MUZIKOLOŠKI ZBORNIK

MUSICOLOGICAL ANNUAL

LV / 2
ZVEZEK / VOLUME

LJUBLJANA 2019

Music, Migration and Minorities
Glasba, migracije in manjšine

Univerza v Ljubljani
FILOZOFSKA FAKULTETA

Izdaja • Published by
Oddelek za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani

Urednici zvezka • Edited by
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http://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/MuzikoloskiZbornik

Prevajanje • Translations
Urban Šrimpf

Cena posamezne številke • Single issue price
10 EUR

Letna naročnina • Annual subscription
20 EUR

Založila • Published by
Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani

Za založbo • For the publisher
Roman Kuhar, dekan Filozofske fakultete

Tisk • Printed by
Formatisk, Ljubljana
Naklada 300 izvodov • Printed in 300 copies

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Izdajo zbornika je omogočila Javna Agencija za Raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije
With the support of the Slovenian Research Agency

Vsebina • Contents

DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.5-17

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Music, Migration and Minorities: Perspectives and Reflections

Glasba, migracije in manjšine: perspektive in refleksije

Ključne besede: glasba, migracije, manjšine, etnomuzikologija, teoretični okviri

Keywords: music, migration, minorities, ethnomusicology, theoretical frameworks

IZVLEČEK

Članek ponuja kratko predstavitev glavnih tokov etnomuzikoloških raziskav, ki se navezujejo na glasbe, migracije in manjšine ter podaja razmišljanja o njihovem teoretičnem in metodološkem okviru. Posebno pozornost namenja presečišču z drugimi etnomuzikološkimi področji preučevanja in vlogi raziskav, osredotočenih na migracije pri izzivanju metodološkega nacionalizma in zahodnocentričnih pogledov.

ABSTRACT

The article offers a brief presentation of the main streams of ethnomusicological research on music, migration and minorities while reflecting on their theoretical and methodological frameworks. It pays particular attention to the intersection with other ethnomusicological sub-fields and its role in challenging the methodological nationalism and Western-centric views.

This thematic issue traces the points of intersection among music, migration and minorities[1] in various geographical areas and socio-political contexts and in regard to contemporary forms of mobility, transnational migration and political, social and

1 The terms "minorities" and "migrants" are closely intertwined and loosely defined within the public, official and scholarly discourse, especially when considering people with ethnic backgrounds from other countries and cultures (and from the second or third generation or those even futher back). In this issue, therefore, we have decided to remain within the terminology and conceptual frameworks used by the authors of the articles, which also reflects a plurality of different understandings and uses of these categories.

economic transformations at the global level. It strives to offer a multifaceted model for thinking about migration, power, control and resistance as well as minorities and their music-making. This issue derives from the project "Music and Minorities: (Trans) cultural Dynamics in Slovenia After the Year 1991"[2] and is a result of the recognition accorded the scholarly treatment of music, migration and minorities, a field of study which has taken tremendous strides over the past two decades. One of the reasons for this development has been the research and personality of Professor Svanibor Pettan, whose pioneering work has helped the field gain institutional and scholarly recognition. This thematic issue is devoted to Professor Pettan and opens with five texts written by his colleagues, collaborators and friends.

Articles in this issue combine various ethnomusicological approaches and perspectives in order to embrace and rethink the music practices of marginalized individuals and communities. In this article we will first outline the dominant research perspectives on music, migration and minorities by discussing their important links between the fields of urban and applied ethnomusicology. We will also shed light on the approaches which aim to challenge racialized and essentialized approaches to understanding the categories of minority and migrant. By this we mean a particular methodological nationalism that derives from the strong division between us/them, home/host, dominant/minority cultures in specific nation-state political settings. In the last section we provide insight into the main themes covered in this issue as well as articles' short summaries.

1. Research on Music, Migration and Minorities

Ethnomusicological research focusing on migrant communities, refugee groups, and urban transformations emerged in the early 1980s.[3] These works challenged the dominant canon of ethnomusicological fieldwork as relating to the context of isolated rural communities and other remote areas. Their focus instead was on more dynamic social settings and migrant or minority communities within the urban environment, including rural-urban migrations or refugee groups. This is why the study of minorities and migrations has been closely related to development of the field of urban ethnomusicology, which gradually gained legitimacy starting in the 1980s.[4] From the late 1980s onward the music "of" the city emerged as an important field of study for ethnomusicologists

2 The project was funded by the Slovenian Research Agency under the number J6-8261.

3 See David Coplan, "The Urbanization of African Music: Some Theoretical Observations," *Popular Music* 2 (1982): 112–129; Philip V. Bohlman and Gila Flam, "Central European Jews in Israel: The Reurbanization of Musical Life in an Immigrant Culture," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 16 (1984): 67–83; Thomas Turino, "The Urban-Mestizo Charango Tradition in Southern Peru: A Statement of Shifting Identity," *Ethnomusicology* 28, no. 2 (1984): 253–69; Thomas Turino, "The Music of Andean Migrants in Lima, Peru: Demographics, Social Power, and Style," *Latin American Music Review* 9, no. 2 (1988): 127–150; Veit Erlmann, "Migration and Performance: Zulu Migrant Workers' Isicathamiya Performance in South Africa, 1890-1950," *Ethnomusicology* 34, no. 2 (1990): 199–220.

4 The pioneering works of Bruno Nettle (1978) and Adelaide Reyes's (1979) approached the city as an important place of ethnomusicological fieldwork. Bruno Nettl, ed., *Eight Urban Musical Cultures: Tradition and Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978); Adelaida Reyes-Schramm, "Ethnic Music, the Urban Area, and Ethnomusicology," *Sociologus* 29, no. 1(1979): 1–21.

particularly as related to the question of migration.[5] In his reflection on ethnomusicologists working in the cities they live in, Araújo points out the importance of "bringing home ethnomusicology to the urban context" and as a kind of ethical question which recognizes the political dimension of academic research.[6] The newly emergent fields of sound studies have fostered novel approaches to research on music and sound in relation to migration. The theme of urban sound practices calls for the application of approaches from architecture, urban planning and space representation[7] as well as the discourses of urban soundscapes and visual arts,[8] the aesthetic of noise and new media.[9] These new approaches shifted focus from the musical practices of migrants or minorities to the role of listening and sonic environments in their everyday negotiations of power and control.

The second important stream of thought within the research on music in relation to migration and minorities has been informed by the approach of applied ethnomusicology. For scholars working with marginalized individuals and communities, a focus on the socio-political relevance and practice-oriented nature of the research is particularly important. A number of scholars (Timothy Rice, Jonathan Stock, Jeff Todd Titon, Anthony Seeger, Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley, Samuel Araújo, Ursula Hemetek, Klisala Harison, Elizabeth Mackinlay and Svanibor Pettan) advocate collaboration not only as a method of field research but as an epistemological concept which recognizes the essential relationship between fieldwork and theory. They challenge the purity, neutrality and detachment associated with academic research and the idea of knowledge produced by intellectual communities, and call for knowlegde produced in collaboration with the communities or research partners in general.[10] They aim to stimulate discussion about the most efficient ethical and methodological solutions for the benefit of everyone involved in the resarch process. As one of the fruitful approaches that is grounded in a collaborative, action-related methodology is Participatory Action Research (PAR) – an approach also taken in articles in this issue (see those by Caruso and Sağlam). Engendered by the work of Latin American theorists such as Paulo Freire, Orlando Fals Borda and Guillermo Vasco, this methodology assumes collaboration to be a fundamental epistemological and political process as well as a collective transformative praxis. It leads to a different kind of knowledge produced "by" and most importantly "with" the people and communities

5 See Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "The Ethnomusicologist, Ethnographic Method, and the Transmission of Tradition," in *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, eds. Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997): 189–204; Samuel Araújo et al. "Conflict and Violence as Theoretical Tools in Present-Day Ethnomusicology: Notes on a Dialogic Ethnography of Sound Practices in Rio de Janeiro," *Ethnomusicology* 50, no. 2 (2006): 287–313; Adelaide Reyes-Schramm and Ursula Hemetek, eds., *Cultural diversity in the urban area: Explorations in urban ethnomusicology* (Vienna: Institute of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology, 2007).

6 Samuel Araújo, "Ethnomusicologists researching towns they live in: theoretical and methodological queries for a renewed discipline," *Muzikologija* 9 (2009): 34, 35.

7 E.g. Torsten Wissmann, *Geographies of Urban Sound* (UK: Ashgate publishing group, 2014).

8 Brandon LaBelle, *Background Noise: Perspectives on Sound Art* (New York: Continuum, 2006); Brandon LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories: Sound Culture and Everyday Life* (New York: Continuum, 2010); Steve Goodman, *Sonic Warfare: Sound, Affect and the Ecology of Fear* (Massachusetts, London: The MIT Press, 2010); Salome Voegelin, *Listening to Noise and Silence* (New York: Continuum, 2010); Anja Kanngieser, "A sonic geography of voice: Towards an affective politics," *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (2012): 336–353.

9 Gavin Staingo and Jim Sykes, *Remapping Sound Studies* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2019).

10 See Jeff T. Titon, "Music, the Public Interest, and the Practice of Ethnomusicology," *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 3 (1992): 315–22.

under study, in addition to taking into consideration its emancipatory potential.[11] This approach appears to be particularly fruitful in research situated at the intersection of music-making, forced migration, violence and conflict, and which would also appear to be a particularly strong line of inquiry in ethnomusicological scholarship.[12]

The ethnomusicological streams of inquiry presented above also tend to problematize the dominant approaches of methodological nationalism and cultural essentialism. Particularly in the European context, the discourse of identity has been heavily emphasized when researching the musical activity of migrants or minorities. Often following the nation-state logic, the underlying assumption of this approach is that migrants' activities are linked to ethnic or national identities, while neglecting the many "non-ethnic" identifications or senses of belonging connected to religion, work, family and social contacts.[13]

In the 1990s a significant shift took place whereby culture and identity were understood as a constantly changing process and field of negotiation.[14] Negotiated identities,[15] especially when relating to migrants or minorities, are often the subject of ethnic categorization, group identifications or labeling by "others". Scholars take a critical stance in understanding collective cultural identity as necessarily or even exclusively defined by ethnic, social and generational homogeneity. Approaches in the field of minority and migration studies,[16] especially those connected to music,[17] largely reject a view of minority groups as bearers of an exclusively national identity from their country of

11 See Samuel Araújo, "From Neutrality to Praxis: The Shifting Politics of Ethnomusicology in the Contemporary World," *Muzikološki zbornik* 44, no. 1 (2008): 15; Vincenzo Cambria, *Music and violence in Rio de Janeiro: a participatory study in urban ethnomusicology* (PhD dissertation, Wesleyan University, 2012): 42, 44; Samuel Araújo and Vincenzo Cambria, "Sound praxis, poverty, and social participation: Perspectives from a collaborative study in Rio de Janeiro," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 45, no. 1 (2013): 28–42.

12 Svanibor Pettan, ed., *Music, Politics, and War: Views from Croatia* (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1998); Jonathan Ritter and Martin J. Daughtry, eds., *Music in the Post-9/11 World* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Samuel Araújo et al., "Conflict and Violence as Theoretical Tools in Present-Day Ethnomusicology: Notes on a Dialogic Ethnography of Sound Practices in Rio de Janeiro," *Ethnomusicology* 50, no. 2 (2006): 287–313; John Morgan O'Connell and Salwa El-Shawan-Castelo Branco, *Music and Conflict* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010); Susan Fast and Kip Pegley, eds., *Music, Politics and Violence* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2012).

13 See Nina Glick Schiller, Tsypylma Darieva and Sandra Gruner-Domic, "Defining cosmopolitan sociability in a transnational age. An introduction," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 3 (2011): 399–418; Nina Glick Schiller, Ayse Caglar and Thaddeus Guldbrandsen, "Beyond the ethnic lens: locality, globality and born-again incorporation," *American Ethnologist* 33, no. 4 (2006): 612–633.

14 Stuart Hall, "Cultural identity and diaspora," in *Identity, community, culture, difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 222–237.

15 Richard Jenkins, "Rethinking ethnicity: Identity, categorization and power," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17, no. 2 (1994): 197–223.

16 E.g. Rogers Brubaker, Mara Loveman and Peter Stamatov, "Ethnicity as cognition," *Theory and Society* 33 (2004): 31–64; Carsten Wippermann and Berthold Bodo Flaig, "Lebenswelten von Migrantinnen und Migranten," *Aus Politik Und Zeitgeschichte* 5 (2009): 3–11; Mitja Žagar, "Definiranje narodne manjšine v pravu in znanosti nasploh: nekaj prispevkov k razmišljanju o opredeljevanju in definicijah manjšin in narodnih manjšin," in *Zgodovinski, politološki, pravni in kulturološki okvir za definicijo narodne manjšine v Republiki Sloveniji*, eds. Vera Kržišnik Bukić et al. (Ljubljana: Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, 2014), 35–49.

