical consideration of societal relationships bounded within territorial and political entities, such as the nation-state. Mobility and travel were mostly grasped as by-products and extensions of the ‘bounded society’ that appeared chiefly static as being mapped onto more or less clearly identifiable and fixed local places. Since the 1960s, anthropologists have become more reflective of the relationships between culture and social change by drawing on neo-Marxist, feminist, postmodern and postcolonial critiques. They re-evaluated ethnographic knowledge production and challenged the long-standing notions of spatially fixed cultures in academic studies, in which “roots always precede routes” (Clifford, 1997: 3), as James Clifford famously put it in his 1997 book Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century. In his introductory chapter, Clifford notes:

Virtually everywhere one looks, the processes of human movement and encounter are long-established and complex. Cultural centers, discrete regions and territories, do not exist prior to contacts, but are sustained through them, appropriating and disciplining the restless movements of people and things (Clifford, 1997: 7).

With the end of the Cold War, the effects of globalized capitalism, new technologies, and mass
migration have enforced and accelerated our need
for thinking about movement, travel, transport, and
mobility. A decade ago, the two British sociologists
Mimi Sheller and John Urry called for a new
mobilities paradigm in the social sciences. In the
opening sentence of their influential article, they state:

All the world seems to be on the move. Asylum
seekers, international students, terrorists, members
of diasporas, holidaymakers, business people, sports
stars, refugees, backpackers, commuters, the early
retired, young mobile professionals, prostitutes,
armed forces – these and many others fill the
world’s airports, buses, ships, and trains. The scale
of this travelling is immense (Sheller and Urry,
2006: 207).

It is apparent that musicians, music actors and
music scholars can be easily added to this list and
that the overall dynamics have rather intensified
than decreased since the time of their writing.
Scholars of cultural globalization have reflected on
the transnational nature of many of today’s cultural
phenomena and suggested more flexible
approaches to the understanding of culture and
locality. Arjun Appadurai made a useful
suggestion for analyzing global music by hinting
towards the dual structure that is characteristic to
many cultural forms. He notes:

Thus the twenty-first century is witnessing new
tensions between the actually circulating, cultural
forms, and emerging, partially culturally formed
circuits or networks that shape and cover the
multiple paths of circulation. This dual structure of
global cultural forms also generates what we may
call the ‘bumps’ or obstacles in regard to many
cultural flows (Appadurai, 2010: 8).

Recent ethnomusicological studies have
increasingly addressed the connections between
local and global musical forms by analyzing the
mixing and appropriation of different musical
styles. However, as Bob W. White notes,

relatively little scholarship has focused on the actual
encounters - the chance meetings, coordinated
misunderstandings, and ongoing collaborations -
that bring people of different musical or cultural
backgrounds together or the ways that these
encounters condition musical practice and
knowledge about the world. (White, 2012: 6).

Migrants play a significant role in negotiating
processes of musical encounter and exchange and
also in yielding new musical genres. They often
hold a key position as ‘cultural brokers’ at best
acting as symbols of successful social integration
(e.g., as ‘model minorities’) and at the same time
signaling the shifting boundaries of discourses
about nationality and ethnicity.

2. POP MUSIC FLOWS: MIGRANTS IN
SOUTH KOREAN IDOL POP (K-POP)

During the past two decades, South Korean idol
pop music, recently dubbed as K-Pop, has steadily
increased its popularity among international
audiences. From riding the Korean Wave (i.e., the
success of Korean TV dramas, movies, and pop
songs in East and Southeast Asia) since the late
1990s and boosted by PSY’s YouTube hit
“Gangnam Style” in 2012, K-Pop has not only come
to indicate a new genre in the global music market,
but also to mark a unique cultural phenomenon,
which epitomizes South Korea’s engagement with
late modernity and globalization. Most
characteristic to K-Pop are boy and girl groups,
which are designed, groomed, and marketed as “all-
round entertainers” to domestic and foreign
audiences by South Korean entertainment
companies. Featured in stylish music videos with
seemingly immaculate faces and figures, fancy
costumes and hairdos, rapid dance beats, catchy
sing-along tunes, and perfectly synchronized dance
routines, K-Pop idols have enthralled a growing fan
base across many parts of the world with digital
technologies and social media.

Immigrant idols play a pivotal role in K-Pop’s
success story, as they serve as precious poster boys
and girls of the Korean music industry’s export-
oriented business agenda. We can broadly
distinguish three groups of immigrant pop idols,
corresponding to subsequent globalization
strategies, in contemporary K-Pop business:
Korean-Americans, foreign nationals with other
Asian migratory background, and most recently
non-Asian foreign nationals.

The influx of Korean-American immigrants to
the music and entertainment sector dates back to the
early-mid 1990s, as a response to the rising demand
of manpower and knowhow from the new youth
culture industry. Young overseas ethnic Koreans
raised in the United States and endowed with
“cosmopolitan sensibility and linguistic and musical
versatilities” (Lee, 2003: 9) were pulled into the
Korean music business as idol trainees, song writers,
producers, sound engineers, etc. and thus have highly
contributed to the further development of K-Pop.

A second group of immigrant K-Pop idols
consists of foreign nationals of non-Korean
ethnicity. Since the mid-2000s, Korean
entertainment companies began to foster their
market expansion toward the Chinese and Southeast
Asian regions by recruiting idol aspirants from those
countries, e.g. through auditions held in China. By incorporating ‘improved localization strategies’ into their idol production system (i.e., promising artists are cast abroad, trained in Korea, and ‘sold back’ to the foreign target market), Korean entertainment companies have successfully expanded sales markets and increased their export rates. As a result, all-purpose serving, highly diversified, flexible, and multi-lingual K-Pop groups have entered the scene, such as thirteen-member-group Super Junior and EXO M and EXO K (‘M’ standing for Mandarin, ‘K’ for Korean).

The third type of foreign K-Pop idols is preliminary and limited to the recent and loose attempts by entertainment companies of including ‘non-Asian’-looking idols into K-Pop groups. Spurred by the emerging global fandom of K-Pop in the early 2010s and the industry’s desire to expand markets beyond the Asian hemispheres, K-Pop producers have started to integrate Caucasian- and African-looking members into K-Pop groups. For example, the Korean-Canadian boy group ESQ featured one Italian member, and the four-member girl group The Gloss featured one French member. Both groups were formed in 2011 and 2012, but already disbanded before their official debuts. In November 2015, the six-member girl group Rania presented an African-American member as a novelty in the K-Pop idol cast. The five-member boy group EXP takes the idea of casting foreigners a step further by representing a K-Pop group without any Korean members. Launched in 2015 by a New York-based team of interdisciplinary artists, the group features a multi-ethnic cast with one member from each continent. What started as an arts and documentation project on the Korean boy group phenomenon has turned into a potential business enterprise with critical academic undertones drawing attention from mainstream media and K-Pop fans.

These recent attempts to include non-Asian foreigners into the cast of K-Pop idol groups have been very critically assessed by loyal K-Pop fan communities. Even though they are still small in numbers, foreign K-Pop idols serve as a valuable site for further study because they are presented as economically successful examples of the industry’s globalization strategy and at the same time they serve as pivotal markers in the public’s changing perception of Korea, as they stir debates about the adequate representation of Korean national identity (Fuhr 2016, Lee 2003).

3. THE K-POP “SLAVE CONTRACT” AND INDUSTRY CONFLICT

The transnational human traffic from and to the K-Pop music industry has increased extensively in the last years. The latest westward initiative of Korean entertainment companies has not only triggered new mobilities, as exemplified most prominently in the shifting strategies of idol recruitment, but it has also brought to the fore the borders, by which the same mobilities are hampered.

One the one hand, a number of aspects have enabled, intensified, and accelerated the flow of people on the part of the Korean entertainment companies (i.e., export-oriented business, localization strategies, the expansion beyond Asian markets, collaboration and networks with international partners). Here it is also notable that the rising K-Pop fandom in many countries around the world, triggered by social media, has yielded stronger interest among non-Asian audiences in K-Pop. Young K-Pop fans outside Asia are however not interested only in consuming K-Pop, but some of them also aim at entering the idol training system in Korea. Global auditions offered by the big entertainment companies have revealed that non-Asian foreigners made forty to seventy percent of the total number of participants (Limb 2012).

On the other hand, a bundle of industrial, legal, and cultural standards, regulations, and peculiarities severely impede the inflow of foreigners. For example, the demanding various skills and expected willingness to conform to industry standards deter many foreign idol wannabes from seriously pursuing a career in the Korean music business, which appears to them as a relatively closed industry with racist, patriarchic, self-contained, and protectionist structures. This becomes most evident in the K-Pop producers’ preferences for ethnic Koreans and Asians who conform to the narrowly defined and standardized heteronormative beauty ideals (i.e., slim bodies, fair-skin, muscled-torso for male, long legs for female etc.) and who are willing to acquire Korean and other language skills, Confucianist behavioral codes, such as filial piety, and to submit themselves to the rigid learning culture characteristic to the education system in Korea.

Furthermore, Korean entertainment companies need to solve legal and administrative issues relating to visa and work permits, if they hire foreigners, but here the most crucial problem is again a cultural one, related to the fact that idol aspirants are mostly underage. Whereas Korean parents may be proud to support their offspring in entering the “global dreams factory” (Ho, 2012), more liberal parents of foreign youngsters in Western societies may prevent their kids from becoming a K-Pop apprentice. Jana, a 22-year-old German K-Pop fan and idol wannabe, who had
joined several K-Pop auditions in and outside Korea, reflects on that issue. She noted: “Korean companies don’t want to and don’t know how to negotiate the trainee contract and the conditions with foreign parents, as trainees are underage.” (pers. comm., 30.01.2016).

The idol trainee contract, which has become known as ‘slave contract’ (Han 2009), allows the entertainment company for the overall sculpting and reconfiguration of the trainee’s bodily and mental constitution. Based on radical restrictions of the trainee’s personal life and environment, the idol training system appears as particularly alienating to those who are not familiar with the business standards of Korean entertainment culture. Thus, in-house training usually can vary between two and eight years and demands various mentally and physically enduring skills realized through: extremely long training hours (i.e., 12-16 hours per day) and only few sleeping hours (c.5 hours per night); the expulsion of leisure time; the trainee’s displacement and disconnectedness from his or her relatives and friends; prohibition of private money, cellphone, goods; their willingness to conform to behavioural rules supported by ‘personality education’ (inseong gyoyuk); the physical enhancement and beautifying measures including cosmetics, diets, plastic surgeries; etc.

Given the power imbalance between the different parties in the K-Pop supply chain, idol trainees and idols usually do not only have any say about the final product, but they also get the smallest share of the overall revenue stream (Oh 2012). Unfair contracts at the expense of underage apprentices along with the highly competitive education system and labor market in South Korea have become a subject of critical debates in domestic and international media and they appear as severe impediments to the expansionist ‘globalization’ agenda of the K-Pop industry.

4. K-POP FANDOM AND CULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES IN GERMANY

K-Pop in Germany is mainly a phenomenon based on local fan culture, instead of being planned and driven by entertainment companies or governmental bodies in South Korea. While the music industry’s interest in launching K-Pop idols in the European market has yet remained poor and German mainstream media coverage of K-Pop (with the exception of PSY’s “Gangnam Style” hit song) has nearly been inexisten, K-Pop is driven by avid fans, who play multiple roles as producers, performers, providers, promoters, critics, and consumers of their self-made K-Pop related cultural products and practices. They act as creative agents in their own cultural environments, by celebrating their fan cultural activities as much as the original K-Pop idols, and by boosting K-Pop’s popularity along with their interest in Korea-related topics within their social communities and, at times, as well as toward the wider public.

K-Pop fandom in Germany is largely based on “grassroots intermediaries,” who according to Henry Jenkins “play a central role in shaping the reception of those media products, emphasizing rather than erasing the marks of their national origin and educating others about the cultural traditions they embody” (Jenkins 2006: 162). By the same token, K-Pop fans appear as digitally empowered consumers, who actively engage in participatory cultural activities with and around the original audiovisual products. While appropriating the original styles (i.e., music, dance, fashion, look, etc.) and incorporating them into their own personal and cultural contexts, they re-mold the K-Pop products and their allegedly intended meanings into something new, a re-produced object that can be utilized for their own identity-making processes and personal aspirations and alignments in their everyday practices. By doing so, K-Pop fans operate as cultural brokers who are compelled by their respective social contexts to negotiate issues of nationality, ethnicity, or gender with people in their private or public surroundings.

An estimated eighty to ninety percent of K-Pop fans in Germany are female teenagers and twentiesomethings. Most of them are high-school students and graduates, university students, job seekers, job starters, trainees, or workers, many of whom are employed in the service, cultural, and welfare sectors. In terms of social class and ethnicity, it can be suggested that there are two groups of nearly the same size. Whereas one group consists of white educated middle-class Germans, the other group is made up of lower-class persons with a migratory background, being in particular of Asian, African or Turkish descendence (since the Turkish migrant community is the biggest ethnic minority in Germany). Yet, among those fans with foreign and migratory backgrounds, it seems that many of them derive from families who came from East and Southeast Asian countries, such as Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, Japan, and the Chinese-speaking areas, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the PRC.

The most striking aspect in regard of ethnicity is the fact that active K-Pop fans are hardly ever of Korean ethnicity and thus, for example, members of the Korean diasporic community in Germany. If they are involved in K-Pop fan activities they are
not mere consumers, but almost always serve the function of “cultural intermediaries”—a term that, by referencing Pierre Bourdieu’s ‘new petite bourgeoisie,’ seeks to put “emphasis on those workers who come in-between creative artists and consumers (or more generally, production and consumption)” (Negus 2002, 503). Within the emergent cultural economy of K-Pop fandom, ethnic Koreans in Germany range at the top, for not only being considered by non-Korean fans as authentic representatives and experts of Korean culture, but also for capitalizing on the local K-Pop buzz by launching their own business endeavors. Beyond those ‘grassroots intermediaries’ who started as fans and turned into active promoters and providers of K-Pop, Koreans rather tend to position themselves as ‘small-scale entrepreneurs’ in the field of local K-Pop fan culture.

Helena Kwon, a 29-year-old K-Pop dance instructor, illustrates the case. A former K-Pop idol trainee and background dancer for several high-profile K-Pop groups, Helena has recently engaged herself with the German K-Pop fan scene by offering regular K-Pop dance lessons and events in Cologne. Since 2015, she has served as a jury member to the German audition of the annual K-Pop World Festival hosted by the South Korean Consulate in Hamburg. Born to Korean parents in Germany, Helena has spent longer periods of her childhood and teenage years in Korea and in Germany. After dropping out from high school, she embarked on a career as a professional dancer and eventually entered one of the top Korean entertainment companies as a K-Pop idol trainee. She joined the K-Pop apprenticeship system for two years, but then retreated from it, due to the painstaking and alienating character of the training model. She recalls her decision of quitting the training system as follows:

To be honest, I didn’t know whether it was the right thing to do for me and whether I really wanted that. Actually, my dream was to become a dancer, not a star or a singer. That was really a dilemma for me. ‘Is that really what I wanted to do and can I endure such a training?’ And I knew I could not! Because I felt that I was losing my identity, I felt like a robot. I only ate what they gave me. I did all the training hours and what was scheduled and I wasn’t allowed to do something privately. Even during the training, when I had to go to the toilets, I had to ask for permission. Thus, I eventually I became scared of loosing myself. So I asked myself: Was this really my dream? And then my decision was clear: No! I rather want to be a dancer than an idol (pers. comm., 31.01.2016).

Helena felt that it was due to her German education that the idol training was harder for her than for her fellows, who were raised in Korea. She added:

I’m naturally a Korean, since I have Korean blood in me, but since I spent my childhood in Germany, I would say, my personality is fifty percent German and fifty percent Korean. And that gave me a really hard time, because I was always thinking like: ‘Why do I have to do such a thing?’ Why wasn’t there anyone who explained to me why we had to do this and that? Well, I always had a lot of questions? And the other trainees, the Koreans only were like: ‘We just have to do it. “That’s it! And I was always asking: ‘But why? Why?’(ibid.).

Although she abandoned her idol aspirations, she still upholds many contacts within the K-Pop industry. Her networks and personal insights into K-Pop idol production helped her to turn her negative experiences as an idol trainee—and what she considered a cultural/educational gap—into a productive business idea. In 2016, she launched her own entertainment company, named NET Entertainment. Located in Bonn, the former capital city of West Germany, her company seeks to recruit German dance talents for the Korean market by offering K-Pop dance classes, workshops, events, and cultural exchange services to German K-Pop aficionados. Helena reveals her business plan as follows:

I want to adopt and implement fifty percent of the Korean apprenticeship system in Germany, so that people joining my dance lessons can get familiar with it. [...] So that they can get an idea how it looks like. And later, when they go to Korea they will be used to it, and they will be able to just continue with the training. Otherwise, if they don’t know anything about it and they would be just joining the Korean system out of the blue, they will get a big shock! (ibid.).

Helena deliberately positions herself and her company as a cultural intermediary between the K-Pop fan scene in Germany and the idol industry in South Korea. Since she aims to build a bridge between Korean and German culture, to promote knowledge about Korea among Germans, to prepare German teens for dance auditions in Korea, and to launch and organize a smooth transition between German and Korean working ethics and systems. Helena’s example illustrates that ethnic Koreans often serve the function of cultural brokers in K-Pop fandom by capitalizing on their expertise and knowledge about Korean culture, language, and the entertainment industry.
5. CONCLUSION: STUDYING FLOWS AND BORDERS

Music and human mobility have ever since been two closely intertwined phenomena. The high interdependency between them continues to be a core subject in ethnomusicological studies. In the wake of the new mobilities paradigm and (post-)globalization theories in the humanities and social sciences, migrants in transnational popular music have become a productive site for inquiry in ethnomusicology, into the dynamics of musical flows and borders. Looking at the case of K-Pop and its local fandom in Germany, we can draw four conclusive aspects of broader significance to the themes of human mobility and music. First, transnational migration and new technologies intersect with each other and spur new forms of music. In the K-Pop industry, the number of ‘foreigners’ has not only steadily increased since the 1990s, but immigrant idols have also come to play a pivotal role in the formation of the genre. Second, the flow of immigrant artists and musicians is always uneven: in number, but also in terms of origin and impact. Foreign K-Pop idols from the USA, China, and Southeast Asia have illustrated issues of unequal perception and shifting dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in the industry and in the wider Korean public. Furthermore, new mobilities create their own boundaries and conflicts. This has been the case with the recent global outreach of K-Pop recruitment, which is hampered by conflicting agendas within the industry (relating to the ‘slave contract’). Third, transnational flows of music do not dissolve discourses of ethnicity and nationality. In the case of K-Pop, it is vice versa, questions of ethnic and national identity have increasingly been emphasized in debates and discourses of idol production and consumption. Last, diasporic artists and musicians are likely to position themselves as cultural intermediaries, who carve out niche spaces in the market by capitalizing on their specific bi-cultural skills and experiences. As discussed, Helena Kwon occupies this zone of cultural intermediation between German K-Pop fandom and the Korean K-Pop industry. Her activities as a cultural broker draw from a rich array of diverse cultural competences, practices, and sensibilities, paired with great personal enthusiasm and flexibility, all of which are typical qualities that migrants are ready to share within the new social environments they are living in.

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THE SPREAD OF K-POP CULTURE IN ROMANIA

Elena BUJA*

* Department of Romanian Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Yongin, South Korea / Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, Transilvania University, Braşov, Romania

Abstract: The present study aims to investigate the extent to which K-POP (i.e. South Korean popular music) has spread in Romania and the familiarity of the Romanian people with this musical genre, as well as their attitude towards it. Moreover, it attempts to identify how K-POP may influence the Romanians’ desire to find out more about the country of origin of this kind of music. The data subjected for analysis have been collected by means of a questionnaire containing 15 questions (both open-ended and multiple-choice ones), which had been administered to a number of 35 Romanian subjects with ages varying between 16 and 29. At the same time, I have also collected information from various Romanian K-POP sites. Hopefully, the study will reveal whether in Romania K-POP has enjoyed the same amount of attention as in many other European countries.

Keywords: hallyu, K-POP, attitudes, fan clubs, K-POP festivals, K-POP-mania

1. INTRODUCTION: MUSIC AS PART OF CULTURE

Music is part of culture and all cultures of the world have music with its own specific sounds. If one compares the Western music with the Asian one, s/he will realize that it differs in sound, style and musical instruments employed to make it. At the beginning of the 20th century, “the dominant singing style [of the Koreans] stressed emotive wails and melismatic expressions” (Lie 2012: 341). In what the musical instruments are concerned, typical of Asia are the drums, the gayageum or kayagum (a zither-like string instrument with 12 strings that are plucked) or the haegum (a musical instrument resembling a fiddle, only that it has only two strings).

Cross (2010: 36) defines music as “complex, patterned sounds that we find pleasurable to listen to”. But this would be a simplified definition, as music is more than that. In many cases, music is a means by which we can understand our cultural heritage or the heritage of other cultures. If we consider the Korean popular music, its current form is a reflection of the post-Korean War historical evolution. Music is not only meant to enchant our hearing, but it has other functions, too. It helps bring people belonging to different cultures together. An example in this respect is the event organized by the Romanian Embassy in Seoul for the Romanian National Day on the 2nd of December 2015, where the stars of the night were the famous Romanian ballad singer Grigore Leșe and a Korean dancer. After each of them performed their own number, they did something amazing: the Korean performer danced on Romanian music played and sung by Grigore Leșe.

Further on, we could consider music a kind of consumer product. As South Korea’s economic growth focuses on exporting goods, it is not surprising that the government, investment banks, and entertainment companies invest large sums of money to produce high quality K-dramas and successful groups, which will eventually ensure the country a considerable financial gain, even if the return is very distant. Both as an art and as a consumer product, the Korean popular music seems to break the language and culture barriers and to become a huge global influence. The music is very beautiful and even if someone does not understand the lyrics, the melodic line makes people move their bodies. As Hong puts it, nationality and language can be overcome, because it’s [the music] directly felt. You can make instant friends with somebody if you like the music, even if you don’t speak the same language (2014:133).
In other words, K-POP can be considered a Korean ambassador in the entire world, the country’s soft power that can break national boundaries and language barriers.

2. HALLYU AND K-POP: FROM A LOCAL TO A REGIONAL AND GLOBAL PHENOMENON

K-POP is part of ‘hallyu’, or the Korean Wave¹, which took the world over with K-dramas, pop music and movies (Nam, 2014, Kim & Lee, 2014).

2.1 Local. The birth of the Korean Wave coincides with the financial crisis that hit many Asian countries in 1997, including South Korea. It was in this period that its president, Kim Dae-Jung realized that apart from the information technology, drama, film, and pop music could get the country out of the critical situation. He was aware of how much money the movies contributed to the budget of the United States and Britain. So he decided to follow the example of these countries with a long tradition in the entertainment industry and to create a pop culture for his own country. The current Korean president, Park Geun-Hye, has continued his endeavor. Unlike her father, Park Chung Hee – Korea’s president between 1963 and 1979 -, who imposed very strict rules concerning the life of the Koreans under all aspects, she adopted a totally different attitude, at least as far as pop culture is concerned, in that immediately after she took office in 2013, “she created a 1 billion dollar investment fund to nurture it” (Hong, 2014:101).

The three major record labels in Korea, SM, YG, and JYP Entertainment are constantly in search of young talents, organizing frequent auditions throughout the country. Some of the wannabe artists begin their training while in elementary school. The contract usually expands over a period of 7 years, “half of this time being spent on training the stars before they make any public appearances” (Hong, 2014:121). During the contract, the artists have to train hard in dancing, singing, and foreign languages, in preparation of for a future career not only as K-POP singers, but also as actors. Once they are ready and step out on the stage to perform, the K-POP groups have to set an example for their fans.

Almost all idols are very good looking. Oh (2013:402) posits that K-POP companies select and promote “thin, tall, and feminine looks with adolescent, or very cute facial expressions” both for female and male singers. The success of these singers/dancers contributed to a craze among young Koreans in search for fame. Thus, according to Hong (2014:126), in 2012 “approximately 4% of South Korea’s population auditioned for ‘Superstar K’, Korea’s biggest televised competition”.

All the efforts of the producers are focused not only on entertaining the Korean audience, but also on exporting these consumer products, making Korea known all over the world. Being aware of the popularity and the importance of the Korean wave, the government is building at the moment a multi-complex theme park, Hallyu World, in one of its largest northwestern cities, Ilsan.

2.2 Regional. Starting with mid-1990s, Korean dramas and pop music have been broadcast in China. K-POP music became very popular among the Chinese who came in touch with this kind of music through a radio program called Seoul Music Room, broadcast from Beijing. According to Facts About Korea, a publication of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of South Korea (2015:102),

the decisive moment in igniting Korean pop culture fever in China was the concert of the Korean boy band H.O.T., held in Beijing in February 2000.

Korean news reports employed the term hallyu, or Korean Wave, in describing this concert. Starting with 1999, the term Korean Wave began to be recognized by the Koreans themselves.

Over time, a number of K-dramas had a strong impact on audiences in different parts of Asia: What is Love? was broadcast in Hong Kong, Fireworks in Taiwan, Autumn in My Heart was shown in the Philippines, while Winter Sonata was aired in Japan, via NHK, the Japanese largest broadcasting corporation. According to Hong (2014:171),

this show was the first hard evidence that Korean pop culture could break barriers. Winter Sonata (…) won over Korea’s former nemesis for time immemorial, Japan.

The relevance for K-POP of this spread of Korean dramas consists in the fact that their theme songs became hits, while their performers turned into stars. Apart from K-dramas, K-POP has also been exported to the Asian continent. Thus, the female singer BoA was the first to perform in Japan in 2002, while Jung Jee-hoon, known by his stage name Rain, sang in Thailand and Hong Kong. The appeal to common values may be the reason why hallyu and K-POP were so easily and quickly assimilated by other Asian audiences.

¹ The Korean Wave is the literal translation of the Chinese term Hán-lù. The first syllable refers to “Korea” and the second usually evokes “flow” or “current,” signifying “style” (Lie, 2012:339).
2.3 Global. Cha & Ma, 1996 (quoted in Marinescu, 2014:90) are of the opinion that
in the extra-Asian areas, the impact of this type of cultural industry on consumers was especially
connected to the reception of hallyu within large Asian communities living in America, and, to a
lesser extent, in western Europe.

Recent years have witnessed the expansion of the Korean wave in new areas, such as the Middle
East and Eastern Europe. Thus, as reported by Ju (2014:35), the drama Jewel in the Palace (Korean
title Dae Jang Geum) has been exported to “more than thirty countries, including Australia, Canada,
Iran, Israel, Mexico, Russia, and Romania”. Nam (2014) stated that the screening of this particular
television series saved the Romanian public station TVR from financial crisis.

K-POP boy groups SHInee or Super Junior
were among the first to play in Europe. According
to Hong (2014:23-24), the paradox is that K-POP
has come to be known abroad not because of the
beautiful, more conventional bands, but by

PSY (ne Park Yae-sang), the class clown of the
Korean music world, a man who intentionally
showed off his sweaty, hairy armpits and potatoe-
shaped body, who made fart jokes in his songs, and
his outfits looked as though they were picked out by
a Las Vegas stage magician.

With his song “Gangnam Style”, Psy became
the first Korean singer to enter the Billboard Chart
in America.

One reason for the popularity of K-POP both
on the domestic market and beyond is the fact that
it has not been very much influenced by the
Western rock music, due to the ban on this kind of
music in Korea during the 1970s (Lie, 2012, Hong,
2014). Another possible explanation for the great
success of K-POP artists abroad could be the fact
that they are trained by multinational specialists:
the songwriters may be European or American,
while the dance choreographers are from
everywhere. Finally, the popularity of the Korean
groups is also “the result of social networks
powered by expansion of the Internet. South
Korea, as one of the world powers in IT, has
enough strength to promote K-POP in the world
using YouTube videos through social networks”
(Nam, 2014:67). Twitter and Facebook have also
made it easier for K-POP bands to reach a wider
audience in the West. On the other hand, K-POP
fans are using the same social networking tools to
proclaim their devotion for their idols, as we shall
see in section 4.2 of the paper. What is important
to mention is that YouTube acknowledged the
popularity of K-POP and in 2011 added it as a new
genre to its music categories.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The data I have employed to get a glimpse into
the spread of K-POP in Romania comes from two
types of sources:

A) On the one hand, I have administered a
questionnaire comprising 15 open-ended as well as
multiple-choice questions, aiming at identifying
the familiarity of Romanian people with the
Korean wave, and implicitly with K-POP. The
participants in this task were mainly young people
(a group of high-school pupils and a group of
students’) who consented to provide answers to the
questions. For ethical reasons, the participants’
names are not revealed. They can be identified on
the basis of two codes, formed by letters and
numbers (HS1, HS2… employed for high-school
pupils, while S1, S2… for the university students).

B) On the other hand, since the two above-
mentioned groups represented just one minor
sector of the Romanian population and since the
completed questionnaires were not very numerous
(35 altogether), I thought of taking a look at the
social networks, searching for relevant information
related to the Romanians’ familiarity with and
attitudes towards K-POP and hallyu.

The research questions that guided my analysis
are as follows: (1) Has K-POP reached Romania
and, if so, who are its consumers? (2) What is the
attitude of the (young) Romanians to K-POP and to
the Korean Wave? (3) In what ways has hallyu,
and K-POP, implicitly, affected the life of the
Romanian people? (4) Will K-POP have a staying
power in Romania? With these questions in mind,
let us now proceed with the analysis of the data.

4. K-POP AND HALLYU IN ROMANIA

The data employed for the current small-scale
study on the spread of K-POP and hallyu in
Romania provided contradictory information:
while the administered questionnaires indicated a
low degree of familiarity of the 35 young
Romanians respondents with K-POP, the internet
proved the opposite. Let us have a look at the
questionnaire results first.

4.1 Questionnaire results. The majority of the
questions (Q2-Q10) envisaged the degree of

2 I am indebted to Răzvan Anton, who gladly consented to help me administer the questionnaire to his pupils in Unirea
High-school in Brașov. I am also grateful to all my Romanian students from the Faculty of Letters of Transilvania University
of Brașov, who, despite their busy schedules, offered to help me by providing answers to the questions in the questionnaire.
familiarity of the Romanian respondents with K-POP. Others were meant to check their attitude with respect to this kind of music and its impact on how Romanians perceive the Korean culture (Q11-Q14). The last two items in the questionnaire focused on the spread of K-POP beyond the borders of the Korean peninsula and its future in Romania (Q 15 - Q 16).