17 E.g. Svanibor Pettan et al., eds., *Glasba in manjšine/Music and Minorities* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2001); Ursula Hemetek et al., eds., *Manifold Identities: Studies of Music and Minorities* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2004); Naila Ceribašić in Erica Haskell, eds., *Shared Musics and Minority Identities: Papers from the Meeting of the 'Music and Minorities' Study Group of the ICTM, Roč, Croatia, 2004* (Zagreb: Institute of Technology and Folklore Research Roč: Cultural Artistic Society 'Istarski željezničar', 2006); Rosemary Statelova, et al., eds., *The Human World and Musical Diversity* (Sofia: Institute of Art Studies – Bulgarian Academy of Science, 2008); Bernd Clausen et al., eds., *Music in Motion: Diversity in Dialogue in Europe* (Bielefeld: European Music Council, Transcript Verlag, 2009); Ursula Hemetek et al., eds. *Music and Minorities Around the World: Research, Documentation and Interdisciplinary study* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014); Zuzana Jurkova in Lee Bidgood, eds., *Voices of the Weak* (Prague: NGO Slovo 21, 2009).

origin, and so they spurn the concept of methodological nationalism.[18] They take a critical stance on the practices of racialization,[19] through which construction of "difference" or the "other" are essentialized and reduced. Instead they insist that practices of identification supersede the dualism of us/them and the dominant culture vs. migrant/minority culture, and call for a fuller awareness of cultural complexities and those dynamics which coincide with ongoing globalization processes.[20] These works further emphasize that when research is conceptualized around the discourses of ethnic identity, it can fall prey to not just a perpetuation of the national/istic view but also to First World (i.e. Global North) epistemologies and liberal views.[21]

An understanding of migrant and minority communities as bounded entities has been the target of criticism along with suggestions that they should rather be understood as the idiom, position and claim[22] upon which communities build identifications. The process of defining migrant identity "in a space that encourages hybridity" led Espinoza to suggest that we should understand migrants as "hybrid identities in the third space". [23] This third space may be a musically reconstructed past, but full of meanings and current identifications that characterize their present habitus. Furthermore, migration discourse cannot be understood in isolation from other intersecting social relations such as gender, race, class, language, economic and social status, disability, age and sexuality. This intersectional view is examined by Svanibor Pettan's opening article, which calls for a necessary expansion of the still dominant ethnic approach in understanding minorities and minority-majority relations. In this regard the new approaches also encourage an understanding of music-making within the context of globalizing currents as well as transnational and transcultural networks. In their plea for a transnational approach in the study of music and migration, Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof make the case that from the transcultural perspective the issue of belonging and origin is irrelevant when people interact with others.[24] Martiniello also suggests that in being faced with a growing post-racial urban generation which engages in "artistic collaboration that is both locally rooted and transnationally connected,"[25] it is imperative that we practice more nuanced thinking about the categorizations of migrants and their music. In a similar vein, Wimmer suggests we should take a broader perspective and know "when

18 Anna Améllina et al., eds. *Beyond Methodological Nationalism: Research Methodologies in CrossBorder Studies* (London: Routledge, 2012).

19 Stuart Hall, "The spectacle of the 'other'," in *Representation. Cultural representation and signifying practices,* eds. Stuart Hall and Milton Keynes (Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc; Maidenhead, BRK, England: Open University Press, 1997), 223–289.

20 Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Colonial Discourse & Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Brighton: Harvester Whaeatsheaf, 1993), 226.

21 Ana Hofman, "Maintaining the Distance, Othering the Subaltern: Rethinking Ethnomusicologists' Engagement in Advocacy and Social Justice," in *Applied Ethnomusicology: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*, eds. Klisala Harison, Elizabeth Mackinlay and Svanibor Pettan (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishers, 2010), 22–35.

22 Rogers Brubaker, "The 'diaspora' diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no.1 (2005): 1–19.

23 Andrés Espinoza, "Defining Diaspora in ethnomusicological research," *Academia.edu*, accessed September 15, 2019, available at https://www.academia.edu/4865986/Defining_diaspora_in_ethnomusicological_research.

24 Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof, eds., "Music and migration: A Transnational Approach," *Music and Arts in Action* 3, no. 3 (2011): 5.

25 Marco Martiniello, "Local communities of artistic practices and the slow emergence of a "post-racial" generation," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41, no. 6 (2018): 1146–1162.

(not) to think about ethnicity"[26] in terms of institutional influences, social relations and classifications, territorialization and random events.

2. Description of the Main Themes and Structure of the Issue

Except for the case study focusing on Sri Lanka, the articles in this issue address music, migration and minorities in the context of contemporary Europe yet with a strong emphasis on transnational music-making and applied research.

The opening article by Svanibor Pettan is a methodological contribution to the study of music and minorities in both the political and scholarly realm. Taking a critical view of the still predominant ethnic criteria in the research on music and minorities, the author proposes a more refined approach that transcends the fixed positions of minority and majority by placing their interrelationship and mutual encounters at the center of his analysis. With a special emphasis on the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) and previous and current definitions of minority, Pettan distinguishes ten key factors that define the majority/minority relationship: ethnicity, race, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, disability, political opinion, social or economic deprivation. On the basis of these key-concepts he further develops ten thematically profiled research models that are intended as a methodological toolkit for ongoing and future research into music and minorities. Each model is supplemented by a selection of references and accompanied by the author's own reflection of their usage in given research contexts.

The first block of articles focuses on choir movements in Germany and Slovenia. They deal with the role of amateur and professional choral singing in building transcultural connections among migrants and minorities and their musical life-worlds. Through an analysis of the processes of public representations of Africanness, Mojca Kovačič reveals that these connections have shattered the apparent ethnic homogeneity of the African community in Slovenia, since non-African musicians play important roles as choir leaders and creators of the musical repertoire. Emphasizing the importance of culturally distinctive spaces to them and their children, members of the Sankofa choir support the need for social differentiation while also creating musical content in both a unique and pragmatic way. Their need for aesthetic satisfaction goes beyond the desire for ethnic ties and thus "opening the door" to non-Africans and taking the heterogeneity of identities to a new level. Further examination of the social positions and actions of individuals in the African diaspora reveals the "second-generation advantage"[27] which allows them to draw on cultural resources from both the society they live in and the culture of their parents. They are not compelled to fight for their economic, social and

26 Andreas Wimmer, "Herder's Heritage and the Boundary-Making Approach: Studying Ethnicity in Immigrant Societies," *Sociological Theory* 27, no. 3 (2009): 244–270.

27 Philip Kasinitz, John H. Mollenkopf, Mary C. Waters, and Jennifer Holdaway, "Conclusion: The Second Generation Advantage," in *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age*, eds. Philip Kasinitz, John H. Mollenkopf, Mary C. Waters, and Jennifer Holdaway (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2008), 342-370.

legal place in the new country (in contrast to their parents) and they are a position to apply their creative activities to challenge dominant disourses of racial, ethnic or social belongings in the Slovenian society.

Transcultural music-making is also present within the "migrant choirs" featured in Dorit Klebe's article. She compares the organization, repertoire, representation strategies and memberships of two Berlin-based choirs. Both of them gather together migrants, refugees and the (self-)defined "majority" population. The first choir functioned as a working-class signing collective of Turkish migrants in the 1970s and 1980s and maintained its cultural homogeneity through Turkish singers, repertoire and language, while also collaborating with non-Turkish instrumentalists. By contrast, the second choir maintains links between refugees and "locals" in a very structured way: membership is based on the condition that a refugee must be brought into the choir by a Berlin resident. As a result the choir members are mostly volunteers from refugee organizations as well as refugees themselves. Their public engagement is structurally maintained through public performances, sing-alongs in different contexts as well as a heterogeneous repertoire in terms of genres and geographical areas. Klebe further emplaces the membership structure and activities of the two choirs within the framework of two different principles. The first choir functioned within a "self-help principle" because it served as a network of mutual assistance that helped the community of migrant workers maintain ties with Turkey, to integrate into new society or even return to their home country. The second choir is an example of the "tandem partner principle" characterized by cooperation between Berlin residents and refugees.

The second bloc of articles discusses institutional approaches to and official representations of the music and culture of migrant and minority communities in Slovenia. The articles by Urša Šivic and Drago and Rebeka Kunej thus complement each other in their top-down perspective and interest in cultural politics. The first article explores the official discourse of institutional policies that finance and guide the cultural activities of migrant and minority communities, while the second article deals with the emergence and functioning of minority ethnic groups that formed in Slovenia after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. These two articles are primarily based on desk research, including official policy guidelines and other documents, but also on digital-media analysis and interviews with leading representatives of cultural policy and minority folklore groups.

Kunej's article focuses on the public representation and (self)image projected by ex-Yugoslav minority associations in Slovenia. Not surprisingly, in ethnically defined minority associations, folklore music and dance are identity markers by which individuals create an emotional connection with the "homeland" through the discourse of an imagined past, tradition and authenticity, thereby reinforcing their position of difference in Slovenian society. The authors claim that the purpose of minority folklore groups is "the desire to enrich the cultural space in the new country and to integrate into the society in which they live," yet more detailed ethnographic research would certainly reveal more complex practices behind the official discourse and cultural formations.

The article by Urša Šivic examines the funding of minority and migrant cultural programs by Slovenian state institutions since 1991. By analyzing the transformation of public calls for the financing of cultural projects, she reveals to whom such documents

related and what cultural representations were expected of minorities and migrants. The article analyzes the official policy discourse that created the dominant rhetoric and attitudes toward migrants and minorities while also contributing to their self-perception and self-positioning within Slovenian society. Šivic asserts that the public call for the funding of cultural projects enabled new minorities and migrants to have rights which more closely approximated those of formally recognized autochthonous minorities.[28] Yet she simultaneously emphasizes that institutional procedures still marginalize the cultural expressions of minorities and migrants. Although public calls for funding have become relatively flexible in recent years, one might question whether they are in fact addressing the transcultural and global dynamics and hybrid cultural expressions of minority and migrant musicians. As a result, despite the fact that the public call does not demand this, in their project applications the cultural associations which represent migrants and minorities will often equate minority with ethnicity, especially in the realm of music and dance. Moreover, although public-financing policies do not clearly define the categories of migrant and minority, members of these communities tend to perpetuate a stereotypical image of the minority and migrant cultures in order to meet the expectations of Slovenian society and obtain the necessary institutional support.

The last article in this second bloc also addresses the issue of migrational flow after the dissolution of Yugoslavia – but this time from the perspective of Bosnian refugees in Slovenia in the 1990s. Bartulović and Kozorog examine the genre of *sevdalinka* and its role in the complex struggles involved in the process of home-making following Yugoslavia's social and cultural disintegration. The authors seek to challenge dominant understandings of "refugee music-making" by emphasizing its neglected aspects in the context of transit or temporary migrations. They want to shift our attention from the divisions between refugees and local music-making to those hybrid musical forms created in the dialogue between local communities and temporary migrants/refugees, particularly at moments of political and social uncertainty. In exploring the position of the exile musician(s) and their active usage of *sevdalinka*'s affective capacities, the authors argue that the collective performance of and listening to *sevdalinka* in the 1990s helped create new solidarities and musical cooperation between locals and refugees in Slovenia.

The last thematic bloc consists of articles that took approach on music-making (with) in indigenous communities and those of migrants and refugees in relationship to applied ethnomusicology and the collaborative fieldwork. Fulvia Caruso's article reports on the long-term music and migration project undertaken by her, her students and former students in the city of Cremona, Italy, situated between the regions of Lombardy and Emilia Romagna. The starting point for their project was an assumption that music is a significant medium which not only shapes a new understanding of transnational cultural identity but helps in forming public opinion with respect to city cultural, ethnic and religious diversity. Methodologically speaking, the project undertook participatory

28 For the definition and further explanation of the formal categories of "autochthonous" and "new" minorities, see Šivic's article.

action research and addressed the foreign residents and asylum seekers by establishing three main activities: transcultural musical workshops in schools, musical workshops in reception centers, and the creation of an audio-visual archive of public events. Caruso extensively describes the planned project activities and affords insight into the complexities of collaborative work by writing candidly about the limits and challenges of the chosen approach. She pays particular attention to the process of building an audio-visual archive so as to gain insight into just how foreign residents in Cremona engage with their own national heritage and the role of cultural associations in this process. Furthermore, she addresses the intangible heritage and the project *Culture in dialogo* (dialogue between cultures) aimed at disclosing the coexistence of heritages and cultures of different origins in Cremona. The main idea was to involve foreign residents, migrants and refugees in three museums – Archaeological Museum, Museum of Natural History, and Museum of Rural Civilization – where they would present their music and culture. Because Caruso's article was being written in the course of this project, more conclusive findings are to be expected.

Hande Sağlam's article makes the case for biculturalism as well as multiculturalism in diverse cultural spaces in Vienna. The project unfolded in so-called "problem schools" (as defined by the experts and school staff) where some 95 percent of pupils have migrant backgrounds. In collaboration with students at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna and through participatory research methods, music is employed as a two-way communication and way of suspending hierarchical power relations. Sağlam also emphasizes the project's role in improving interaction between "classical" music pedagogy and ethnomusicology so that pupils might transcend their Eurocentric attitudes toward what is seen as "different" music. She further claims that the project succeeded in heightening the university students' awareness of a diversity of musical expressions, which was also verified through interviews with students and justified by the interest of schools and universities in continuing the project into the future. The project proved to be applicable to different European educational contexts and might help to improve the university curricula for music students who will later be teaching in diverse cultural environments as well as helping to revise primary-school curricula. The author concludes that the project demonstrates how ethnomusicology can aid in overcoming the nationalist and racist discourses and power relations created by teachers, school systems and their pupils.

The article by Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona is based on research into Sri Lanka's indigenous Vedda population. It critically points to the Euroamerican-centred idea of modernity and its "developmentalist" narratives, which are built on the assumption of indigenous communities as "pre-modern" subjects who do not interact with the modern world or its technologies. The author's research was conducted with her students, whereby she sought to stimulate their interest and sensibility to the (musical) culture of indigenous communities. At the same time, through dialogue with the Vedda community leader about worldwide examples of applied ethnomusicological practices in the case of indigenous peoples, she raised awareness among community members about ongoing opportunities for the governmental support of indigenous communities in Sri Lanka. In conclusion the author uses the Vedda's distinctive musical world as a

model of sustainability and resilience within Catherine Grant's "Twelve Factors in the Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework" and considers how applied ethnomusicology can empower the members of indigenous communities.

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POVZETEK

Tematski zbornik prikazuje presečišča med glasbo, migracijami in manjšinami v različnih geografskih območjih in družbeno-političnih kontekstih. Na globalni ravni preizprašuje njihova razmerja do sodobnih oblik mobilnosti, transnacionalnih migracij ter političnih, socialnih in gospodarskih transformacij. Prizadeva si ponuditi večplasten model razmišljanja o migracijah, o moči, nadzoru in odporu, ter o manjšinah in njihovem ustvarjanju glasbe. V uvodnem članku so sprva orisani prevladujoči raziskovalni pristopi do glasbe, migracij in manjšin, ki so povezani s pomembnimi razpravami s področij urbane in aplikativne etnomuzikologije. Nato je z zgodovinske perspektive predstavljen zgoščen pregled literature glavnih raziskovalcev in njihovih pristopov na tem področju. Posebej so osvetljena tista dela, katerih cilj je izzvati rasistične in esencializirane pristope k razumevanju kategorij manjšin in migrantov. S tem je kritično zavržen metodološki nacionalizem, ki izhaja iz močne delitve med nami/njimi, domom/gostiteljem, prevladujočimi/manjšinskimi kulturami v specifičnih državnih političnih okoljih. V zadnjem razdelku je ponujen vpogled v glavne teme, ki jih pokrivajo članki v zborniku, pri čemer so izpostavljeni različni sodobni etnomuzikološki pristopi in perspektive pri obravnavi glasbenih praks marginaliziranih posameznikov in skupnosti.

DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.19-21

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Identities of Svanibor Pettan

Without doubt every individual has multiple identities. In our longstanding friendship I have witnessed some of Svanibor's: ethnically Slovenian as well as Croatian, ethnomusicologist, engaged activist, ICTM official, white male, caring son, loving husband and loyal friend. And there would be many more to mention. Here I want to concentrate on some of his outstanding characteristics in his professional career. My thoughts are based on my personal perceptions.

1. The "modern ethnomusicologist"

Maybe it sounds strange to use the attribute "modern" for a person within a discipline. Such attributes are always very much connected to time and place and of course as opposed to something that would not be modern. In Svanibor's case I think it does make sense, especially seen against the background of the time and the region where his career started. Svanibor himself defined what he meant by modern ethnomusicology in an article from 2001 with the title "Encounter with 'The Others from Within': The Case of Gypsy Musicians in Former Yugoslavia". The article is about Romani music, and this genre demands approaches that are opposed to certain ones which we could call "the conservative folk music research" approach. As I do research on Romani music as well, that article for me was crucial. I have made a table using some keywords from Pettan's conclusion which corresponds to the approaches of the two disciplines personified by the objects of research. It reads as follows and underlines the differences and paradoxes:

Conservative folk music researcher Folklore ensemble	**Modern ethnomusicologist Gypsy musicians**
responsibility for one's own national roots	open-mindedness towards the "other"
national	global framework
self-sufficiency	openness
interest in the survival of products	interest in processes: acculturation, globalization, construction of identity
characteristic "we" pattern, collective identities	"I" pattern, individuality

Pettan uses the Roma as an example to analyze and to challenge the methodologies and theories of folk music research and ethnomusicology. For me this analysis was rather enlightening at that time, and it was provocative. It was provocative for certain parts of Europe too, especially some states of Southeast Europe, but also for Austria. Pettan was clearly defining his own position as a modern ethnomusicologist in confrontation with conservative folk music researchers, the latter being a model of an academic discipline which was still dominant in some national scholarly traditions at that time. This is only one of many outstanding achievements of Svanibor's scholarly approaches.

2. The minority researcher

We have collaborated for about 30 years now in different projects and on different levels in the field of ethnomusicological minority research. The umbrella for most of these activities was the ICTM.

On the one hand, we co-founded the Study Group on Music and Minorities in 1999, while the preparations had already begun in 1994. It was not an easy task but we joined forces with many other colleagues and finally succeeded. In 2000, the first Study Group symposium took place in Ljubljana, and it was the point of departure for a very successful ongoing process. Both of us are still minority researchers and we are both involved in Roma research. Svanibor added another approach, probably also due to his personal history of being involved in the war in the former Yugoslavia: applied ethnomusicology. He was the co-founder of the ICTM Study group on Applied Ethnomusicology and its first chair. The founding took place during the World Conference 2007 in Vienna. His longstanding scholarly engagement culminated in the co-editing of The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology in 2015.

Picture 1: Ursula Hemetek and Svanibor Pettan in front of the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna, Austria, July 2018.

3. The networker

Svanibor was a member of the Executive Board of the ICTM from 2001–2009, Vice President from 2009–2011 and from 2017 till now, and Secretary General from 2011–2017. This means his engagement in the ICTM is longstanding and he has obviously dedicated much of his energy and lifetime to this organisation. His networking qualities are extraordinary and he is truly an international person. I remember many wonderful, enlightening, funny, but also stressful moments during our collaborations within the ICTM. We do share many personal and also professional experiences. As Secretary General of ICTM I was fortunate to inherit the Council in very good shape in terms of operations from Svanibor, also because of his wise choice of the excellent executive assistant with whom I continued to work.

I owe Svanibor so much gratitude for his support on so many levels over these 30 years. He opened many doors for me, in a scholarly and personal sense, and it is a great pleasure and always inspiring to work with him. I will be happy to go on Svanibor, there is still much to do.

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DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.23-28

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Svanibor Pettan: an Appreciation

Svanibor Pettan is that rare kind of gentleman who immediately puts his acquaintances at ease and encourages them to feel as if they'd known him for a long time. These qualities have enabled him to succeed in helping to make the world a better place through music, and in helping his colleagues in Europe and abroad to mobilize around the field of applied ethnomusicology. For Svanibor, this has meant taking ethnomusicology beyond mere scholarship – that is, beyond the accumulation of knowledge and its dissemination within the community of scholars – to the application of that ethnomusicological knowledge in service to a deliberate intervention into the ethnic groups under study, to resolve conflicts that may lead to violence and instead to promote peace among them.

As a student at the University of Zagreb in the early 1980s, Svanibor experienced ethnomusicology as then taught in many central and eastern European nations: that is, as the analytical study of domestic folk music cultures. Nonetheless he undertook fieldwork outside of Yugoslavia, in Zanzibar and Egypt while working toward his Bachelor's and Master's degrees. He began to think about music and minorities, and the possible uses of music to improve relations among ethnic groups. His service in the Yugoslav People's Army furthered his desire for peace and his ambitions to find a way for music to help resolve conflicts among peoples. Stationed in Kosovo as the instructor for cultural affairs, he brought together people (including soldiers) from different ethnic communities to form a choir and foster feelings of togetherness. He came to the US to study at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, where in 1992 he received his Ph.D. in ethnomusicology. As he was finishing the degree, he contemplated attempting a career as a professor in the United States. But the nation of Yugoslavia had in the meantime broken apart into smaller units, while ethnic nationalism fueled uprisings and eventually wars in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia. He felt that his project to put ethnomusicological knowledge to use for peace was needed at home, and so he returned to the region. One result was his work in the refugee camps to bring diverse and sometimes inimical populations together through music. In addition, he undertook research, publications, radio programs, films and other activities in the service of peace and conflict resolution.

In 2000 he was appointed professor of ethnomusicology in the department of musicology at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, where he helped to internationalize the field while building a program that encouraged applied ethnomusicology.

Svanibor first came to my attention in 1997 at the SEM conference where we met to establish, under the leadership of Doris Dyen and Marta Ellen Davis, a Committee on Applied Ethnomusicology. In 2000 one of our entering ethnomusicology graduate students, Erica Haskell, mentioned to me that Svanibor had been helpful to her when she was working on music projects with refugees in Bosnia. This was before she returned to the US to take up a short-term position at Smithsonian Folkways and then was admitted to our doctoral program in ethnomusicology at Brown. Erica told me that Svanibor had, himself, done applied work in the refugee camps some years earlier; and so he was able to help open doors for her, give her the benefit of his experience and also alert her to the more subtle aspects of cultural differences and culture conflicts in the region. Erica progressed in our program and furthered her research music in war-torn Bosnia, and Svanibor continued to help guide her work in ways that I as an outsider to that region could not.

As Erica was completing her final year of course work, she partnered with another graduate student, Maureen Loughran, and with me, to plan for our university to host the first international conference – indeed, the first conference ever – on applied ethnomusicology. It was obvious to us that Svanibor must be invited to speak at the conference. When Erica got in touch with him, he suggested that we also invite his Norwegian colleague, Kjell Skyllstad. Skyllstad had also put music to use for restorative well-being. The two had collaborated when in the mid-1990s Svanibor was a visiting professor for a semester at the University of Oslo, in a project involving music and education among Bosnian refugees in Norway. Erica, Maureen and I raised grant money to pay for their travel, and for the travel of a dozen other speakers, including my Passamaquoddy friends Wayne Newell and Blanche Sockabasin. Wayne, whom I have known since 1988, is an educator and tribal elder who has been instrumental in sustaining Passamaquoddy music and language in the state of Maine. Among the other participants were Martha Davis, Nick Spitzer, Tony Seeger, Judith Gray, and Dan Sheehy, all applied ethnomusicology pioneers inside and outside the US academic world. The conference, which took place at Brown University in April 2003, was a great success due in no small part to Wayne and Blanche, and to Svanibor and Kjell. During this time I was able to thank Svanibor in person for being so helpful to Erica. He had done so out of the goodness of his heart – she was not studying at his university, and he received no payment for becoming, in effect, an outside expert and unofficial member of her dissertation committee. Incidentally, the conference was videotaped, and Svanibor's presentation and the others are on the Brown University website.[1]

During this same spring of 2003 it became clear that the Bush-Cheney Administration was hell-bent on a US invasion of Iraq. With others I had marched and held vigils in the streets; we had lobbied our representatives in Congress to do everything they could to prevent the conflict. A few days before the conference took place, I

1 "The First Conference on Applied Ethnomusicology; Invested in Community: Ethnomusicology and Musical Advocacy," *Brown University Library Center for Digital Scholarship*, https://library.brown.edu/cds/invested_in_community/.

and others had spoken to a large crowd of students, faculty, staff and city of Providence residents gathered for a teach-in on the main green of my university. We were continuing our efforts to galvanize popular opinion to try to stop the invasion. I told them it was likely that any US invasion would cause far more terror and death than it would ever prevent. A few days later in closing out the conference I repeated the same idea, positioning applied ethnomusicology as a means for promoting peace. I told the attendees that

> *A sense of history pervades this conference in more ways than one. For one thing, this is the first conference of its kind, the first devoted to applied ethnomusicology, a historical first. But while we have been hearing and speaking at this conference about music solving conflict among peoples, we are as a nation about to cause conflict. We are about to invade Iraq. It's not enough to point out the irony. Scholars in my generation are good at irony. The problem with irony is that however much intellectual satisfaction irony gives, it doesn't stop tanks. It's not the same as action. Advocacy requires action [...]*[2]

Svanibor and I and the others were part of a larger movement that had its roots in earlier decades, and my role in it may be worth mentioning here. My work in applied ethnomusicology had arisen as an organic outgrowth of my political activism during the 1960s. I had marched and leafleted and knocked on doors to get the US out of Vietnam; I participated in teach-ins at my university and out in the community at large. With my professor Mulford Sibley I explored non-violent resistance, direct action and community organizing as a means toward social change and justice. When I met Walter Mondale (just appointed to fill Hubert Humphrey's vacant Senate seat) at a university gathering I struck up a conversation and urged him to go to Vietnam and see for himself – which he did, and came back opposed to the War. I had also started my work in applied ethnomusicology on behalf of African Americans, the Civil Rights Movement, and the blues music culture – in which I also was a participant. During my graduate school years I played guitar in Lazy Bill Lucas' blues band and learned a great deal from Bill and our other bandmates, especially bass player JoJo Williams (who had heard Son House and Charley Patton while growing up in the Mississippi Delta), and Mojo Buford, who played harmonica and had recorded with Muddy Waters. In the 1970s and 1980s my applied work moved in the direction of public folklore as well as ethnomusicology and our then-mission of cultural conservation. Combining this work with political activism was my chief motivation for arranging sessions on music and the politics of culture at the 1989 SEM conference and for the special 1992 issue of the SEM Journal on "ethnomusicology in the public interest." And as the new century dawned and my thinking moved from conservation to an ecological approach to cultural and musical sustainability, I also returned to my earlier political activism, in no small part due to the influence of Erica and Svanibor and their work with music for peace and conflict resolution.

2 "Closing Address," *Brown University Library Center for Digital Scholarship*, (The First Conference on Applied Ethnomusicology; Invested in Community: Ethnomusicology and Musical Advocacy; March 9, 2003), https://library.brown.edu/cds/invested_in_community/Titon_Closing.html.

Picture 2: Svanibor Pettan at the 44th ICTM World Conference, Irish World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick, July 2017.

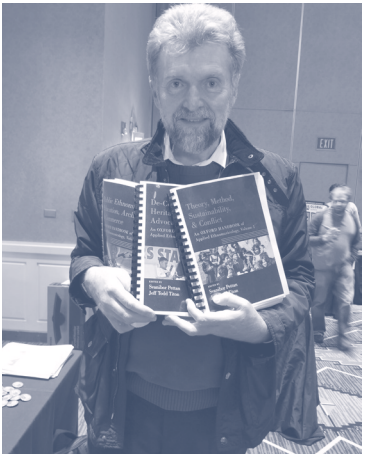
In short, that applied ethnomusicology conference at Brown was a turning (or, rather, returning) point for me and many others. So, for example, in the following year (2004) I urged our SEM Ethics Committee to propose to the SEM Executive Board a position statement condemning the use of music for torture. I'd learned that the Bush-Cheney Administration was torturing detainees during their so-called war on terror. Evidently the detainees couldn't stand hip-hop, and listening to Eminem at high volume for hours on end caused the most pain. (Much later it was revealed that two members of the American Psychological Association had helped mastermind the torture, and when the executives of that academic organization learned about it, they did nothing to condemn it.) Our Committee sent up to the Board the proposal that SEM condemn the use of music for torture, and after much discussion the Board approved it and in 2007 posted the Position Statement on the SEM website, where it remains today. Although SEM had come out with position statements opposing the unjust incarceration of individual scholars, this was different. It was the first time that SEM as an organization took this kind of bold and controversial public political stand. It was a victory for applied ethnomusicology and for those of us like Svanibor and so many others who had labored for so long to turn our professional organizations from social organizations for sharing knowledge among scholars, into socially responsible institutions working within the larger political system to bring about well-being and a more just world. The recent turn within SEM toward an examination of "ethnomusicology in the Anthropocene" and the role of ethnomusicologists in confronting the political, environmental and economic crises of our era is an outgrowth of this triumph of applied ethnomusicology. The Applied Ethnomusicology Section of SEM is now the third largest Section, just behind the Student and Popular Music Sections. Forty years ago, when Alan Merriam was calling applied work

"sandbox ethnomusicology," it was dismissed as being apart from ethnomusicology's proper subject, scholarship. Today, scholarship and its applications inside and outside of the academy are united.