The answers provided to the first question, “Have you ever heard K-POP and by what means?” showed that most of the respondents came across K-POP accidentally in a supermarket, a café or heard it on the radio (13 of the total of 35), only a rather small number of them (9 out of 35) having personally searched for it or heard about its existence from a friend (9 out of 35). Two particular respondents, S2 and HS1 proved to be K-POP fans as they were familiar with almost all of the 51 Korean singers and groups listed in the questionnaire. From among the other participants, all six high school pupils were familiar with Psy, one of them (HS4) also fancying the K-POP solo star IVY. By contrast, the range of K-POP singers and groups known by the Romanian students was a bit wider: almost all have listened to PSY’s hit “Gangnam Style” (19 out of 29), and some were familiar with as many as 24 (S6), 28 (S28), or 36 (S26) K-POP names. The second famous K-POP representative after Psy seems to be BigBang (selected by 8 respondents), followed by Girls’ Generation (6 times), BoA, Exo and Nu’Est (chosen 3 times each). I had expected my participants to be more familiar with groups such as Nu’Est, Lunafly or LEDapple due to the fact that these performed on Romanian stages (as we shall see in section 4.2). But as the answers to the next question (“Have you ever participated/do you intend to participate in a K-POP concert?”) in the questionnaire proved, only three respondents (SH2, S1 and S28) went to LEDapple group’s concert, another 15 of them expressing their wish to attend such an event in the near future, while quite a large number of subjects (16) showed lack of interest in K-POP concerts. A possible reason for the scarcity of concert participation of my respondents could be the pricey tickets, which not many could afford.

Money is also an issue when it comes to purchasing or downloading K-POP music (Q 6). Of all respondents, there was just one (S2) who mentioned having spent money on K-POP CDs, the majority of them (27 out of 35) saying that they would never invest in this kind of music either because it is not appealing to them or simply because they can find cheaper solutions for getting it.

The reduced interest in K-POP music among my subjects is also reflected in the answers they provided to questions concerning online K-POP fanhood (Q8 - Q9). Very few (4 out of 35) are members of an online community that supports idol groups and, at the same time, a small number of them seems to be interested in finding out details related to the singers from the K-POP artists’ official accounts, while most of them (18 respondents) stated that they are neither interested in becoming members of K-POP online fan communities or in searching the idols’ social accounts.

When asked about “what aspect of K-POP culture they liked best” (Q13), almost half of the participants in the survey said that they did not appreciate anything in connection with K-POP. On the other hand, the ones who seem to fancy this music, even if they are not crazy about it, stated that the main reason why they like K-POP artists is because of their gorgeous appearance and fashion style (12 answers), followed by the dances (11 answers), the nice melodic line and lyrics coming only third (6 answers). There were also 12 respondents for whom K-POP did not appeal at all. This particular question (i.e. Q13) also gave the participants the chance to expand on the topic. Two comments are worth taking a closer look at:

I think that the boom triggered by K-POP culture among the youth has also contributed to the opening of their horizons towards South Korea, a country that was not as popular as it is now among the young Romanian people due to K-POP. I still think it is incredible that the K-POP video clip [Psy-Gangnam Style] managed to reset the YouTube viewing counting system. (S18)

This comment highlights a number of major aspects: on the one hand, it shows that the target audience of K-POP is the youth; on the other hand, the respondent is of the opinion that due to K-POP, more and more Romanians may be motivated to approach other aspects pertaining to the Korean culture. Finally, this student expresses his astonishment at the success enjoyed by Psy, an artist who does not conform to the image of a K-POP idol. In this respect, he seems to share Hong’s (2014) opinion about the non-conformist Korean singer.

The other student (S28) made a statement about Asian culture in general, saying that although she is keen on Japanese music, she is happy for the success K-POP has had all over the world. Though many K-POP fans appreciate the English words and lines in the song, she seems to dislike this aspect, but appreciates the quality of the music:

I appreciate the whole Asian culture. I even wish to see that it spreads more abroad. I am more into the Japanese culture, it’s true (J-pop and J-rock), but
the success of both countries makes me happy. I can, nevertheless, state that the lyrics are not always appropriate, as they have the tendency to use English in their songs, and their English is not always correct. But even so, the music is wonderful and I am happy to have been offered the chance to listen to it. (S28)

When asked about “their opinions concerning the spread of K-POP culture outside the Korean peninsula” (Q15), the majority of the participants (19) considered that this enabled Korea to be (better) known by people from countries from different continents. In other words, K-POP could be considered an ambassador of South Korea in the entire world. There were also some subjects who considered that the main reason why K-POP is exported is of a financial nature, the entertaining companies that train and launch the K-POP singers aiming to get considerable revenues after having invested large amounts of money in these ‘consumer products’. Five of the respondents opine that despite all efforts, K-POP music is not yet fully accepted in the West. According to them, neither in Romania does this kind of music stand the chance to spread. Only 16 persons from the entire group of respondents were optimistic in saying that in 5 years from now (i.e. 2021), K-POP will have spread more and more, while another 5 subjects considered that K-POP is on the crest of the wave right now, but in the near future the craze for it will die out, as it has happened with other music genres. The other 14 respondents refrained from passing any judgments by simply saying they had no idea related to the spread of K-POP in Romania.

The last item in the questionnaire was meant to identify the extent to which K-POP may motivate the Romanian people to discover other aspects pertaining to the Korean culture, such as the wish to travel to South Korea, to learn its language, to learn to sing and dance K-POP, to taste Korean food, to watch K-dramas, etc. The answers provided by 20 participants who stated that they did not feel tempted to experience any of the above-mentioned activities have not come as a surprise at all, given their responses to previous questions. From among those who admitted being influenced by K-POP, most have come to show greater interest in TV dramas or movies starring various K-POP idols and to want to learn Korean. On the other hand, Korean food does not seem to be so appealing to them, only 6 respondents mentioning an interest in it.

All in all, the analysis of the questionnaire responses proved that the spread of K-POP in Romania, or at least in Brasov, where the investigation has been conducted, is in an incipient stage and that it may take some more time until this musical genre will be embraced by the Romanian youth.

Let us now have a look at the data collected from online sources.

4.2 K-POP on social networks.

Groups created on Facebook and other community portals are growing in power. People demand concerts and want to take an active role in the Korean wave (Kida, 2014:67).

In this respect, Romania is no exception. Currently there is an online petition of the K-POP fans to get more posters with their idols in the BRAVO magazine - http://www.petitiononline.com/forum/77346-, which by the 31st of March 2016 had been signed by 1277 persons. At the same time, the fans of this music genre also launched another online petition by means of which they demand more K-POP music aired by Romanian radio stations (“Muzică K-POP la radio în România” - https://petitiononline.net/petitie/37428052). Their first attempt in 2011 was not very successful in that it totaled only 86 signatures and 2 comments, but the fans would not give up, so that in 2013 they re-launched the petition (“Vrem K-POP în România - https://petitiononline.net/petitie/vrem_kpop_si_in_romania-p16389057.html), which by the 16th of February 2016 had been signed by 671 persons and received 36 comments. Some of these comments show the great admiration of the Romanian fans for K-POP, but at the same time they point to the scarcity of this kind of music on Romanian radio stations (K-POP being aired for just one hour per week by Music Channel) and to the prejudices some Romanians have in connection with the Korean culture. Consider the fragment below (translated into English by me):

Dea Love (24 February, 2013, 21:07)

I love Kpop

When people say they don’t like kpop, they always blame it on the fact that they do not understand the lyrics. But this is not an excuse as there are many Romanians who do not understand the English lyrics either and are still madly in love with the songs. The truth is that the Romanians do not like kpop because they consider Korea a weird country. They all think that Korea is like China and that’s why they don’t want to listen to Korean songs or to watch Korean movies.

Another comment posted by Dima Flory on the same site shows that in Romania K-POP-mania is, nevertheless, a rising phenomenon, in that one of
the contestants in the X Factor Romania show sang a K-POP song in Korean:

Dima Flory (16 September, 2013, 20:21)
kpop 4ever
(…) then comes a ROMANIAN girl!! Who sings kpop in Xfactor; I am proud of her that she sang a song she liked.

Apart from this female contestant who performed a song in Korean, the love of the Romanian youth for K-POP is also reflected in their desire to emulate Korean groups. An example is Junno Girls, a Romanian group formed by four members who performed K-POP in its homeland, in the final of K-POP Roadshow 40120 Festival, in 2012. The success is attributed to their dancing skills and to the use of Korean language in their lyrics.

Moreover, as K-POP groups become more and more popular in Romania, a number of fan clubs have come into being through social networks. Most of their members post pictures and news related to their idol bands on Facebook accounts dedicated to their idol group (2NE1 Romania, Afterschool Romania, EXO Romania, LEDApple Romania – altogether 20 such clubs, see more at http://www.kpopeurope.eu/kpop-fanclubs-in-europe/?lang=en), while some also make use of Twitter (Lunafly and BigBang fans). The love of some K-POP fans for their idols is so great, that when they post messages, comments or photos on the social networks, they employ the surname of their idol (e.g. Kim Gabriela) or spell their name in Hangeul, also using a Korean surname (e.g. 김 소리 나, i.e. Kim Sorina). Some others keep the photo of their idol on their telephone and use one of his/her songs as ringtone. (https://www.youtube.com -Tipuri de fan k-pop, ep.4.)

One other aspect worth considering is Romania’s participation in the K-POP World Festival, an event that was launched in 2011 and that is organized by the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with The Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, the Korean Broadcasting System, as well as with the support of overseas embassies of South Korea. While in its first edition, the preliminary competition was hosted in 16 countries, in “the 2015 festival the number of participating foreign countries having increased to 69; among them 23 are European countries, including Romania” (Speech of the Korean ambassador in Romania, Mr. Hyo-Sung Park given at the opening of the 2105 Romanian K-POP World Festival https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ped2Dn8L65, min. 3:07-3:12). In the preliminary contests, enthusiastic young people perform dances and K-POP songs. The winners of each country participate in the K-POP World Festival final, which takes place in Changwon, South Korea. The winner of the latest preliminary contest in Romania that was hosted by Palatul Național al Copiilor in Bucharest on the 11th of July 2015 was the Seoul Beat group. Its members were among the 14 finalists of the K-POP World Festival in South Korea, on the 30th of October 2015. Unfortunately, they have not come out winners, but the fact that they were among the finalists in such an important event is praiseworthy.

KOMPAS EVENTS, the company in charge of the preliminary contests for K-POP World Festival in Romania also organizes various parties where Romanians get the chance to listen to their favorite K-POP music together with other persons who share the same passion. At the same time, the company also helped in the organization of the concerts given by three Korean K-POP groups in Romania: LEDApple (at TurboHalle, on the 15th of February 2014, Lunafly at Teatrul de Vară Herăstrău on the 25th of July 2015, and NU’EST, at Arenele Romane, on the 29th of November, the same year) (see the website of the company http://www.infomusic.ro/organizator/kompas-events/).

Two important events that are disseminated via social networks are the Korean Day and the Korean Camp, both organized in Bucharest by the International Youth Fellowship (IYF). The latest edition of the Korean Day took place on the 4th of April, 2015 (https://kpopro.wordpress.com/2015/04/03/korean-day-4-aprilie-2015/). The event brought together Romanians willing to get a taste of Korean food, but also to learn how to prepare it and to participate in different games.

Between the 24th and 26th of July, 2015, at Gheorghe Lazăr National College in Bucharest the Korean Camp took place. The aim of this event was to give the Romanian people the opportunity to study in detail Korean traditions, to get to learn Korean through K-POP music and K-drama (https://www.facebook.com/iyf.romania/posts/1143699295655901).

All these are indicative of the ever-growing number of Romanians who become interested not only in the K-POP music and dramas, but in the Korean culture, in general.

5. CONCLUSIONS

As the analysis of the questionnaires revealed, it would be an exaggeration to say that K-POP has attained general appeal in Romania, but if we consider the forum data, they are indicative of a growing awareness and interest of especially the young Romanians in this genre of music and in
Korean culture, in general. Though the questionnaire analysis showed a rather low level of enthusiasm of the respondents for K-POP, the survey of the online data revealed that an increasing number of Romanian contestants displayed their interest in being part of the K-POP industry by participating in the domestic K-POP World Festival, in spite of language and socio-cultural differences. At the same time, the numerous online fan clubs and petitions demanding longer hours of K-POP music on radio and television programs and more posters with K-POP idols in specialized magazines are proof that Romanians have come to love this musical genre (this providing the answer to the second research question).

As far as the ways in which hallyu and K-POP affected the life of the Romanian people are concerned (research question 3), the data showed that the activities organized by various institutions in Romania (The Embassy of South Korea, the International Youth Fellowship) brought together large numbers of Romanians interested in Korean food, dances, painting, pottery or K-POP. The same impact emerges from the questionnaires: many of the respondents mentioned their desire to learn Korean, to travel to South Korea or to watch K-dramas on Romanian television. Opinions are shared with respect to the last research question related to the staying power of K-POP: some respondents think (and wish) that it would grow in power and spread even more, while others consider that little by little it will fade away, just like many other music genres. All in all, to quote Zsaklowska, 2008 (in Kida, 2014:66), what we can state is that at the moment, “there is not a Korean wave but only a breeze blowing” through Romania, expecting that this will turn into a wave in the foreseeable future.

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“THIRD SEX” STEREOTYPE IN SOUTH KOREA. REASONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NEW GENERATIONS’ WOMEN

Irina ROIBU*, Paula-Alexandra ROIBU**

*Department of Romanian Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul, South Korea, **Doctoral school of Economics and Business Administration, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, Iasi, Romania

Abstract: The South Korean middle-aged women, also known as ajumma, are the ones that provided Korea with its current educated and skilled labor force, by giving up their career dreams and taking care of their children and families. Moreover, they are encountered nowadays in shops, restaurants, offices, factories, etc., working hard in small jobs in order to provide some economic support to their families. They are seen as strong, overprotective, and aggressive and are sometimes referred to as the “third sex”. This article looks into the historical, social, cultural and economical reasons why these women, after a life full of sacrifices, are stripped of their femininity and considered a “third sex”. Also, it analyses the opinions of younger generation about their mothers, grandmothers etc., if they consider ajumma a model to become or something to avoid. The research is based on the literature related to the South Korean historical, social, cultural and economical environments and on the data provided by Statistics Korea.

Keywords: ajumma, stereotypes, “third sex”

1. INTRODUCTION

In the Korean society age differences are very important. They are used to locate one’s position in relation to others and help to decide how to address someone else. There is a term for each period of a person’s life and it is usually accompanied by social stereotypes that include expectations, roles, etc. For example, yuchiwon represents the kindergarten students, daehaksaeng the university students, nuna is an older sister for a boy, onni is an older sister for a girl, ajumma is translated as a distant aunt and halmeoni is the grand-mother (Joinau & Rouville, 2015).

This article focuses on the stage in a woman’s life when she is called ajumma and to the malicious connotation that the designation “the third sex” may gain. It analyses the meaning of the term ajumma, the roles and expectations that the Korean society has from these women, the reasons for considering ajumma the “third sex” and the implications for today’s young women. The hypothesis that guided the research is that the title “the third sex” is used not as a reference to the gender of the person, but to the level of life the person achieved, after fulfilling some parts of the women’s duties that the Korean society requests by traditions, such as getting married and giving birth.

A second hypothesis is concerning the young generation’s women and it refers to the fact that young Korean women could not agree with the appellation used for the elder women and they are trying to avoid becoming like their mothers and grandmothers.

2. WHAT IS AN “AJUMMA”?

In South Korea, jokes like the followings are very famous: “Who would be left in this world if the world ended? Cockroaches and ajummas” or “Who would get the far away empty seat in a subway? The world’s fastest sprinter, Carl Lewis, or an ajumma? The ajumma” (Park, 2007).

Ajumma in Korean refers to a middle aged lady or a married woman, but the meaning goes deeper than that. It has a low and middle class connotation and it cannot be used to highclass women, for whom the proper way is to address them as samonim (Joinau & Rouville, 2015). Actually, the term cannot be used as an appellative due to a negative meaning that it infers, so it is better to use other terms such as Ajummoni (with the same...
“THIRD SEX” STEREOTYPE IN SOUTH KOREA. REASONS AND IMPLICATIONS...

meaning), Omoni (mother), Imo (maternal aunt) or Eonni (elder sister).

Ajumma are often considered dangerous because of their tendency to be strong, aggressive or self-centered. The reason for their toughness comes from the fact that the Korean society is a very competitive one and only with dedication, hard work and perseverance can one be successful (Kim, 2012). The representative visual elements of an ajumma are as follows: identical hair style (solid perm) and clothes (brightly colored outdoor apparel or head to toe equipment in case of hiking (the biggest fad among ajumma)), speedy and powerful (in doing daily outdoor activities), loud, social and always willing to help (Park, 2007). In their young age, as required by the Korean social rules and culture, they were shy, quiet and obedient. However, after completing their familial and social duties and empowered by marriage and age, they gained influence (Cho, 1998).

Inside the household, they are managers of the husband’s income and are mainly in charge of the children’s education. If the husband’s income is not sufficient, they take part time, seasonal or daily jobs to support their family. As managers of the family’s finances, many women joined kye, an “informal private short-term credit association that gives them access to funds that might not be obtainable from a conventional bank.” (Savada & Shaw, 1992:107). Although there are many types of kye, the most common one is “wives kye”. Each participating wife contributes to the kye with money from her household budget and the accumulated money can be accessed on a rotation basis, each of them winning in turn. However, in case of an emergency, the wife having the problem can access the fund (Lafayette de Mente, 2012).

The ajummas that are the head of the households can also have full time jobs. Although the wage gap is high in South Korea, they work hard in difficult conditions, which often imply the lack of healthcare, pension or unemployment benefits, the statistics indicating that they represent almost half of the Korean workers (48.9 percent in 2003 based on Statistics Korea’s findings) (Rowan, 2010).

Underrepresented in politics, as in many other fields, and not sufficiently supported by the state in respect of paid maternity leave, childcare and nursery, and employment, ajumma have an important role in the Korean economy and had a great influence in making Korea what it is today. Some of them lived during the Korean War and worked hard as part of the country’s industrialization, technological advancement and knowledge (Rowan, 2010).

The lack of support never stopped them and they always found ways to organize themselves and work well in groups in case of emergencies. For example, in 2014 after the Sewol ferry disaster, the Korean ajumma living in America organized simultaneous rallies across the country, protesting against President’s Park Geun-hye’s administration and the way the disaster was dealt with. The protesters also organized a crowd-funding campaign and raised more than 160,000 dollars for the families of the Sewol victims, mentioning about themselves “this is the power of ajumma – quick judgment and speedy action.” (Han, 2014).

As mothers, Korean ajumma have been praised in literature, music and films for their exceptionally sacrificial nature and their strong relationship with their children. Shin Kyung-sook’s book, “Please look after mom”, a best seller of the New York Times, insightfully explores the meaning of mother in the Korean society. Korean mothers are sometimes seen as birds that do not eat anything all day, being too busy to feed their children in the nest. Compared to Western mothers, it is known that a Korean one will give up her job and career, forget her dreams and not stop limiting the sacrifices that need to be made for her children (Kim, 2013).

The image of Korean women has also been strengthened by surviving the harsh days of Japanese colonialism, the Korean War, etc. They are considered to have rebuilt their homes, educated their children and endured poverty and catastrophe after the war. Moreover, they managed to work with all the changes that appeared in the college entrance exam policy and help their children enter college. As author Helie Lee said, “We hangook [Korean] women can do anything once we put our minds to it” (Lee, 1996:24). And more than that, as Lee (1996:25) stated “We Koreans can do anything and will do anything to preserve our culture and language”, referring to the harsh period of the Japanese colonization and to the Korean emigrants that live in other countries. Wherever they are located, the Korean ajumma are

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1. Wichin-gye (parents organization) – people with aged parents participate in it in order to raise money for the celebration of their parents’ seventieth birthday, that is an important but also very expensive event in Korea; Sangjo-gye (funeral Association) – organized to help families to pay for a parent’s funeral; Kyorhon kye (wedding pools) – to help for weddings that are very expensive; village kye – created for special needs such as repairing a house, building a new one, for emergency aid in case of disasters.

considered an “intangible cultural treasure and heritage”, “an engine for social progress, and a measure of Korea’s democratic intentions and performance” (Rowan, 2010).

3. REASONS FOR CALLING THE AJUMMAS THE “THIRD SEX”

If India’s Supreme Court has created in 2014 an official “third sex” for the eunuchs and announced to take care of them in what concerns employment and discrimination overcome (Nelson, 2014), in South Korea the term is used unofficially in reference to ajumma. In fact, the concept of “third sex” was used in Korea by the Women’s Research Association in 1984, adopting it from a German women’s movement; it refers to a woman that retains “all the good qualities of women such as warmth, gentleness, peace and motherly love but, when at work, she also has the strength and qualities of men. In other words, the ‘third sex’ has all the valuable feminine attributes as well as all the masculine skills and qualities necessary to be competitive with men in a working situation” (Hye, 1988: 113).

The main reason of this usage seems to come from the Neo-Confucianism influences in Korean culture, more precisely from the third stage in the life of a married woman: the mother-in-law stage. On entering this stage of their lives, women were relieved from their past duties and were considered more equal to men, being physically weakened and lacking fertility or femininity. They were considered “trans-women” and could joke or even talk back to their husbands. Also, they had strong bonds with their sons, which gave them power in the household (Cho, 1998). Another reason could come from the fact that, as in many other countries, South Korean women have a higher life expectancy (85 years) compared to men (78 years) (OECD3), providing them with a certain period of independence, when they have to take care of themselves and their children. However, it cannot explain the fact that this appellation is also used for young women that just turned only thirty.

Ida Daussy, the author of the book “Ida of the land of Morning Calm”, who lived in Korea for more than 15 years and married there, declared in an interview for Korea Times that she had to learn how to succumb to the obsession with female beauty in the Korean society and with the fact that Koreans consider women over 30 as “third sex” or ajumma. She also mentions that even the husbands don’t think their wives are beautiful women anymore after they pass the age of 30 (Seo, 2007).

The “third sex” reference used for ajumma (married or not married) has a malicious connotation, meaning that they are too old to seduce anymore and they must look for comfort in their female friends and other ajumma, while still being warm hearted and hardworking. Their toughness is only apparent and is a consequence of their important role in the very competitive society that Korea has (Joinau & Rouville, 2015).

4. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NEW GENERATION WOMEN

The young Korean women have much to learn from their mothers and grandmothers (today’s ajumma). Their mothers, most probably born somewhere in between the 60s and 70s, were part of the “386 generation” (named after 386 computers), the generation that is remembered as very active and passionate, and which had to fight for democracy under the authoritarian rule, escaped the dictatorship and built democracy in Korea. They experienced a booming economy with plenty of jobs and opportunities (Park, 2007).

Compared to them, the generation born in the 90s and called Shinsedae has been free from ideological or political bias but has to struggle with unemployment and fierce competition. Although this generation was raised in an affluent society with full access to Internet, it had to witness the collapse of their families and the job loss of their parents after the Asian financial crisis, experiencing different types of hardships compared to their mothers (Park, 2007).

Due to a high youth unemployment rate of 11.6 %4, the high costs for housing, education and life in general, the young people call their country “Hell Joseon” and women choose to give up childbirth and marriage until later in life, as a 2015 survey performed by the Chung-Ang Ilbo newspaper indicates (Kim, 2015).

Another effect of today’s harsh life in Korea is represented by a high number of Koreans between their 20s and 40s who identify themselves as “kangaroo tribesmen” and depend on their parents financially, emotionally or both. A survey conducted by Job Korea indicated that almost 40% of 3,574 respondents identified themselves as “tribesmen” and 70% declared they still receive financial help from their parents. Out of the total, 42% of female respondents declared they are part

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3 Data from OECD webpage: http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/korea/ 194

4 Data from: http://www.tradingeconomics.com/south-korea/youth-unemployment-rate
of this family supported category, in comparison with only 31% of men (Park, 2015).

In terms of marriage, the changing patterns (late marriage or non-marriage) may be encountered especially among young women with a more advanced education, who want to have a career or gain financial independence. Also, the Korean social norm indicates that a woman should marry a man of higher income and education, and due to the fact that more and more women improve their status, there are not enough men to keep pace with them. Only 64% of men (25-34 years old) attained tertiary education compared to 72% of women in the same age range in 2015, based on OECD’s statistics.

Compared to their mothers, 63% of Korean women reported they achieved higher educational attainment, however, South Korea has the lowest score in terms of educated people who reported being in good health, based on OECD’s data.

The main reason for this is the stress and continuous pressure regarding education and future jobs, pressure that comes especially from their mothers, rather than anyone else. The modern South Korean mothers are generally seen as over controlling tiger moms and Gangnam moms, forcing their children to study hard with no relaxation time. Moreover, they use smartphone apps that allow parents to track their children’s activities during the school day. Also, they can contact the teachers directly, through KakaoTalk, the leading messaging app in South Korea, in order to find out information about test scores or other issues.

The culture of competition is widely spread in South Korea and education is one of the fields where parents (especially mothers) insist on the highest standards. Apart from the controlling ways mentioned above, mothers push their children to study hard every day (up to 13 hours a day, with only 5.5 hours of sleep per night) (Koo, 2014).

A high emphasis is also set on the image and the physical aspect. According to the International Society of Aesthetic Plastic Surgeons, one in five Korean women had cosmetic surgery. Women equate beauty with success and so they undergo different procedures in order to secure a good path in their future. K-pop has also contributed to this matter, by creating a new beauty aesthetic. With many examples of stars who undertake surgery, the ones who decide to use this type of “improvement” are not judged as harshly as before by the society.

In many cases, even parents financially support their children in having cosmetic surgery (Stone, 2013).

Today’s Korea is a cultural mix of the modern and the ancient, where families embrace traditional routines, such as family gatherings and living together with relatives, but at the same time they encourage their children to work around 18 hours at school, be perfect in all they do and in line with new trends and technology. In this context, women have to live up to the traditional expectations, being engaged citizens, productive and obedient, and at the same time full of beauty and femininity, an example of perfection (Stone, 2013).

However, this image of femininity in South Korea has a long history, and only after the Korean economic crisis of 1997, the competition for jobs led to the boom of surgery. This might explain the uncool look of “traditional Korean ajumma” compared to the newer generations in matters of style, of clothing, make-up and hairstyle. Even if, back in their young age, the Korean economy needed a high number of working women and the competition was not as harsh as today, women of all shapes and styles could easily find jobs. Nowadays, when searching for employees, the Korean companies try to find the ones with the best professional qualifications and with the best physical attractiveness. And that is why the pressure on beauty continues to be very strong in Korea. Most probably, only after the economy will mature and the mad rush to economic growth and wealth will weaken, the pressure on beauty will diminish.

Until then, the young generations of women have to compel to the requirements of present economical trends and behave as requested by the (still) traditional society.

7 Warm mothers that “monitor their kids closely, while also demonstrating hostility toward bad behavior, at times punishing their children with no explanation, and using shame as a way to try to mold behavior” (Adams, 2013).
8 Mothers whose parenting is “information-driven” and are gathering in the famous district from Seoul called Gangnam in order to pursue the necessary information that will help their child excel (Park et al., 2015).

5. CONCLUSIONS

The Korean ajumma has been and continues to be a symbol of the country’s development and traditions, a fighter for her family and children and a source of inspiration for the younger generations. The appellative “third sex” offends her and doesn’t do her right, by disrespecting the efforts and sacrifices she did as a woman for her family and children. Moreover, it nullifies her femininity and forces her to resort to plastic surgery or other
unnatural ways to keep a young and beautiful physical aspect.

The new generations of women are also affected by this stereotyping and undergo surgery to become beautiful in order to find a good husband and get a good job, at the same time being aware that they will also be seen as the “third sex” after a certain age. However, they are willing to take this risk, feeling resigned with the thought that they will have, at least, fulfilled their roles as women. After this realization, they search for company in their other ajumma friends and transform themselves into the visual typology representative for them worldwide. Of course, the future generations of ajumma might develop more modern looks and due to the transformation of South Korea into an international fashion hub, the trends might change. Some indications can be found in the use of the ajumma’s specific look (mismatched prints, sun umbrellas, oversized visors and protective arm sleeves), also present in the last years’ fashion collections of several international designers.

Regarding the first hypothesis that guided the research, the appellation “third sex” is indeed used as a reference to the period of life where that person is situated, but it is not necessarily used only after fulfilling the women’s duties that the Korean society entails by means of culture, such as getting married and giving birth. Even women who are not married are called ajumma and can enter the category of “the third sex”.

Concerning the opinion of young generations about their mothers, the findings indicate that young Korean women are passing through a difficult time and are unsatisfied with the economical situation of the country and the stress that it imposes on them. However, nothing suggested they might feel ashamed by ajumma and they would not try in any way to avoid becoming like their mothers and grandmothers. On the contrary, authors like Kim Hyung-geun are supporting ajumma and are proud of them, being aware that “Sooner or later I will be an ajumma myself. I only hope that I can do the current ajumma proud and follow in her strong foot-steps, with the same honesty, integrity, and courage she’s shown me” (Kim, 2012: 65).

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THE PHILARMONIQUE PORTUGAISE DE PARIS: TOWARDS REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Maria Helena MILHEIRO*

*Inet-md, School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Nova University of Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: In every country to which Portuguese people migrate, there are several cultural associations, musical or others, created by and for these migrants, with different goals. From a preliminary research, the associations that include musical groups tend to represent itself by a folkloric group similar to those in Portugal. For my PhD, I will explore the Philharmonique Portugaise de Paris, an exceptional case of the Portuguese associative movement in France; a wind band instead of a folklore group, the only of its kind known in a European country. The main questions involve the way in which Portuguese migrants individuals with musical habits from the past in situations of the intercultural present. How do musical habits and practices relate with processes of adaptation / insertion / cultural acquaintances in several environments – seen as cultural interfaces in Paris? Which cultural associations and groups do these migrant musicians integrate? In which events, festive or others, involving music, do they participate? How is the Philharmonique Portugaise de Paris characterized? In what musical activities engage? And in what social contexts participate? Why and how was it created? The notions of representation of identity, national consciousness, and emotional adaptation in new environments will be core targets in my work, observing motivations, exercises and related results. My study of relationships between music and human mobility, in an age in which migrant processes emerge as a social and humanitarian scourge, intends to contribute to the link between academic work and current social life.