When Erica returned to Bosnia for her dissertation research, she and I and Svanibor stayed in touch, of course, and he continued to serve as a guide and mentor. To my delight, a few years later (2008) Suzanne Ryan asked me to co-edit, with Svanibor, the *Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology*. If memory serves, she told me she had been at the 2007 ICTM conference where Svanibor lobbied for an ICTM Study Group on Applied Ethnomusicology. His enthusiasm was infectious, the group formed, and she approached him and asked him if there might also be a book in it. As they discussed the project, Svanibor mentioned the SEM's earlier institutional involvement with applied ethnomusicology – in 2003, our Committee had become a full-fledged Applied Ethnomusicology Section – and suggested to Suzanne that she enlist me as co-editor. She and I discussed the book project at the 2008 SEM conference and I told her I thought it was an excellent idea, thanked her and Svanibor for coming up with it, and said I'd be glad to join him in the effort to gather a group of articles from applied ethnomusicologists internationally (including Erica Haskell, who by that time had completed her dissertation and was a professor at the University of New Haven). I thought that our knowledge of the field complemented each other's, for Svanibor knew a good deal about applied ethnomusicology in the ICTM and European context, whereas I had been active in US public folklore and applied ethnomusicology for many decades both inside and outside of SEM. Of course, we also hoped to avoid a Euro-American bias for the book insofar as possible.

Thus began a continuous and almost constant international collaboration between us that lasted seven years (the *Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology* was published in 2015). Much of this collaboration took place by email, of course, but a lot of it was done via Skype. Svanibor made the time to travel to Providence and be a visiting scholar at Brown while we spent some time working together on the project, and I also got to meet his brilliant and charming partner Lasanthi during this period. I am sure that Svanibor knew more about applied ethnomusicology in the US than I did about it in Europe, but in any case we were discovering that the field didn't develop at the same time or in the same ways in those two regions. Indeed, in different parts of Europe it developed in characteristically different ways, and also in Africa, Australia, and Latin America. I was fortunate to be invited to give a series lectures on music and sustainability in Beijing in 2009, and plant the seed of applied ethnomusicology over there; Zhang Boyu's article on applied ethnomusicology for the *Handbook* was the result. Svanibor, of course, drew on his network of ethnomusicologists in the ICTM, while I drew on my connections with public folklorists as well as applied ethnomusicologists in North America, as we began inviting contributions to the book. Svanibor convened a conference on applied ethnomusicology at the University of Ljubljana in 2008, which gathered international momentum for our book project. Not everyone was able to accept our invitations, but as the abstracts began to come in, and as the proposal to Oxford became formalized, Svanibor and I adapted our different ways of working to each other, as writers, colleagues and especially as editors. This also to some extent meant adapting to the somewhat

different cultural styles of European and North American scholars, Presses, and their (and our) expectations. I think Svanibor may have been surprised that Oxford made us jump through so many hoops: abstracts (and revised abstracts) for all contributors; our proposal; one internal review and two sets of external reviews after the manuscript was completed, followed by revisions from all contributors; another external review; more revisions; and then of course the copyedit stage and two page proof stages. Whew! But this is the way university presses proceed in the US, for better or worse (and we had a two-year reprise when Oxford announced a paperback version of the *Handbook*. After a series of small corrections and further revisions it was published in March 2019, in three separate, less expensive volumes).



Picture 3: Svanibor Pettan with spiral bound page proofs of the three volumes, 63rd Annual Meeting of The Society for Ethnomusicology, Albuquerque, 2018.

I am sure that our long collaboration tested the diplomatic skills of the co-editors. While I helped him to understand the sometimes labyrinthine procedures of US university presses, for example, he helped me to understand the expectations that well-established European scholars had with regard to suggestions for improving their research, and for timetables and deadlines. We never went fishing together, but I imagine that he is an infinitely patient fisherman. This patience coupled with diplomatic and organizational skill has served him well in his important and time-consuming administrative posts in the ICTM. Several times during our collaboration on the *Oxford Handbook* I realized that Svanibor had taken on more tasks and travel than was good for his health; yet he is a person of uncommon energy, strength, and determination. On this, the occasion of his 60th birthday, we celebrate Svanibor: who he is, what he has accomplished, and the principles of social responsibility and justice that he stands by, and for.

DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.29-34

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A Short Story about a Great Man:

Contribution by Svanibor Pettan to the Development of Ethnomusicology in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnian-Herzegovinian ethnomusicology started to develop in the early 1930s. The first Bosnian ethnomusicologist, Friar Branko Marić, began to research the traditional folk music of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1920s and presented the results of his research in the doctoral dissertation *Volkmusik Bosnien und der Herzegovina* (1936). The first systematic ethnomusicological research was initiated by Cvjetko Rihtman in 1947 within the Institute of Folklore Research. The main goal of his fieldwork was the collection of old, traditional "untouched", and therefore locally colored music forms. Thus, the concept of "authentic" was for a long time dominant in collecting, and when associated with "old" it worked well. However, this one-sided approach had to be overcome, since rigid approach to modern processes was a threat to the development of Bosnian ethnomusicological thought.

The establishment of the Academy of Music in Sarajevo in May 1955 was accompanied by the formation of the Department of Musicology within which first local professionals in this field were educated. The 1970s witnessed a new era in Bosnian ethnomusicology, primarily due to the work of Ankica Petrović. "Since that time, the subject of Bosnain ethnomusicology has expanded into research of the context and function of music, and thus acquired new dimensions that bring ethnomusicology closer to other scientific disciplines such as sociology of music, ethnology, anthropology, etc. Thus, the subject of ethnomusicology was no more only the structural analysis of given music forms, but also their functional and cultural analysis."[1] The first connection with Bosnian ethnomusicology, Svanibor Pettan had in the 1980s.

1 Jasmina Talam and Karača Beljak Tamara, "Ethnomusicological Research and Fieldwork Methodology – Expirience in Bosnia and Herzegovina," in *Approaches to Music Research: between Practice and Epistemiology*, vol. 6 of *Methodolody of Music Research,* eds. L. Stefanija and N. Schüler (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011), 98.

I am linked to Bosnian (ethno)musicology and (ethno)musicologists through numerous, content-rich and warm ties. It all started as early as 1982, when I attended the gathering of students of Yugoslav music academies at Ilidža near Sarajevo, where I presented my Zanzibar material and thus represented my home institution of Zagreb. Dr. Ankica Petrović, Professor at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo, was the one who, as a torchbearer for the entirety of Yugoslavia of new visions and approaches in the profession and in 1987 a member of the committee at the defense of my master's thesis in Ljubljana, opened up for me – as well as for a series of her own students (Ljerka Vidić, Dane Kusić, Mirjana Laušević and Rajna Klaser) – the path to doctoral studies in the USA, for which I am eternally grateful.[2]

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995) had implicit consequences on ethnomusicology. Most of the active ethnomusicologists left the country and those who remained fought for survival. Thanks to Vinko Krajtmajer at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo, the Department of Musicology survived and preserved the largest ethnomusicological sound archive. The war has also encouraged scholars from different fields to point out the disaster that happened and encouraged the international community to help in solving problems, and to use their knowledge to help those that were affected. Professor of theology at the University of Leeds, Adrian Hastings, wrote a little book titled *SOS Bosnia* (1993), and later founded the Alliance for the defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ADBH)[3] from which the Bosnian Institute was created and based in London in 1997.[4]

In order to draw attention to the sufferings of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ankica Petrović and Ted Levin released the CD *Bosnia: Echoes from an Endangered World* (1993) in which they selected the examples of Bosnian music recorded during their fieldwork in 1984–85 and several commercial recordings.[5] According to Levin, "the musical sounds presented on these recordings were silenced in many parts of Bosnia (Bosnia and Herzegovina). Some of the performers died, at least one was wounded and one captured, the others escaped in the midst of war bloodshed, their fate is unknown, and inaccessible".[6]

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2 Svanibor Pettan, section "Rekli su...," in: *60 godina Muzičke akademije u Sarajevu (2005–2015) – Deset novih godina* (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija, 2016), 25.

3 The first issue is a short version of the text "Save Bosnia", which was sent as an appeal to the UN to lift the arms embargo against the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina as "a means of defending itself and its population from well-armed aggressors". They also advocated an appropriate military intervention under the auspices of the UN in support of Bosnian sovereignty and integrity. This appeal was signed by numerous professors of British universities and several members of parliament ("Save Bosnia!," accessed August 1, 2018, http://www.bosnia.org.uk/bosrep/oct93/saveb.cfm).

4 Hasting joined musicologist Bojan Bujić, professor at University of Oxford, renowned historian Noel Malcom, Brendan Simms, professor at University of Cambridge and journalist Melanie McDonagh. In October 1993, the Alliance began publishing monthly news called Bosnia Report, which was published from 1997 to 2007 under the same title as an on-line magazine. The journal contained texts of various contents, including those about music, which were trying to spread awareness of the political and cultural identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

5 All income from CD sales was donated to humanitarian organizations operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ted Levin and Ankica Petrović donated the revenue from the CD to surviving folk musicians. The last donation was presented at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo on June 17, 2017.

6 Ted Levin and Ankica Petrović, *Bosnia: echoes from an endangered world*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian / Folkways SF40407, 1993, compact disc.

Svanibor Pettan, with the project Azra, had given the most important contribution to the research of musical activities of Bosnian refugees and their practical application.[7] The project involved three mutually connected groups of activities:

1. Research on the cultural – and specifically musical – identity of Bosnian refugees in Norway;
2. Education for the Norwegians and the Bosnians in Norway through:
   a) Music in Exile and Ethnomusicology classes taught at the University of Oslo, and
   b) Lectures in refugee centers on Bosnian music and Music and war on the territories of former Yugoslavia; and
3. Music-making within the Azra ensemble.[8]

The project aimed to create such a state of mind among the refugees that should help them to live in the present time in Norway, and also to prepare them for co-existence in multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina in the future. After fieldworks, which involved refugees located in different parts of Norway (Arendal, Hemsedal, Oslo, Trondheim, Tromsø), regular lectures held at the University of Oslo had followed and finally, public lectures for both Bosnians and Norwegians were organised. As the result of the activities that happened beforehand, the Azra Ensemble was formed in which both Bosnian refugees and Norwegian students participated. The first public performance of the ensemble was held in March of 1994 in the hall of the National association of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Oslo and was followed by other performances in refugee camps and in front of Norwegian audiences. Project Azra was quickly recognised as the model through which ethnomusicologists transmit knowledge "from a fairly small and closed circle of academic elites to those that such knowledge can help in everyday life, from making political decisions to establishing coexistence in the field."[9] It is important to note that through public presentations at lectures and international symposiums, interviews for written and electronic media, and through numerous works, Pettan presented the results of his research, and thus contributed to the strengthening of Bosnian cultural identity and stimulating positive cultural communication.

During the war, ethnomusicologists could not conduct research in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They felt lonely and were left to themselves. This research by Svanibor Pettan, as well as his human and professional endeavors, has encouraged us to act in a hopeless situation and realize how important our work is in impossible conditions. War devastation, mass displacement of the population and life in the diaspora significantly influenced the determinants and goals of ethnomusicological research in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. The few ethnomusicologists who survived the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, faced great challenges: studying not only traditional music, but also contemporary musical forms and processes. Bosnian ethnomusicologists needed every kind of assistance – from professional to friendly – that would restore confidence and

7 Research was conducted by Svanibor Pettan as part of a three-year project titled *The Resonant Community in some Norwegian schools*, which was lead by Kjell Skyllstad.

8 Svanibor Pettan, "Making the Refugee Experience Different: 'Azra' and the Bosnians in Norway," in *War, Exile, Everyday Life*, eds. Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Maja Povrzanović (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1996), 249.

9 Svanibor Pettan, "Uloga znanstvenika u stvaranju pretpostavki za suživot: Ususret primijenjenoj etnomuzikologiji," *Narodna umjetnost* 32, no. 2 (1995): 231.

help them to engage in world scientific trends. In those years, Svanibor Pettan provided the first and most important assistance.

> *I was thrilled with Prof. Dr. Ivan Čavlović's initiative to organize the first postwar meeting of (ethno)musicologist from the former homeland in Sarajevo in 1998. With his wholehearted support and help from older colleagues Tamara Karača Beljak and Jasmina Talam I started writing a new chapter of Bosnian ethnomusicology. It was with joy and pride that I accepted the invitation to participate in that process. It was followed by lectures, mentorships, rewievs, memberships in commissions, participation in projects, organisation of scientific events, presentation of reports and publication of papers.*[10]

In addition to the expert help, Svanibor Pettan brought us extremely important and recent literature. His warm and friendly support, cordiality and the desire to re-invigorate Bosnian ethnomusicology was an incentive for all of us. Since 2006, when I started working at the Academy of Music, our collaboration has become very intense. Thanks to Svanibor Pettan, after almost 20 years, we participated in the international ethnomusicological project *Perception of the Turks and the East in folk music in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Slovenia: Ethnomusicological Parallels* (2008/2009). Members of the project team were Svanibor Pettan, Katarina Juvančič, Vojko Veršnik, Tamara Karača Beljak and me. Project activities included guest lectures, workshops, joint research and participation at conferences. When I think about my first stay in Ljubljana, special memories come to mind. Tamara and I were supposed to hold guest lectures at the Department of Musicology at the Faculty of Arts. We prepared the lectures very carefully, but there was still anxiety (or rather a fear) of whether our topics were interesting to Slovenian students and whether we would justify the trust Svanibor placed in us. To our great astonishment, the classroom was full of students. In the first row, there were also a few elderly listeners who we did not know. Although we had teaching experience (Tamara has worked at the Academy of Music since 2000 and I also previously taught at school), our nerves were in tatters. Svanibor was fully aware of our state and, in a very discreet way, helped us at any given time. The lecture was very interesting for the students, what could be concluded from the numerous questions that followed the lecture. And finally, the people sitting in the first row came to us – professors Kjell Skyllstad and Manfred Heidler – and congratulated us. It is hard to describe the happiness and pride we felt at that moment. At the same time, we were very grateful to Svanibor for giving us the opportunity to gain the first lecture experience outside the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This stay in Ljubljana was a milestone in my professional and private relationship with Svanibor. In him I saw a person with whom I could share all my thoughts and ideas, but also someone who – without any hesitation – offers advice and every kind of help. In private, in Svanibor I saw a great friend who tried to make our every moment unforgettable.