Keywords: Portuguese migrants, associative movement, Philharmonique Portugaise de Paris, representations of identity, cultural encounters

1. INTRODUCTION

Portuguese migrants make use and use it with social and recreational goals (as memory of the past, as celebration of their identity and maybe also as a means to their integration in the host society). From this preposition, I take the problematic I felt in order to start my PhD. This paper is centred in the relationship between music and national identity representations among Portuguese migrants in Paris. For this, I selected the group Philharmonique Portugaise de Paris (PPP), being my universe of analysis the musical subjects in this association. Resulting from this line of thinking, I have built a research theme: relations between music and national identity representations, in the group selected. My problem of study will be: how do the musical subjects represent their national identities in situations of cultural encounters, involving music?

I decided to study this topic for three main reasons: (1) in general, because in migration contexts there are several musical groups that represent pre-migrant identities in the new life realities. I’m curious to know how music acts in these identity relations; (2) in particular, in the group selected, because its name is representative of the Portuguese identity representation in the Parisian environment in which it is integrated; (3) finally, out of theoretical curiosity, to know how national identity representations are built, in terms of repertoire, musical sound and language and music metaphors, among other aspects; and, most importantly, how do these representations are performed in cultural encounter’s situations, considered cultural interfaces.

1.1 Goals and questions of departure. Thus, research main goals are: to document and study verbal, physical, social and symbolic behaviors, related to events and activities in musical environments, integrating Portuguese migrant citizens and their peers in France; to characterize, in collaboration with the selected subjects, notions like national identity representations; to contextualize and characterize, through cultural encounters, the integration of the subjects in the
host country, by their participation in musical groups already existed or created by them and in several cultural events, involving music; to understand the importance and context of representation of the PPP to the Portuguese migrant community in this region. Among the possible questions, I’ll consider the following: who are the musicians of this group? In which social context was this band created? In which events, festive or others, involving music, do they participate? What musical activities are developed? In which social contexts do the band participate? I’ll present the preliminary research and thoughts on this subject, as my PhD project is only in the beginning.

1.1. Preliminary concepts and definitions. In this paper, I will briefly highlight the main concepts of national identity representations, cultural encounters and migrant associative movement, being these concepts’ definitions a work in progress in my research. The concept of representation of national identity is of outmost importance for my study, as pointed out earlier. Representations of national identity are, then, the performances of the identity markers or of the cultural practices of the subjects involved. They are the unique and/or distinctive ways in which each individual or group expresses different constitutive aspects of his/her or their identity to other individuals or groups, becoming in this way mutually differentiated. To this research study, the representations of cultural identity can also be considered as expressions of national identity of a specific group, inside a different society from which this group has left. Stuart Hall remembers that “in the modern world, the national cultures into which we are born are one of the principal sources of cultural identity” (1996:61). Every person that leaves a home country is carrier of his/her own identity and culture, bringing within him/her a part of his/her living experiences in the countries to which people go and already have been. As part of culture, musics of different sorts accompany all human beings, being these musics modified according to several individual and collective life circumstances.

The notion of cultural encounters has been verified in the living experiences of Portuguese migrant individuals for several centuries. To this study, it can be defined as any organized event or casual encounter of individuals from different locations and/or cultures that can share, or not, knowledge, react to each other with more or less indifference or even with shock. In the cultural encounters, individuals often notice close or distant characteristics that convey each other, or not. Regarding the role of music in the cultural encounters between Portuguese people and populations of other places in the world, since the 15th century, the conference Portugal and the world – Intercultural processes in music: the role of world music since the 15th century, from the International Council for Traditional Music, in 1986, was an important mark in the knowledge of the nature and specificities of these cultural encounters:

Portuguese presence overseas varied widely in its nature and length; so did ensuing economic, political, social, and cultural processes, which affected both the Portuguese and the peoples with whom they came in contact. (…) music, examined as social process, as expressive behavior, and as cultural product, is an especially suitable domain for the study of processes engendered by cross-cultural encounters. For it is often through musical performance that ideas, emotions, beliefs, attitudes, experiences, and cultural identities are embodied (Castelo-Branco, 1997:31, 32).

Portuguese migrants in Paris often participate and perform cultural encounters, being the PPP an example. Regarding the migrant associative movement, it develops a network of different support and meeting structures and institutions for migrants, more or less strong. In many cases of migrant identity representations, involving music, the groups are formed inside this network and serve it when needed. Therefore, the cultural associations are then:

Voluntary organizations with recreational and sociocultural character… mediator institutions, that establish relations between different dimensions of the social life, creating communication channels between socially and culturally heterogeneous groups and individuals (Cordeiro, 2010:82).

Just like this kind of associations in Portugal, the Portuguese migrant associative institutions in France and other countries have an important role in the construction of national representations. The migrant associative movement represents cultural and social solidarity of many groups towards their members. Many of these institutions create musical groups that help the integration of the migrants. In the Portuguese case, the musical groups created in this associative movement are most frequently folkloric groups, philharmonic wind bands or fado groups.

2. PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION TO FRANCE: BRIEF HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In Portugal there are several immigrant communities from other places of the world, mainly from Africa, South America and Asia. Despite this fact, almost a third of Portuguese
population lives outside their country (State Secretary of the Portuguese Communities, 2014 and Menezes, 2014).

From the 15th century onwards, Portuguese people have been leaving their country to many other parts of the world, as exiles, as colonizers, as labor migrants, as tourists. Since World War II (WWII), the destination countries have been diverse. In the European case, the main destination countries for the Portuguese migrants have been France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and England. According to Minga (1985), Bagamha and Marques (2001) and Fagundes et. al. (2011), the Portuguese migration waves can be separated in three phases: in the first, until WWII; and in the second, between the end of WWII and the years of 1980’s, mostly migrated people with low education, working essentially in agriculture (Leandro, 1995); in the third, from the 1990’s onwards, has emerged a different type of migration, including younger and more qualified people than the individuals in the previous phases.

According to Maria Engrácia Leandro, Portuguese migration is not a recent phenomenon. For its amplitude and longevity, it is centennial and develops since the time of the Portuguese maritime discoveries from the 15th century onwards (1995:190-191). After WWII France needed manpower, facilitating the entrance of migrant populations, being the Portuguese among them. However, the entry policies have changed through time, according to the political environment of the country. Leandro reinforces that:

In time of economic growth and scarce of manpower the doors are open to immigration; in a second time, when the economic crisis is beginning, particularly, from the oil shock in 1973, at the same time that returning was encouraged, the doors where closed to immigration. In the 80’s, with the aggravation of the international economic crisis, and, in a way with the failure of the return policy, immigration remains closed and a socio-political program is developed in favour of the integration of the immigrants that have been installing in French territory (Leandro, 1995:190-191).

With the policies between the entry of Portugal in the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986 and the implementation of the single coin in 2002, Portuguese migrants saw their circulation between the two countries easier, even enjoying perks in both, fact that didn’t happen previously. Despite the main goal of the migrant from the first and second phases being the return to Portugal, after many years residing in France this goal began to disappear from their projects. The new generations of Portuguese descendants innovate and reinvent the expressive practices from their parents and grandparents, mainly because they recognize in it a sort of ‘double belonging’, as referred by Sophie Chevalier:

this changes in the musical practices are reflections of a transformation on the identity of the Portuguese residents in France, from the recognition of a double belonging that holds multiple references (Chevalier, 2003:541).

Chevalier also stresses that “the immigrant communities in France consider the philharmonic wind band and fado as a part of their inheritance” (2003:539). Despite this fact, when searching for musical groups in the Portuguese migrant associations in Europe, I have only found one wind band like the ones existing in Portugal: the PPP.

3. PHILHARMONIQUE PORTUGAISE DE PARIS: BRIEF HISTORY

Fig.1 Philharmonique Portugaise de Paris, January 2016. Picture taken from their facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/philharmonique.portugaiseeparis?fref=ts

Founded by Nicolau Lopes, as a project presented in March 1986 to the Radio Eglantine, this band’s first rehearsal had five individuals. Only a year later, more people joined, making a total of 22 performers and five apprentices in 1987, being Nicolau Lopes their “mestre” (conductor and teacher). Under the name Harmonie Eglantine, this group performed for the first time in November 1st 1987 in Creteil (Southeast Paris), at a party organized by Radio Eglantine. In 1988, the band leaves the radio station and goes to the headquarters of the Cultural Association of the Portuguese Workers in Paris, being this last association their helper. In April of 1989, the then ambassador of Portugal in Paris, Gaspar da Silva, becomes the band’s sponsor. From 1992 onwards, the band becomes an independent association, with the name Philharmonique Portugaise de Paris, that still remains. In 2011, the president was José
Cardina and the conductor Filipe Pedro. The group is constituted by 41 performers.

Regarding the band’s activities, at this point I only know that the association organizes annually an international music festival in Bonneuil sur Marne (Southeast Paris), inviting different folkloric groups and a wind band from Portugal and that they play and participate in any concert, activity or event to which the band is called, and maybe organize a few. The group’s main goal is to teach and spread Portuguese philharmonic music, having a varied repertoire that can be adapted to any kind of events and ceremonies.

4. REFLECTIONS

Departing from the assumptions that musical performance “is effective as a symbol of multiple identities representing citizenship in the multicultural arena” (Côrte-Real, 2010:75), and that music serves as means of interaction of individuals from different contexts, as referred by Martin Stokes:

Music, understood in the context of a global city (…), can testify to the processes by which diasporas and migrant populations from nearly everywhere on the planet interact in neighbourhood festivities and religious practices, in local media, and in multicultural civic institutions… (Stokes, 2004:64).

I will try to find characteristics in the way migrant individuals perform their individual and collective identity markers in order to see and show patterns of national identity representations in the cultural encounters where they interact.

This study, being in the beginning, is still an ongoing investigation; the thoughts and concepts presented here are the result of a preliminary research for my PhD project, in the doctoral program in Ethnomusicology “Music as Culture and Cognition”, at the New University of Lisbon. This research, with ethnographic feature, eminently collaborative, is centered in musical subjects belonging to the Philharmonique Portugaise de Paris, from the cultural association Philloparis, performers and other individuals to consider. It covers individual and collective living experience spaces in the region of Paris in the academic year of 2016-2017 and retrospectively, yet to confirm, since 2010.

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FOLKLORE, FADO AND RADIO: MEDIATING PORTUGUESE IDENTITIES IN PARIS

Pedro MOREIRA*

*Institute of Ethnomusicology, NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities, New University of Lisbon, Portugal, Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT)

Abstract: The role of media in diasporic experiences is central to understand the identity construction of migrant communities in relation to the uses of their expressive culture, shaped by a connection to the motherland. This article addresses the case of Radio ALFA, a radio station targeted at the Portuguese community in the Paris region, and focuses on the ways in which Radio ALFA imagines this community through both its programming grid and the discourses of its main interlocutors. The heterogeneous and dynamic community conception of this medium is central in understanding the role of expressive mediated cultural practices such as Fado or Folklore in the construction of a more fluid identity. The use of such expressive practices in the broadcasting are central to Radio ALFA’s survival strategies, constantly (re)defining the very notion of “Portuguese community” in trying to reach different audiences that include both first-generation migrants and lusо-descendants. In this linkage between community, motherland and host country through radio, a rather dynamic process emerges which nurtures a better understanding of the relation between media, music and migration in this specific context.

Keywords: Radio, Migration, Community, Music.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this article, I address some questions regarding the case of Radio ALFA, the radio of the Portuguese and lusophone community in the Paris area, broadcasting via FM, internet and satellite.

The main issues raised by my research are: What kind of community does Radio ALFA imagine? What is its role, from a production perspective, in the construction of a community identity through radio? What are the dynamics of self-representation of this community with regard to Folklore and Fado? How do these dynamics affect both the programming policy and the relationship with the community?

The reality of radio in the context of migrant communities (Ferreira, 2013; Peterson, 2003; Dayan, 1999), especially their relationship to music (Toynbee and Dueck, 2011), is clearly marked by insufficient studies in the social sciences. In a wider context, the approach to different types of media and migration has shown a tendency to avoid crystallized analyses of media as mere mirrors of expressive practices (Alonso and Oiarzabal, 2010; Karim, 2003; Sánchez, 2008). The self-representation of migrant communities in the media, and in this case, in radio, reveals the mediated construction of community identities, imagined throughout broadcasts, discourses and expressive practices as dynamic processes (Kosnick, 2007). As anthropologist Ferreira synthesises: “The content produced and disseminated by these social institutions contributes to the politics of identity of migrant communities and fosters reflection on their strategies of integration, resistance, creation of traditions, and the commodification and objectification of culture” (2013:203).

The works of scholars such as Riggins (1992), Kosnick (2007) and Peterson (2012) reveal several dimensions that interfere with self-representation of migrant communities in the media, enlightening the heterogeneity of such imagined communities, their local involvement with the host country, relationship with the motherland and transnational industries of culture, amongst other contingencies. As stated by Kosnick: “Migrant media are of prime importance as arenas for producing and circulating
identity claims in order to intervene in the politics of representation” (2007:2-3) Therefore, it is relevant to consider the mediated discourses and expressive practices beyond the ideas of “cultural preservation” or identity defence. A non-deterministic approach to identity, constructed through “transformation and difference” (Hall, 1990:235) should unveil the ways in which musical genres are mediated, and how this reflects the very notion of “community” as imagined by the media.

2. A RADIO FOR THE COMMUNITY

Radio ALFA was founded in 1987 in a context of broadcasting policy changes in France. The rise of pirate or free radio broadcasting since the early 1970’s, as in other European countries, allowed the foundation of several illegal radios as a reaction to the state monopoly of FM waves. The legal framework came after the election of François Mitterrand, who promised to review the situation once elected, which eventually happened. The Fillioud Act, from 1982, named after the Communications Minister of Communications Georges Fillioud, liberalized FM waves and allowed radio stations to start the legalization process (Kuhn, 1995:77 et seq.).

In the early 1980’s, three Portuguese pirate radio stations were operating in the Paris region: Radio Églantine, Radio Clube Português (RCP) and Portugal no Mundo, closely linked to the associative movement. The legalization process was still complex as the National authority asked for some paperwork, which postponed the requests. As Kosnick states, in a broader analysis: “migrant media tend to flourish in the marginal and often unstable spaces opened up by the erosion of public service and state broadcasting monopolies, by the development of new communication technologies, and by the uncertainties of political regulation that often still characterize new transnational media infrastructures” (2007:3).

It was in this space of wider representation, helped by the associative movement and concern for the second generation (children of the emigrants), that Radio ALFA was created, uniting a group of Portuguese emigrants with connections to the pirate radio movement (Laureano, 2011). The main purpose was to create a hybrid radio designed to give voice to the experiences and daily lives of the Portuguese emigrants in the Paris region, instead of emulating a Portuguese radio in Paris, as some of the interlocutors stated.

In 1987, Radio ALFA’s radio license was granted, but this legal permit only included 12 hours of broadcasting, with the other 12 hours to be shared with Tabala FM, an “African” radio station. The first broadcast took place on October 5, 1987 at 2:00 p.m., celebrating the Portuguese Republic Implantation day. As one of the founders stated, the radio station’s main purpose was “to remind the French that we were, back then, the largest foreign community in France. A radio that, personally, I wanted to enter the homes of the Portuguese who listened to us, so that our mother tongue was not forgotten and could be transmitted to our descendants.” (Carmo, 2014:697). Radio ALFA’s aim was to rethink the scope of the Portuguese community in the Paris region as well as the very purpose of its medium. According to Fernando Silva, one of the station’s founders: “The radios that existed were very nostalgic, a kind of “Saudade” (nostalgic) corner. They considered neither the evolution of the Portuguese community in France, nor the youth of Portuguese origin. We wanted the Portuguese to assert themselves as citizens here in France. (…) we wanted to show that there was another Portugal, another Portuguese music, and that the Portuguese living in France, were not the clichés cultivated within the community by elder emigrants.” (Interview, 6/11/2014)

The association ALFA struggled with financial problems until the 1990s and was afterwards acquired by a Portuguese emigrant-owned financial group, becoming a commercial radio station. After 1992, Radio ALFA was on air 24 hours a day, without sharing the 98.6 frequency with Tabala FM. Five years later, Radio ALFA entered the satellite channel, broadcasting nationally and worldwide, expanding in 1999 to the internet, with several web radios, mainly thematic in their nature: ALFA Fado (dedicated to Fado), ALFA Pop (dedicated to Pop and Rock), ALFA Sat (Lusophone music) and ALFA FM. At present, Radio ALFA FM covers about 70 km of the Paris region, albeit with some variation (approx. 30 km), having approximately 800.000 potential listeners, including Portuguese emigrants, their descendants, and other lusophone emigrants.

3. RADIO ALFA AND ITS PROGRAMMES

The construction of the radio programming materializes several intentions, values and negotiations of power in a context of technological, legal, regulatory and financial contingencies (Riggins 1992; Alonso and Oiarzabal, 2010; Karim, 2003). The role of the media in migration contexts has been analysed from a dual perspective: maintaining notions of cultural tradition and practices, on the one hand, and unintentionally encouraging the assimilation by its
audiences of dominant values of the host society, on the other (Riggins, 1992:4).

In my first interview with Radio ALFA’s director, Fernando Lopes, he stated that “the role of Radio ALFA is to inform about Portugal and the Lusophone countries, to talk about daily practical questions in the country in which they live, which is France, and to give them world news. (...) Portuguese news can be delivered by a Portuguese radio, the French news, by a French radio, but the news to the Portuguese community living in the Paris area can only be delivered by Radio ALFA” (Interview, 6/11/2014). Essential to the programming policy is the question posed by Radio ALFA’s director: “to whom do we broadcast?” which is central for the survival of the radio station. The imagined mediated community shapes the radio programs and the discourses about the role of Radio ALFA in the context of Portuguese migration in Paris.

According to the director, the morning programs are target the first-generation emigrants, especially those who are at home, defining them as a segment largely aimed at workers and “housewives”. Two programs are highlighted during the weekdays: Está na Hora! (It’s time), from 6:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m., by Ester De Sousa and Carlos Manuel, and Ponto de Encontro (Meeting point) from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. by Anabela Cunha. The first program includes traffic news, anecdotes, ephemera, prizes, weather forecasts, and information blocks, making it one of the most attended programs. Ponto de encontro (Meeting point) covers other types of content, from legal topics that matter to the community, news, riddles, music, studio guests, press releases, etc. Paulo Salgado continues the broadcast with Só entre nós (Only Between us) from 12 a.m. to 3 p.m., a program with varied contents. From 3:00 to 6:00 p.m., Vitor Santos presents Nunca é tarde (It is never too late) with music novelties and news; while the broadcast Está na Onda, from 6 to 9 pm is presented by Eduardo Lino, including daily news updates, games and music. Other programs, depending on the day of the week, focus on different audiences, such as Nuances do Brasil, on Tuesday, with Marlucce Campos Perrollet or Só Fado (Only fado), on Fridays, by Fernando Silva, Odete Fernandes e Manuel Miranda. On Saturday, several volunteers secure the station’s broadcasts, with programmes about Lusophone associations and interviews with Portuguese artists, as well as sports programs and other broadcasts. One of the web radio channels broadcasts ALFA FM worldwide, whereas the other web radios broadcast thematic music programmes 24 hours a day (more info: http://radioalfa986.net/grille.php)

According to the radio director, Radio ALFA now faces a major challenge: broadcasts have to change because the younger generation and new emigrants want different things compared to their parents or grandparents: “The new emigrants are very interested to hear about Portugal, they will, for sure, listen to Radio ALFA. The great challenge is keeping the luso-descendants interested, particularly those who have married a non-Portuguese wife, for instance. Why should their children listen to us?” (Interview, 6/11/2014). The way in which this community is imagined (Anderson, 1983) through radio is a challenge for the programmers, which must adapt their broadcasts and main thematic lines: to promote Portugal and its traditions, on the one hand, and to show a new and modern Portugal through music, like Fado, Pop/Rock, etc, on the other.

4. ON THE MARGINS OF TRADITION

In this section, I would like to discuss how Radio ALFA’s FM broadcasting mediates folklore. As a symbol of Portugal expressive culture, its discourses about folklore are not only rooted in words such as tradition or authenticity, but also show a rather dynamic process of resignification. De Terra em Terra, nas margens da tradição is one of the most relevant broadcasts regarding the dissemination of folklore in Radio ALFA’s program grid. Beyond representing tradition “as the past”, the current Radio ALFA director stated that this program wants to show Portugal’s living traditions, the true roots of those who are outside their country: “This is what makes us feel Portuguese, our traditions, our origins... not the stereotypes associated with folklore and emigrants, as if we only consume that!” (Interview, 6/11/2014). We can assume that for him, the connection to the imagined motherland through nostalgia and memory (Agnew 2005) reinforces the very essence of an imagined community of shared beliefs, habits and, in this case, experiences, which are still alive today.

The programme De Terra em Terra was first aired in 1989 by Guilherme Alves, an emigrant that went to France in 1972 and started his carrier in Radio Clementine. In 2008, he retired and returned to Portugal, leaving the program’s presentation to Manuel Moreira e Marylene Martins. The broadcast aims to

Inform and advise folklore associations on everything related to folklore, namely: dances, songs, costumes, research, historiography of customs and regional customs represented with the
support of the Federation of Portuguese Folklore (LusoJornal, 20/03/2008).

The program has had several formats, with different moments that focused not only on music, but also on other “traditions”, such as gastronomy, religious traditions, handicrafts, showing ALFA listeners different popular traditions according to the civil calendar. The collaboration by telephone, from Portugal, of musicologist José Alberto Sardinha started in 1992, presenting the results of his personal research on traditional music. Poetry has also had its part in this broadcast, with the participation of Amélia Gomes, also from Portugal. Gastronomy, personal experiences, interviews with folkloric groups have equally been included.

One of the main aspects of De Terra em Terra is the relationship with local ethnographic groups (Ranchos Folclóricos) from the associative movement in France, trying to influence them to choose “a Portuguese region, making it easier to maintain the folkloric tradition of the chosen region” (idem). For Guilherme Alves and other Radio ALFA interlocutors, the number of Ranchos Folclóricos in France was not always equal with “quality”, because some of them had no information about traditional music and/or dance. As a result, they started mixing dances, or danced the wrong music with the wrong outfit, which was not correct, according to them. For the author of the program, this impact is reflected in the “improvement of the quality of the folklore of some Portuguese associations in France” (idem). Judite Cruz, who has collaborated with the program for 20 years, reports in her book “The Portuguese Traditions in France” published in 2012, that there are Ranchos Folclóricos in France that do not represent the region accurately:

This is not a criticism from my part, just a comment, incidentally they are aware that for example the costumes they wear are not appropriate to the region they represent. Some were not well advised and spent fortunes and now have to dress in another way (LusoJornal, 28/03/2012).

With this program, Radio ALFA assumes a dynamic role between “tradition” and the community, aiming to advise local associations and groups about the “authentic” way of representing the Portuguese nation and its specific regions. We can argue that identity and authenticity play an essential role in constructing a dynamic radio programme that want to show the “typicality” of Portuguese regions, on the one hand, and to convey a pedagogical approach to serve local associations based in France, on the other.

5. FADO, IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY

Fado is considered to be the “National Song” of Portugal and has a central role in Radio ALFA FM’s programming. Its visibility, after UNESCO’s recognition as Intangible World Heritage in 2011, as well as its status in the World Music circuit and the rise of the so called New Fado (Nery, 2004:266-272), made it the perfect identity visit card. As the musicologist Nery affirms:

Faced with this evident dynamic, to the impressive number of new Fado singers and Portuguese guitar players that continue to grow, and to the variety of tendencies and aesthetic postures that underline them (...) one can only see the renewed vitality that Fado reveals entering the 21st century (Nery, 2004:272).

The director of technical service and responsible for Fado programmes, Fernando Silva, says that the Portuguese who are now retired in France, and who are 70 or 80 years old, like to listen to (old) Fado singers or folklore. But the role of Radio ALFA FM and ALFA Fado is also to broadcast the most recent singers of new Fado, those who are from Portugal, such as Ana Moura, Cuca Roseta, Carminho or Camané, as well as fadistas from the Portuguese community. New Fado and its new (re)presentation constitute a perfect product to show a more modern Portugal with younger singers and different repertoires. This does not mean that traditional Fado and its more formal presentation has no audience, but according to several interlocutors, it is easier for the new generations in France to like the new Fado singers. Even within the community, performers such as Diane Santos, Shina, Jennyfer Rainho or Cláudia Costa, search for a more open conception of Fado, ranging from traditional repertoire to new forms. The new generation of fadistas is also an emergent phenomenon in other Portuguese diasporic contexts such as Canada or the United States (Côrte-Real, 2010; Holton, 2006). In this context, the media representations of expressive practices such as Fado aim to leverage an image of a “renewed tradition”, of a country distant from old stereotypes and willing to show a modern image of Portugal and the community itself.

For the director of Radio ALFA, Fado is a musical genre that also creates a strong connection between Portugal and France because both the Portuguese community and the French people themselves have come to particularly appreciate Fado after its recent visibility: “Fado in France is regarded as a part of Portuguese identity: Fado is Portugal, Portugal is Fado... that’s it!” (Interview, 6/11/2014). As a result, Fado always
fills concert halls, especially the Radio ALFA concert hall “Sala Vasco da Gama”, with a mixed public of both Portuguese and French.

Radio ALFA sustains Fado as symbol of Portuguese identity and (renewed) tradition, allowing it to direct itself to a younger audience that includes the second generation or luso-descendants, as well as French listeners. The impact of Fado broadcasts, mainly through the program Só Fado (ALFA FM) and the webradio ALFA Fado goes beyond the Paris region and France. According to the ALFA Fado programmer, more than 50% of the listeners are located in other countries, mainly Portugal, Canada, USA, Japan, etc. The internet-based Fado radio reaches both Portuguese communities and non-Portuguese listeners. When considering both webradios and FM, ALFA Fado is the most listened radio station from the ALFA group, only surpassed in attendance by the broadcasts of Portuguese football matches.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In this article, I have tried to highlight how radio in the context of migration reveals complex dynamics of self-representation, as identity processes influence the construction of an imagined and mediated community. When the director of Radio ALFA asks, “to whom do we broadcast?”, he evokes a major problem that shadows the very notion of community. The processes included in mediating the notions of community throughout radio disclose a constant search for audience, as well as different ways to construct the identities of this imagined group, which depends upon several contingencies such as programming policy, different commercial targets, personal choices, emigrant generations, etc.

As shown in the section dedicated to programming, more generalist broadcasts try to combine different “units”, from news, to games, musical novelties, in order to target a broader community audience. More specific programs, such as De terra em terra, attempt not to lose the contact of radio with the notion of “tradition”, contributing to the maintenance of the “roots” of this imagined community, also considering the impact on local associations and the spreading of “correct” information about expressive practices.

As for Fado, one the main genres mediated by Radio ALFA, the modernization of this genre, as stated by Nery (2014), has been of major importance to renew the image of an “old Portugal” and to construct a more up-to-date notion of community. Fado appears here as an example of how music plays a major role in the negotiation of identity between tradition and novelty, between the first generation of emigrants and their descendants. The survival of Radio ALFA in this context depends on its ability to constantly imagine its surrounding community and mediate symbols of identity, as shown by Folklore and Fado.

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ENTREPRENEURIAL EFFORTS TOWARDS INTERCULTURALISM

Bart Paul VANSPAUWEN*

*Institute of Ethnomusicology, Nova University, Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: Recent research in the fields of Ethnomusicology, Anthropology and Sociology frame the concept of lusofonia more as a return movement of the expressive cultures and memories of Portugal’s former colonial territories than as a linguistic field of the spoken sphere. In addition, in Portugal, institutional racism has legitimated both sociological and cultural racism perspectives. This friction has implied, among musicians, addressing lusofonia as a space of struggle, decolonialism and intervention. If the documentary Lusofonia, a (r)evolução continues to be influential, so is the claim that the lack remains, of a sustained institutional interest in lusofonia and its musical fusions. Drawing upon the results of 6 years of field research in Lisbon, I want to shed more light on how efforts of cultural entrepreneurs have addressed issues of politics of memory to negotiate national narratives and cultural policies. By mapping social struggles over the definition of collective memory, Ethnomusicology may reveal how political categories blur and dichotomize postcolonial cultural expression. Initiatives such as Lisboa que Amanhece, Conexão Lusófona, Lisboa Mistura and Musidancas, mentioned in this paper, project intercultural understandings of lusofonia processes as fundamental for Portugal’s contemporary, national identity.

Keywords: music, lusofonia, expressive culture, propaganda, heritage

1. INTRODUCTION

Roughly since the turn of the millennium, cultural entrepreneurs engaged in disseminating the musical heritage of their countries have emerged in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, the capital of Portugal. The entry of lusophone musics to the world music market during the 1990s extended the scope of performances to music festivals and international concerts, enabling interaction and complicity between lusophone in a transnational framework. In this context, the creation of political institutions such as the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (1996) and broadcasts to lusophone Africa with RDP África (1996), international cultural events such as the Lisbon World Exposition (1998), the online dissemination of critical content such as the documentary Lusofonia, a (R)evolução (2006), as well as national and municipal cultural policies have come to strengthen an context of cultural collaboration within the Portuguese-speaking world in which the idea of a musical lusofonia is being utilized and developed.

In academia, recent research in the fields of Ethnomusicology, Anthropology and Sociology frame this concept of lusofonia more as a return movement of the expressive cultures and memories of Portugal’s former colonial territories than as a linguistic field of the spoken sphere. In parallel, issues of multiculturalism, minority rights, and cultural heritage have become increasingly important for the development and implementation of international, regional and local cultural policies. As major sites of immigration and cultural diversity, cities have become privileged arenas for the expression of citizenship and democracy, while not being immune to sentiments of exclusion, xenophobia and racism (Bäckström & Castro-Pereira, 2012). An analysis of transnational cultural flows in the lusophone world may offer new perspectives on how musical performance works to articulate identities that depart from received narratives of Portuguese national culture. Investigating into the strategies that musicians with limited outreach develop in order to engage with local cultural policies may allow for new, decolonial perspectives.
Intercultural competence, understood as “constructive interaction among different peoples emerging from distinct cultures”, is a core issue in the 21st century (UNESCO, 2010:2), cf. Corte-Real, 2010 and 2013). In particular, Holton and Klimt suggest that “one of the key arenas in which to explore the play between power and performance is at the level of the co-ethnic community” (2009:19), since this is where interculturalism plays out. In fact, Intercultural relationships are built upon the dynamic flow between cultures and alterity (Marques et al. 2012:9). As such, they allow for investigating how socially induced notions of political correctness, such as racial tolerance and multiculturalism, are actually used as a tool to accommodate notions of difference which are in conflict with a given identity (Marques et al. 2012:9). What is being debated is

the essential governability of multicultural communities living together in a given nation-state - who has the authority to create norms and social hierarchies within society or to exclude anyone and on what basis (Bäckström & Castro-Pereira, 2012:83)

No doubt, the biggest challenge of contemporary societies is the evolution from multicultural to intercultural understanding, by mutually recognizing and valorizing difference in postcolonial, relational context (Bäckström & Castro-Pereira, 2012:86-87).

2. THE CONCEPT OF LUSOFONIA

Various studies point out that Portuguese society is not yet permeable to “non-western” influences as it did not develop cricitical readings of these expressions or strategies that promote their integration in a conscious and positive way (Dias, 2006:92, cf. Sieber, 2002; Fradique, 2002; Vanspauwwen, 2013). In fact, in Portugal, institutional racism has legitimated both sociological and cultural racism perspectives (Mamadou, 2014). This friction has implied, among musicians, addressing lusofonia as a space of struggle, decolonialism and intervention. Thus, it is imperative to introduce a debate in Portugal on the development of postcolonial identities and the facilitor role that subaltern artistic expression can have in interacting with dominant society and culture (cf. Maciel, 2010; Macedo, 2013; Martins 2015). In other words, it is necessary to understand “how the music of Portuguese colonies affected the music of Portugal and its immigrant groups [in] a reciprocal process of musical exchange” (Pegg, 2002: 177).

This same claim was made through the documentary Lusofonia, a (r)evolução, made by the Portuguese branch of the Red Bull Music Academy in 2006. This documentary presented a narrative that suggested that lusophone sounds evolved but still belong together, and argued that that both historical and contemporary musical confluences in and between Portugal, Brazil and PALOP should be revalorized. While prescribing lusofonia as an instrument of unification of various musical forms, whether sung in Portuguese or creole, Lusofonia, a (r)evolução also aimed at erasing social exclusion and artistic marginalization (ibid). Finally, it promoted the increasing mixture of lusophone musics by institutional and mercantile bodies in Portugal, to project to a wider, international, audience.

Drawing upon the results of 6 years of field research in Lisbon, I want to shed more light on how efforts of cultural entrepreneurs have addressed issues of politics of memory to negotiate national narratives and cultural policies. If the documentary Lusofonia, a (r)evolução continues to be influential, so is the claim that the lack remains, of a sustained institutional interest in lusofonia and its musical fusions. Musidanças, created in 2001, was the first music festival to apply the notion of lusofonia, positioning itself “as a link between lusophone cultures.” Over its 15 years of existence, the festival has sought

to encourage the creation of lusophone art, to develop lusophone awareness and to provide qualitative attractions that can keep the origins of the foreign-lusophone public residing in Portugal alive.1

As founder-director Firmino Pascoal states:

For me this matter [of] lusofonia has always been clear: showing Portuguese, foreigners and even our own people of other lusophone countries that live here the culture of one another (interview).

Musidanças’ main music genres are traditional music, world fusion, reggae and hip hop. It has also occasionally featured a fado performance. The festival Lisboa Mistura, organized since 2006 by the association Sons da Lusofonia, does not explicitly evoke the concept of lusofonia, even though it features many local musicians with origins in lusophone countries. Carlos Martins, the festival’s director and founder, affirms that the festival fosters an enrichment [project] of the common heritage of the Portuguese-speaking peoples, [by] promoting

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1 https://www.facebook.com/festivalmusidanças
diversity [within] the various communities residing in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (interview).

According to Martins, lusofonia forms the basis for interculturality in Lisbon (interview). “Without lusofonia, we would not have any condition whatsoever to deal with intercultural issues” (interview).

The educational project Lisboa Que Amanhece was organized in 2011 by Restart-Instituto de Criatividade, Artes e Novas Tecnologias, as part of a class on event-production and marketing. Its name refers to the title of a song by Sérgio Godinho, interpreted with Caetano Veloso,

that symbolically displays Lisbon as the capital of a multicultural movement where miscegenation is demonstrative of this exchange of languages and cultures.\(^2\)

Director Alex Cortez Pinto points out that his students had suggested to

organize an event that would demonstrate that one same public can be interested in different music genres, precisely because of this lusofonia issue: the Portuguese language as an element of connection (interview).

Lisboa Que Amanhece featured hip hop, jazz, pop-rock, música popular portuguesa as well as one fado performance. Cortez Pinto:

[We tried] to show precisely that, not Portugal influenced cultures of other countries, but instead this mixture, this miscegenation could be a factor of greater unification.

He adds,

Today we witness fado as intangible cultural heritage of humanity, but we should realize that our great heritage in fact is lusofonia, and that this heritage should be protected, encouraged and developed (interview).

Finally, the Festival Conexão Lusófona was first organized in 2012 by the association Conexão Lusófona, Co-founder-director Laura Filipa Vidal argues that Portugal colonialism happened, and we must recognize that a mixture has taken place. [However], this new Lisbon that is not being properly communicated to its tourist audience. [the city] does not assume itself in its policy and its communication strategies (interview).

In her view, Lisbon has a very interesting potential here that is not being explored: [tourists] can indeed have a lusophone experience, but will only get [access] to it if they know locals that are willing to take them to these places, and even so there should be more such places than there are today (interview).

Festival Conexão Lusófona has mainly presented world fusion, hip hop and traditional music.

For these cultural entrepreneurs, the music mixing idea as well as the valorization of non-Portuguese lusophone musics lie at the basis of their work. Simultaneously, the claim of a sustained institutional interest in musical lusofonia grows stronger, as a new generation of lusophone citizens wants to affirm itself against expression of Portugueseess (portugalidade) as unilateral, outward cultural traffic, by focusing on the historically legitimate intercultural niches in music in music and other expressive domains that have survived and are developing in the present day. The intervenients that I interviewed contend that only institutional and commercial support for this idea can achieve a change of mentalities from a political, social and cultural point of view. Despite the signaled lack of intercultural places to perform, a number of clubs, bars and associations have already dedicated themselves to promoting musical versions of lusofonia. Here as well as on the occasion of individual concerts and phonograms, Portuguese musicians and musicians from other Portuguese-speaking countries (both residents and international artists on tour) have increasingly performed together, occasionally mixing their musics through discographic or live collaborations.

As my ethnography suggest, new cultural productions tend to reflect old imperial connections through official discourses, which are linked to historical power structures. It is at least curious to see how the discourse of deep historical and cultural ties between lusophone countries, recurrent in the speeches of government officials and often revealing lusotropicalist traits, has moved beyond the limits of the intellectual elite, with increasing importance for cultural movements. I argue that these intercultural encounters undo monocultural musical configurations associated to nationalism, on the one hand, while they also promote cultural fusions and collaborations based on diasporic and linguistic associations. In this respect, Lisbon seems to have started to promote itself as city than contains a unique set of lusophone musics to include Brazil and Africa, including fado. This

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\(^2\) https://www.facebook.com/pages/Lisboa-Que-Amanhece/212879422081334?id=212879422081334&sk=info
“diasporic imagination” (Dunn 2002, quoted in La Barre 2010) both reflects and reinvents cultural manifestations on the local, national and transnational level. Thus, musical *lusofonia* eventually becomes a tool for promoting Portugal as an open, inclusive, and intercultural city that builds on representations of the ‘other’ (La Barre 2011:154-157).

In this sense, music may represent a more open, fluid way to think the concept of *lusofonia*. To my understanding, the cultural entrepreneurs above advocate a “mode of managing cultural and political multiplicities,” thus contradicting the process of cosmopolitanism as a mere “nationally defined and nationally determined construction” (paraphrasing La Barre 2011:150), and transcending the underlying contradictions of the *lusofonia* concept. As such, they expand postcolonial viewpoints to a truly global understanding of “cultural cosmopolitanism”, as understood by Vertovec and Cohen (2002), Sanches et al. (2004) and Stokes (2007).

3. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, I argue that an analysis of transnational cultural flows in the lusophone world may offer new perspectives on how musical performance works to articulate identities that depart from received narratives of Portuguese national culture. As Brandstädter *et al.* point out, “cracks in existing hegemonies and alternative possibilities emerge through social engagement as a member of [a] community of meaning, praxis and emotional attachment” (2011: np). Initiatives such as Musidanças, Lisboa Mistura, Lisboa que Amanhece and Festival Conexão Lusófonia frame intercultural understandings of *lusofonia* processes as fundamental for Portugal’s contemporary, national identity. Investigating into the strategies that these cultural entrepreneurs develop in order to engage with local cultural policies may allow for new, decolonial perspectives. By mapping social struggles over the definition of collective memory, Ethnomusicology may reveal how political categories both obscure and enable postcolonial participatory citizenship.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


MOBILITY, NATIONALISM AND COSMOPOLITISM: LIGHT MUSIC IN PORTUGAL AND EUROPEAN BROADCASTING (1960)

Andrea MUSIO*

* Department of Musicology, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences (FCSH), Nova University of Lisbon (UNL), Portugal

Abstract: Through a state rhetoric that served the construction of a national cultural intimacy in the context of the Portuguese regime in the 1960s, light music has become the target of a creation of nationalist identities, inside the contrast with the organization of a common aesthetic of the European countries, supported, among others, by the broadcasting system, the commercialization of the singers and the advertising of the music industry. In this thematic case, mobility reveals its elusive meanings, where the technical and human exchanges between various radio and television European production, stressed an aesthetic-political will, through the use of the languages of light music, building a self-evident national soul in the proclamation of a national isolation.

Keywords: light music, European broadcasting, cultural intimacy, mobility, musical nationalism

1. INTRODUCTION

In the context of the Portuguese political regime in the 1960s, light music had a cultural, social, technical and organizational impact. It is in construction to this day. Light music has become a solid defense of the rhetoric of simplicity and amateurism, of the proclamation of isolation and of the Europeans aesthetic and cultural exchanges, by not asking for a particular experience or artistic ability, but rather to its power to attract the masses. It was the music that gave the possibility to the countries emerging from World War II to establish their own national musical identity, through, for example, the celebration of their national languages as a warranty of political and cultural unification.

2. HISTORIC REMARKS

The 1960s was the historic space where festivals of national song materialized, where national languages were encouraged to stress a union of the citizens within the frontiers of the nation-states. The theatricality of the singers and stars, the exaltation of state music production through a dense work of marketing of its actors, the creation of aesthetic/performative models common to the various cultural sectors, and the focus on the daily lives of people and their everyday emotions inserted into spaces easily recognizable by a large number of people, are just some of the instances of that staging of a self-evident national soul, using light song as its own soundtrack.

The study of radio musical setting in nationalist contexts, in these scenarios, raises questions and issues that deserve further consideration. Following a line of interpretation of Thomas Turino (2000) and Martin Stokes (2010), with respect to case studies of popular music in Zimbabwe and Turkey, it is my intention to relate the concept of human mobility, representative of cosmopolitan characteristics, with musical nationalism in the context of the commercialization of light music in the two decades after the World War II, focusing on the 1960s. The particular juncture of local and transnational musical styles analyzed by these two authors, in setting up a nationalist identity, showed how the structure of a national-conservative cultural intimacy required a constant dialogue with the surrounding world to proliferate, in a game of exchanges between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, obfuscation and revelation.

In the case of the political regime in Portugal, the internationalization illustrated by the foreign presence in its territory, particularly at a level of
technical, stylistic and performative training of people in the radio and television production industries, confirms the existence of the cosmopolitan idiosyncrasy reported by Turino and Stokes. This contribution wants to stress that light music in the 1960s and in the context of the Portuguese political system, masked a plot of international calls through the declaration and the staging of a musical nationalism.

The musical nationalism presented here is, on the one hand, the nation's staging through the exclusive use of media such as radio and television, and on the other a desire to promote elements of simplification, repetition and relief that would represent security, promoted and defended by the nation, and accepted and often sought after by its citizens. For the period concerned, we can not only look at the meanings of radio nationalism through events from a single country, because in this sense, national isolation did not belong to the plans of the international broadcasting projects of the time. On September 15, in 1948, the distribution of 121 medium-wave frequencies was institutionalized by the European Conference of Broadcasting (CER) in Copenhagen, which established points for the structuring of programs A and B, for the amplification of transmission power and the regulation of medium-wave frequencies for each member country.

Besides the rhetoric of the legacy of Empires through radio in other dictatorships such as in Italy or Germany, we can find a project of unification which involved international structuring plans and the organization of the radio system already from the first half of the twentieth century. The collaboration between radios from different countries began in 1925 in Geneva, with the creation of the UIR (International Union of Radio), but during this time did not yield many results. It is on February 1950, with the constitution of the EBU (Union Européenne de Radiodiffusion) which assimilated the UIR member, the OIR (Organisation Internationale Radiodiffusion) as well as the BBC, that we can find more concrete results, especially regarding the exchange of information and programs between the different actors of radio and television production and the resolution of legal and technical issues common to member countries.

The efforts of the Portuguese cultural policy on moral entertainment of people were well defined, although there has never been a concrete evidence of a calculated use of the media in this cultural production, as happened in other European dictatorial realities. Examples of these efforts are, among others, the birth of the contest of the «Rei e Rainha da Rádio» in 1961, the growth of radio programs of varieties and auditorium, children's and youth programs with a marked ideological reflection, new ways of promoting singers in centers of artistic preparation, the formation of companies dedicated to performing light music shows and the presentation of a new generation of national-pop singers artists, belonging to an international star system. In this moral implant, in terms of the education and training of a common moral, it is necessary to underline the technological changes (such as stereophonic sound in 1968, magnetic recording machines, programming in frequency modulation, etc.) with a new generation of speakers and artists, particularly in the late 1960s (Santos, 2014).

The Portuguese state policy, although strongly absent in the radio potentialities as a means of communication, led to new ways of listening and disseminating music. It promoted well-defined and standardized aesthetic values concerning light music, shaped «by an ideology of integration of various musical symbolic references in the same repertoire», unifying the light song in the form of a national aesthetic (Losa and Silva, 2010:393). In fact, a system of nationalist values incorporated by the recording industry, the trade of the singers, the advertising system and popular periodicals, radio and television programs focusing on the goal to entertaining listeners, concealed a world of human, stylistic and technical exchanges, covering the whole Europe. The European mobility, permitted in the European historical context of post-war, paradoxically meant the possibility of further intensification of nationalist rhetoric. Intensification supported, in musical and moral field, by the light song industry, where we find examples of xenophobia and homogenization fomented, among others, by the radicalization and development of the festivals of national song and the Eurovision contest, representing what Anderson (1983: 13) defined as the «imagined community», to represent the nation as a politically constructed community and as fundamentally isolated: the scene of the proclamation of a self-evident national identity.

In the historical context of the links between music and politics in the Portuguese regime, light music had the role of being the music for the people, for uneducated and illiterate masses, released through the radio industry, music, performances, cafés, casinos and the revues, constituting an oppositional argument in the rhetorical plot of distinction with the cultured music, destined to the nation's elite. However, although it is considered a «minor music»
(Middleton, 1991) with a reduced artistic interest, light music received from the administration of the Portuguese and European radio and television structures, a watchful eye and an institutional framework that revealed the consciousness of the decision-makers about its importance in the musical programming. It was important as a way to reach a large part of the public who wanted entertainment programs and variety. There is no more political music than light music, when political is understood as the plot of choices and state structures that shape the organization of a nation.

The passivity promoted by light music, understood as the ability to camouflage through the concepts of entertainment, leisure and well-fare, conveyed by the political and economic will to control social classes, indeed imposes the need to reveal its intimate and latent characteristics. This is a democratic music, in terms that it is accessible to a very large number of people, allowing them to express themselves appreciatively or deprecatingly about it. It is a song that can bring people together globally because it talks about superficial emotions; it sings and plays songs that are not too difficult or articulated and easily learned. It can awake in people the desires of fame, stardom and notoriety and, finally, it is supported by all major media who speak every day about it. There has never been such a musical domain where we can find congruences between passivity and stylistic contents, or at the same time an European mobility (of technicians, announcers, stars, etc.) masked by a cultural isolationism or an exaltation of an identity solely and purely national.

In Portugal, the division of rhetoric between foreign and national music was a constant, fueled in particular by popular periodicals like Flama, Radio & Televisão, Plateia, which continuously alternated editorials or opinions on the need for national music and Portuguese artists. In these popular periodicals, objects of interest were the scarcity of Portuguese production, reports of the national and international festivals competitions, in particular the Sanremo Festival, or a constant reference to RTP directors, including the training of each one in foreign studios, like the Italian RAI, as in the case, among others, of Ruy Ferrão and Luis Andrade. These revues highlighted, for example, the «Grande Prémio do Disco» and contests of soap operas, the publications on the state of broadcasting in Portugal, with publications of tables and organization of several major programs (such as Talismã, 23a Hora, Variedades, etc.). Reviews were dedicated to the personal life of the most famous stars, many of which were Italians, as in the case of Gigliola Cinquetti, Domenico Modugno, Marino Marini, Adriano Celentano, Rita Pavone, etc. Far from having intellectual or forefront publications, the purpose of the magazines was to update the readers, mainly belonging to the working class, through brief news and few reports and interviews.

Light song, in the Portuguese regime contest, developed its properties inside the radio system. The study of this musical domain realizes the importance of revealing the direct connection with the music industry and the initiatives of private publishers. These ones, can help to focus the relation between an aesthetic production and the mass media market, showing their political sides relating to international connections much more than national.

This study stressed that musical nationalism presupposes the existence of a cosmopolitan intelligence, familiar to other nationalisms, able to retrieve a particular cosmopolitan training. In an environment of local and transnational musical styles, focusing on the Portuguese production in particular, the isolationism created by a supposedly nationalistic aesthetic, revealed an «historical incorporation» (Nery and Castro, 1991:123) to explain and cover the mixture between inter-cultural and international meetings.

The idea of mobility fits very well in the case of nationalist cultural musical productions. The meeting, the exchange, the creation of social paradigms and structures of thought, the creation of new legislation to create rules and laws carried out by national governments, the formation and development of constitutional charters of fundamental rights of the European Union, are just some of the horizons identified by this concept, which reveals its urgency and need for reflection. The concept of mobility was assimilated with integration: movement of workers, students, pensioners or citizens in general integrated into new contexts, new countries, new systems that are served by a common law and a defense of the individual. Then, mobility has become the term guide for moving actors: political mobility, social mobility, mobility of information. The mobility in the European Union becomes, in this context, the guarantor of individuals that move in the European community. But if we view the significance of mobility as the 'ability to move', we soon realized that this term has itself several aspects that interfere with its political / diplomatic domain. Mobility reveals also inconstancy features, and volatility, even because it exemplifies a movement with elusive constitutions. Inside mobility, in the moving society, we can hide ourselves and be camouflaged. The ethical problem, xenophobia, nationalist rhetoric, the defense of national rights,
intra-national migration, the instances and the unjust of different legal regulations, social, cultural and moral stereotypes, apologies about the property, individual freedom or national sovereignty, economic wars, musical and aesthetic homologation, are only preliminary reflections fomented in part by that same contemporary urgency to review the meaning of mobility. A game between force and destruction, movement and paralysis. The human being of modernity is a being on move in search of protection and security.  

3. CONCLUSIONS

The interest of Ethnomusicology for issues of human mobility, reveals at least two characteristics. On the one hand, the importance of understanding how the mechanical, digital and electronic technologies, related to the consumerist economic system, transformed music and sound into something ubiquitous and in constant movement: musical mobility, related to the technological world and marketing, codified a sound and performative models that entered the everyday life of people. These, moving, carry content and information, finding new links in the context of intra-national human exchanges, building new way of listening dynamics, new sound and aesthetic realities, in a constant transformation and renewal of intimacies of human communities. On the other hand, the interrogative and analysis of ethnomusicology encodes trajectories and paths of complex practices of human mobility assumed as music-making. It helps, briefly, to put together interdisciplinary studies of particular cases with general contexts, with historical gaps, cultural and aesthetic camouflages or political and ideological masks and inventions. In this sense, the ethnographic work turns the personal description a perceptual feature of everyday musical narration, where the person is not only the guarantor of a particular story, but the concrete representation of an exchange, a starting point and a destination. It reveals the intimacy that distance the dimension of artistic production constituted by the star system, with that receipt of listeners, public, staff and receivers. It is in this last dimension, the public sphere, in which we can see the difficulty in analyzing such a concept as broad as mobility and, even more, it is in this configuration that we realize the challenges of today ethnomusicological research. How can we rely on the discourse analysis, based on primary sources belonging to historical periods of lying and nationalist exaltation? How can we create a category when there are so many contradictions? How is it possible to believe in the representation of reality, itself cloaked and conveyed by stereotypes and locks? How can we represent and analyze music in a context where actors are so camouflaged? These are methodological and preliminary questions, but at the same time show an epistemological urgency.

The cultural intimacy, which on one hand helps to radicalize historical reflection, reveals at the same time its strict connection with the rhetorical inventions of a national ex-tempore soul, where we find a creative political act, which is based on the need of displaying a world in constant isolation. Mobility, in this sense, is a suffering feature, by identifying an escape, an oppression, incorporating a political will of control and creation of a national myth out of time and space.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE MUSIC I LIKE (..) THE PEOPLE I HANG OUT WITH! IDENTITIES, VALUES AND PREFERENCES AMONG ROMANIANS

Andreea MITAN*

* Faculty of Management, National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest, Romania

Abstract: Music preference has been proven to correlate with personality traits, personal values and belonging to a certain group or social class. Previous studies stressed upon the fact that music preference impacts both the social and the personal identity. While music preference has been correctly used by social scientists, marketers and musicologists as a symbolic differentiator between groups and as a marker of group belonging, this perspective is now challenged by the changes in the society and culture that we observe, such as the intensification of cultural hybridization, the rise of temporary and imagined communities, that may replace the real communities, and the advocacy for equality, diversity, and tolerance. This paper explores the relation between music preference and music identity in the case of the Romanian Generation Y members, the so-called digital natives. The results of the quantitative research presented here support the idea that music preference is perceived by youngsters as important, in terms of personal identity construction and expression, but, depending on the personal values they have, as having little to no relevance in terms of their social identity. As the digital natives have started to replace the members of the X Generation and the Baby boomers in the working environment, the findings have multiple implications for professionals in the social sciences and for marketing professionals.

Keywords: personal identity, social identity, personal values, music preference, digital natives

1. INTRODUCTION

Music is a fundamental communication medium, used by people to share emotions, intentions, and ideas they would not be able to transmit using the spoken language, or non-verbal communication (Macdonald, Hargreaves & Miell, 2002). Trevarthen (2002:21) stressed upon the fact that sensitivity to music, our capacity to understand and be moved by music, is even connected to our ability to become socialized, as the process of socialization is facilitated by the music caregivers sing to the newborn.

Music’s connection to human experience is so profound that music interferes with the construction and expression of identity. This connection involves many aspects of the human being, relating to our biological bodies, to our ways of thinking, our beliefs, our preferences, and our sociability. The roles music plays in our lives have been addressed, since the beginning of the 20th century, by specialists in musicology, popular music studies, film music studies, but also by specialists in psychology, sociology, psychiatry, cardiology and neurology. Their approaches have in common the belief that music offers a reflection of or is linked to basic human psychological characteristics that describe both the person as an individual and the person as a member of a group of people. In this paper, we embrace the perspectives commonly used in social sciences.

2. THEORIES ABOUT MUSIC AND IDENTITY

Many people believe that the music they listen to communicates more information about themselves than their hobbies, the films they enjoy watching, or the books they read (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003:1238). Studies show that music preference can also play an important role in the process of knowing another person, because the music we love provides information about our agreeableness, emotional stability, and openness (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2006:239). Almost anyone can correctly identify important personality traits, the ethnicity, the personal values of a stranger, or his social class belonging, based solely on a list of the stranger’s favorite singers and songs (Rentfrow, McDonald & Oldmeadow, 2009). While the majority of people agree that music helps them define and communicate
important aspects of their identity, youngsters seem to be eager to use music as a primary resource for identity shaping (North, Hargreaves & O'Neill, 2000, Ruud, 1995, Ter Bogo et al, 2011).

Exploring the relation between people and music, Hargreaves and North (1999) observed that music plays for its listeners a cognitive function, an emotional, and a social function. These functions influence personal identity management as follows: on the cognitive level, music stimulates or inhibits human capacity to perform cognitively, and can help evoking autobiographical memories; on the emotional level, music regulates mood and eliminates stress; on the social level, music is an instrument used for interpersonal identity construction and expression. Refining these findings, Boer and Fisher (2012) have identified seven roles people attribute to music: (1) they listen to it as a background sound, while they do something else, (2) they use music in order to remember people or moments, (3) they use music as a diversion, when they want to dance without thinking of anything, (4) they use music as a carrier of emotions, (5) they use music as a means to improve their emotional state, (6) they see music as a reflection of the self, and (7) they use music to gather people, in order to engage in a common activity with them (concert, party etc.).

Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000) found that although people seem to use music for a variety of reasons, when it comes to identity shaping using music, they all seem to fit in one of the following four categories. Some people use music to create imaginary socio-cultural identities for themselves, even though they do not desire to translate it into their daily lives. Other people express within musical creations emerging social identities. Some people are able to reproduce, through music, archaic social identities. Others reinterpret music representations of existing social identities, in order to create new ones. Although this modern view is factual and objective, during the last century researchers in social sciences used to portray music preference as a predictor of (mainly negative) psychological traits, and some even aimed to explain erratic behavior (such as drug abuse) referring to the consumption of specific music genres, considered deviant, in group settings (such as crack cocaine and hip-hop music).

2.1. Music genre theory. Is the oldest form of connecting music and identity on the social scale, and offers a means to articulate music products and their listeners. Music genres are conventional categories that help popular music producers to organize music productions according to demographic, ethnic and social imaginary criteria (Brackett, 2003:243). Negus (2004) insisted that music genres actually operate as social categories, while Born (2011) stated that music genres are projections made artificially over the existing social groups, and have the potential to reconfigure them. In this paradigm, it is believed that the listeners of a specific genre share values; lifestyles and political options, among other characteristics (see North & Hargreaves, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c). This approach was present in the British and American literature during the 60s and the 70s, and was linked to political change. Music genres were used to express differences based upon social class, gender, and ethnicity (Shepherd, 2003:74). Now the music genres are considered fluid, mixed, unstable (Hennion, 2003:89), and it is believed that most of the people experiment the phenomena of proto-identification with many music genres during their life, a thing which leads to having fragmented musical imaginaries as adults, and various music identities, which may even be in conflict (Born & Hesmondhalgh, 2000:33).

2.2. Subcultures and music preferences. Music subculture theory adds to the music genre approach the idea of culture, with a drop of ideology on top. It was believed, during the 60s to the 80s, that music preferences were at the center of music subcultures (Beer, 2013). Subcultures were seen as revelatory regarding the relations between the working class and the middle class (Hedige, 1979/2002), and were considered to offer accurate reflections of the existing social relations (Born & Hesmondhalgh, 2000:31). Music subcultures were mainly used to explain consumption models of the youth and youth delinquency (Muggleton, 2005).

The homogeneity model of music subcultures and music genres stated that people belonging to a music subculture shared psychological features (Gardikitis & Baltzis, 2012) and that they were also perceived by people belonging to other music subcultures as similar, through the existence of extra-musical associations that suggested the ethnicity, age, credibility and even the level of attractiveness of the group members (Kristen & Shevy, 2012). Music subcultures were used to articulate the borders of collective identity and to differentiate between cultural systems belonging to different groups (Born & Hesmondhalgh, 2000: 32).

2.3. Social identity theory (SIT). Created in the 70s, it was used to explain the group conflicts that were present in Western societies at that time. SIT shows how group identity develops and operates, and proves the role music plays in creating and expressing collective identity. Subcultures were useful in explaining how people preferred to live and behave, under the influence of popular culture and of the media. SIT helped
experts understand where authorities could intervene in particular parts of the society, in order to quiet social unrest. Music preference analysis, correlated with psychological traits investigation, took the back seat but the idea that music can participate in community building, given its power to communicate relevant messages to real or imagined communities (Morris, 2013), and its role as differentiator between people, has not been lost.

Although SIT was not used at that time extensively in correlation with music subculture, the SIT model was soon enhanced with information about the roles that music can play in identity shaping. The enhanced model of SIT explains the social identity formation using the following structure (Giles et al, 2009, Tajfel & Turner, 1979): (1) classification – people create in their minds groups of similar people, using a system of categories correlated with stereotypes and extra-musical associations, (2) identification – people evaluate the way they perceive the world and their music preference and place themselves within a group, (3) making social comparisons – using a series of criteria that they consider relevant, among which we can consider music preference, people compare their group and other groups, favoring the group they belong to and consequently increasing their self-esteem, and (4) people try to differentiate themselves from the others in their group, in order to be able to create unique identities for themselves.

Larson and Richards (1991) state that young people are very sensitive to these phenomena, as they cherish their belonging to the groups (as groups help them learn who they are) and evaluate themselves using the value judgments provided by other group members. Listening to a type of music, adopting a specific type of behavior in relation to music, helps them maintain better relations with other group members (Parkhurst & Asher, 1992) and allow them to continue to explore the world in search of their identity. This should not lead one to believe that music preference is the central point of identity formation process. While music preference and the feeling of belonging to a group have been considered almost intrinsically connected for many years, recent research (Ter Bogt et al, 2011) prove that youngsters rarely use music to construct their social identity, but rather listen to music to regulate mood. Moreover, people tend to explore various cultural resources until they decide to embrace a specific identity. Their chosen identity modifies as time passes, as they gather more information.

2.4. Music and identity in the era of supracultures and music scenes. Today the cultures are so interconnected that the concept of subculture became useless (Bennet, 1999). People now have a broad cultural offer from which to choose when deciding what resources they would like to use when they define who they are.