10 Svanibor Pettan, section "Rekli su...," in: *60 godina Muzičke akademije u Sarajevu (2005–2015) – Deset novih godina* (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija, 2016), 25.

Picture 4: Excursion in Bled, Slovenia, 2008.
From the left: Kjell Skyllstad, Tamara Karača Beljak, Jasmina Talam and Svanibor Pettan

In this short text, I want to look at one in a series of events in which Svanibor showed His qualities as an extraordinary scholar of personal and professional integrity. In December 2009, I applied for the position of Assistant Professor. According to the rules, I was obliged to hold an inagural lecture. One of the members of the commission was Svanibor Pettan. He had to come to Sarajevo the day before the lecture. That afternoon, very rapidly a thick fog descended upon the city. When I came to the airport, I saw the plane, instead of landing, changing direction and returning to Ljubljana. After a little less than an hour, I intended to call the dean and tell him that we will have to cancel the lecture because the plane from Ljubljana did not land. At that moment, Svanibor called me from Ljubljana and said briefly: "The battery is empty, and I can not talk for a long time. Soon, I will be on a plane to Vienna and come from Vienna to Sarajevo. Do not worry, I'm coming tonight." I did not manage to utter a single word, I just started crying. And he arrived with the only plane that landed that night in Sarajevo. I waited for him at the airport in a bad mood because he had to go through so much trouble because of me. When he arrived he said cheerfully: "I said that I had to be in Sarajevo tonight, the plane was full and they gave me a ticket for the business class. I had a really nice flight." And in the years to come, Svanibor Pettan was our driving force. He constantly transferred his energy and work enthusiasm to us. Thanks to his initiative, Tamara and I gathered all Bosnian ethnomusicologists and established the ICTM National Committee in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2012), organized the symposiums of the ICTM Study Group of Maqam and the ICTM Study Group of Music Instruments, and other activities that significantly contributed to the development of Bosnian ethnomusicology. Without any doubt, it can be said that Svanibor Pettan opened a new chapter in Bosnian ethnomusicology. Through his research and social engagement, he pointed to the suffering of Bosnian refugees in Norway, helped them to overcome the most difficult moments in

life and contributed to better communication between the Bosnians and Norvegians. This research was his unique voice to stop the war and to stop the suffering of all of us in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the postwar period, Svanibor Pettan was unselfishly assisting his Bosnian colleagues, opening our views, directing and encouraging us to follow new approaches of research and to present our research results at international conferences. Through his direct and indirect action, his significantly contributed to the development of Bosnian-Herzegovinian ethnomusicology.

On behalf of my colleagues and myself I want to use this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude and respect to Svanibor Pettan for his continued support of his Bosnian colleagues and contributing to the development of Bosnian-Herzegovinian ethnomusicology.

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DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.35-37

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Encounters with Svanibor – a Meeting of Hearts and Minds

It all started on a chilly evening in late April of 1993. I was in Slovenia as a participant in the musicological conference Slovenian Music Days, hosted by Professor Primož Kuret of the Music Academy in Ljubljana. I had just presented the findings from a Norwegian research project named The Resonant Community indicating that inclusion and sharing of the cultural heritage of immigrants in the school curriculum for music and dance would lead to a considerable improvement of the social climate of participating schools with a significant reduction in ethnically related conflicts, when something happened that proved to open a new chapter in my life.

At the end of my presentation a young man rose from the back row and approached me. He presented himself thanking me for my talk and responding by telling about the research project that he had just completed in Kosovo, studying the mediating role of Kosovo Romani musicians in the conflict torn province. It was then my turn in course of the excited conversation that followed to tell Svanibor about my mission in coming to Ljubljana – that of seeking a candidate for a visiting professorship at my Department of Musicology of the University of Oslo funded by the Norwegian Research Council. The real challenge calling for immediate and urgent action lay in the application deadline expiring the next day. We immediately sat down and an application with the outline of a new research project soon came to life and was sent off to Oslo. This was the birth of our cooperative Azra project (1994) aiming at studying the role of music in promoting positive cultural interaction between refugees from the former Yugoslavia and the Norwegian population. It all resulted in Svanibor joining our colleagues at the Department of Musicology. An important learning outcome for me during the implementation of the Azra project resulted from discussing and deciding on research methodologies and studying his very effective way of parallel teaching.

After Svanibor had completed his assignment at the University of Oslo and returned to his research and teaching jobs in Zagreb and Ljubljana, our partnership continued to grow through mail exchanges and my participation at the international and regional conferences that he initiated on behalf of his department or the ICTM study groups. A peak experience for me was joining Svanibor for the first conference on Applied Ethnomusicology hosted by Professor Jeff Titon and his colleagues at Brown University in 2003.

Another opportunity for cooperation toward realizing our common goal of building wider international research bridges came with the invitation from the Vietnamese Institute for Musicology in Hanoi to host a joint conference of the ICTM Study groups on Music and Minorities and Applied Ethnomusicology in the summer of 2010, with Svanibor carrying the main responsibility for planning. An opportunity for widened cooperation with music departments at Asian Universities had by then already started through the signing of an MOU between the Department of Musicology of the University of Ljubljana with the Faculty of Fine and Applied Arts of Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok that paved the way for a successful visit by students and professors from Bangkok and performances in select cities around Slovenia.

On the background of the central role played in enlivening city culture in Ljubljana beginning with the project and later followed up by the open concerts in city initiated and led by Lasanthi, his wife and her intercultural ensemble, Svanibor became the first to be nominated as member of the Editorial Board of the peer reviewed Journal of Urban Culture Research after my assuming duties in 2009 as Chief Editor of this official organ of the Urban Research Plaza of our Bangkok and Osaka faculties.

Following another decade of meetings of hearts and minds in planning for the culminating cooperative event of Chulalongkorn University hosting the 45th ICTM World Conference in 2019, we have now come full circle in times of looming crises of responding to a call for mobilizing the power of music in a renewed effort toward realizing the vision of a future world cooperating for peace among nations and peoples.

Thank you Svanibor!!!

Picture 5: Conclusion of the music and dance workshop at the University of Chiang Mai, Thailand, May 2009.

DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.39-40

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Skupina za Glasbo in ples v jugovzhodni Evropi Mednarodnega sveta za tradicijsko glasbo
Institute for Folklore »Marko Cepenkov«, Ss Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje
ICTM STG on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe

Svanibor Pettan – the Welcome Face of ICTM

They say that there is a purpose behind meeting anyone in your life. My meeting with Svanibor Pettan in August 1999 resulted in gaining a lifelong friend, a colleague and an advisor who always had positive influence not just on my personal and professional development, but more wider, on the establishment of the currently most important regional scholarly network of traditional music and dance in Southeastern Europe. Coming from the most distant apart ex-Yugoslav republics – Slovenia and Macedonia – and being the only representatives of this region at our first encounter at the 35th ICTM World Conference in Hiroshima, Japan, we spontaneously connected and shared our mutual background which created a sincere friendship and opened a new platform for professional collaboration in the new post-Yugoslav era in which ICTM played an important role. Through the following years on different occasions and meetings, Svanibor Pettan introduced the ICTM network to the new regional scholars of ethnomusicology and encouraged wider regional presentation and participation on ICTM events. In his efforts of reconnecting senior and younger generations from different periods of the development of the regional scholarly work, Svanibor played a distinguishable and crucial role in the establishment of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe in Struga, Macedonia, in September 2007 and is still considered to be the most trusted advisor in the development of the Study Group's successful functioning.

Having the honor to contribute to the special issue of the Musicological Annual dedicated to Svanibor's Pettan's 60th anniversary, I am using this opportunity to publicly express my deepest gratitude and emphasize the importance of his work, energy and efforts put into the development of the regional and global ICTM network, but also the importance of his researching and publications in enriching the scholarly scope of and on the Southeastern European Ethnomusicology. Svanibor is a person who is

Picture 6: First meeting of ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe, Struga, Macedonia, September 2007.

open for understanding different challenges and questions offering reasonable solutions and advices, but his most emphasized feature is his unique possibility to listen and understand people with different backgrounds and contexts, recognizing their shared values and connecting them through their mutual interest. His mild, curious, wise and open personality has connected people in different, sometimes difficult contexts which largely contributed to the visible development of the regional ICTM network, not just through the Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe, but also through his initiation of the establishment of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dances of the Slavic World which further enriched the global ICTM family.

Truly grateful to be part of this publication, I am honored to congratulate Svanibor Pettan for his 60th anniversary and wish to celebrate many more wonderful and productive years!

Happy birthday dear Svanibor!

UDK 781.7:323.15
DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.41-64

Svanibor Pettan

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Sounds of Minorities in National Contexts: Ten Research Models*

Zvoki manjšin v nacionalnih okoljih: deset raziskovalnih modelov**

Prejeto: 7. julij 2019
Sprejeto: 20. avgust 2019

Ključne besede: glasba, manjšine, študijska skupina ICTM, metodologija, raziskovalni modeli

IZVLEČEK

Članek opredeljuje pojem manjšin v političnem in znanstvenem diskurzu, s posebnim poudarkom na kontekst Mednarodnega združenja za tradicijsko glasbo (ICTM). Prispeva metodološki vidik, ki sloni tako na dosedanjih raziskavah kot tudi na potrebah študijskega polja v prihodnosti, in predstavlja deset tematsko profiliranih raziskovalnih modelov.

Received: 7th July 2019
Accepted: 20th August 2019

Keywords: music, minorities, ICTM Study Group, methodology, research models

ABSTRACT

The article defines minorities in political and scholarly realms, with special emphasis to the context of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM). It contributes a methodological view, rooted partly in the past research and partly in the envisioned needs of the study field, and features ten thematically profiled research models.

* This article is a part of the project Music and Ethnic Minorities: (Trans)cultural Dynamics in Slovenia After the Year 1991 (ID: J6-8261). The author gratefully acknowledges financial support of the Slovenian Research Agency.

** Ta članek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega projekta Glasba in etnične manjšine: (trans)kulturne dinamike v Sloveniji po letu 1991 (J6-8261). Avtor se za finančno podporo zahvaljuje Javni agenciji za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

1. Minorities in Politics and Scholarship

Minority: Construct or Reality? and *Four Reasons Why We Have No Musical Minorities in the United States* are two thought-provoking titles (and readings) that nicely announce the thematic focus on minorities in this issue of *Musicological Annual*.[1] Two decades of active existence of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities suggest that minorities are not only a part of our lives as a political status category, but also as a scholarly category linked to theoretical and methodological dynamics of our discipline.[2] In various political contexts, minorities are defined differently and refer to African Americans, American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics (USA); to persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour (the so-called visible minorities in Canada); to diverse ethnic groups in countries like China, Russia, and many European countries, each considering specific ethnolinguistic communities. While American ethnomusicologists tend to use the term "minorities" in their studies about musics in other countries (other than the United States),[3] ethnomusicologists in Europe and in many other parts of the world widely adopted this term, aware of the complex interplay between its political and scholarly connotations and implications. As a result, research on minorities is often related to activism and applied ethnomusicology.[4] This relation was convincingly demonstrated by the joint symposia of the ICTM Study Groups on Music and Minorities and Applied Ethnomusicology in Hanoi, Vietnam, in 2010.

What does it mean to be a part of population with the official minority status in a nationally defined political environment? The answer to this question is context-dependent, and relies on the stability of the circumstances and on the resulting sense of personal and collective safety and security. A series of mutually related wars that marked the end of Yugoslavia in the 1990s reinstated the issue of minorities as an important factor for understanding the complex web of interethnic relations. Namely, political and later also armed resistances were at several levels justified by vulnerability and fear associated with the minority status under the unstable circumstances, so the parties involved in these wars fought to avoid it. Music was there to support their agendas. In the subsequent, peaceful decades, to the opposite, communities tend to see the minority status as a

1 Zuzana Jurková, Blanka Soukupová, Hedvika Novotná, and Peter Salner, eds. *Minority: Construct or Reality? On Reflection and Self-realization of Minorities in History* (Bratislava: Zingprint, 2007) and Mark Slobin, "Four Reasons Why We Have No Musical Minorities in the United States," in *Music in the Year 2002: Aspects on Music and Mulitculturalism,* eds. Max Peter Baumann, Krister Malm, Mark Slobin, and Kristof Tamas (Stockholm: The Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1995), 31–9. Slobin's four reasons are: the dominance of black-white music, multiculturalism, demographics, and commercial music. In March 2019, more than two decades after he published the "four reasons," I asked Slobin to re-visit them and to comment their accuracy today. He pointed to continued dominance of black-white music, decline of multiculturalism in official rhetoric and actual practice, acceleration of demographic changes, and to consequent acceptance of greater eclecticism in commercial music, not any more labeled "world music."

2 Timothy Rice, *Modeling Ethnomusicology* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 240–42.

3 As suggested by publications within the latest decade, American ethnomusicologists tend to encompass various communities in the US within the scope of "multiculturalism." The examples include: William M. Anderson and Patricia Shehan Campbell, eds., *Multicultural Perspectives in Music Education*, Vols. 1–3 (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009, 2010, 2011); Ric Alviso, *Multicultural Music in America. An Introduction to Our Musical Heritage* (Dubuque: Kendall Hunt Publishing Company, 2011); Kip Lornell and Anne K. Rasmussen, eds., *The Music of Multicultural America. Performance, Identity and Community in the United States* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017).

4 Ursula Hemetek, "Applied Ethnomusicology in the Process of the Political Recognition of a Minority: A Case Study of the Austrian Roma," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 38 (2006): 35–57.

positive means of their political protection and cultural affirmation. Music again plays an important role in this process.