Lull (2001) made an in depth analysis of the current situation of culture approaches and introduced, as a result, the concept of supraculture. Supercultures cannot be located in a specific geographical place, transcend national cultures, and function as cultural matrices that people construct for themselves in order to explore the dynamics of the cultural spheres. As personalized clusters, multiplexes, and networks, supercultures give people the opportunity to understand themselves, to explore their identity and the sense of belonging (Lull, 2001:132). In this context, subcultures can be understood only as symbolic representations of social networks and practices, which favor a particular way of seeing the world (Martin, 2004), but people who share this way of seeing the world do not live in the same geographical place, and do not know each other. These people do belong to a community through their shared personal values. Consequently, subcultures tend to become linked to imagined communities, which are virtual, open, hybrid, creative, productive and democratic (Lull, 2001).

While exploring the existing cultural resources, people visit music scenes, or the spheres of sociability, creativity and connection, which model cultural products (Straw cited by Janotti, 2012:8). Scenes work as highways for cultural products, and as nodes that facilitate the circulation of cultural products and creativity in specific domains. Scenes can offer virtual or actual places for fandoms to manifest, but also welcome people who are temporarily interested in a topic, shopping around while drawing their own superculture. Some people decide to stick to a small part of a scene and to create their identity using resources provided by that scene. These are the people who participate in creating fandoms. But fans are not necessarily part of social structures based upon these preferences, like fan clubs (Hills, 2002/2005), and may circulate between scenes and even change their attitudes towards the cultural products.

2.5. Music identity and personal values. In this new context, authors like Gardikiotis and Baltzis (2012) decided to approach the relation between music preference and human characteristics referring to personal values, the motivational constructs which may be linked to social identity formation but are basically personal characteristics. They discovered that people that shared values also had similar music preferences. For example, people who were oriented towards understanding and tolerating others, enjoyed blues, jazz, classical, and world music.
Inspired by their study and bearing in mind the concepts of imagined communities, music scenes and the SIT, we decided to replicate the analysis on Romanian digital natives, using the full Schwartz Value Inventory for finding the personal values map, and adapting the questionnaire regarding music genres for the Romanian context. Part of our motivation for undergoing this research was fueled by the existing literature on the digital natives and Generation Y which portrays them in a rather undifferentiated light.

In a previously published research (Mitani, 2014), we have presented a comprehensive analysis of the values cherished by the Romanian youngsters. We discovered, using factor analysis, that there are two main values preferences profiles in this population, each comprising of about 30% of the respondents in our study. We named these profiles the Revolutionary and the Guardian. The Revolutionary is a domineering person, who aims to be free from all limitations. The Revolutionary is a doer, is curious and believes he is creative and competent. He works hard and has good self-esteem. Revolutionaries want to have success. They create and maintain positive public images for themselves. They are hedonists and equate power with money and with the ability to control others. They refuse tradition, do not follow religion, and seek thrilling experiences. They also need security and stability. The Guardians are at the opposite pole regarding tradition and community; they are drawn to religion and follow the rules of the communities they belong to. Guardians are moderated, devout, see the beauty in everything that surrounds them and are content with their lives. Self-disciplined and polite, Guardians want to become sages and respect the elder. Their desire to enhance the wellbeing of the people they care about; they are forgiving and honest and believe in true love, friendship and tolerance. They want to live in harmony with nature, they reject war and they believe in justice. Basically they are open-minded idealists motivated by security. We shall further discuss about the ways in which the Revolutionary and the Guardian sustain the premises already presented about music identity.

3. METHODOLOGY

The main objective we desired to achieve was to understand if there were correlations between the personal values profiles we presented above, and the preferred music genre, for the Romanian digital natives. We wanted to find if the music genre scheme can still be used to identify psychological differences between people from a younger generation, because North & Hargreaves (2007a, 2007b, 2007c) still found significant correlations in more mature people. We also wanted to investigate what role music plays for the Romanian digital natives in identity shaping, and we addressed both personal and social identity.

The research was based upon a self-administered questionnaire comprising of three parts. The first part included the Schwartz Value Inventory (Schwartz, 1992, Schwartz, 2001), the second part included 16 items that helped us to understand the degree of identification that our respondents had with the values of the digital natives (see Tapscott, 2010), while the third part referred to the favorite music genre and to aspects related to personal and social identity construction (6 items). The personal dimension of identity construction was measured using four items: one of the items measured the affective identification ($\alpha=0.7$) and two reverse items measured the cognitive identification ($\alpha=0.7$). For this part we used the dimensions and the questions presented by Gardikiotis and Baltzis (2012). Another set of 8 items was used to gather the socio-demographic data of the respondents.

Our lot comprised of 457 respondents who were selected from four universities in Bucharest: SNSPA, the Academy of Economic Studies, the Politehnica University and the Christian University „Dimitrie Cantemir“. Most of them were undergraduates, enrolled in the first year of study ($n=351$), while some were in the second year ($n=11$) and the third year ($n=95$). The lot is not representative for the chosen population (Romanian youngsters between 18 and 25). The respondents are aged 18 to 25 ($M=20$, $SD=1.3$), there were 279 women and 175 men.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

SIT showed that people can use their preferred music as glue for keeping together the members of their group and as criteria to prove their belonging to a group. Starting with the three types of music self-identification (social, affective and cognitive) we will further show how Romanian digital natives use music in relation to their own identity construction.

We calculated a score variable for cognitive self-identification and for the affective self-identification ($\alpha=0.6$ for all the three variables measuring self-identification). Table 1 shows that all of the three self-identification levels correlate, meaning that people basically tend to identify with their music preferences on all three levels, even though they may not identify equally strong on each level.

Regarding the music genres preferred by our respondents, we found that: 77 people preferred
rock music, 75 EDM, 72 dance music, 64 did not have a favorite music genre, 56 preferred rap music, 19 jazz, 8 manele (a Romanian genre similar to the Bulgarian chalga), 5 classical music, 5 Latino music, and the rest mentioned New Age music, folk, blues, reggae and Romanian traditional music. We observe that pop, dance and EDM music are some of the most visible music genres. These genres tend to have fuzzy limits between them on the Romanian music market. For example, in the Romanian Music Awards competition, there are artists who compete with the same song in two or even all of these categories. This leads us to believe that most of our respondents tend to have similar music preferences.

Table 1 Pearson correlations for the items measuring social, affective and cognitive self-identification with music preference

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**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

We found a few connections between music preferences and shared personal values. Revolutionaries, for example, do not like dance music. This is not surprising, as we know that dance music offers an „integrated“ view of the world by discussing about love and friendship, about having fun and evading from an aggressive world. These themes do not fit with the values of the Revolutionary, who sees himself as a warrior who has to survive in a world dominated by conflict, and who does not truly believe in love and serenity. Guardians, by contrast, prefer music genres that reflect their interest in human emotion and connection, such as dance and jazz music. Both of these music genres speak about human emotion, and both can offer to listeners easy escapism routes. Dance music is easy to decode, so its message is easy to understand, while jazz music offers to its listeners a connection to tradition, to stability, to the Golden Age of the 30s (in Romania). As EDM is too linked to avant-garde, it is dismissed by the Guardians.

Unsurprisingly, due to their lack of interest in social interaction with people in a community, and their disbelief in emotions, Revolutionaries only identify with their favorite music on a cognitive level (see Table 2).

Table 2 Pearson correlations between the SVI factorial profiles of the Romanian digital natives and the items which measure self-identification

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**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

By contrast, given their need to be part of a cocooning community, Guardians also identify with their preferred music on the social level. Revolutionaries see the world as a battlefield, they fight for power and do not expect help from others, nor do they try to feel they are a part of a group. For them, music is a means to express their identity on a cognitive level, but they are not interested in interacting with likeminded people. They seek power in order to feel secure, but they do not believe in sharing power. They might as well be lonely riders and dream of themselves as „the last ones standing”.

Guardians seek security too, but they believe that security can only be achieved in the loving arms of family, lovers and friends, groups they feel they strongly belong to. They search for any means to help them get closer to the people in these groups, and music preference is a good tool for bringing people together. Their self-identification with music on the cognitive level helps them define themselves as part of their group and as different from people belonging to other groups.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Our study confirms that the music tends to lose its importance in youth identity shaping, but also
shows that many young people still identify with their favourite music, although some only on the cognitive level, while others also use it on the social level.

It is interesting to note that the affective level of self-identification with music preference is not relevant, at least consciously, for the youngsters. Unquestionably, both Revolutionaries and Guardians agree that their favourite music expresses some of their psychological features and that the music they like plays a role in their public image, but the public image related role of music is far more important for Guardians, as they use music to reinforce their position in their community.

As a significant number of our respondents said they do not have a favourite music genre, we might also assume that music genres tend to lose their role in segregating fans into various categories. This confirms the assumptions of Hennion, who wrote about the blurring of the lines between music genres. This also shows that music might loosen its role in the social context, because people who do not use music as a differentiator between them and other people they meet might be less inclined to use stereotypes and negative images of others based on extra-musical associations linked to music preference.

Future studies concerning the role of music preference in identity shaping could bring more light on the roles music plays for the digital natives, by addressing the role of the digital media into the process of superculture creation and music selection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


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MUSICAL PRACTICES, CULTURAL POLITICS AND HUMAN MOBILITY IN THE MACAU CHINESE ORCHESTRA

Maria Leonor VELOSO DIAS AZÉDO*

*Department of Musical Sciences, NOVA School for Social Sciences and Humanities, New University of Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract: Political and social transition in a territory raises a set of variables that affect music developed by groups of individuals involved in this process. The study of musical performance of the Macau Chinese Orchestra allows us to understand how local identities are constructed and represented. The presentation and representation of the Orchestra abroad is made by Chinese instruments and a repertoire that, according to this institution integrates various musical genres from traditional Chinese melodies, song adaptations produced in Portugal, western music and contemporary Chinese music. Founded by the Macau Cultural Institute in 1987, this orchestra has forty musicians and already has performances in various countries around the world, such as the Special Administrative Region of Macau, China, Portugal and other European countries. The structure and the public presentation of the orchestra is made in accordance with type of audience and performance space and time of year. Musical performances carried between this orchestra and Portuguese musicians are one of the main cultural programs developed by Macau Cultural Institute. In addition, most musicians of this orchestra were born in Mainland China and Taiwan, with few exceptions of Hong Kong and Macau. The cultural policies implemented in musical education structures and the cultural and regional context are described by these musicians as crucial elements in the music they produce, specifically in instrumental performance. Expressive practice produced in the context of this orchestra is characterized by a specific cultural program that is mediated and communicated by musical practice developed by these musicians and the musical partnerships between them and Portuguese musicians.

Keywords: musical practices, cultural politics, human mobility, Macau Chinese Orchestra

1. INTRODUCTION

Fieldwork (2014) conducted in Macau Chinese Orchestra allowed one study and understand the functioning of this cultural structure at various levels. The cultural program and musical performance of the orchestra are determined by the Cultural Institute of the Macau Special Administrative Region. The establishment of this cultural program and the type of musical materialization is made according to a specific set of circumstances, including the place of performance and the historical and cultural landmarks considered relevant by the inhabitants, power structures and local representation.

The organization of concerts in partnership with Portuguese musicians was done on a regular basis, thus constituting one of the most prominent expressive materializations of institutional discourse:

... the orchestra will continue to play the role of cultural ambassador of the Special Administrative Region of Macau. Whether abroad or within China, the orchestra (...) aims to promote the [Macau] city as a melting point of single cultures where East meets West¹.

The history of Macau was marked by a period of Portuguese sovereignty. Macau's sovereignty was transferred to China in 20th December, 1999. This political and social transition was a very important moment for Macau's inhabitants and diplomatic relationship between Portugal and China. One of the main cultural institutionalizations was the foundation of Macau Chinese Orchestra (1987). In the late 80s the orchestra was characterized by the creation of an amateur Chinese orchestra. During the 90s the orchestra acquired the ability and the means to become professional. In that way, Macau Chinese

Orchestra was founded and used to sustain and intermediate the local cultural politics, in specifically determined by Cultural Institute.

In the beginning of my fieldwork I was confronted with institutional discourse, where the orchestra was presented like a united entity with well defined sound and music. However, after spending several days interviewing various musicians that make up this orchestra, I realized the existence of another perspective and discourse about musical practice developed under this cultural institution. The majority of the musicians talked about personal experience in a special professionalization process and the way that it influenced the music and the relationships developed between them and their musical instruments. Besides that, the great majority of these musicians came from Mainland China and Taiwan, a fact that is very relevant and extremely important for understanding how the Macau Chinese Orchestra was made and different influences that determined the musical performance constructed and presented by this orchestra.

The main purpose of this article is to present the study about how Macau Chinese Orchestra works and how different personal experiences of the musicians are integrated in the institutional and musical activity of this orchestra. The relation between human mobility and cultural politics will be one of the central points of this article.

2. KNOWING THE FIELD

The uniform presented by the orchestra is black. The men wear suits and the women a black sweater and a long skirt. The disposition of the orchestra is analogous to a Western classical orchestra. In the absence of the conductor, the concertmaster (Zhang Yuera) is responsible for setting the direction of the orchestra. According Phoebe [a cultural institute officer], when necessary, the orchestra is divided into two groups which are used to support smaller concerts. At the time of the larger concerts the orchestra is conducted by Pang Ka Pang in the tutti form (...) In the case of this concert, most of the pieces use the Western notation (pentagram) as opposed to numerical notation (简谱, Jianpu), Macau, February 20th 2014.

This concert was very important for my fieldwork because was the first contact that I had with the orchestra, specifically with the officers and musicians. Visual and sonic aspects were the main parts that I considered important to register and understand. The constitution of this particular performance presented a specific formal wear, disposition and repertoire. The visual presentation was characterized by the usage of black formal wear and by an adoption of a specific instrumental disposition, one that is commonly used and adopted in western classical orchestras. The instruments were all Chinese with exception of cellos and basses. The repertoire was composed mainly of traditional Chinese music and Hong Kong popular movie soundtracks. The public was Chinese. Besides the institutional discourse, one important aspect of this orchestra was the relation and adaptation of musical practice to different kinds of audiences and performance spaces, which are predominantly Chinese or specific Macau cultural contexts.

Interviews introduced other perspectives about this musical practice. Several musicians underline the importance of their personal experiences, more specifically their cultural background and musical professional experience. In their opinion these factors had a presence in their musical practice, so I started to be interested in the study of these relations and, more importantly their effect in the expressive practice that is produced and carried out by Macau Chinese Orchestra. On the other side the cultural program delineated by this orchestra brings a variety of other questions concerning the sound and musical production not by a single musician, but by a group of musicians (orchestra).

Knowing this field was the major and most useful way to understand and study of how musical practice affects local identity. Rehearsals, concerts and meetings, and after that interviews, were the key moments of my fieldwork because through them I gained the opportunity to be recognized by the people, by the officers and musicians.

3. MACAU CHINESE ORCHESTRA

The central idea of the Macau Chinese Orchestra institutional discourse is that Macau is a place of meetings and dialogue between Western and Chinese cultures. In the presence of this discursive activity, I was interested in understand how such representations are created and communicated by this cultural institution, particularly in the expressive practices developed by this orchestra. The construction of institutional discourses about the orchestra is made by the media and through the promotion of the Cultural Institute.

Gonçalo Magalhães, an official of the Cultural Institute, says that the work in this area of communication is mainly characterized by the meeting and subsequent selection of videos, and photographs that convey the concepts that the

2 Excerpt from the field diary.

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in the repertoire is compound by traditional Chinese music, soundtracks from Hong Kong movies, contemporary classical Chinese music and some folk songs. However, concerts produced in tourist areas included, in the institutional perspective, a large variety of music, more specifically songs and music that are easily recognized by both local inhabitants and foreigners (e.g. "Greensleeves"). Some concerts in Macau included Portuguese music (e.g. Fado) and western classical music.

Musical collaborations between Portuguese musicians and the Macau Chinese Orchestra are well featured in each annual cultural seasonal program. Portuguese musicians, usually Fado singers and Portuguese guitar players, are invited by the Cultural Institute. The contact normally is established because some musicians play in local musical festivals (e.g. "Festival de Artes de Macau"). These concerts present Chinese music and music from Portugal, ordinarily Fado and traditional music (e.g. "Tia Anica do Loulé"). Concerts in Portugal have a well determined structure. The first part of the concert has some Chinese music and music specifically produced for this orchestra (e.g. "Macau" by Rão Kyao). The second part presents a considerable amount of Fado and traditional Portuguese music:

(...). The OCHM prepared three different programs to display on the 16th, 18th, 19th and 21st of July in the Largo do Teatro São Carlos in Lisbon, Fórum Luísa Todí in Setubal, Teatro Cine in Torres Vedras and Quinta das Lágrimas in Coimbra respectively showing the charm of Chinese traditional music. This tour to Portugal takes place on the 35th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Portugal and China, so it has even more meaning (...) promoting the exchange of culture and strengthening the friendly relations between China and Portugal. The OCHM, under the baton of its artistic director Pang Ka Pang, has commissioned works representative of the area's culture and will collaborate for the first time with the famous singer Maria Ana Bobone (...) and again with the composer and Portuguese flute player Rão Kyao, under the theme of the 6th Festival of Coimbra Arts "Cultural Heritage (...)"

In these concerts, the orchestra supports harmonically one main melodic line (vocal or instrumental) that is played by specific musicians. Soloists are very important in these performances, normally they are Portuguese musicians like, for example, Rão Kyao, guitar players (e.g. Pedro Caldeira Cabral) or Fado singers (eg. Maria Ana Bobone). Musical arrangements are written by

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3 Gonçalo Magalhães interview on October, 21th 2015.

4 Excerpt taken from Macau Chinese Orchestra press release (translation from Portuguese to English).
Chinese composers and sometimes by Portuguese musicians (Rão Kyao) according to the type of concert and musical collaborations. In the absence of Portuguese guitar players or Fado singers, the melodic line that would be supported by them in the original version is played by alternative instruments (e.g. Portuguese guitar replaced by liuqin\(^3\)). Instrumental choices are defined by the orchestra department and composers. The reasons that underline this kind of instrumental choices are justified by the sound similarities between some Portuguese musical instruments and Chinese musical instruments.

The Macau Chinese orchestra musical performance is produced and defined by and under a great variety of local and cultural circumstances. People involved in this musical practice are characterized by particular, and in some cases, well defined musical experience. Besides institutional discourse, I thought it equally important to understand other perspectives and discourses about music produced carried by this orchestra. The next section will be used to explain the orchestra musicians perspectives about the relationship between music and local and cultural circumstances.

4. MUSICIANS

The vast majority of the songs we play are traditional Chinese and each of us is better at playing the repertoire that is part of our cultural universe\(^4\) (Lai Yi-Shan, Macau, March 31, 2014).

I was born [in 1979] and grew up in Shanghai. I started studying erhu too early. One day we received people at home. Their goal was to find children with the capacity to learn music. With just a few years I was subjected to a series of tests (...) I start learning percussion instruments and read jianpu [Chinese notation]. Years later, I went to the Shanghai Music Conservatory, where I learned to play erhu and to read Western notation. In the Shanghai Conservatory I received my graduate degree in erhu and then did my specialization in gaohu [instrumental variant erhu]. In 2004, I went to the China Central Orchestra and was admitted as concertmaster in the Macau Chinese Orchestra\(^6\).

In Taiwan, children begin to learn to play an instrument at 9 years. I started studying erhu when I was 11 years old, until that age I was learning piano. One day my mother decided that I should choose another instrument. At age 11 I started learning to play erhu with a teacher in Taiwan. At 13 I changed to another teacher from China.

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\(^3\) Four stringed Chinese plucked musical instrument.

\(^4\) Two stringed bowed Chinese musical instrument.

\(^6\) Zhang Yueru, interview on March 20th, 2014 (Macau).
[mainland]. Teaching had become more typical and traditional. Between 16 and 18 I continued my studies in high school in a music school where all classes were devoted to musical practice. At 18 I went to the Beijing Central Conservatory of Music, where I studied for six years. Compared to teaching music in Taiwan, I think Beijing is more typical and the transmission of knowledge is more direct. In China there is more concentration on a single activity. If you touch the piano, you start to play the piano at 5 years and dedicate your whole life to it. In Taiwan, there is a more diverse study (music, Chinese, English, mathematics ...) and, it is more comprehensive.

Regarding higher education in music, both Zhang and I-Shan stressed the regional specificity with which the erhu is practiced in northern and southern China. According to Zhang Yueru, the fact of having been born in Shanghai and having acquired his musical education in this city were factors that contributed largely to his subsequent specialization in cantonese gaohu. Regional specificities marked the understanding that musicians have about musical repertoire, as well as the physical and cultural relationship (body posture, instrumental performance technique and associated school) with personal musical instruments. In the case of erhu there are definite regional differences in instrumental performance and the size of the instrument, which in turn affects the timbre and volume level of the instrument.

The erhu position varies depending on the regional context and type of musical performance. In northern China, specifically in Beijing, this tool is supported under the left leg of the instrumentalist, while in Shanghai, the instrumental variant gaohu is supported between the player's legs. This difference of support and position between the erhu and Cantonese gaohu are due to the fact that in Shanghai, especially in the context of Cantonese opera, the function of the gaohu is to perform a melodic accompaniment of the vocal section. According to Zhang, the support of the gaohu between the legs enables the control of volume and the tonal expressiveness of the sound produced. Variations of expressiveness and sound volume of the instrument are conducted and produced by the body movements of the musician, specifically the fluid movements of the legs, torso and right wrist. In Beijing, the erhu is an instrument with a strong presence in solos. The instrumental performance techniques, particularly how the musician moves, accurately and fluidly, and the arch through the right wrist produce maximum sound volume.

The association between regional culture and the sound of the erhu is referred by some orchestra musicians as an important relationship to stress. Mandarin and Cantonese are tonal languages. The range of heights and the amount of accurate intonations characterize the expression of these languages. Many musicians say that when they touch their instruments, they always think of a sung melody. The fact that the Mandarin accent in Beijing is presented at a greater volume is seen by some musicians, notably by I-Shan, as an element that characterizes and influences the way sound is produced by musicians who learned to play erhu in this context. In turn, in Shanghai the most used language is Mandarin along with the local dialects. The Mandarin accent in Shanghai is softer and has a lower volume. In the Canton region it is found that, compared to Mandarin, the Cantonese dialect presents a greater range of heights and intonations. These linguistic differences are taken by these musicians as factors that influence the expressiveness of musical instruments. In southern China, the sound produced by the erhu and its instrumental version, the gaohu is described by Zhang Yueru as having a softer and lower volume.

From these two musicians I could understand how important and decisive the cultural and political contexts in the musical professionalization of each of the orchestra musicians. The institutionalization and the resulting standardization of teaching and musical professionalization process have, in my view, a direct relationship with the cultural policies enacted by local power structures. In short, the existence of the different forms of execution and conceptualization that these musicians have over their musical practices have resulted in a set of performances that, from both the physical point of view and from the sound and expressive points of view, reflect the variety of regional characteristics, educational systems and even different cultures represented in musical performance.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Cultural policies, the emergence of cultural institutions, educational systems, communication and distribution facilities have determined the activity and the receipt of expressive practices, in this case the creation of contemporary Chinese orchestras. Contemporary Chinese orchestras were created from the application of the structure and instrumental arrangement used in Western classical orchestras at Chinese music, specifically the traditional Chinese music groups consisting mainly of string and wind instruments (e.g. Jiangnan
Sizhu) (Lau, 2008). Understanding these realities allows us to understand the interactions between the life stories of musicians, with special focus on the professional process, and the discursive and expressive practices that the Macau Chinese Orchestra produces and represents. Concerts are regularly organized with the participation of Portuguese and Chinese musicians. The study of these musical partnerships is important to understand the cultural policies of the institutions and geographical areas involved. The construction of the identity representations of Região Administrativa Especial de Macau (R.A.E.M.) are meticulously planned and adapted to the objectives of the concerts and the circumstances of the performance space.

What determines the activity of this orchestra are rehearsals, meetings and concerts, along with the spaces in which they are held relationships are defined according to a set of rules, where each agent and each space acquires specific functions and roles. Rehearsals are a place to explore different ways of sound production, concerts are where a musical performance is produced and communicated, and the meetings are part of an important moment in the daily lives of musicians and staff who work daily with the orchestra. The management of ideas and impressions about R.A.E.M. is done continuously through the creation of annual programs, behind the scenes and public exposure to the musical group and to groups of musicians, which are characterized by mobility between specific spaces (China, Portugal, Macau):

It has been suggested that the object of a performer is to sustain a particular definition of the situation, this representing, as it were, his claim as to what reality is (Goffman, 1956:53)

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CULTURAL MIXING AS A MAJOR FEATURE OF ROCK MUSIC

Mariselda TESSAROLO*

*Department of Development and Education Psychology, University of Padua, Italy

Abstract: Rock music has since the start been a “genre” that subsumes other genres in a play of décentrage, between a centrifugal movement of expansion and research, and a centripetal movement of céntrage, useful for its recognition as a genre. Furthermore, with improvisation as one of its main features, “each moment becomes unrepeatable, it can depend on the preceding moment but not on the subsequent one, it is central, equal to every other, essential but not indispensable”, therefore marked by a broad creativity of the player and the use of electric instruments. It may be interesting to show the process that leads from the original meeting of a few genres to an increasingly significant expansion. Rock music loves the mixing of genres, not their singularity and recognisability. In a sociological perspective, such fusion is very useful for understanding changes, especially with a younger audience whose rigid division is fading: rock is the first musical genre capable of unifying the tastes of young people, beyond class differences and social backgrounds. Rock music is always looking for new sounds, which are distinguished into two broad strains: the United States sound and the European sound, with a British prevalence, but present in every country. British-American rock music broadcast worldwide has stimulated the development of local versions, and the countries that adopt and appropriate it use their own “language” and culture.

Keywords: rock music, music migration, electric instrument, local versions of rock music, mixing of genres

1. INTRODUCTION

It is utopian to hypothesize a world-economy; one is tempted to think that modernity and postmodernity will lead to a unification of the way we comprehend the world in its various aspects, with the revolutionary contribution of information technologies.

The dream of making all individuals obey the same universal laws of reason, religion or history has always turned into a nightmare and an instrument of domination; but the rejection of all principles of unity and the unqualified acceptance of differences leads to segregation or civil war (Touraine, 2000:14).

To find a way out of this dilemma, personal identity and particular culture need to be associated with participation in a rationalised world; but the subject’s responsibility and freedom must also be affirmed. This is the only way that “allows us to explain how we can live together, equal and different” (Touraine, 2000:14). It is utopian to think that all the nations in the world could act simultaneously toward shared objectives. The theories relating to the current world economy interpret the modern age in the light of a dynamic between centre and periphery, which was used as a post-analytical model to understand some nerve centres of the development of economy itself. The creation of an international democracy based on an economic science able to organise public finances and policies for employment, development and overcoming territorial imbalances at different levels of government, from the local to the national, continental and world level (Wallerstein, 1974) is almost impossible.

Braudel acknowledges that in order to study the changes in society, it is necessary to re-locate the centre and reorganize peripheries in each placement. Only thus can identity be maintained, allowing each people to be free and to collaborate with other peoples. An important consideration is that the tempo of world-economies is slow, it has a long span, and the study that relates to it is relative to its orientation, which may last for centuries and is marked by ascent, crisis and decline. The history of the world presents itself as a succession of world-economies generated by the mechanism of centre re-location.

Every time the centre moves, a re-centring takes place, as if an economy could not function without
a centre of gravity, a pole. Such processes of décéntrage and récentrage, however, are rare and therefore significant (Braudel, 1986: 95).

Wallerstein sees the world as a multiplicity of societies connected to one another by a debate on core and periphery. His studies focus on the dialogue between history and social sciences, on the plurality of historical time, the importance of the space dimension in the study of social reality and its major structures, global explanations versus partial ones, long duration versus occasional facts, identification of long-term economic cycles and trends. The basic question, however, remains the identification of the correct unit of analysis for the study of social change. For this purpose, social systems are chosen because they are worlds for which boundaries may be defined. The territory around the centre, intermediate zones and periphery change over time through processes of centre re-location; such processes stem from rivalries and competition, and from economic crises that modify hierarchical structure. Furthermore, different forms of society that are positioned on a hierarchical scale coexist. The one occupying the central position (the highest) has an attitude of domination, even though it relies on “supplies” from the periphery; the periphery, in turn, depends on the needs of the core, which imposes its law. In addition, in each sector, specific times and laws coexist and the interrelation established among them identifies the temporarily unitarian area where a phenomenon is rooted, making it visible. In order to overcome this complexity, the characteristics that are specific to each field of inquiry and rules for the definition of such field need to be identified.

Wallerstein and Braudel are not the only scholars to have dealt with issues of re-centring after centre displacement and promiscuity due to the most various causes. Toynbee (1946), the British social historian, ascertained that all civilizations, after passing their apogee, saw a loss of the aspects of original consistency in their culture that were the expression of a creative minority. Cultural promiscuity, or panmixia, establishes between the dominating minority and the ever-increasing internal proletariat, while more and more frequent cultural exchanges take place with the less developed peoples (external proletariat), in such a way, though, that reciprocal inputs are not organically integrated in either culture. Panmixia may be seen as a preliminary symptom of decadence, or as a social premise of future recovery.

A sense of promiscuity is a passive substitute for that sense of style which develops pari passu with the growth of a civilization. This state of mind takes practical effect in an act of self-surrender to the melting pot; and in the process of social disintegration an identical mood manifests itself in every province of social life: in religion and literature and language and art, as well as in the wider and vaguer sphere of ‘manners and customs’ (Toynbee, 1946:455).

Today the process of panmixia takes place as an intercultural levelling between social classes, as intercultural hybridization between economically dominating culture and dominated cultures. Panmixia is precisely the starting point for kitsch, with the abandoning or deterioration of the old popular folk culture, with its ethnic values. The avant-gardes will try to retrieve some ancestral values that may be found in folk works. Morin shows another aspect of panmixia that deserves to be illuminated, the push toward universalism beyond merely syncretic forms. That cosmopolitanism has a double nature: anthropological on one hand, that is, a base shared by men of all civilizations and concerning not only cultural products, but also primary and fundamental passions, processes of projection and identification. “The cosmopolitanism of mass culture, however, in his view is also the promotion of a type of man on the way to universalization, one who aspires to a better life, who seeks personal happiness and asserts the values of the new civilization” (Morin, 1970:187). True modernity should be understood as a capacity for decentring perspectives and for taking the other’s point of view. Such decentring is not only the foundation for rational thinking, it also extends to social relations.

In every period the arts are marked by a predominant style, with cultural and artistic products recognized and accepted as “normal” by listeners, readers, viewers and art users. Next to such styles, and generally in contrast with them, “modern” or “new” styles that have not yet been fully accepted by the public at large are manifested. In many cases such novelities, temporarily labelled as revolutionary, will later become predominant styles and be well rooted in the next age. Similar revolutions, often deemed to be anarchic and destructive by the mass of artists sticking to conformity and by a specific public as well, are the product of constructive efforts representing the younger generations (Weinstein, 1969) who claim for themselves the unquestionable right to a different and contrasting expression, in comparison with the older generations.

Consumer products and consumption modes are contemporary; production creates the consumer by generating need and desire. The music industry works on objective roots in order to shape consumers’ taste and habits; at the same time,
though, it endeavours to leave consumers the illusion of being free, thus realizing what Adorno calls “pseudo-individualisation” (Sennett, 1976:123). In production there is a form of co-ncentration facilitated by technology. Technological facilitations, in fact, lead to an exponential increase in music usability. Music may be listened to far from its production place.

By replicating the work many times over, technology substitutes a mass existence for a unique existence. And in permitting the reproduction to reach the recipient in his or her own situation, it actualizes that which is reproduced. These two processes lead to a massive upheaval in the domain of objects handed down from the past (Benjamin, 2008:23), already modified and actualized (Giddens, 1999; Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1983).

The ritualistic character of art is weakened by technique and, in our case, technique brings music towards an authentic art; the latter shows its original ritual function by increasing its usability. Technical reproducibility emancipated art from its functional connection, magical and ritual.

The masses are a matrix from which all customary behaviour toward works of art emerge anew. Quantity has been transformed into quality: the greatly increased mass of participants has produced a different kind of participation. The masses are criticized for seeking distraction (Zerstreuung) in the work of art, whereas the art lover approaches it with concentration (Benjamin, 2008:39): a commonplace reproach, in the author’s view.

In this paper, rock music will not be dealt with as a generational product connected with youth. The reason for this choice does not relate to scarce consideration given to that aspect, but to the intention of investigating a particular process of creativity, whose roots may be found among young people and that will later involve more young people, with an acceleration that is typical of the extraordinary history of human creativity and unthinkable even in a cultural sector such as that of “rock music”.

1.2 Features of social changes: expectations and actualizations In social life, a dynamic is always there between expectation and fulfilment, between social expectations and individual actualizations (G.H. Mead, 1950). Society itself hinges around these two possibilities. One is social (macrosociological) and tends to keep society compact; the other is individual (microsociological) and invites creativity and excitement, showing individuals the trend to follow. Society expects an individual to behave in a given way: expectations are, in fact, centripetal. They tend to centralisation, which in turn means safety; they also show that the subject is well socialized. Therefore, expectations tend to converge: the more they converge, the more compact society is and the slower or harder the changes. The microsocial aspect relating to actualised actions consists in an interpretation of social expectations, that is realised in actions showing that the individual resents being constrained within a “social mould”. The continuum between an actualisation close to expectations and the opposite is very wide and it comprises creative situations of different kinds. Within the continuum there is routine, and that is indispensable for the creative process to take place. In every new generation social changes, even very fast, and short-lived rules may be foreseen. If we think of such a constant dynamic situation, it must be acknowledged that, in society, or in each historical period, though in different ways, there is a search by the individual to find the centre again, and this is done by displacing oneself and carrying with oneself – and changing – the social expectations. Such centrage, or search for the centre, remains stable until the changes underway are reabsorbed. Economic and political systems undergo changes, as do the more dynamic cultural systems, the socially less “dangerous” or “useful” ones such as fashion, music or other arts. After the change there comes a pause, allowing one’s identity to be found again; followed by a rush towards novelty, because what is exhausted loses its character of identifying element for the subjects who determined it.

The causes generating a continuous proliferation of new trends in the audience may be ascribed to new technologies offering culture makers an ever-increasing control over the production of images and sounds. The sense of fragmentation of the present and the sense of breaking with the past reflect an experience laden with paradoxes and ambivalences, and therefore unstable meanings. As Braga writes (1974), the sense of cultural promiscuity works as intercultural levelling among social classes and as intercultural hybridization between the hegemonic culture and the dominated cultures.

2. ROCK IS CONSTANTLY NEW

Music is a universal human trait, though it may not be transmitted or make sense outside a specific cultural context. In this sense, all music is popular
(Blacking, 1973). Art, in fact, is the product of another form of consciousness we may call individual. This means that music represents the individual, his/her environment and people, through personal creativity that may not be repeated (Propp, 1975). It is impossible to identify all the processes taking place in folklore during the transition to new forms of social order or during the development of a given order, within it. One of the processes taking place with astonishing speed is that, from time to time, the inherited folklore finds itself in contradiction with the “old” social order, the very same order that created it and now denies it. The old and the new may be found within a state of contradictions that are not harmonized; they may also appear in hybrid combinations. The transfer of the new into the old involves complex interweaving. One may even think that the old is simply reinterpreted and the possible forms for reinterpreting it are numerous. Reinterpretation is a change of the old according to new life, new representations and new forms of knowledge. We will never know “how musical man is” if we do not understand and exactly describe what happens in any musical piece, or until we know what happens to human beings while they produce music: music remains a synthesis of the cognitive processes present in a culture and in the human body. Furthermore, since music is humanly organized sound, it expresses the individuals’ social experience.

There follows that any assessment of human musicality must account for processes that are extramusical, and that these should be included in analyses of music. The answers to many important questions about musical structures may not be strictly musical. Why are certain scales, modes, and intervals preferred? The explanation may be historical, political, philosophical or rational in terms of acoustic laws (Blacking, 1973:89).

Rock is an elusive and manifold phenomenon and, fortunately, being music, there is always something that escapes attempts at its normalization. Maybe because rock, although young, comes from far away, collects extremely old legacies and responds, largely unaware, to a precise need that we could synthesize in the idea of the tribal field, the joining of body and mind that our society has tried to eradicate in all possible ways, that can nonetheless find its way back from the most unexpected directions (Castaldo, 1994:11). Rock is many things, it is the vital symptom of a conflict, it is at the very centre of the entertainment industry. The problem is that of individual and collective freedom, and if there is a stream of contemporary culture where the word “freedom” occurs almost obsessively, this is rock, developed in an age marked by the ease of technical reproducibility. Rock was born with consideration for its potential for reproduction in an unlimited series of forms, or better: rock needs to be thus reproduced. It is also important to remember that rock does not suffer from technical reproduction, but is born thanks to this. It is the only such case in the boundless world of music (Castaldo, 1994:24).

2.1 The heart of rock. Rock may be defined as a heart, that is, a territory surrounding a centre; but in order to better understand such an outstanding position, the middle zones and a vast territory of peripheral zones need to be considered as well (Braudel, 1986: 91-92). In creativity, in fact, a territorial displacement may be found, a creative polycentrism also relating to musical production. The displacement of rock, blues and jazz music in the USA is a field in which very different cultures have clashed, cultures connected with emigration from Europe and also with forced migration from Africa. Black people brought their music with them and mixed it with the new, in a process lasting hundreds of years. Rock’s second homeland was Great Britain.

Jazz, blues and rock are products of network cultures of working classes, but rock arose much later than jazz and blues. It derives from the fusion of two musical traditions: country music, associated with white people, and blues associated with black people. These were distinct music traditions with distinct audiences, record companies and places of exhibition. It was the Second World War that brought working classes together in munitions factories and during that peculiar period, the members of both groups were exposed to each other’s music (Lipsitz, 1984).

Rock came from the fusion of two or more mass genres (pop, R&B, country and western); but the fusion then modified the genres themselves, which are no longer only American. Rock is an art with folk features, and as such it undergoes changes that are both educated and kitsch; in turn, such changes will then influence the folk character of rock. An evolutionary chain that has always marked the history of music is constituted in this way (Carpi, Veroni, 1982:125). In 1954 the first rock record, the Chords’ record titled “Sh-Boom”, left the adult audience familiar with pop music.

2 Rhythm and blues, played almost exclusively by black people: a musical genre strongly influenced by jazz, boogie woogie, blues and gospel. In the sixties R&B was replaced by other musical genres.
3 The YouTube link is: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SBgQezOF8kY.
stunned, as that new music⁴ was not understood. With Bill Haley’s “Rock around the clock”⁵ the style was already defined as music for the world of youth, intolerant of the adult world.

Rock is not strengthened as much by the contribution of mass communication as it is by its recording (each product becomes one work). The combination of these two factors generates a difficulty: rock scores for guitar are tablatures where each note must correspond, as much as possible, to the original version (transcriptions, therefore, not arrangements). “Each piece must be transcribed with the tablature method as well as on the ordinary stave, and technical suggestions must be added where necessary for better performance, type of tuning, special or unique effects, since it may be difficult to understand how such sounds were created” (Carpi, Veroni, 1982:9). The use of tablature requires listening to the corresponding record. The guitar itself underwent technical modifications to achieve an optimal volume, including f-holes. But the louder volume was not sufficient, so a metal resonator was added and in 1931 Rickenbacker⁶ applied a pick-up (a magnet) to the guitar’s metal body, thus eliminating any volume problem. That innovation was conceptually identical to the device in use today. The modifications were reflected in the changes in style⁷.

In rock music, therefore, the instrumental accompaniment and the singer’s voice form a whole that is meant to offer a compact image. In the seventies, music arrangements had shifted from orchestration to the use of synthesizer and recording effects (Durant, 1984). Rock is not improvisation; rock recordings are generally “the music’s initial medium” while later live performances are, in fact, a reproduction (Belz, 1969:2).

3. IMPORTANCE OF DIFFUSION: RECORD COMPANIES AND RADIOS

At the core, in the cities, the cultural product already established is easily absorbed, but the “game” or “effort” of searching for what is new (a new core) continues and it starts with the process of cultural recycling, that expresses the constant search for novelties. The effects of saturation generated by overabundant messages in the field of country music are examined by Peterson (1978), who notes that this musical genre, in its process of diffusion and acceleration, progressively developed a sound similar to other popular music genres, thus losing its peculiarity. Two different systems of gatekeeping exist as regards cultural products. The first one is acceptance of a product by diffusion; the second is acceptance by assessment, a way for a product to gain access to a more restricted system of presentation and diffusion. It is a multi-stage approach involving the participation of different groups of selectors: a successful debut is vital for succeeding later. In the world of pop-rock, musicians are selected and taken to a recording room by the record company; but in order to actually become familiar to the public, their recordings need to be selected by several famous DJs and transmitted by radio stations with continuity⁸.

Transmitting a small repertoire of recordings means less radio space for other recordings, as well as a smaller range of styles within the same genre. “This is the reason why the subgenres of country music, folk country, country crooner and bluegrass music, that used to be contemplated in country radio programme schedules, were excluded by the new radio stations” (Peterson, 1978: 306).

At the beginning of the fifties, in spite of the economic and demographic growth, overall sales of records were notably lower than in 1948. The inadequacy of record supply was highlighted by the exponential increase of music not commercialized by the mass media and spread by live performers. The success of television caused a decrease in radio networks’ revenues and deprived record companies of the main system they used for presenting records. It was replaced by independent, small local radio stations broadcasting recorded music 24 hours a day, thus opening a market for small record companies that were promoting the new style of popular music broadcast by independent radio stations, rhythm and blues (Peterson, Berger, 1975).

A turbulent period around the mid-fifties was followed by a period of consolidation in the early sixties and by a later differentiation between 1964 and 1969. Over these years, numerous record companies were created and small businesses set up under the control of famous musicians who secured themselves in this way a strong autonomy in the making and production of their music. This

⁴ The pop world tries to smooth this music (for example, in “Tutti frutti” by Little Richard or Pat Boone’s music). The links are respectively: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lv1tmmFazkek; https://www.google.it/?gws_rd=ssl&q=Pat+Boone+tutti+frutti+youtube
⁵ The YouTube link is: https://www.youtube.com/watch ?v=ZgdufzXvjqw.
⁶ U.S. manufacturer of electric string instruments, especially electric bass and guitar, based in Santa Ana, California.
⁷ Blues, for example, becomes more aggressive.
⁸ 79% of all the recordings that achieved number one status in Billboard’s chart between 1940 and 1977 were owned by major companies (Crane, 1997).
was rock’s golden age, marked by a high level of innovation. Major record companies regained control over the sector during the seventies.

In the two decades between 1970 and 1990, with a view to maintaining control of the market, record companies selected their musicians among those who had already recorded for smaller labels: such previous work served as a test and provided a ranking for appreciation. At the same time, the radio network gained strength by reducing the programme schedule to a small number of successful recordings; this led to an increase in the sales of larger companies (Crane, 1997)\(^9\). So by 1980 the pop music industry was concentrated among eight companies, few actors for a growing share of products\(^10\). Alternative radio stations\(^11\) played a significant role in the formation of subcultures based on musical preferences. An alternative radio station is a form of “electronic community” for its listeners, and it may help to support new musical groups that did not pass the selection in the first stage (Crane, 1992)\(^2\).

The change in musical trends is continuous and record companies include such trends in their offer. During the period of institutionalization, i.e. of strengthening (centrage) of a new musical trend, there is a high rate of differentiation and this may be seen by the position in the rankings. Cultural organizations, according to Crane, may be central (at national level), peripheral (middle level) and urban (local level). The central belt is marked by superficiality but also great visibility; urban culture is comparable to avant-gardes; peripheral culture is segmented into lifestyles and is quite homogeneous as regards cultural production. Access to the core is highly coveted and competition is increasingly stronger, so much so as to cause an acceleration in the rate of cultural change.

4. THE ‘WORK’ OF THE DISCH-JOCKEY (DJ)

The specific musical genres with which DJs are concerned are those for the discotheque. The work of the DJ becomes very creative: it is an activity of assembling, of putting together the different pieces of a puzzle, joining different elements and shaping a final single, continuous, smooth “block” (able to guarantee the dancing subject a uniform linearity in his/her dance). The mastery of a DJ, therefore, lies on the one hand in the art of choosing the pieces that most suit the ritual, and on the other hand in the genius and inexhaustible ability to paste, join and mix together heterogeneous pieces in a unitary and sequential way: reproduction starts to become creation (Marinozzi, 2004:151). The DJs are often authentic stars, true musicians of the turntable who carry out elaborate mixings (running mix, chop mix, transforming) with which they create new music.

Records are the raw material for the DJ’s performance. House records are not recordings of music played, but ways of playing music that the DJ creates directly and that make room for spontaneity, surprise and creativity (Langlois, 1992, quoted in Thornton, 1998:83).

The DJ’s work includes the quotation of music pieces from the rap repertoire. This operation is emblematic because it shows how the aesthetic of reuse (of musical fragments) causes the pieces to lose the meaning they had at the time of their production; they acquire a new connotation and are inserted in a new context, thus making a collage of elements that are heterogeneous at the start, even though they are all intended to communicate the same thing. Another operation is patchwork: instrumental lines created for repetition are organized in a single structure, that may be vertical (superposition) or horizontal (juxtaposition).

Punk music featured sharp tonalities of a direct and aggressive sound, simple in its performance and intentionally “polarizing” in its effects. Punk groups boasted of not knowing musical techniques and not being able to play professionally. They transformed their lack of experience into a source of pride and transmitted the notion of a music that could be played by anyone, regardless of technical skills and personal talent. Unlike other youth subcultures, punk started with the music; in other words, it coalesced around music, rather than

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\(^9\) The number of hit songs in radio programme schedules decreased from 40-50 to 15-30 (Belifante, Johnson, 1983).

\(^10\) At the end of the eighties, music videos helped strengthen the market.

\(^11\) The most famous is Radio Caroline, starting in 1964 aboard a ship (to avoid being illegal) and transmitting music 24 hours a day. It was one of the first pirate radio stations to avoid British laws and still survives. The first song to be broadcast was “Not Fade Away” by the Rolling Stones. In those years, in Britain, the Beatles, Moody Blues, Who, Rolling Stones and others were playing. On BBC radio, pop music was confined to five hours per week. The DJs could choose the music they preferred without any compensation for authors. When the British law on radio broadcasting from ships or planes was changed, Radio Caroline stopped for four years and resumed broadcasting in 1972.

\(^12\) Young rock musicians sometimes refused the most commercial aspects of music and used the circuit of clubs to create a resisting community (Clarke et al., 1976). Such was the case of the teenagers who rejected rock establishment and created punk, in order to preserve their character of protest.
integrating an already-existing style into an already formed or forming whole (Middleton, 1990:236).

The DJ is not just a technician, he/she may create mixings, scratches, cuttings on a pre-recorded rhythm base. Rap music in its purest form is a metrical recital on a base created in the instant (Rinaldini, 1997: 153). The production of music starting from the sampling and rearrangement of sounds is increasingly frequent, it is almost a collective process (Lévy, 1999:13).

Post-rock was one of the most innovative musical movements in the years 1999-2004; it represented an attempt to rethink rock in an age when the pushes towards innovation were related to electronic. Rock had lost its ability to come up with novel, innovative features by joining rhythm and melody (Reynolds, 2008). Mostly, rock could take the styles of the past that were tuned on the same frequencies (as in grunge) and adjust them to a more contemporary feeling. Post-rock artists combined modern electronic styles, particularly dub and ambient (strongly rhythmic music as in the Jamaican style), and retrieved the lessons from the kraut-rock of the seventies. They found inspiration for a non-rock use of rock instruments in contemporary avant-garde and in jazz; guitars were used to create atmospheres full of feedback and to generate harmony textures, rather than melody; rhythm, as in classical music, would just highlight the accents. Once again, harmony was more important than rhythm (Cilia, 1999).

Another element that is difficult to precisely assess is the differentiation, as each geographic context gives its own artists. Cilia (1999) identifies post-British rock, American, Canadian French and Italian rock. The mixing of genres and the acceptance of electronics has caused an incredible widening of the boundaries of rock, putting an end to the orthodoxy of the power of the rhythmic trio (drums, bass and guitar)\(^\text{13}\).

Rap music\(^\text{14}\) features a voice speaking syncopatedly on a clearly marked rhythmic base; its source was a particular way of interpreting the DJ’s profession. In the Bronx, the most important part of the record was the break, the part of the song where the drums take the lead. The DJs started to use two turntables and repeat the same few bars successively, in sequence, thus extending the break and transforming it into an instrumental piece (Toop, 1984:2). From a technical point of view, the making of rap music did not require the ability to play an instrument or sing; manual techniques were used to obtain repetitive, rhythmic or particular sound effects such as scratch or back spin\(^\text{15}\) (Rinaldini, 1997:34). Rap was the music of rebellion, and to communicate the words of rebellion so that they would be understandable, Italian was chosen in Italy. Dialect was used as well, for the same purpose, in an attempt to give rise to new identities.

### 5. Conclusions

The parceling out and fragmentary nature by which postmodern society is marked do not prevent the construction of structures allowing society itself to appear as an organized ensemble of interacting individuals, independently from the smooth flow in which artists and users move. Rock music is always looking for new sounds, which are distinguished into two broad strains: the United States sound and the European sound, with a British prevalence, present in every country. British-American rock music broadcast worldwide has stimulated the development of local versions, and the countries that adopt and appropriate it use their own “language” and culture. The game is always to move closer and further away: when new fusions are created, the tendency is to close and lock the system with strict rules that give those who apply them the illusion of mastering other cultures.

Recurring words such as contamination, hybridization\(^\text{16}\), gemmation, mix or hypersegmentation (Cathelat, 1985), show the polisemy present in the words “pop” and “rock” themselves, cause of their diffused interchangeability. To this “darkness”, or rather “confusion”, the one relating to language should be added, enlarged by the birth of uncertain and mysterious neologisms only lasting the time of a song. The so-called world music contributed to and enriched the vocabulary with terms from all over the world (Quaranotto, 1994).

In the constant formation of novelties in the proliferation of new rock subgenres, the process of taking distance from genres that may be identified

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\(^{13}\) The Stormy Six was an Italian musical group (1965); the following link allowed it to be heard in 2011: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WvibLmVMMU. Italian progressive rock groups active in the seventies were Le Orme, New Trolls, Premiata Forneria Marconi, Osanna and Arena.

\(^{14}\) “To rap”: to strike (with a sharp blow); also, to talk and narrate freely.

\(^{15}\) “Scratching” means manually moving a vinyl record back and forth on a turntable; “backspinning” means manually causing the record to spin backward. These techniques allow original music to be created by mixing existing material.

\(^{16}\) Hybridization is a generic category and this is a difficulty, because it means that generic categories are not relevant and mutually exclusive or distinct (Allen, 2013).
as “lead genres” increases. Following modes used by Wikipedia for framing the single genres (stylistic origins, cultural origins, typical instruments, popularity, subgenres and derivative forms), it may be stated that the lead genre is not always the one with least contacts and con-fusions with other genres. If heavy metal is considered, with stylistic origins derived from hard rock, acid rock, proto metal and blues rock, the relative subgenres are as many as 31\(^1\); while gothic metal stems from gothic rock, heavy metal and doom metal and is not related to any genre.

This shows how difficult it may be to clearly, distinctly identify a subgenre; sound and voice, in fact, often allow recognition of the genre itself. Besides “musical” knowledge there exists a “linguistic” knowledge, able to give names; but the difficulty is evident when listening and trying to identify different genres and subgenres of pop-rock music. In a survey conducted by Ala et al. (1985), the interviewees declared their knowledge of the name of 88 musical genres. Other surveys show that young people know the name of 24 genres; when asked to listen to ten pieces, though, classic rock is identified by 91.4% of interviewees, jazz by 92.1%; disco and techno are confused one with the other and vice versa; country with folk; acid rock with heavy metal and vice versa\(^1\) (Tessarolo, 1990, 1991; Lisei, 1997).

In 1967 Berio recognized the creativity of rock when he wrote that even if it evokes the rock’n’roll of a decade earlier, rock may not simply be considered a continuation of it with some modifications. Rock’n’roll, an off-shoot of black blues, has rather uniform and rigid formal aspects; the same is true of rhythm and blues and of soul music. Rock represents an escape from the restrictions of its stylistic origins, a tribute to the liberating forces of eclecticism. Such eclecticism is not a fragmentary drive towards inclusiveness and, with rather primitive means, towards integration of a simplified notion of multiplicity in tradition.

We share the positivity with which Berio speaks about rock at a time when the process of centrage and décéntrage was only at the beginning. We agree with Carrera that even if not all hopes of synthesizing the multiplicity of influxes, forms and traditions would take place mostly elsewhere, in new jazz, in European improvised music, yet the underlying intuition was valid and it still is. Rock must lose its false prominent position, though, and the presumption to be the only catalyst of languages. Forms must move freely and rock is just one of them (Carrera, 1980:217). We think that over the last sixty years rock not only kept its promises, but more than that: this music was able to surprise and win over a constantly new audience, fulfilling the need for change that the system rapidly reabsorbs. Rock, up to now, has proved itself to be an active instrument for a recurring challenge. This music is a line without boundaries.

It seems very appropriate to apply Eliot’s comment on tradition and the new of each successive generation to the history of rock (Eliot, 1998:28):

This historical sense, which is a sense of the timeless as well as of the temporal and of the temporal together, is what makes [an artist] traditional. And it is at the same time what makes [an artist] most acutely conscious of his place in time, of his contemporaneity.

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URBAN SOUNDSCAPES.
MULTI-ETHNIC ORCHESTRAS IN ITALIAN CITIES

Layla DARI*

*University of Florence, Florence, Italy

Abstract: Migrations are a profound social and cultural change in the context both of the country of origin contexts and of the country of arrival. The perceptions of Europe and of Italy in relation to the so-called "immigrants" become metaphors with which to think about the social changes that characterize cities themselves. Migration becomes a lens to interpret the actions, the behavior and the choices of individuals, revealing a real cultural question, a symbolic framework through which it is possible to process the social changes. In the case of itinerant migrant musicians, through contact, brings cultural change, often accompanied by fear and fascination, in a kind of uncertainty that characterizes many forms of exchange. The contact gives rise to cultural exchanges that result in the creation of a “hybrid”, a métissage, in which everything is in flux, including music. When people move to a new place they bring their music with them. Often the meaning of music changes. Sometimes it is used for other purposes; for instance it can become a tool for bringing people together. In this paper, which is based on fieldwork carried out in Italy during the last year, I would like to reflect on music transformation in a globalized urban context and in particular on the phenomenon of Multi-Ethnic Orchestras, originally formed in Italy in 2000, and how these musical activities created an effective vehicle for comparing differences, forms of contact, knowledge, integration, and solidarity.

Keywords: music, human migration, Italy, Multiethnic Orchestras, ethnomusicology

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent decades city soundscapes have changed radically, reshaping the meaning of live music in the context of urban spaces. While previously oral traditional music was exclusively performed in rural surroundings and barely existed in cities, nowadays self-made music can be heard in streets, on buses and underground stations, in markets, in churches and even in schools. In the context of world-wide globalization, music venues have changed from rural to urban and from typical to more unusual spaces (Chambers, 2012). This trend is also due to the increasing mobility and the growing presence of foreigners. In recent decades we witnessed, as well, a substantial increase in the number of foreign musicians that boosted the number of orchestras and music groups performing throughout the country, and improved their musical quality (Côrte-Real, 2010).

What happens to music in the migration and immigration process? The literary critic Werner Sollors defines these migration processes as a movement that goes beyond ethnicity (Sollors, 1986). He believes that it is more important to focus on what immigrants share, thus the experience of migrating, rather than their ethnic origins, which are to be viewed as a differentiating element (Sollors, 1986). The production of music follows the same process: it is taken away from its original geographical location and ultimately adapt itself to the new environment through a common musical experience that merges the culture of the immigrants with local cultures. In most cases the songs of migrants no longer speak about the past but introduce new stories of life, of present-day experiences. This happens because the strong feelings caused by the experience of migration are translated into music, in such a way that mobility becomes a modality of knowing and being in the world (Cresswell, 2006). On the other hand music also evokes emotional connections with homelands while searching for a new home. It is found that contrary to the term “diaspora”, the word itself describing the phenomenon of a unit of experiences that scatters outwards from a source,
the neologism to be coined would be rather as the convergence towards a meeting point.

Throughout Europe as in Italy the arrival of foreign musicians improved the production of music in categories such as world music, popular and even folk music. It is also important to point out that the Western concept of folk music is changing. While the Euro-American definition of folklore is strictly linked to the idea of authenticity that denies any hybridization in music (Portelli, 2014), the immigrant’s musical culture to be found in Europe currently is already a hybrid. When migrants who come to Europe talk about folklore they mean something that is mixed with popular music, that concerns popular culture or rather pop and commercial music, ultimately that still has its roots in history and popular cultures and gets its lifeblood from the revitalized connections with them (Portelli, 2014). Migrants from the very moment they decide to travel, also renew their cultural references even when trying to maintain their own backgrounds as strongly as possible (Cırte-Real, 2010:17). In addition to this it has to be said that although the boundaries between popular culture, mass culture, oral traditions and writing are still relevant, there is an increasing permeability among them.

2. MULTI-ETHNIC ORCHESTRAS IN ITALY

The main topic of this ethnographic study is Multi-Ethnic Orchestras and musical hybridization. The project focuses on the musical production of multicultural orchestras paying specific attention to migrant musicians, their performances and recollections. The research aims to understand the current problems concerning musical identity and intercultural processes with regards to the key influence of migration.

Multi-Ethnic Orchestras are an Italian phenomenon born in urban areas during the last fifteen years. These orchestras were mainly developed as collaboration between Italian musicians and social workers who saw this cultural activity as a means towards the effective integration of migrants perceived culturally and ethnically far removed from the main culture. These social initiatives eventually found the support of cultural institutions. Limiting ourselves to orchestras that are making records today, our country has fifteen musical ensembles, and this makes Italy the European nation with the largest number of multi-ethnic orchestras (Polchi, 2012), which play a major part in promoting activities that preserve the migrant memory and promoting integration with the local culture.

Most of these music bands keep the name of the square (piazza) where migrant communities usually meet in Italian cities like The Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio from Roma, which is the most popular and oldest Italian Multi-Ethnic Orchestra. It was founded in 2002 as a socio-cultural project supported by artists, intellectuals and cultural groups to reconceive Esquilino, a district of Rome where Italians are an ethnic minority. The orchestra consists of eighteen musicians who come from ten different countries. It was the first orchestra that, besides enhancing the different musical cultures, has created jobs and residence permits for migrant musicians who were living in conditions of social exclusion. Additionally, in 2006 a documentary film was made detailing the origins of the famous orchestra which now performs in major theaters around the world, promoting reinterpretations of the most famous classical operas like Mozart’s Magic Flute and Bizet’s Carmen (Fiore, 2014).

Following the example of Orchestra Piazza Vittorio, in just a few years similar projects started up throughout Italy and nowadays there is at least one multi-ethnic ensemble in each Italian region. Every orchestra is distinguished by its own unique characteristics. Most orchestras have an institutional origin: they were born as part of a Festival, or through social and educational projects promoted by local authorities through the collaboration between musicians and social workers, mostly Italian (Polchi, 2012).

The Multi-Ethnic Orchestra of Arezzo, Tuscany, for example, focuses on the training of young musicians, promoting workshops on world music in high school and is distinguished by its research into the traditional music of the ancient Mediterranean diaspors. The Multi-Ethnic Orchestra Mediterranea in Naples, founded during the North Africa emergency in 2012, is both a music workshop and a social project involved in anti-racism awareness, the repertoire consists of original and traditional music from around the world. The work of La Piccola Orchestra di Torpignattara from Rome is very important due to the fact that it involves Italian and second generation immigrant minors, most of whom live in difficult situations, and it is conceived as a permanent workshop open to all and is constantly evolving1. Other orchestras have instead a less pronounced social dimension and

1 Interview with Massimo Ferri from Orchestra Multietnica di Arezzo (Arezzo, 17 March 2015), Romilda Bocchetti from Orchestra Multietnica Mediterranea (Naples, 29 May 2015), Domenico Coduto from Piccola Orchestra di Tor Pignattara (Rome, 20 April 2015).

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refine the aspect of music production. I am referring to the Brigada Internazionale of Naples, the Banda di Piazza Caricamento from Genova, and the Orchestra di via Padova in Milan. In these cases the musicians are almost exclusively professionals and the role of director takes on more importance. These bands perform at the highest fee and offer an original repertoire.