The previous paragraph pointed to the general political understanding of minorities as primarily "national" or "ethnic" categories, each of them with distinctive cultural representation.[5] According to Naila Ceribašić, the states often feature them as "clearly delimited groups, each with 'its culture'," distinctiveness of which should be protected and promoted.[6] Scholarly understanding of minorities is obviously much more complex and nuanced, based on the awareness of polyvocality within each minority over the issues such as heritage production, ownership negotiation, cultural fosilisation vs. hybridization, and "cultural defense of borders".[7] It makes sense here to remind on Max Peter Baumann's model pointing to the processes such as reculturation, deculturation and transculturation, which derive from the selection of different options and contribute to diversification of a multicultural setting.[8]

How to define a minority? Ethnomusicology itself is often portrayed as an interdisciplinary field, so the definition of one of its subjects, the minorities, should also rely on the awareness about the definitions in other disciplines. The simplest and most obvious numerical ratio i.e. "less than half of the whole" is not essential, though it may have impact in certain contexts. An old yet influential anthropological definition suggests that "a minority group is distinguished by five characteristics: (1) unequal treatment and less power over their lives, (2) distinguishing physical or cultural traits like skin color or language, (3) involuntary membership in the group, (4) awareness of subordination, and (5) high rate of in-group marriage."[9] At several occasions, ethnomusicologist Adelaida Reyes emphasized power as the key-factor that determines the majority – minority relation, where one concept cannot and does not exist without the other.[10] This kind of argumentation is not explicit in the late 1990s definition adopted by the then newly formed ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities: "Minority is a group of people distinguishable from the dominant group for cultural, ethnic, social, religious, or economic reasons," but it is central to the current definition of the same Study Group adopted at its tenth symposium in Vienna in 2018. It states: "For the purpose of this Study Group, the term minority encompasses communities, groups and/or individuals, including indigenous, migrant and other vulnerable groups that are at higher risk of discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, race, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, disability, political opinion, social or economic deprivation."[11]

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5 Although technically different, the terms "national" and "ethnic" are sometimes used interchangeably. Otherwise, people can share nationality while belonging to different ethnic groups and people who share an ethnic identity can have different nationalities.

6 Naila Ceribašić, "Musical Faces of Croatian Multiculturality," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 30 (2007): 21.

7 Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004).

8 Please see Figure 1 on page 44.

9 Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, *Minorities in the New World: Six Case Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).

10 See also Hakan Gürses, "Ghört a jeder zu ana Minderheit? Zur politischen Semantik des Minderheitenbegriffs," *Stimme von und für Minderheiten* 71 (2009): 6–7 and Ana Hofman, "Maintaining the Distance, Othering the Subaltern: Rethinking Ethnomusicologists' Engagement in Advocacy and Social Justice," in *Applied Ethnomusicology: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*, eds. Klisala Harrison, Elizabeth Mackinlay and Svanibor Pettan (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010): 22–35.

11 "Mission statement," ICTM Study Group of Music and Minorities, International Council for Traditional Music, http://ictmusic.org/group/music-and-minorities.

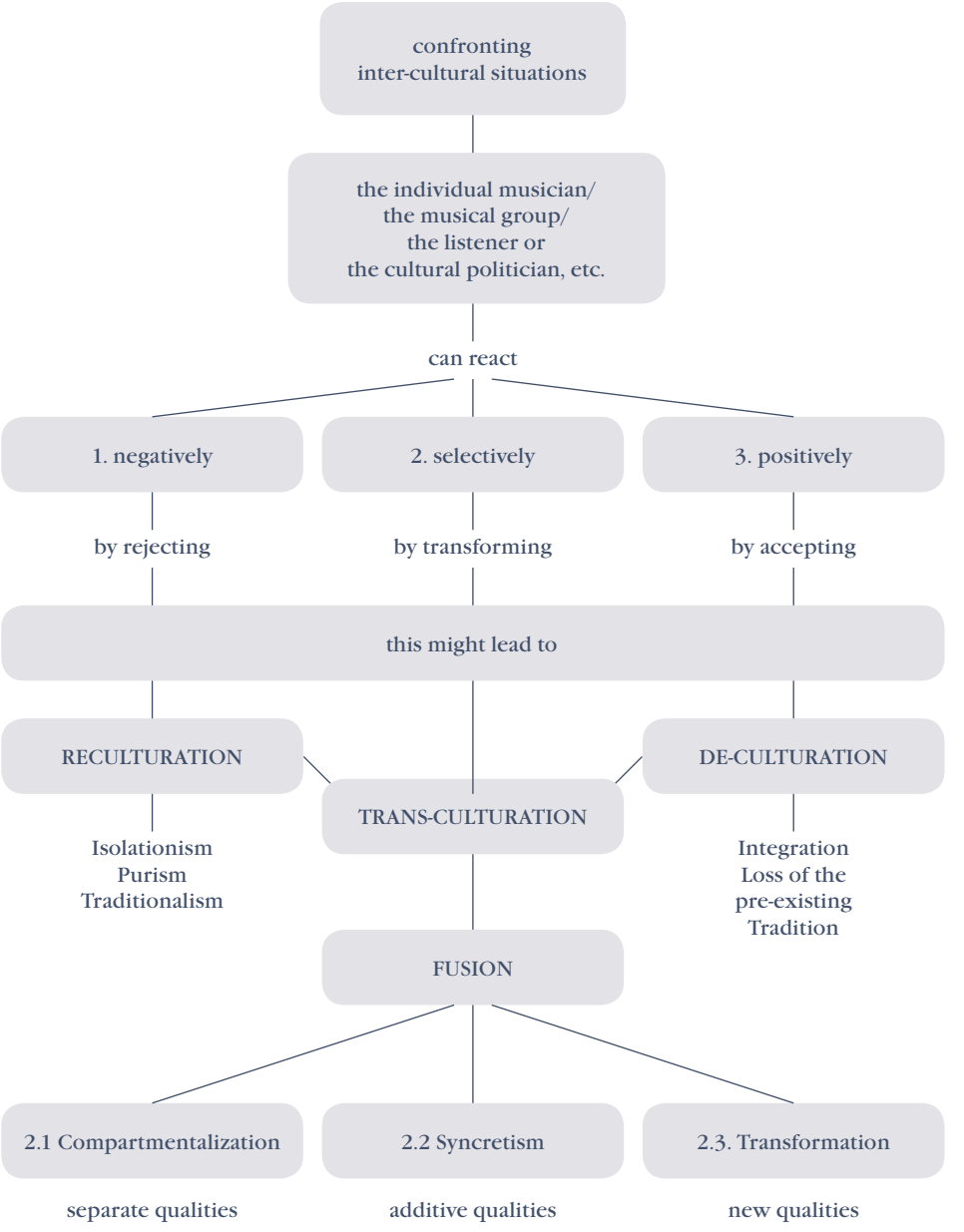

Figure 1: Situative Context of Multi-Culturalism (after Baumann)[12] *The Issue of Definition*

12 Max Peter Baumann, "Multiculturalism and Transcultural Dialogue," in *Aspects on Music and Multiculturalism* (Stockholm: The Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1995), 18.

The Study Group's current definition is based on Naila Ceribašić's draft, which benefited from the discussion among the participants of the mentioned symposium. Ceribašić applied the categories "communities", "groups" and "individuals," often used in the UNESCO documents related to the Intangible Cultural Heritage.[13] Indigenous people and migrants are specified among those "at higher risk of discrimination" on the listed grounds, which I discuss in the following paragraphs:

Ethnicity. In both political and scholarly contexts, people tend to perceive the term »minority« primarily or even exclusively in ethnic terms. Ethnic identity is a widely explored subject in ethnomusicological literature and is often closely related to national, racial, lingual, religious or/and other identities. Ethnic studies make one of the fields that continue to benefit ethnomusicological thought about ethnicity. Most articles published in the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities' edited volumes focus on ethnic minorities.

Race, in its both political and scholarly contexts, seems more present and theorized in the United States than in the other parts of the world. Due to the history of racism, which marked the centuries of colonialism and culminated in systematic exterminations in the World War Two period, European Union does not use the concept of race in official documents and at the same time actively combats racism.[14] Scholarly view on race as a social construct does not overshadow much needed research on racialization, a process of ascribing racial identities to relationships, social practices, or groups regardless of self-identification.[15] Catherine Baker questions the absence of this concept in southeast-European scholarship in her recent book.[16] Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman provided a firm base for the consideration of race in ethnomusicology, while Ursula Hemetek and Carol Silverman portray Roms as the most common target of racism in Europe.[17] Critical race theory and ethnic studies in general contribute to the scholarly understanding of this concept and its implications.

Religion continues to be one of the pillars of identity, ranging from a spiritual worldview and inspiration for ritualistic uses and artistic creations all the way to various cases of past and present violence committed in the name of a religion. Religious interpretations in certain cases mark boundaries not only between music and non-music, good and bad music, or acceptable and unacceptable practices involving sound and movement, but also between Us and the Others. Religious studies and since 2015 also the *Yale Journal of music and Religion* contribute to the advancement of this study field. Philip V. Bohlman, Anna Czekanowska, and Mojca Kovačič are just some of the authors, who contributed to the diversity of religious topics, and who are also active within the

13 Personal communication with Naila Ceribašić on 17 April 2019. She serves as ICTM's representative in UNESCO.

14 Mark Bell, *Racism and Equality in the European Union* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2009).

15 The outdated terms such as "racial minorities," "people of colour," or "non-Whites" are increasingly being replaced by "racialized" categories.

16 Baker discusses Said's "orientalism" and Gilroy's "black Atlantic" paradigm and asks, "How would south-east European cultural studies look if it had been based on Paul Gilroy instead of Edward Said?" Catherine Baker, *Race and the Yugoslav Region. Postsocialist, Post-conflict, Postcolonial?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 3.

17 Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman, eds. *Music and the Racial Imagination* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000); Hemetek, "Applied Ethnomusicology in the Process of the Political Recognition of a Minority: A Case Study of the Austrian Roma," 35–57; Carol Silverman, *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music in Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities.[18] The Study Group's symposium in Lublin in 2002 featured the theme Minority Music and Religious Identity.[19]

Language is yet another key identity feature, closely related to ethnicity; together they contribute to the formation of ethnolinguistic identities, relevant in the research on music and minorities. Connections between language and music were strongly emphasized in the context of folk song collecting, while nowadays both language and music conform to the same scale of vitality and endangerment,[20] Linguistic concepts such as codeswitching and Sprachschatz/Sprachbund have clear parallels in music research. The ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities featured a theme Local Languages and Music at its symposium in Rennes in 2016.[21]

Gender and sexuality. Gender identity and gendered representations are for decades a commonplace in ethnomusicological studies. The Society for Ethnomusicology's Section on Gender and Sexualities Taskforce provides three useful bibliographies containing topics such as: Women on stage, feminist performance, performance studies; Cross dressing; Women's studies and Gender studies; Transsexual and Intersexual studies; Queer theory, Gay and lesbian history; Sexology, psychology and sex history.[22]

Gender is the only of the concepts discussed here around which an ICTM Study Group has been formed.[23] ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities featured a theme Gender and Sexual Minorities at its symposium in Osaka in 2014 and held a joint meeting with the Study Group on Music and Gender in Vienna in 2018. In 2019, the Study Group on Music and Gender officially changed its name to Music, Gender, and Sexuality.

Disability counts to the least researched concepts in relation to music and minorities in the ICTM context. *The Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology* assisted valuable later research involving AIDS, autism, and more.[24] One could add here the early and recent studies of elderly people in relation to music from a minority perspective.[25] Ageing studies is a growing field to be consulted in future ethnomusicological research within this topical realm.

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18 Philip V. Bohlman, "Pilgrimage, Politics, and the Musical Remapping of the New Europe," *Ethnomusicology* 40, no. 3 (1996): 375–412; Anna Czekanowska, "Looking for Identity Marks: Locality – Religion – Music. Music Tradition of the Russian Orthodox People in Eastern Poland," in *Glasba in manjšine/Music and Minorities*, eds. Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes and Maša Komavec (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2001), 291–301; Mojca Kovačič, "'Sacred Noise': The Case of Ezan in Ljubljana," *Muzikološki zbornik/Musicological Annual* 52, no. 2 (2016): 25–38.

19 Selected articles are published in Ursula Hemetek, Gerda Lechleitner, Inna Naroditskaya, and Anna Czekanowska eds., *Manifold Identities: Studies on Music and Minorities* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2004).

20 Catherine Grant, *Music Endangerment. How Language Maintenance Can Help* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

21 See the proceedings: Yves Defrance, ed., *Voicing the Unheard: Music as Windows for Minorities* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2019).

22 Gender and Sexualities Taskforce (SEM), "Bibliographies," posted by "Kiri Miller" , November 16, 2008, accessed February 11, 2019, http://gstsem.pbworks.com/w/page/8504929/Bibliographies.

23 By Barbara L. Hampton and others in the 1980s.

24 Benjamin Koen et al., *The Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Gregory Barz and Judah M. Cohen, eds., *The Culture of AIDS in Africa: Hope and Healing through Music and the Arts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Michael Bakan, "Being Applied in the Ethnomusicology of Autism," in *De-Colonization, Heritage, & Advocacy. An Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology Volume 2*, eds. Svanibor Pettan and Jeff Todd Titon (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 148–86.

25 Owe Ronström, "I'm Old and I'm Proud! Music, Dance and the Formation of a Cultural Identity Among Pensioners in Sweden," *The World of Music* 36, no. 3 (1994): 5–30; Vojko Veršnik, "Solid as Stone and Bone: Song as a Bridge between Cultures and Generations," in *Applied Ethnomusicology: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*, eds. Klisala Harrison, Elizabeth Mackinlay and Svanibor Pettan (Newcastle upon Tyne Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 133–48.

Political opinion is a notion that could hardly be overestimated here. A number of spatial and temporal contexts worldwide provide us with the examples of denigration of individuals, groups and communities due to differences in political views. Denigration sometimes leads to violence and even persecution of political opponents including musicians such as Victor Jara, tortured and killed in Chile in 1973.[26] Study of music and minorities, defined according to power relations, could considerably benefit from research in this direction.

Social and economic deprivation creates subalternity in a variety of contexts ranging from indigenous people to refugees to homeless people in modern urban settings. Ethnomusicological studies include a thematic section on music and poverty, South Asian Dalits, Japanese Buraku, and - in this volume - Sri Lankan Veddas.[27]

2. Ten Research Models

The proposed ten models are envisioned not as a typology composed of mutually exclusive categories. They are rather focused possibilities, which either evolved in the course of two decades of active existence of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities or did not evolve but have, in the author's opinion, a potential to benefit this study field. A respective name suggests the main emphasis in each of the models, which sometimes can overlap to some extent. Use of one research model could be a basis for using one or more others afterwards. Each model is supplemented by a modest selection of references and the author's own research experience within the presented frame.

RESEARCH MODEL 1:
Various minorities in a territory (country, region, settlement)

This model is complex, extensive, and expensive, and thus relatively rarely used. It has potential to both serve "state multiculturality," i.e. display of a variety of minority cultures within the given national framework and to provide mapping of the selected geocultural framework for research purposes.[28] Governmental research agencies have interest in supporting projects based on this model in order to demonstrate their internationally and nationally expected care for cultural rights of the minorities, to receive empirically based evidence on inter-ethnic cultural relations, and to profit from scholarly recommendations on how to improve them. Such type of research provides an opportunity

26 Advocacy for and defense of freedom of artistic expression and systematic documentation of cases comparable to Jara's nowadays count to the activities of Freemuse, an independent, human rights-based international organisation, founded in Copenhagen in 1998, (https://freemuse.org).

27 Klisala Harrison, guest ed., "Special Section on Music and Poverty," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 45 (2013): 1–96; Yoshitaka Terada, *Angry Drummers: A Taiko Group from Osaka, Japan* (documentary) (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2010); Zoe Sherinian, "Activist Ethnomusicology and Maginalized Musics of South Asia," in *De-Colonization, Heritage, & Advocacy. An Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology Volume 2*, eds. Svanibor Pettan and Jeff Todd Titon (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 220–49.

28 "State multiculturality" is a term proposed in Naila Ceribašić, "Folklore Groups of National Minorities at the International Folklore Festival," *37th International Folklore Festival* (catalogue), (2003): 5–7.

for the creation of a broad database that can assist further study of various more specific aspects of music and minority issues. Depending on the circumstances, it can include all or any combination of the activities associated with the ICTM: study, practice, documentation, preservation, and dissemination of music created, performed and consumed by the given communities, groups and individuals.

Four inspiring references should be mentioned here. In a comprehensive book of more than 500 pages, Ursula Hemetek presented the results of her long-term research on musical lives of Austria's ethnic and religious minorities.[29] Naila Ceribašić focussed on the annual International Folklore Festival, which in 2003 featured Croatia's minorities as the central theme.[30] In addition to the event, she managed to produce a CD with a selection of recorded performances of 14 minority groups. Katarina Juvančič compiled a CD that emerged from her study of lullabies in Slovenia. Rather than focusing on lullabies of exclusively ethnic Slovenes, she provided examples performed by women of different ethnic backgrounds.[31] Alma Bejtullahu presented a critical overview of music and dance activities of six selected ethnic minorities in Slovenia.[32]

Nevertheless, this article is a part of an ongoing research project titled *Ethnic Minorities in Slovenia: (Trans)cultural Dynamics After the Year 1991*, which is expected to provide the first systematic mapping of musical activities of four types of minorities in the country: (a) "traditional minorities" in the border regions (Hungarians, Italians), (b) Roms whose diverse population has a distinctive legal position, (c) "new minorities" (the most numerous category, composed mostly of the people from the former Yugoslav territories), and (d) Refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers.

RESEARCH MODEL 2:
A selected minority in a territory (country, region, settlement)

This research model is quite common and mostly unrelated to the multi-minority mapping featured in Research model 1. It is often used either (a) by a foreign researcher coming from a country in which the selected minority enjoys the majority status (often equaling the ethnicity of the researcher) or (b) by a domestic researcher in the country in which the selected minority resides. There are also (c) cases of cooperation between these two kinds of researchers, resulting in balanced emic and etic perspectives, and also (d) the cases of researchers from "the third countries," unrelated to the selected minority by nationality, ethnicity or other criteria.

Representative references are numerous. For instance, (a) Polish researchers Božena Muszkalska and Tomasz Polak studied Polish minority in Brazil, while Slovenian

29 Ursula Hemetek, *Mosaik der Klänge. Musik der ethnischen und religiösen Minderheiten in Österreich* [The Mosaic of Sounds. Music of Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Austria] (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2001).

30 Ceribašić, "Folklore Groups of National Minorities at the International Folklore Festival," 5–7.

31 Katarina Juvančič, *Al' že spiš? Ali kako uspavamo v Sloveniji* [Do You Sleep Already? Or, How We Put to Sleep in Slovenia], CD (Ljubljana: Kulturno društvo Folk Slovenija, 2006).

32 Alma Bejtullahu, "Music and dance of ethnic minorities in Slovenia: National identity, exoticism, and the pitfalls of ethnomusicology," *Traditiones* 45, no. 2 (2016): 159–76.

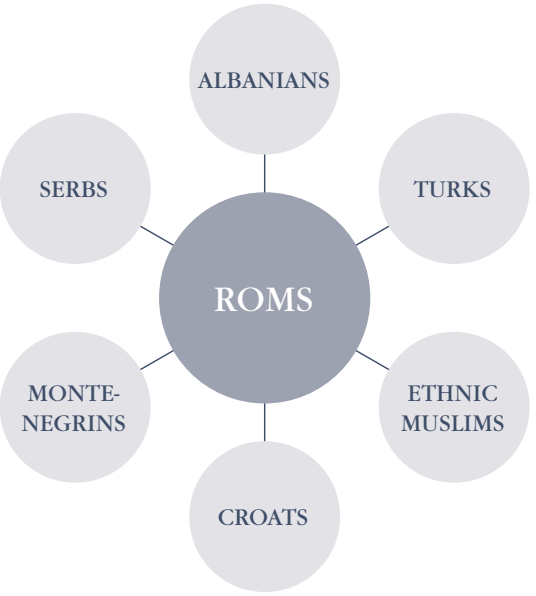

Figure 2: Studying Romani musicians in Prizren in late 1980s

researcher Maša Marty studied Slovenian minority in Switzerland.[33] As for (b), Croatian researcher Naila Ceribašić studied Macedonian music in Croatia, while German researcher Dorit Klebe studied Turkish music in Germany.[34] Examples of cooperation (c) include Austrian ethnomusicologist Ursula Hemetek and Bosnian ethnomusicologist Sofija Bajrektarević researching Bosnian music in Austria and Australian ethnomusicologist Linda Barwick and Italian/Swiss ethnomusicologist Marcello Sorce Keller researching Italian music in Australia.[35] Unrelated in the earlier explained sense are (d) Bulgarian

33 Božena Muszkalska and Tomasz Polak, "Music as an Instrument of Cultural Sustainability Among the Polish Communities in Brazil," in *Music and Minorities in Ethnomusicology: Challenges and Discourses from Three Continents*, ed. Ursula Hemetek (Vienna: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie, 2012): 119–28; Maša Marty, "Glasba gre na pot. Pomen in vloga glasbe v izseljenstvu" [Music on the Way. The Meaning and the Role of Music in Exile], in *Dve domovini – Two Homelands* 41 (2015): 41–89.

34 Naila Ceribašić, "Macedonian Music in Croatia: The Issues of Traditionality, Politics of Representation and Hybridity," in *The Human World and Musical Diversity,* eds. Rosemary Statelova, Angela Rodel, Lozanka Peycheva, Ivanka Vlaeva, and Ventsislav Dimov (Sofia: The Institute of Art Studies, 2008), 83–90; Dorit Klebe, "Music of Sephardic Jews and Almancilar Turks in Several Berlin Events: Aspects of Syncretism in the Musical Culture of Minorities," in *Glasba in manjšine/Music and Minorities*, eds. Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes, and Maša Komavec (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2001), 277–90; for a case of combination of (a) and (b) see Vesna Andrée-Zaimović, "Bosnian Traditional Urban Song 'On the Sunny Side of the Alps': From the Expression of Nostalgia to a New Ethnic Music in Slovene Culture," in *Glasba in manjšine/Music and Minorities*, eds. Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes and Maša Komavec (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2001), 111–20.

35 Ursula Hemetek and Sofija Bajrektarević, *Bosnische Musik in Österreich: Klänge einer bedrohten Harmonie* [Bosnian Music in Austria: Sounds of a Threatened Harmony] (Vienna: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie, 2000); Linda Barwick and Marcello Sorce Keller, eds., *Italy in Australia's Musical Landscapes* (Melbourne: Lyrebird, 2012).

researcher Rosemary Statelova studying Lusatian Sorbs in Germany and American/Norwegian researcher Thomas Solomon studying Laz minority in Turkey.[36]

I used this model while studying interactions and creativity of Romani musicians in the multiethnic city of Prizren in Kosovo (Serbia and Yugoslavia in the research period 1989-91). Figure 2 presents my positioning of the Roms at the center of this study. Back then, ethnic Serbs were the dominant ethnic group in terms of political power, ethnic Albanians were dominant in numerical terms, ethnic Turks were considered dominant in the domain of historical urban cultural capital, while Roms were in a variety of ways seen as superior musicians.

RESEARCH MODEL 3:
A selected minority in various territories (countries, regions, settlements)

This research model enables studying a selected minority in different geopolitical frameworks, where its status is likely to be defined differently and where the interactions with different Others, both majorities and minorities, affect its musical life. Several kinds of multi-sited ethnographic approaches appear as possibilities, pointing to members of the given ethnic communities or to the very same musicians in different contexts, benefitting from the fields such as migration studies and diaspora studies and from theoretical frames such as imagined communities and the invention of tradition.[37]

Representative examples were provided by Ardian Ahmedaja and Carol Silverman respectively. Ahmedaja researched music of ethnic Albanians in several national contexts, pointing to cultural and other boundaries and specifics within the same "ethnic community."[38] Silverman combined a variety of approaches, even organizing concerts for/with various Romani musicians and touring with them, which provided her with a uniquely broad and at the same time in-depth knowledge and understanding of diversity among the transnational people with no shared home country.[39]

I used this model while doing research with ethnic Croats in a number of locations, such as Kosovo, Australia, and USA.[40]

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36 Rosemary Statelova, "The Musical Education of Children Through Traditional Songs and Dances in Sorbian Lusatia," in *The Human World and Musical Diversity*, eds. Rosemary Statelova, Angela Rodel, Lozanka Peycheva, Ivanka Vlaeva, and Ventsislav Dimov (Sofia: Institute of Art Studies, 2008), 200–3; Thomas Solomon, "Who Are the Laz? Cultural Identity and the Musical Public Sphere on the Turkish Black Sea Coast," *The World of Music* 6, no. 2 (2017): 83–113.

37 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

38 Even within a single country, for instance, "The Arvanites and Alvanoi are two Albanian-speaking minorities in Greece, different in their hisory and their traditions, including musical ones," see Ardian Ahmedaja, "On the Question of Methods for Studying Ethnic Minorities' Music in the Case of Greece's Arvanites and Alvanoi," in *Manifold Identities,* eds. Ursula Hemetek, Gerda Lechleitner, Inna Naroditskaya and Anna Czekanowska (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2004), 54; also Ardian Ahmedaja, "Music and Identity of the Arbëreshë in Southern Italy," in *Glasba in manjšine/Music and Minorities*, eds. Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes and Maša Komavec (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2001), 265–76.

39 Carol Silverman, *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music in Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012).

40 For a comparison of the involvement of ethnic Croats in processes and musical practices in Kosovo and Australia see Svanibor Pettan, "The Croats and the Question of Their Mediterranean Musical Identity," *Ethnomusicology OnLine* 3 (1997), https://www.umbc.edu/eol/3/pettan/. This article contains audio, photo and video documentation of the discussed specifics.

RESEARCH MODEL 4:
Borderlands

Borderlands are "expressive contact zones," "simultaneously barriers and bridges permitting both enactments and denials of transitionality," marked by interplay of autonomous, inter-dependent and fused artistic forms.[41] Following Gupta and Ferguson's proposal "to move away from cultural-territorial entities, to the ongoing historical and political processes, on which cultural, ethnic, and national territorializations are contingent,« Benjamin Brinner positioned his "ethnography of micropractices" of Israeli – Palestinian encounters in such "across a divide" zone.[42] Border areas bear considerable potential for long-term studies of intercultural communication. Istrian penninsula, divided among three states (Croatia, Slovenia, Italy) is a good example, with ethnomusicologist Dario Marušić calling for integrative study of its musical culture and opposing the approaches marked by earlier research dominated by partial national interests.[43] Studies by Engelbert Logar across the Slovenian – Austrian borderland provides valuable evidence about the mutual influences of Slovene- and German-speaking neighbors, as can be seen in shared repertoires in respective languages.[44] Previously often neglected, bilingual songs are in focus of an ongoing research project in Slovenia. The idea of "borderland" within Yugoslavia is in various ways present in important studies by Ankica Petrović, Nice Fracile and Dimitrije O. Golemović.[45]

"Interethnic Problems of Borderlands" was one of the themes of the ICTM Study Group Music and Minorities' symposium in Lublin in 2002 and five related articles are available in the proceedings.[46] They reveal on the one hand the importance of territorial identity and on the other fluid and dynamic senses of identity among the "internally varied" (Kalinowska) ethnic minorities and their capacity to "situationally adopt and display various ethnonational and ethnolinguistic identities" (Metil).

I used this model back in the 1980s while studying and recording village music of ethnic Croats and ethnic Serbs in Croatia's and at that time also Yugoslavia's region called Banija (present-day Banovina) for radio broadcasts and a series of LP records. One of the outcomes was that besides the shared musical style which exemplified regional culture, ethnic Serbs had yet another musical style that could be traced to the region from which their ancestors migrated to Banija centuries ago.[47]

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41 John Holmes McDowell, "Transitionality: The Border as Barrier and Bridge." Keynote address at the Conference on Américo Paredes: Border Narratives and the Folklore of Greater Mexico (Los Angeles, 2016).

42 Benjamin Brinner, *Playing Across a Divide: Israeli-Palestinian Musical Encounters* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 11–12.

43 Dario Marušić, *Piskaj, sona, sopi* (Pula: Castropola, 1996).

44 Engelbert Logar, "Musikalisch-tekstliche Aspekte deutsch-slowenischer interethnischer Beziehungen im Volkslied des Jauntales/Kärnten," in *Echo der Vielfalt: Traditionelle Musik von Minderheiten / ethnischen Gruppen – Echoes of Diversity: Traditional Music of Ethnic Groups / Minorities,* ed. Ursula Hemetek (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1996), 127–44.