In parallel with the Orchestras, Multi-Ethnic Choirs were also founded and currently I have discovered five in Italy. Romolo Balzani Choir of Rome, for example, started up in an important cultural and political center, and perform an interesting repertoire including songs of protest from many different cultures and promote cultural and social development activities, working to ensure economic support and occasionally assistance with documents for musicians. Another example of a choir that stands out for its work on integration through musical activities is Voci dal Mondo of Venice. Founded as a social project in a high immigration urban area, the choir consists of sixty people, 30% of whom are not Italian, and performs a repertoire of traditional music that the choir director herself has called “songs of new migrants”\(^2\), usually performed at popular events as a conscious presence within the urban city.

3. MÉTISSAGE IN MULTI-ETHNIC ORCHESTRAS’ MUSIC

Most of the Orchestras and Choirs pursue a study of non-European music and the many hybrids of Mediterranean music. The musical production is achieved following suggestions from each musician – who propose a traditional or popular song that represents or has particularly significance for their own musical culture- and together with the band they arrange the music, blending the different elements. During the rehearsals musicians work on migrant recollections, their nostalgia becomes a creative engine to integrate cultural diversity in a delicate way. In this way, the intercultural dialogue takes place more quickly, different cultures examine each other and initiate a creative process.

To describe the attitude of cosmopolitan man Ernesto De Martino suggests that those who have no roots and are cosmopolitan, must possess a living homeland in their memory, which the imagination and heart can return to again and again. With the image of a homeland carried within, migrant music does not speak about the past but describes new life experiences, as the sound moves an emotional bond, while searching for a temporary home in the world (De Martino, 1975). A director of an orchestra who was interviewed defines their style as “urban ethnic music”\(^3\), to emphasize how the city environment has influenced their work, in fact many of these orchestras offerings have in common sounds from jazz, salsa, cumbia, reggae and other rhythms that have found their way into the city’s musical production.

I observe in my fieldwork that one of the fundamental original music elements of these orchestras is the experience of métissage: musicians merge their musical backgrounds while still holding on to their original identity. For example in this context it occurs that Albanian musicians come close to the Bengali musical structures, or a Cuban pianist performs with a professional Oud musician (and many more such examples could be listed). These orchestras are undoubtedly an extraordinary enrichment for our area, as well as to the culture of Italian musicians.

The process of métissage seems to be faster in the Italian context because Italy has experienced a recent immigration, therefore the ethnic communities are not very rooted. With regard to the abovementioned issue it is also important to point out that this process is not spontaneous but promoted by an external cause. These Multi-Ethnic Orchestras are important in order to understand the transformations of identities in relation to music and intercultural processes.

4. IMMIGRATION IN ITALY

In which social context, in relation to migration flows, were the Orchestras and multi-ethnic Choirs born? Italy as a migration destination is distinct for a number of reasons. It became a country of net migration (Schuster, 2005) later than Britain, France or Germany, for example. Schuster suggests that many of the migrants arriving in Italy still intended to travel onwards to other wealthier European states with more established migrant communities, more of them were remaining in Italy because it was difficult for them to move further north (Schuster, 2005:759). This situation refers to the beginning of 2000, when most of the multi-ethnical orchestras were born, nowadays it is also different because of Syria’s emergency and refugees. However, Italy has never been solely a transit country.

What Polchi called “polycentrism” refers to a migrant population in Italy that has tended to be much more heterogeneous than in the traditional

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\(^2\) Meeting with Coro Voci dal Mondo, 12 November 2014, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice.

\(^3\) Interview with Massimo Latronico director of Orchestra di Via Padova (Milan, 29 April 2015).
immigration states (Polchi, 2012; Caritas, 2003; Fondazione ISMU, 2003:33), and they had not found an effective integration in Italy. In the beginning of 2000, although there are significant communities of Moroccans, Albanians, Romanians, Filipinos and Chinese in Italy (Caritas, 2003), these populations are dispersed throughout the country and are not as numerically strong or consolidated as the communities formed by people from the former colonies of Britain or France or, for example, by the Turkish and ex-Yugoslav communities in Germany (Schuster, 2005:763). The lack of the formation of communities means that there is a growing population in Italy, but I suggest also in Europe, whose interests are underrepresented in a public forum. This segmentation makes it difficult for migrant communities to speak up for their rights, for example, and to be represented in some capacity other than their nationality.

Maria Sao Córte-Real wrote that urban social problems have in some way been helped by music practices and migrant music has been used as a strategy for organizing people’s participation in urbanization (Córte-Real, 2010:16), and that is what Multi-Ethnic Orchestras and Choirs still try to do, as social service programs, give a voice, a musical education and even help with documents, for migrants in Italy.

My research points to migration of musicians in particular, heavily influenced by social and cultural factors, such as cultural and linguistic connections between the departure and the arrival countries. The categorization will be further explained by distinguishing between temporary migrant musicians, who move for registration purposes or to take part in a project, and musicians who are permanently located in the host country. Of further interest is the situation of those musicians who migrate to practise their profession abroad but, having moved with that intention, they have accepted unskilled jobs to survive and are only able to perform together with other professionals in their spare time.

On the other hand migration is not just a simple trajectory, some migrants relinquish the dream of returning home and marry, settle down and start a family, other migrants leave their home country temporarily as seasonal or “guest” migrants (Schuster, 2005:766). This continuing mobility seems to be stronger in Italy than in Britain, France or Germany. Italy continues to be a way- station on journeys further north and west.

What impact does this continued mobility in and out of different countries have on musicians or performances themselves? I have no firm answers to these questions yet but in future papers I will try to prove how musicians meet, motivated by various reasons, influence the combination of sounds and performances, demonstrating how the type of hybridization in Multi-Ethnic Orchestras’ music can really be a starting point for a development of intercultural interactions.

4. CONCLUSION

To summarise, multi-ethnic groups are unusual in that they are in a state of continuous change in a permanent and public experiment. This is also the case for migrant musicians who are always on move, but it is important to point out that some of those interviewed have found a job in Italy via these projects and decided to stay; for economic reasons since these Orchestras have found institutional support, since few can subsist through their music production alone and, because of problems with costs, it is always more difficult for them to perform on tour. From the early 2000s until today many Multi-Ethnic Orchestras have disbanded, are on stand-by or are simply reducing the number of musicians and performing a different repertoire. In my opinion the Multi-Ethnic Orchestras’ phenomenon is changing radically both because of the economic crisis in Italy and because of the social changes in relation to migration flows.

It is important to remember that Orchestras and Multi-Ethnic Choirs have completely modified the soundscapes of our cities and it is important to emphasize that these musical projects intend to re-imagine the whole Mediterranean basin as that ancient land where the value of cultural hybridizations have existed throughout all its history, drawing on the rich tapestry of human existence, which can only help to dispel the negative vision of coexistence and migration. This type of approach also opens the way for a different intercultural connection, a comparison and exchange seeking recognition of musical identity. These ensemble bring new and complex challenges of inclusion, citizenship and peaceful coexistence in an urban context.

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THE NATURE OF GOOD AND EVIL G-D IN THE SONG OF
LEONARD COHEN

Jiří Měšić*

* Department of English and American Studies, Faculty of Arts, Palacký University, Olomouc, Czech Republic

Abstract: This essay focuses on the lyrics of a few selected songs by Leonard Cohen in which he presents his views on the concepts of good and evil as an inherent nature of G-d. Cohen’s work reveals that evil is not able to survive without human interaction, perhaps without our voluntary succumbing to its allure. The awareness of goodness, on the other hand, is often a consequence of realizing that evil is an indelible part of our lives and of the striving to make a clear distance from it. The singer often focuses on the evil nature of G-d based on his readings of the Hebrew Bible. According to him, evil manifests itself in obeying G-d’s commands as portrayed in the “Song of Isaac” or in killing of the Lamb by “The Butcher,” who is revealed to be the Creator Himself. Other songs often refer to our unconscious acceptance of evil, such as the song “The Captain” whose lyrics reveal that the spread of evil is caused by the lack of knowledge of goodness. Succumbing to the power of evil, then, leads to the total destruction of values ingrained in our common cultural heritage. Such a void is well-represented by the song “Closing Time” which anticipates the Apocalypse. However, Leonard Cohen, prophesises the rebirth of our civilisation in the song “Anthem” and ultimately the coming of “Democracy” and goodness after the most destructive events of our age.

Keywords: good, evil, song, religion, Cohen

Note: The reader is invited to listen to, or read the lyrics of individual songs described in the course of this essay to facilitate his understanding. I would also like to make known that this paper focuses on the lyrical self or persona of Leonard Cohen. Therefore, whenever the name “Cohen” appears, it stands for the singer with a guitar, not the man without it.

1. INTRODUCTION

The following article focuses on the powerful demiurge appearing in the work of Leonard Cohen and the discussion between him and the singer presented in a few selected songs. Cohen’s description of Creator’s malevolent nature reminds us of Manichaeism, a religion born in Iran, which was at one time a rival to Christianity (Jonas, 1992:207).

The Gnostics, in general, believe that there exists the Highest God and the malevolent Creator of the material universe.¹ In the selected songs, Cohen seems to be addressing the latter and warns against succumbing to his nature through misinterpretation of the Bible. Three important characters appear in the selected songs: a young child, lieutenant and the perpetrator of evil, who are, actually one character developing from innocent infancy to evil maturity. This character, whom I call Isaac-lieutenant-Cohen, is continuously being seduced by another cruel character whose name in the songs is: Abraham; The Butcher; or The Captain.

The innocent character matures into evil in the singer’s albums I’m Your Man (1988) and The Future (1992) when he fully succumbs to the evil nature of the Creator and becomes his voice. However, The Future anticipates reawakening and the coming of goodness after the most destructive event of our age.

¹ Such as Valentinians, the Gnostic Christian movement originating in the 2nd century AD in Rome. The Medieval Occitan Cathars called the Creator, Satanael (Quispel, 2008:143), which reminds of Satan. A good review of these ideas may be found in Yuri Stoyanov, (2000). The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy. New Haven: Yale University Press.
2. THE STORY OF ISAAC

The song “Story of Isaac,” (Songs from a Room, 1969) is a story well echoing the chapter 22 in the Book of Genesis, in which Abraham is tempted to prove his devotion by killing his only son Isaac. Isaac is to be sacrificed as a lamb and when they reach the top of the hill, he demands: “but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?” (KJV, Genesis 22:7). It is probably at this moment that a young child realizes that he will be sacrificed. As we know, G-d does not let Abraham to kill his only son in the end, and provides “a lamb for a burnt offering” (KJV, Genesis 22:8). The killing of the lamb as a sacrifice appears for the first time in the Old Testament and culminates with the death of Christ who was deemed to be the “Lamb of God.”

Abraham is then blessed for his loyalty by an angel.

However, to kill a person is the most cruel crime imaginable. Why should someone prove his loyalty to G-d by killing his beloved son? What about if there was no angel telling Abraham not to do it? Would Abraham perpetrate such a crime? And would it be the act of disobedience and therefore of evil not to act according to the will of G-d?

Cohen’s song elaborates on a few important features of the original story and presents some biographical facts. The most important one is that Isaac was nine years old when he was lead on the Mount Moriah, which was, actually, Cohen’s age when his father Nathan died (Nadel, 2007:8-11).

Nevertheless, Abraham, the father of the song, does not die but acts according to the Biblical story. With his blue eyes, as described, he typifies the proper Israeliite. He even possesses an axe, made out of the most precious metal-gold perhap supplanted by G-d himself. On their way up the mountain, they drink wine, which is a sacred drink to the Jews. Isaac says that he is not sure whether he saw eagle or a vulture hovering above them, which is an important statement as far as the ancient symbolism is concerned.

Eagle is a bird that represents divinity in many native religions. It also represents Zeus in the Greek mythology as a bird into which he transformed himself in order to kidnap a young boy Ganymede.

We commonly take eagle as a symbol of goodness and vulture as a symbol of evil since vulture has a grim appearance and it feeds on carcasses. However, it seems that it was other way round in the Biblical times. For instance, the translators of the Old Testament in King James Bible frequently mistranslated the word nesher as an eagle.Exodus 19:4 in the King James Version says that G-d brought the Egyptians to himself on the wings of an eagle but the animal in question is, actually, the vulture. Cohen’s child is confused about which bird it was—perhaps the same confusion that the translators created after mistranslating the Biblical symbols?— and then he cannot properly interpret the signs.

The singer seems to be suggesting that we have been perpetrating crimes that have nothing in common with the original meaning of the Hebrew texts. In the second stanza, the singer gives his personal opinion and presents criticism of those who decide construct the world upon these texts. Isaac is singing through the mouth of Cohen that none of the perpetrators of the contemporary world crimes were there when his father was about to kill him. Then he sings that they call him “brother” now, a member of the community of killers, but he himself feels that he is not a member of such a community since he makes a clear distance from evil. Isaac / Cohen, insinuates that he would obey the command but only the command from the Lord, not from His interpreters.

The song could be also seen as a parable to the Vietnam War in which killings perpetrated were according to someone’s “scheme.” The last three verses could be interpreted as supporting this claim: “And mercy on our uniform, / man of peace or man of war, / the peacock spreads his fan.” Peacock shows his fan only in the period of mating or when he wants to attract the hen. When Robin

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2 The description of Christ as the Lamb of G-d was used in John 1:29.
3 There have been several articles published on the physignomy of the ancient Israelites. See, for instance: Christopher, Alex, (October, 1993). “Who Are the Real Israelites?” Biblioteca Pleyades. [online] Available:. http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/sociopolitica/esp_sociopol_zion34.htm. [21st April, 2016].
4 It is always recommended to drink it moderately in order not to end up like Noah lying in his tent without clothes (Genesis 9:21). The Greeks often diluted it with water, which often appears in the New Testament.
Pike asked Cohen about the song in an interview in 1974, Cohen replied:

I did feel that one of the reasons that we have wars was so the older men can kill off the younger ones, so that there’s no competition for the women. Or for their position. I do think that this is true. One of the reasons we do have wars periodically is so the older men can have the women (rpt. in Burger, 2014:69).

In this song, the sexuality, aggression are seen as an indelible part of the biblical stories. In the following song, “The Butcher,” Cohen sings of the evil nature of the Demiurge.

3. THE BUTCHER

The song “The Butcher” portrays evil as personified by “a butcher” who is slaughtering a lamb, which is the animal commonly representing Christ and therefore goodness. It is interesting to notice the article “a” before the word “butcher” which describes the character as any other killer in the world.

The dialogue is held between the butcher and an inquisitive child. The butcher reveals his identity when he says: “I am what I am,” which reminds of the verse from Exodus 3:14 in which G-d says to Moses: “I am who I am.” The subsequent lyrics identify the child as the only son of the butcher who, logically speaking is his follower and therefore a future killer of the lamb. “I came upon a butcher, / he was slaughtering a lamb, / I accused him there / with his tortured lamb. / He said, “Listen to me, child, / I am what I am / and you, you are my only son.”

In the following stanza, there appears a reference to drug taking “Well, I found a silver needle, / I put it into my arm.” The purpose of drug-taking, as suggested, is to forget the killing perpetrated. It may even serve as an escape from the guilt that has been placed on humanity for the killing of the lamb.

The killing of the lamb as a sacrifice to G-d is also suggested in Genesis 4:3–7, in which Abel brings “the firstborn of his flock” (KJV) as an offering to G-d. Lamb is also the most important part of the celebration of the Passover, the commemoration of the time when the Israelites escaped from the Egyptian slavery.

The Book of Leviticus 17:11 specifies that it is the blood of the lamb that provides redemption: “it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul” (KJV). Furthermore, according to the book of “Leviticus” the lamb for the sacrifice “it shall be perfect to be accepted” (KJV, Leviticus 22:21).

As it is suggested through the course of the Old Testament, the sacrifice of the lamb will culminate in the death of Christ who is the purest Lamb of G-d. The New Testament contains direct references which identify the lamb of the Old Testament with Jesus Christ.

Cohen describes flowers growing out of the blood of the innocent Lamb that had taken upon himself the sins of the world. According to Isaiah, chapters 52 – 53, the Lamb is the servant of the Lord who finally lets others to kill it for the sins of Israel. It is G-d who “hath laid on him the iniquity of us all” (KJV, Isaiah: 53:6). Its killing is therefore the will of G-d.

The life of the Lamb is seen as a constant struggle, it cannot speak, it is afflicted and it is brought to the slaughter in the end. The Lord is even pleased to do him this harm: “it pleased the LORD to bruise him; he hath put him to grief” (KJV, Isaiah: 53:10).

The Butcher of the song makes the child aware that he is his son who will continue perpetrating the same crimes in future generations and killing the Lamb as a sacrifice. In the last stanza of the song, he begs his “child” not to leave him because he is “broken down from a recent fall.” He says that there is “blood upon [his] body and ice upon [his] soul” and he encourages the son to go on and continue his responsibilities in the world.

This fall resembles “The Fall of Satan from Heaven,” which is mentioned in Isaiah 14:12-15 and described in detail in John Milton’s Paradise Lost (1667).

4. THE CAPTAIN

The song “The Captain” speaks about the death of the “butcher” who is handing down his responsibilities to his lieutenant (formerly the child). They are the only two left from their battle unit. The lieutenant complains that there is no one to command since all the soldiers are either “dead or in retreat or with the enemy.” The lieutenant has some idea of goodness, he is perhaps believing in Christ, and he even reprimands the Captain who feels that they lost during the Crucifixion and the

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7 See Exodus 12:1-11. Moreover, in his instructions laid to the Israelites in Egypt, G-d will protect every household whose lintel will be smeared by the blood of a lamb. See: Exodus 12:13.

8 See, for instance, John 1:29: “John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world” (KJV).

7 Isaiah: 53:7: “He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before shearsers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth” (KJV).
Jiří Měsíc

Holocaust, which suggests that neither the Crucifixion nor Holocaust brought expected results to them: the everlasting rule of evil.

The lieutenant is, however, more dangerous than the Captain because he has no idea of good and evil. He feels that he does not want to be fighting any longer, on any side, although, he does not know what he should do then. He asks the Captain where to go: “But tell me, Captain, if you know / Of a decent place to stand.” The Captain advises him to find a woman. “There is no decent place to stand / In a massacre, / but if a woman take your hand, / then go and stand with her.”

However, the lieutenant is used to wandering and living without commitment. “I left a wife in Tennessee / and a baby in Saigon — / I risked my life, but not to hear /some country-western song.”

The captain then thinks that the lieutenant “cannot raise his love to a very high degree.” Perhaps to the selfless / altruistic love for the other person. Therefore, he is suitable to propagate evil. “But if you cannot raise your love / to a very high degree, /then you’re just the man I’ve been thinking of — / so come and stand with me.”

On account of being indecisive and not knowing the difference between good nor evil, he is without his will pushed into the conflict against good. The song suggests that knowing good is the highest goal of our knowledge because it can lead us to make clear choices in our life. The lieutenant is revealed not to know what he is even fighting for: “I don't even know what side / We fought on, or what for.”

The identity of the Captain is finally revealed. He is always fighting against heaven. On the side of “snake-eyes” tossed in dice, which means two pips thrown. He is always against the sacred number seven. “I’m on the side that’s always lost / against the side of heaven; / I’m on the side of snake-eyes tossed / against the side of seven.”

The Captain / evil Demiurge says that he read the Bill of Human rights and found that some of its points were true, then he hands over the burden of evil permeating the world and the responsibility to uphold it to the lieutenant.

Dying Captain may symbolise dying Demiurge who is departing from the world in which people willingly follow his will. He is dying without being hurt and the lieutenant takes over his responsibilities.

5. FIRST WE TAKE MANHATTAN

“First We Take Manhattan” is a song appearing in the album I’m Your Man, (1988). It is sung from the position of Isaac-child-lieutenant who is in the world to spread evil. After being imprisoned for “twenty years of boredom” (which is actually the twenty years after recording Cohen’s first album released in 1967), the speaker of the song wants to rule over the world, he ominously repeats: “First we take Manhattan, then we take Berlin.”

Why Manhattan and Berlin? Manhattan in New York is the economic and administrative centre of the US and perhaps of the whole world, known for Wall Street and United Nations Headquarters. Berlin, on the other hand, was the capital city of Hitler’s Germany. After the WWII, the city was divided by the Allied forces and it is probably, the idea of Berlin as a place of division between good and evil, democratic and communist countries, or left and right in the political thinking, that makes it suitable for the song. The takeover of these two cities could signify ruling over the most powerful places of the Western world

The singer claims that he is “guided by a signal in the heavens,” which reminds us of the song “Story of Isaac” and the character of Abraham who was obeying G-d’s orders. He then speaks about the birthmark “on his skin”[10] that makes him chosen and about the fact that he is also “ guided by the beauty of our weapons,” which suggest that he has inherited the Butcher and Captain’s trade.

Cohen decided to start a new type of music and get away with his older life and music production in this album. Unlike the lieutenant, he confesses that he would love to stay with the woman and love her but he cannot because he feels the need to move. When he refers to “the line moving through the station” he may mean the men who are to be drafted to the army and abandoning their beloved ones. “But you see that line there moving through the station? / I told you, I told you, told you, I was one of those.”

Before, he had some morals but he was thought of as a loser, now he abandons them. He says that the female character of the song knows how to pacify him but she lacks “the discipline.”

Cohen revealed another biographical information when he commented on himself and his “fashion business.” His family owned a profitable tailoring business in Canada when Cohen was young. He also mentions drugs that kept him thin as in the song “The Butcher.”

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[10] Symbolically, birthmark marks the identity and faith. Birthmark is mentioned in other songs such as “Love Calls You By Your Name,” Songs of Love and Hate, (1971) when love appears “between the birthmark and the stain / between the ocean and your open vein.” In the collection Flowers for Hitler (1964), there appears a poem “Promise” which speaks about woman’s kiss that appears as a birthmark on the skin of the singer: “Your mouthprint / is the birthmark / on my power” (67).
Perhaps these were the antidepressants whose list he revealed during the London concert on July 17\textsuperscript{th} in 2008.\footnote{“I’ve taken a lot of Prozac, Paxil, Wellbutrin, Effexor, Ritalin, Focalin...” The monologue can be seen at the DVD, \textit{Leonard Cohen: Live in London}. (2009). Dir. Edward Sanders. Perf. Leonard Cohen. Columbia.}

In the song, he receives “the monkey and the plywood violin” as a gift. Perhaps, this is the reference to the music industry, which makes him a clown. Now he wants to dissociate himself from this world.

6. EVERYBODY KNOWS

The song “Everybody Knows” from the same album \textit{I’m Your Man} (1988), speaks about the spread of evil in the world in which good has been suppressed. People feel broken because they have lost compassion. They have the same feelings for other people like for animals: “Everybody got this broken feeling / Like their father or their dog just died.” The singer sings that everyone is interested about money. People have romantic ideals about life symbolized by “a box of chocolates and a long stem rose” but none of these can be made true.

There is no respect for the human body. It is no longer sacred. The bodies of two naked people are just shining “artefact[s] of the past.”

In his despair, Cohen seems to be addressing Christ who had experienced the Calvary as well as spent some time “on the beach of Malibu.” The Sacred Heart of Christ, as a symbol of his sacrifice for humanity is going to blow. Cohen prophesises that here will not be any love among people.

7. THE FUTURE

Cohen-Isaac-lieutenant rage continues on the album \textit{The Future}, (1992). The first song of the album “The Future” portrays a man who has lost his “secret life,” his suffering and perhaps \textit{the boredom} he spoke about in the song “First We Take Manhattan.” He is no longer the perpetrator of evil, however, his support of goodness is unbearable and he begs for the return of evil as if it was easier to live with it.

In order that he could escape from the void created by the culture which does not differentiate between good and evil and creates false definitions of what is good and what is not, he begs for the return of duality and therefore of the possibility to choose between good and evil. He begs for crack and anal sex and for the return of the Berlin Wall, Stalin and St. Paul, in order people could make clear choices in their lives.

The future is murder according to Cohen, but not murder in a sense of physical death but the vacuum created by the absence of opposing forces. This vacuum cannot be filled with any religion, law or principles. It stands as “the hole in [our] culture.”

The order of the world will be dramatically changed and even “the order of the soul” will be overturned, according to Cohen. The world is going to “slide in all directions / there won’t be nothing / nothing you can measure anymore.”

The singer claims that he is “a little Jew who wrote the Bible.” He, therefore, claims that he is one of the orchestrators of evil. Moreover, he prophesies that we will feel “devil’s riding crop” driving us. The whole society will be upside down. The laws and values respected for millennia will be suddenly overturned. “There’ll be the breaking of the ancient/ western code.” We may only speculate about the signification of the “ancient western code” but it probably speaks for the foundations regarding family, religion and the state according to the Bible. “There’ll be phantoms / there will be fires on the road / and white man [finally] dancing.” Nakedness will become a travesty. No one will be able to appreciate female beauty: “her features [will be] covered by her fallen gown” because men will not be able to see with their eyes. Love will stand only for sex and poets will try to sound rough “like Charlie Manson.”

Cohen repeats his pledge for Berlin Wall, Stalin and St. Paul in the last stanza and adds: “give me Christ or give me Hiroshima” to demarcate good and evil. Then he speaks about killing of foetus because the society does not “like children anyhow.”

8. CLOSING TIME

The song “Closing Time” from the same album \textit{The Future}, (1992) celebrates a drinking reverie and presents an apocalyptic vision of the world. People in the song are drinking and dancing. They do not keep any control and seem to have lost their morals. The feminine character of the song, “the Angel of Compassion” is offering “her thigh” to everyone. It seems to be the Virgin Mary, or the compassionate aspect of the Mother Goddess. Women are taking their blouses off and men dance on them, which says that there is no fidelity between partners, everyone makes love with anyone else as foretold in the song “The Future.” No one notices the effects of their behaviour but the singer ominously foretells “the Closing Time.”
Once again, Cohen speaks about loneliness coming from the romantic ideas with which people have entered this reverie. Nothing is pure in such a world and even “cider’s laced with acid,” according to the singer. Among all this, the Holy Spirit is crying the 1984-slogan from a TV commercial on Wendy’s hamburgers. “Where’s the beef?” The commercial portrays three elderly woman who are inspecting a big fluffy bread with a tiny portion of meat in the middle. Cohen, thus, asks, “where is the essence of this all?” We are fed on nothing, there is no love, no commitment, no faith, no loyalty. We are not giving and nothing is given.

The refrain speaks of lust “a sigh, a cry, a hungry kiss” which opens the “Gates of Love” only an inch. Sexual love became the synonym for Love.

Cohen again voices the need to appreciate the sacredness of body. He speaks about the beauty of a woman and her body; about the time when their love was “blessed,” which does not say anything about the sexual act. He confesses that he loves her even now when this blessedness has disappeared and when they feel only “sorrow and sense of overtime.” Then he presents a comment regarding the society and the state it is in: “It looks like freedom but it feels like death / it’s something between I guess,” which, again speaks of the loss of duality in the world.

Then, he continues to say that the world is a dead place ruled by greed. His sweet companion, “The Angel of Compassion” makes him “fumbling” and “laughing.” She is “hundred” but still “wearing something tight.” In the final verses of the song, he describes good and evil as being unequally balanced. “it’s once for the devil and once for Christ.” Then he says that “The Boss” does not like these reveries so Cohen foretells that he will be caught in “blinding lights” and experience the revelation / Apocalypse.

9. ANTHEM

The song “Anthem” comes from the same album The Future (1992). It gives encouragement to our everyday encounters with evil. It says that we will never get rid of evil. “The wars they will be fought again / The holy dove she will be caught again / bought and sold / and bought again / the dove is never free.” Cohen encourages us that we should forget about perfection since light will get in only through cracks, which is an indirect saying that goodness may reveal itself only through evil: “Ring the bells that still can ring / Forget your perfect offering / There is a crack in everything / That’s how the light gets in.”

Cohen then sings about signs and prophecies as they were shown in the songs “Story of Isaac” and “The Butcher” and their misinterpretation. “We asked for signs / the signs were sent: / the birth betrayed / the marriage spent.”

Cohen-Isaac-lieutenant, finally lays down his weapons and refuses, once again, to be a part of “that lawless crowd.” He is going to fight against evil. “I can’t run no more / with that lawless crowd / while the killers in high places / say their prayers out loud. / But they’ve summoned, / they’ve summoned up a thundercloud / and they’re going to hear from me.”

Every heart will come to love like a refugee, which is a consequence of living in evil. The song suggest that good could not be revealed without evil.

10. DEMOCRACY

Democracy is coming after a long times of despair such as Tiananmen Square Protests (1989), mentioned in the song, during which there were shot hundreds of protesters refusing to accept martial law in the Chines capital of Beijing.

Democracy is coming “through a crack in the wall; / on a visionary flood of alcohol,” through the inebriation with evil which will finally allow its coming. Cohen further mentions “Sermon on the Mount” which summarizes Christ’s teachings (Matthew 5.6,7) which “he doesn’t understand at all” since it presents only a one-sided structure of the world living in goodness. The state of the country without “democracy” is described as a “battered heart of Chevrolet.” The wrecked heart of the car, perhaps its dead engine, which so much represents the culture of the U.S., is thirsty for love and goodness. “Democracy is coming to the U.S.A.”

Democracy is coming from violence, homicide, quarrels between partners according to Cohen. The US is represented as a ship that must sail through “The Shores of Need,” past “the Reefs of Greed” and “Squalls of Hate” in order Democracy could finally exist. It must come to the US first because this is the country that, according to the above description, has no democracy at all. It has everything from the materialistic point of view, on the other hand, people suffer from “the spiritual thirst.” It is there where the “family’s broken” and heart of the people “has got to open” as Cohen sings.

Cohen sees the coming of democracy also in the relationships between men and women when they love sincerely. “We’ll be going down so deep / the river’s going to weep, / and the mountain’s going to shout Amen!”

Cohen cannot stand the current arrangement of the world. The hatred and wars. Like the lieutenant earlier, he claims that he is “neither left or right.” It means that he has not been siding with good or
evil. Like the innocent Isaac he is questioning the world and its biblical laws. However, now he prefers to be passive, staying at home and watch “that hopeless little screen.” He is tired of the world but still he keeps high hopes. “I’m junk but I’m still holding up / this little wild bouquet: Democracy is coming to the U.S.A.”

11. CONCLUSION

In these selected songs, we have seen the transformation of an innocent child (Isaac) questioning the Divine Law to the evil character of the singer trying to rule over the world. Cohen has suggested that the development of the community, or better to say of the culture, based on the ancient texts and their misinterpretation is ultimately doomed to be evil.

Evil permeating the society was described in the song “Everybody Knows” and “Closing Time,” however, Cohen has offered a soothing vision of the future: the murder of evil and the overturn “of the ancient western code,” which offers the utopic vision of the world in which evil loses its upper hand.

According to the Gnostics, the fight against evil requires a monastic life and asceticism, which is, as Hans Jonas claims, “perhaps modeled on Buddhist monasticism” (Jonas, 1992:232). Leonard Cohen, has been a practicing Zen Buddhist since 1970 with several long periods in the monastery at Mt. Baldy California. His stays there may be seen as a period of fight against evil nature of his being represented by the character of the song “First We Take Manhattan.”

The essay portrayed Cohen’s syncretic views of the Demiurge and perhaps revealed some of his efforts to become the pneumaticos, a complete being that is beyond good and evil.

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EXPATRIATE AS A BRAND: INTERCULTURAL SUCCESS STORIES OF ESTONIAN MUSICIANS

Kristel KALJUND*, Anne-Liis PETERSON*

*Tallinn University of Technology, Tallinn, Estonia

Abstract: One of the corner stones of Estonian national identity is music, and on the other hand we can say that one of the successful Estonian export articles all around the world are Estonian musicians. Thus, a successful expatriate musician can be seen as a beloved intercultural brand. According to Kapferer (2012), “in order to become 'passion brands', or 'love marks', brands must not be hollow, but have a deep inner inspiration.” The six elements of brand identity, represented by a hexagonal prism, can be used to reflect the intercultural branding of an expatriate musician: the musician becomes a brand, the consumer marks the recipients from the host culture, and the brand identity facets relate to the cultural adjustment of the musician, Estonian culture and four stereotypes (aka (partly projected) identities). Since the respondents of the qualitative study are chosen based on the criteria of professional success, inter alia they have already been able to work out a success strategy, we claim that five of the elements of the brand identity prism are rather static, leaving us with the most dynamic element, namely, cultural adjustment. Through the brand identity elements of the Estonian expatriate musicians we study their cultural adjustment strategies, relying on the cultural adjustment strategies by Berry (2003), which have inspired other intercultural researchers like Cox (2004), Sussman (2000), Oudenhoven, van der Zee and van Kooten (2001).

Keywords: expatriate musicians, brand identity, cultural adjustment strategies

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the article is to take a closer look at the cultural adjustment of classical music artists of Estonian origin residing in Finland – from the point of view of their success abroad as musicians. A successful classical musician, as we see him/her, is a beloved cross-cultural brand, and it has been an utmost interest to us to learn about the ways the musician’s brand identity is (or is not) represented – since we have been looking for a thorough understanding of the musician’s success strategies interculturally. Relying on the cultural adjustment strategies by Berry (2003), which have inspired other intercultural researchers like Cox (2004), Sussman (2000), Oudenhoven, van der Zee and van Kooten (2001) we take the inspiration from Kapferer’s brand identity concept (2012) and convert it so that it reflects the particular intercultural success cases of the musicians as brands, whereas the qualitative in-depth interviews delivered the cultural adjustment case studies and the necessary insights.

2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 Cultural adjustment. Cultural adjustment refers to the individual’s ability to fit in the new cultural environment. It applies to person’s relationship with his/her environment in which the needs are satisfied and the ability to meet physical and social demands exists; adjustment includes psychological and emotional well-being and satisfaction as well as the ability to fit in, to acquire culturally appropriate skills, and use them in communicating with host nationals (Thomas, Lazarova, 2014:189). Therefore, the cultural adjustment is an internal, psychological, emotional state and should be measured from the perspective of the individual experiencing the foreign culture (Searle, Ward, 1990).

Colleen Ward and her colleagues have proposed that cultural adaptation can be broadly divided into psychological adaption, mainly situated in a stress and coping framework, giving us a clue about the psychological welfare and satisfaction, and sociocultural adaptation, situated within the culture learning framework, i.e. the
ability to fit in and obtain culturally suitable abilities and the behaviour acceptable in the host culture (Searle, Ward, 1990; Ward, Kennedy, 1999:660). Psychological adjustment is influenced by personality traits and social support, sociocultural adjustment by the amount of contact with the host society, length of the sojourn, cultural identity and culture distance (Ward, Chang, 1997:526). The latter has been emphasized by several authors besides Ward and colleagues; for instance by Oudenhoven and colleagues who state that the greater the home and host culture, the more difficult the cultural adjustment usually is (Oudenhoven et al., 2001:479; Ward et al., 2001:9) – the more the sojourner will need to learn about the host culture (Caligiuri, 2000).

2.2 Factors influencing cultural adjustment. Since cultural adjustment is a complex whole, there are lots of factors that influence it, starting with personality traits and extravert/introvert of the sojourner, and the specific life situation of the person (Ward, Searle, 1991: 211, 218), language skills (Ting-Toomey, 1999:91-94), length of the stay (Polek et al., 2008:919), hospitality of the host society (Ward et al., 2001: 197), social, especially ethnic identity (Jenkins, 1996:3-4; 20), the frequency of the contact with the host society and social support (Lybeck, 2002:184).

2.2.1 Language and host-culture knowledge. Language competence plays an important role in cultural adjustment, similarly important is to know the host culture in general, especially its values (Inglehart, 1998:27; Ting-Toomey, 1999:91-94). Without mutual understanding there can be no success in communication (Chen, Starosta, 1998: 252-253). Language is a tricky variable, though: in order to understand the meaning of what has been said, one has to know the beliefs and value systems that lay behind the way words are used in various situations (Ting-Toomey, 1999:93) – since language is much more than just a communication tool, it expresses the philosophy of the speaker and his/her beliefs (Ting-Toomey, 1999:94). In order to successfully adapt to the host culture, one has to have a holistic picture of it, including both facts and beliefs and judgements (Inglehart, 1998:27).

2.2.2 Cultural awareness. In order to communicate successfully across cultures, one has to be aware about his/her own behaviour, way of communicating, only so can the communication patterns be changed and signals and information while communicating with strangers recognized (Chen, Starosta, 1998:252-253). Developing cultural awareness takes time and thus the length of the stay correlates positively with cultural adaption (Ward et al., 1998:280; Polek et al., 2008:919).

2.2.3 Social support. Social support is an important resource of cultural adaption; it can be offered by for example family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues (Ward et al., 2001:85). The well-being of the sojourner is influenced both by host-country members as well as fellow countrymen (Ward et al., 2001:88) or third-country nationals. It is important that the sojourner does not experience stress due to solitude rather than who offers the support.

2.2.4 Hospitality of the host society. Cultural adjustment is influenced also by the attitude of the host nationals. The public policies regarding immigration relate to the expectations of both the host community and strangers, when it comes to integration (Bourhis et al., 2010:783). State integration policies consist of the approaches adopted to help immigrant and host communities adapt to the growing ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity of modern states (Bourhis et al., 2010:784). Often, expatriates are not affected by the attitude towards immigrants, but it does depend on the group the expatriate belongs to. The ideology, policies and possible national discourses, positive or negative attitude of the host culture depends often on the cultural background of the sojourner (Ward et al., 2001:197).

2.2.5 Social identity. The concept of social identity goes back to Erik Erikson (1950) who conceived identity as a central feature of “personhood”, namely, a person’s unified “essence,” and a special experience of it, from which superficial characteristics of the person a redifferentiated; the identity evolves throughout one’s (Kim, 2012). Social identity theory introduced the concept of a social identity as a way to explain intergroup behaviour (Tajfel, Turner, 1986). In this identity conception, personal and social dimensions are considered simultaneously. Nowadays in social research, the individual’s association with a cultural or social group is the essence of the identity rather than the “personhood”. Now, we tend to view identity as temporal continuity or common tradition linking its members to a common future reflected in the communal life patterns associated with language, behaviour, norms, beliefs, myths, and values, as well as the forms and practices of social institutions (Kim, 2012) As Giordano has put it, the identities of members of an ethnic group are regarded as being rooted in the emotionally profound self-awareness of parentage and a concomitant mythology of discrete origin, providing a sense of common origin, as well as common beliefs and values, serving as the basis of self-defining ingroups, offering the individual a ground on which to stand (Kim, 2012:).

Strong social identity strengthens the self-esteem of the person (Ting-Toomey, 1999:147;
Chen, Starosta, 1998). In communication, members of ingroup are consequently favoured to outgroup members, which, on the other hand, are treated with prejudices. When meeting strangers, they are identified with the help of the social map in our heads, and often not successfully as they are categorized in a way that differs a lot from their identity (Jenkins, 1996:5).

2.3 Cultural adjustment strategies and identity. Sojourners arrive in the host country with different personal attitudes about preserving their cultural inheritance and adapting to the host culture – besides personal reasons, these attitudes are influenced by both the actual and the perceived acceptance by the host society, and official migration policies (Phinney et al., 2001:494).

In intercultural communication, there is an ongoing debate about the changes in the ethnic identity of the sojourner, starting with the culture shock theory fathered by Cora Dubois and popularized Kalervo Oberg (Paige, 1993). The theories dealing with identity-related cultural adjustment strategies mostly come up with four strategies that the sojourner – expatriate or a migrant – has the “choice” from, whether conscious or rather subconscious, influenced by the factors that have been discussed earlier. Present article does not aim to separate between migrants and expatriates, as the difference seems to be rather artificial: expatriates see their sojourn as temporary while migrants presumably plan to stay abroad (see Thomas, Lazarova, 2014:189; also Kaljund, Peterson, 2014) – both assumptions often prove wrong with time, or not.

The author of the classic quartering of cultural adjustment strategies – assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization – is John W. Berry (2003), who sees the migrants having a choice whether to relate entirely to the host culture, i.e. to assimilate, losing the original ethnic identity, or to integrate – obviously, author’s preferred choice – that is, to adapt successfully to the host culture, at the same time keeping the home culture identity, or to separate, i.e. keep the original ethnic identity with minimal contact to the host culture, or to adapt a marginalizing adaption strategy, alienating from ethnic identity as such (Berry, 2003:24). J. Ben Cox, re-evaluating Berry’s conceptualization in repatriation context, i.e. thinking specifically expatriates, assigns new designations to the concepts, renaming the identity groups respectively as host-favoured, integrated, home-favoured, and disintegrated (Cox, 2004, 205). Nan M. Sussman (2000:394) classifies the identity work done by expatriates, again, in four patterns: subtractive (resp. assimilating, identifying with the the norms and values of the host culture – high adaption), additive (resp. integration of both culture’s norms and values), affirmative (resp. separation, strong home country identity – low adaption to host culture), and intercultural/global (resp. marginalization thanks to multiple international experiences). Last but not least, Berry’s cultural adaption strategies inspired Jan Pieter van Oudenhoven, Karen van der Zee and Mariska van Kooten (2001:467), whose four categories – going native (assimilating), dual citizens (integrating), hearts-at-home (separating), and free agents (marginalizing) – take two significant characteristics of expatriate workforce into consideration, namely the importance of their job, and the perceived temporary character of their stay.

Colleen Ward et al. in their categorization of adjustment strategies relate to Berry with three categories: passing (resp. assimilating), chauvinist (resp. separation), marginal and multicultural, the latter two both meaning marginalization, although the first category means that the person does not relate to neither original nor host culture, but the latter individual raises to a meta-level and is able to mediate between cultures (Ward et al., 2001:31; Bochner, 1981). Milton J. Bennett in his classification of adjustment strategies labels the latter two as an encapsulated marginal and a constructive marginal: encapsulated marginals experience are stressed by the discrepancy of different cultural perspectives, whereas constructive marginals are able to integrate their cultural identities – this formulation relates the constructive marginalization strategy to the integration strategy of Berry.

Bourhis intercultural acculturation model approaches acculturation from the other side, discussing the five possible acculturation orientations the host majority members wish strangers to adapt: assimilationism, integrationism, segregationism, exclusionism, and individualism; whereby assimilationism corresponds to the traditional concept of absorption (immigrants are expected to relinquish their linguistic and cultural identity for the sake of adopting the culture and language of the dominant host community); integrationism is endorsed by host nationals who accept that immigrants maintain some aspects of their original culture and at the same time adopt important features of the host culture; segregationism refers to host community members who accept that immigrants maintain their culture as long as they keep their distance from host nationals, as they do not wish immigrants to transform or “contaminate” the host culture and value system, and exclusion refers to the host nationals who deny immigrants the right to adopt features of the host community culture and at the same time the choice to maintain their heritage language, culture, or
religion (the latter two being different corresponding attitudes from the host community’s side to migrants’ separation identity strategy by Berry) (Bourhis et al., 2010:786). And finally, individualism is an orientation endorsed by host nationals who define themselves and others as individuals rather than as members of group categories and thus interact with immigrants in the same way they would with other individuals who happen to be members of the host community (Bourhis et al., 2010:786). For successful cultural adjustment and in order to avoid intercultural misunderstandings it is important that the acculturation preferences of the sojourners and host nationals would overlap (Bourhis et al., 2010:788).

2.4 Auto- and heterostereotypes. The generally accepted definition of the stereotype is from Aschmore, who has stated that stereotypes are beliefs about the characteristics of social groups and their individual members (Dorsch Psychologisches Wörterbuch, 1994:764; Lexikon der Psychologie, 2001(4):246). In general we are talking about incorrect and/or exaggerated generalizations (perceptions, conceptions) of an aspect of reality, especially of persons and social groups, that are rigid, oversimplified and biased (See Katz, Braly, 1933, Klineberg, 1951, Allport, 1954 and English, English, 1958 in Stroebe, Insko, 1989:4, 5; Brigham, 1971 in Hinton, 2000:11; Osterrann, Nicklas, 1982:17; Saressalo, 1983:84; Schäfer, 1988:51). Tajfel has pointed out that stereotypes are shared by group members, they are well-known and serve to create and maintain group ideologies and differentiation between groups (Tajfel, 1982:41ff.). The cognitive school sees the oversimplification and bias of stereotypes as a result of the limited ability of human beings to process information, a stereotype defined thus as a \textit{set of traits ascribed to a social group used to predict and explain behaviour} (Stephan, 1985 in Horwitz, Rabbie, 1989:106).

While talking about ethnic groups we differentiate between heterostereotypes (the beliefs about the other group) that usually are negative, and from the autostereotype (the conception about the traits of the ingroup) that is usually positive; besides, the ethnic stereotypes include projected autostereotypes (the beliefs about the conception that the outgroup presumably has about the ingroup), and projected heterostereotypes (the presumable autostereotype of the outgroup) (Schäfer, 1988:18; see also Taylor, 2002). The function of all those stereotypes is to construct and maintain a positive ethnic identity. Since the heterostereotype of the outgroup serves the purpose of demarcation of the ingroup, the construction of the positive identity often means that the Others have to be attached negative traits (Suppan, 1998:14). The similarity or the difference of the respective autostereotype and heterostereotype influences the understanding or the conflict of two ethnic groups (Quashtoff, 1973:46; Bassewitz, 1990:26).

The autostereotype and the heterostereotype are strongly bond to each other, since what we are is constructed in direct opposition to them (Bishop, Jaworski, 2003:248; see also Paalamo, 1998:39; Hinton, 2000:107; Mummedney, 2002:214). We can say that the heterostereotype extends the autostereotype of the group (Suppan, 1998:14): the personality traits that are attached to the outgroup give us little information about the culture of the others but speak of the ethnic identity of the ingroup (Bartmiński, 1998:311; Hinton, 2000:13). The negative traits of a heterostereotype, corresponding to respective positive traits of the autostereotype, serve as a warning towards the others (Hahn, Hahn, 2002:32).

How common a stereotype about an outgroup is and which traits of it are relevant when and why – are positive or rather negative characteristics emphasized? – depends on the social, political and cultural relations of respective ethnic groups. The geopolitical and social distance play a role here: ethnic groups that are located far away produce rather vague stereotypes whereas groups that reside geographically close often produce especially negative stereotypes – positive perception of national neighbours is rather exceptional. The hostility towards the other ethnic groups often has its roots in the political climate within the country, dissatisfaction with present economic and social conditions as well as in international tension (Bassewitz, 1990:24). The demographic situation of a country also has a strong influence on ethnic identity and the perception of outgroups, i.e. on stereotypes and how common they are. The bigger the relative and absolute majority of an ethnic group, the less it feels endangered according to the ideal of the homogeneous national state; the smaller the outgroup (within the country as well as outside), the less threatening they are perceived (Gött, 1995:14). To sum it up: the ethnic stereotypes are influenced by the historical relationships of the groups and the historical relevance in the identity construction (the Significant Others), by up-to-date social factors like neighbourhood, work contacts and marriages; by economic factors like trade, movement of capital, tourism and the comparative economic situation; cultural factors like the exchange in the field of culture and science; political and ideological factors as well as military (Quashtoff, 1973:51, 86; Suppan, 1998:17; Spaniel, 2002:356). The stereotypes are constructed and reconstructed on daily basis in every culture: historiography and national holidays, general
education and bellettristic, comics and especially foreign language training, to name a few apart from the almighty media influence the relevant discourses, i.e. ethnic stereotypes of a culture.

In case of Finland and Estonia it is important to mention the north-south and east-west dichotomy that ethnic stereotypes tend to exhibit (see Koch-Hillebrecht, 1977; Kövamees, 2005), especially the latter. It is assumed that the confrontation of east and west goes back to the image of barbarians in the Antique world (Koch-Hillebrecht, 1977:245). The nations located in Eastern Europe – whereas the border between east and west is rather variable in the insight of various peoples – are seen as backwards, wild, unspoilt; in one word, the west is of a superior quality (Koch-Hillebrecht, 1977:246; see also Huntington, 1998; Kaljund, 2006). The Iron Curtain “confirmed” this and draw a rather precise line between the east and the west.

Just like the stereotypes are influenced by the aforesaid factors, the same is with the acculturation strategies that are expected from the sojourners – it depends largely on their group membership. The expatriate expecting to adjust culturally finds himself/herself inside invisible boundaries that are determined by both host national and international relevant discourses both in the past and present. Although this diminishes the personal choice, the cultural adjustment is more complex than that: some make it, some don’t, independent of the network of discourses.

2.5 Brand identity. One of the very few worldwide experts on brands, Jean-Noël Kapferer has theorized that leaving the classical stimulus-response paradigm, modern brand communication theory reminds us that when one communicates, one builds representations of who speaks (source representation), of who is the addressee (recipient representation), and what specific relationship the communication builds between them – this is the constructivist school (Kapferer, 2012:158-163). In order to become ‘passion brands’, engaging brands, must not be hollow, but have a deep inner inspiration – they have their own character, their own beliefs, and that brand identity has six facets (Kapferer, 2012:158-163).

2.5.1 Physique. A brand, first of all, has physical specificities and qualities – its ‘physique’. It is made of a combination of either salient objective features (which immediately come to mind when the brand is quoted in a survey) or emerging ones. Many brands have problems with their physical facet, but even an image-based brand must deliver material benefits – brands are two-legged value-adding systems.

2.5.2 Personality. A brand has a personality. By communicating, it gradually builds up character. The way it speaks shows what kind of person it would be if it were human. ‘Brand personality’ has been the main focus of brand advertising since 1970. In the identity prism, brand identity is the personality facet of the source, and it should not be confused with the customer reflected image, which is a portrayal of the ideal receiver. Thus, brand personality is described and measured by those human personality traits that are relevant for brands – brand personality fulfils a psychological function, and it allows consumers either to identify with it or to project themselves into it.

2.5.3 Culture. A brand is a culture, a vision of the world. It is the most important facet of brand identity. Major brands are not only driven by a culture but convey their culture. Although present since 1991 in Kapferer’s identity prism, this cultural dimension of brands has only quite recently been recognized by academics – building emotional ties today needs another kind of self-definition, a much deeper one, which energizes the brand and its followers.

2.5.4 Relationship. A brand is a relationship as brands are often at the crux of transactions and exchanges between people. This facet defines the mode of conduct that most identifies the brand. This has a number of implications for the way the brand acts and relates to its customers.

2.5.5 Reflection. A brand is a customer reflection. Because of its communication a brand will always tend to build a reflection or an image of the buyer or user which it seems to be addressing.

2.5.6 Self-image. Finally, a brand speaks to our self-image. If reflection is the target’s outward mirror (they are …), self image is the target’s own international mirror (I feel, I am …). Through our attitude towards certain brands, we indeed develop a certain type of inner relationship with ourselves.

The brand identity prism demonstrates that these facets are all interrelated and form a well-structured entity as it derives from one basic concept – that brands have the gift of speech. Brands can only exist if they communicate, and since a brand is a speech in itself, it can thus be analysed like any other speech or form of communication.

Semiotologists have taught us that behind every type of communication there is a sender, either real or made up. Even when dealing with products, communication builds an image of its speaker or sender and conveys it to us – customers, when asked through projective techniques, do not hesitate to describe the brand’s sender, i.e. the person bearing the brand. Both the physique and personality help define the sender thus built for that purpose. On the other hand, every form of communication also builds a recipient: when we speak, everything seems as if we were addressing a certain type of person or
audience. Both the reflection and self-image facets help define this recipient, who, thus built, also belongs to the brand’s identity. The last two facets, relationship and culture, bridge the gap between sender and recipient.

Fig. 1 Kapferer’s brand identity prism (Ibid.)

3. THE CASE STUDY RESEARCH

We chose particular individual expat classical musicians for our case studies based on what experience the musicians have that provide a possibility to gain a variety of new understandings about our specific research area. Firstly, the experience of professional success. The sources of this importance vary: 5+ years of residence and success as a classical musician in their homeland – Estonia; success in the host society – Finland; success elsewhere.

The success we define as an employment contract between an institution and a musician or regular public appearances as a freelance musician. Namely, part of the cultural adjustment is always the economic adjustment – the ability to earn income in order to function in the host society. And as we were looking for a variety, it is of no great consequence where we draw the line – there is a sharp distinction between institutionalised success and freelance success:

- Institutionalised success: the case study: strong social identity as an ingroup member; psychological and emotional satisfaction professionally; high frequency of the contact with the host society; remarkable social support; higher perceived acceptance by the host society;
- Freelance success: the case study: strong social identity as an outgroup member; anxiety regarding the ability the ability to fit in; low frequency of the contact with the host society; lack of information and social support; power perceived acceptance by the host society.

However, despite the varieties the general intercultural success model of an expatriate classical musician was applicable, without distinction, to both the institutionalised and freelance success strategies.

4. EXPAT ARTIST BRAND IDENTITY: THE DISCUSSION

Finding the brand identity prism most inspiring from the point of view of intercultural communication in our success case studies from Finland, we ended up with a reversed identity model: a brand “made human” again – actually by multiplying the concept of the brand identity by itself. Considering the factors influencing cultural adjustment, the following humanate brand identity prism occurred, the Expatriate Artist Identity Prism:

The picture of the recipient is the expatriate – the Estonian musician (in Finland). The picture of the sender is the foreign “market” of the brand, namely Finland, the host culture. The five facets of the brand identity prism that we found to be rather static are in the intercultural context the following: the personality of the brand corresponds to the ethnic identity, i.e. autostereotype of the Estonian expatriate musician. The culture of the brand is the musician’s original, Estonian culture. The physique is the projected heterostereotype of the Estonian musician, i.e. the presumed picture of the Estonian musician as an Estonian in the eyes of the host nationals, Finns – the way the musician expects the Finns to see him/her as an Estonian. The reflection is the Estonian heterostereotype of Finns, i.e. how the Estonian musician sees the host nationals. The self-image is the projected autostereotype (ethnic identity) of Finns, i.e. how the Estonian musician believes the Finns to see themselves. The most dynamic facet is the relationship – here, the cultural adjustment, the Estonian expatriate musician in the Finnish context. This is where the intercultural success story of the musician wins (or fails).

We hope our case studies of expatriate classical music artists and the proposed new
approach of the Expatriate Artist Identity Prism has helped to illustrate the ways in which intercultural success in the domain of classical music art can be conceived by further research, especially in the light of the Expatriate Artist Identity Prism’s most dynamic and easily influenceable element (to start with, by other elements of the prism) – the cultural adjustment.

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COMMUNICATING THROUGH MUSIC:
ASPECTS OF INTEGRATIVE AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Vittoria BOSNA
Department of Educational Sciences, Psychology, Communication, University of Bari “Aldo Moro”, Bari, Italy.

Abstract: Intercultural education, by activating a training integration process, enhances in various ways different cultures of belonging: musical culture is just one of these. Music is a very interesting language, capable of integrating diversity, create a sense of belonging and orient life projects. In the rhythms and songs there are representations very close to reality, such as those of anger and calm, strength and balance, as well as other moral qualities; this is proved by the fact that listening to certain music, because of their nature, we feel a soul transformation. In view of this, it seems clear that music can have an ascendancy on the soul's character and that is why we should bring the music to young people and educate them to it. We should never stop wondering what exactly is the content of music, this intangible reality that manifests itself only through the sound. We can not define it as something that has only a mathematical, poetic, or sensual content. In fact, it has a connection to human condition because it is written and performed by human beings who express their innermost thoughts, impressions, feelings and observations. This applies to all music, regardless of the period in which the composers lived and their obvious differences in style. Bach, for example, who lived three hundred years ago, has created worlds that we, as listeners, make contemporary: the fact that music can not be put into words does not mean that it has no content that may be articulated only through sound, and any verbalization is nothing but a description of our subjective reaction to any musical composition we heard.

Key words: integration, culture, music.

1. INTRODUCTION

The educational world is plenty of methods that may be applied in various contexts, but it is possible to tailor the teaching to each individual way of learning by adopting differentiated teaching strategies. Today, teachers pertaining to a wide variety of fields are called to be updated and especially to ask themselves how they can activate a formative integration process, capable to enhance in various ways different cultures of belonging. One of these ways is through cultural music. It is a language capable of integrating diversities, create a sense of belonging and orient life projects.

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FROM THOUGHT TO PRACTICE:
TEACHING MUSIC IN A PLURALISTIC MODERN SOCIETY

Pedagogy is the science and practice of “well-education” that tries to explain in a practical way how to achieve good teaching in different environments, which is not for granted. Teaching becomes truly productive when it succeeds in its goal to achieve a change, a sort of “added value” that did not exist before or that has not yet been realized. Every person has its potential, whether it be an adult, a teenager, a parent or a teacher, who may be prepared and constructive in the school environment (H. Henrich, 2010:27 -67).

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strategies. Today, teachers pertaining to a wide variety of fields are called to be updated and especially to ask themselves how they can activate a formative integration process, capable to enhance in various ways different cultures of belonging. One of these ways is through cultural music. It is a language capable of integrating diversities, create a sense of belonging and orient life projects.

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Wondering about similarities and differences between music and language has always been a more or less conscious need of the Western musical thought. The encounter between words and intonation in voice, reading, theater acting and poetry, has rendered the language a code allied to music. From the educational point of view, language and sound communication belong to humankind as words and everyday gestures are necessary to survive. The effectiveness of these forms of experimentation contributes to the interchange between different ways of expression; further, the use of differentiated strategies allow tailoring the teaching and learning of each individual. The educational world is plenty of various methods, coming from different sources, applicable in educative contexts.

Think of the fact that music teaching was based on oral tradition long before its massive spread by the press. Think about Pestalozzi, Swiss pedagogue operating between late '800 and early '900: he reports about some recommendations regarding music teaching, which were applied in his schools. For example, in the Stans institute, reserved for orphans and the poor, he manages to bring the child in contact with sounds without rotational mediation, but only using an active and conscious listening. He separates perception and rhythmic production from that melodic and expressive, therefore emphasizing his idea ever founded in practical implementation first of all.

Democratic currents of the first '900 moved in the name of principles of peace and unity for the common good. There is no musical learning that does not involve an education to integrate diversities or that does not orient everything to sharing common goals. Therefore, it is significant referring to the research of activism in Europe to affirm that authors like Claparède, Cousinet e Freinet (C. Freinet, 1969), just to mention some of them, have offered their decisive commitment with studies, practical applications in laboratories and interest in “other” cultures. In particular, we can recall the work of Freinet in the music field; in fact, recognizing the importance of music's ethnomusicology and anthropology, he gave it cultural dignity to popular interests and, in particular, to children's interest (C. Montedoro, 2010). At the same pace, after World War II the cognitive sciences have nurtured the creative research of musical vanguard, meaning that there was an attempt to bring out a match between practice and theory, which determined a real treatise on new musical languages (G. Borio, 2003: 241 – 322). Unconventional sounds started to be accepted and placed outside the category of 'noises'; it was an important and decisive change referring to the sounds of the African cultures. All of this, in connection with integration policies oriented toward an openness and equality between cultures, and by becoming an opportunity to diversify even, and especially, teaching strategies along with communication skills.

Music in this case is one of the most significant experiences aimed at creating links among diversities. The challenge is to foster a spirit of human solidarity and tolerance on the part of the hosting community, such as teachers, students and supporting staff (G. Rouget, 1968). From what said above, it is clear that the success of educational variables about music, although not difficult to detect are still easy to handle and manipulate in view of educational success. The goal to be reached is the success in integration; there are different methods for doing so, but a good teacher always knows the right ways to achieve it.

3. SOUND – MUSIC COMMUNICATION: A WELCOMING TOOL

The musical language has an intercultural communicative value because it constitutes an important vehicle of integration not only between people of various cultural backgrounds, but also of different ethnicities. Music is an inclusive activity par excellence, involves the body over the mind. It allows to retrieve from memory traces of sounds associated with life events that in turn, provides a further recovery: that of one's own identity.

It is an additional communication channel beside the verbal one, full of opportunities of expression and socialization for everyone in general, and especially children (V. Bosna, 2014).

Currently, the musical repertoires are enriched with messages of freedom compared to the rules of tonal system used in the past; contemporary hearing provisions are more tolerant given the variety of ethno-geographic music. What is needed is the attempt to re-establish the technique by using the music, without asking the students hours of
study with arpeggios and metronome, but asking for their own interpretation: music should become a functional tool for communication.

In this way, the reception of foreign students, particularly those with a culture very different from the Western one, takes a path that includes the demonstration of skills already possessed. Secondly, there is an effort to change the situations unfavorable to child's integration through the use of individualized educational interventions or with laboratory work involving small groups.

Finally, it is possible to activate a series of “educational projects” also in collaboration with other schools integrated with educational disciplinary proposals; the goal is to create new social situations and new training opportunities. Activities are cross between the various disciplines, to be held in some cases even in extra-school hours, including music courses. At this point the education to the ground and music becomes one of the winning instruments: music is an important language capable of integrating diversities, create a sense of belonging and orient life projects.

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