45 Ankica Petrović, "Tradition and Compromises in the Musical Expresions of the Sephardic Jews in Bosnia," in Glazbeno stvaralaštvo narodnosti (narodnih manjina) i etničkih grupa - Traditional Music of Ethnic Groups - Minorities, ed. Jerko Bezić (Zagreb: Zavod za istraživanje folklora, 1986), 213-22.
Nice Fracile, Vokalni muzički folklor Srba i Rumuna u Vojvodini (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1987); Dimitrije O. Golemović, Narodna muzika Podrinja (Sarajevo: Drugari, 1987).

46 Hemetek, Lechleitner, Naroditskaya, and Czekanowska, eds., *Manifold Identities.*

47 Svanibor Pettan, *Narodne pjesme i plesovi iz Banije 2 / Folk Songs and Dances from Banija 2*, LP-record (Zagreb: Jugoton, 1988).

RESEARCH MODEL 5:
Intersectionalities

There are two basic aims of this model. The first aim points to various kinds of minority identities, some of which are clearly underresearched in comparison to ethnically defined minorities. Race, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, (dis)ability, political opinion, and social or economic status are the criteria named (next to ethnicity) in the current definition created by and for the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities. Each of them is expected to receive more scholarly attention in the future. The second aim is to encourage research with focus on mutual interactions and combined impacts of these different identities on musical practices and their carriers. Systematic consideration of their interconnectedness has clear potential to contribute to better understanding of disadvantages often associated with the minority status. A wide range of disciplinary references from race studies, religious studies, linguistics, feminist, gender, sexuality and queer studies, critical disability studies, human dignity and humiliation studies, and human rights studies provide additional potential for research in this context.

Five themes relevant for this model attracted presentations at four ICTM Study Group symposia so far: (1) Minority Music and Religious Identity (in Lublin in 2002),[48] (2) Multiple Identities and Identity Management in Music of Minorities (in Roč in 2004),[49] (3) Minority - Minority Relations in Music and Dance, and (4) Race, Class, Gender: Factors in the Creation of Minorities (in Varna in 2006),[50] and (5) Other Minorities – Challenges and Discourses (in Hanoi in 2010).[51] Nevertheless, seven articles in a special section titled Music and Poverty in the *Yearbook for Traditional Music* provide a firm basis for the inclusion of economic aspects to the future studies within the model.[52]

I used this model twice in my own work: firstly in the study of some "third gender" cases in Kosovo[53] and secondly in an unpublished paper on a minority musician associated with the Evangelical Church in Slovenia.

RESEARCH MODEL 6:
Indigenous People

Encompassing more than 370 million people in 70 countries worldwide, indigenous people are – in absence of a universally applied definition – defined by the following conditions: self-identification as such, historical continuity in present homelands

48 Hemetek, Lechleitner, Naroditskaya, and Czekanowska, eds., *Manifold Identities.*

49 Naila Ceribašić and Erica Haskell, eds., *Shared Musics and Minority Identities* (Zagreb and Roč: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research and Cultural-artistic society "Istarski željezničar," 2006).

50 Both in Rosemary Statelova, Angela Rodel, Lozanka Peycheva, Ivanka Vlaeva and Ventsislav Dimov, eds., *The Human World and Musical Diversity: Proceedings from the Fourth Meeting of the ICTM Study Group "Music and Minorities"* (Varna, Bulgaria, 2006), 83–90.

51 Ursula Hemetek, ed., *Music and Minorities in Ethnomusicology: Challenges and Discourses from Three Continents* (Vienna: Institut für Volksmusikforschung und Ethnomusikologie, 2012).

52 Harrison, guest ed., "Special Section on Music and Poverty."

53 Svanibor Pettan, "Female to Male - Male to Female: Third Gender in the Musical Life of the Gypsies in Kosovo," *Narodna umjetnost* 33, no. 2 (1996a), 311–24.

predating the ingress of colonial or settler peoples, dominance by such populations, and desire to maintain distinct identity by drawing on resources of language, culture and beliefs that predate occupation or conquest.[54] "Over time, the concepts of indigenous and aboriginal have become increasingly synonymous with powerlessness, marginality, and social distress – approaches which are Eurocentric in origin and crisis-based."[55] "Self-representation, Indigenous sovereignty, and rights to land and lifeways are intricately linked, and many Indigenous artists including Sámi musicians are turning to music videos that they can showcase through global media channels to assert self-representation."[56] The notion of self-representation is in focus of many deeply-respectful long-term collaborations of indigenous people and ethnomusicologists in various worldwide environments.[57] "As the Sámi continue to wage political, social, and environmental activism, popular music will likely continue to give voice to these battles."[58] And this is true not only for the Scandinavian indigenous Sámi people and their artists like Mari Boine or Sofia Jannok; creative expressions of performers in a range from Canada (Tanya Tagaq, A Tribe Called Red) to Australia (Yothu Yindi) contribute to the wider picture. ICTM definition of minorities mentions Indigenous People by name and traces what appears to be a new direction in its activities.

This model is useful for sensitive collaborative research and teaching, inclusive of the holistic worldviews, of the point that some indigenous communities do not have equivalents of "music" in their vocabularies and of various audiovisual self-representations.[59] In my teaching, the cases of Indigenous "strategic traditionalism"[60] and of performers such as Coloured Stone, Redbone, Link Wray, or Sunne contribute to the more inclusive and respectful presentation of the world.

RESEARCH MODEL 7:
Involuntary Migrants

Involuntary migrations, forced by conflicts and/or economic reasons, are perhaps as old as the human history. In Adelaida Reyes' words, the term "involuntary migrants" refers to refugees, escapees, asylees, and displaced persons, living in a transitional period of danger and uncertainty, knowing that going back is not possible and not knowing whether and when they will be allowed to stay and settle in a new place.[61] As we are

54 Jonathan Stock, "Indigeneity," *Music and Arts in Action* 6, no. 2 (2018): 3–4.

55 Ken S. Coates, *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples: Struggle and Survival* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 5.

56 Tina K. Ramnarine, "Aspirations, Global Futures, and Lessons from Sámi Popular Music for the Twenty-First Century," in *The Oxford Handbook of Popular Music in the Nordic Countries*, eds. Fabian Holt and Antti-Ville Kärjä (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 278.

57 The examples ranging from Beverley Diamond and Anthony Seeger in the Americas all the way to the Australian ethnomusicologists and institutions such as the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. In addition, Indigenous researchers are increasingly present in academia.

58 Kelsey A. Fuller, "Place, Music, and the Moving Image: Popular Music Videos and Indigenous Sami Activism," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology (2018), 10.

59 Beverley Diamond, *Native American Music in Eastern North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

60 John-Carlos Perea, "Recording Technology, Traditioning, and Urban American Indian Powwow Performance," in *Music, Indigeneity, Digital Media*, eds. Thomas Hilder, Henry Stobart, and Shzr Ee Tan (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2017).

61 Adelaida Reyes, "When Involuntary Migrants Become Minorities: Musical Life and Its Transformation," paper presented at the

reaching the end of the 21st century's second decade, involuntary migrant conditions directly affect the lives of more than fifty million individuals worldwide.

This model benefits from migration studies, refugee studies, and diaspora studies.[62] Society for Ethnomusicology's Resource list on music and diaspora, compiled by Sarah V. Rosemann and David Rosenberg, documents the respectable extent of ethnomusicological thought about music and migration.[63] Just like the Indigenous people, the migrants are mentioned by name in the ICTM Study Group's definition of minorities.[64]

My own use of this model goes back to mid 1990s, when Kjell Slyllstad and I worked with the Bosnian refugees in Norway within the project Azra, bringing together research, education, and music-making and envisioning a new applied ethnomusicology.[65] Besides Adelaida Reyes, who gave the strong imprint to this direction, Fulvia Caruso, Michael Frishkopf, and Oliver Shao count to the prominent authors of current ethnomusicological work with focus on involuntary migrants.[66]

RESEARCH MODEL 8:
Returnees

The term "returnees" in this context refers to people who return to a place seen as their ancestral homeland after a prolonged absence. In the present world, there are countries rooted in this kind of discourse, such as Liberia in West Africa and Israel in the Middle East. Roms, widely seen as transnational people, provide a different case: most of them are aware and proud of their South Asian ancestry, as can be seen e.g. in their flag and affinity for Indian film music, but one could hardly imagine conditions that would ever make them "return" to India.[67]

The wars that marked the end of Yugoslavia caused several moves to "ancestral homelands". For instance, ethnic Croats moved from Kosovo to Croatia,[68] ethnic Serbs

45th ICTM World Conference in Bangkok, 2019.

62 These interdisciplinary fields are mutually related to various extents. For instance, the term "diaspora" carries connotations of resettlement due to expulsion, coercion, slavery, racism, or war.

63 Sarah Victoria Rosemann and David Rosenberg, "Music and Diaspora: A resource list," The society for ethnomusicology, https://www.ethnomusicology.org/members/group_content_view.asp?group=144588&id=479944.

64 "Migrants" in the definition include both voluntary and involuntary ones. The former received more scholarly attention so far.

65 Svanibor Pettan, "Making the Refugee Experience Different: 'Azra' and the Bosnians in Norway," in *War, Exile, Everyday Life: Cultural Perspectives*, eds. Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Maja Povrzanović (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1996b), 245–55. Useful topically-related studies include Miha Kozorog and Alenka Bartulović, "The Sevdalinka in Exile, Revisited. Young Bosnian Refugees' Music-making in Ljubljana in 1990s: A note on Applied Ethnomusicology," *Narodna umjetnost* 52, no. 1 (2015): 121–42 and Alenka Bartulović and Miha Kozorog, "Gender and Music-making in Exile: Female Bosnian Refugee Musicians in Slovenia," *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* 46 (2017): 39–55.

66 Adelaida Reyes, *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free. Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999).

67 Depending on the respective governments, some Western European countries occasionally forcibly "return" Romani families to the Eastern European countries from which the elderly members came from and in which the young ones have never lived.

68 Ger Duijzings, "The Exodus of Letnica. Croatian Refugees from Kosovo in Western Slavonia. A Chronicle," in *War, Exile, Everyday Life. Cultural Perspectives*, eds. Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Maja Povrzanović (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1996), 147–170.

moved from Croatia to Serbia,[69] and ethnic Circassians (Adigs) moved from Kosovo to the Republic of Adigea in the Russian Federation.[70] All of them traded their minority position under unstable circumstances for a position in a country where their ethnic kinsmen make a majority population. The idea of shared ethnicity is in such situations commonly challenged by the perception of cultural differences of the hosting population towards the newcomers, proving Benedict Anderson's argumentation on "imagined communities."[71]

This model provides a unique frame for critical research on national and ethnic issues. I have not used it so far, but can clearly see its advantages for ethnomusicological research.[72]

RESEARCH MODEL 9:
Microminorities

The term "microminority" refers to a subcategory within the majority-minority framework, whose members share sense of a specific local or regional identity, and usually identify with one or more ethnic communities. Microminorities could be and often are overlooked in those research situations, in which attention is paid to the "major" ethnic communities; thus this research model calls for a focus on them.[73] Political status of a microminority may differ from one country to another and sometimes even its members have different opinions about the essential identity issues. The lack of microminorities' own nation-state frameworks makes this dynamic category more susceptible to the political interests of the neighboring dominant communities. The diverse examples in the Slavic world include Bunjevci,[74] Gorale,[75] Rusyns,[76] Kashubs,

69 Vesna Ivkov, "Tradicionalne instrumentalne melodije u godišnjem ciklusu običaja domicilnih i doseljenih Srba u Bačkoj u XX veku" [Traditional instrumental melodies in the customary life cycle of domicile and recently migrated Serbs in the Bačka region in the Twentieth Centrury], in Muzička i igračka tradicija multietničke i multikulturalne Srbije, eds. Sanja Radinović and Dimitrije O. Golemović (Belgrade: Univerzitet umetnosti, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, Katedra za etnomuzikologiju, 2016), 103–26.

70 Alla N. Sokolova, "Танцы и инструментальная музыка косовских адыгов" [Dances and instrumental music of the Circassians from Kosovo], *Вестник Адыгейского государственного университета (Серия филология и искусствоведение)* 4 (2008).

71 Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*

72 A good example is the work of Piotr Dahlig on the Poles who settled in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the late 19th century and their descendants who "returned" to Poland after World War II (he used the term "re-emigrants"). See Piotr Dahlig, "Migrations in Austria-Hungary after 1878 and Poland after 1945: Music as a Therapy for Cultural Minorities", in Shared Musics and Minority Identities, eds. Naila Ceribašić and Erica Haskell (Zagreb and Roč: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research and Cultural-artistic society "Istarski željezničar," 2006), 201-12.

73 One of the themes of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities (in Rennes in 2016) points to the name "minorities within minorities", while Shane Joshua Barter, in a somewhat different sense, uses the term "second-order minorities." Shane Joshua Barter, "'Second-order' Ethnic Minorities in Asian Secessionist Conflicts: Problems and Prospects," *Asian Ethnicity* (2015): 123–35.

74 Aleksandra Marković and Ana Hofman, "The Role of Cultural-Artistic Societies in Emphasizing the Identity of Bunjevci," in *Shared Musics and Minority Identities*, eds. Naila Ceribašić and Erica Haskell (Zagreb and Roč: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research and Cultural-artistic society "Istarski željezničar", 2006), 315–32.

75 Timothy J. Cooley, *Making Music in the Polish Tatras: Tourists, Ethnographers and Mountain Musicians* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Louise Wrazen, "Relocating the Tatras: Place and Music in Górale Identity and Imagination," *Ethnomusicology* 51, no. 2 (2007): 185–204.

76 Robert C. Metil, "Examples from Current Research – Rusyns of Slovakia: Traditional Song, Song-Sponsoring Institutions, and Cultural Survival," in *Glasba in manjšine/Music and Minorities*, eds. Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes and Maša Komavec (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2001): 233–43.

Moravians, Sorbs, various Slavic Muslim communities such as Gorani, Pomaks, and Torbeši, and many more.

Public attention to microminorities is sometimes caused by the moments of their extreme suffering, like the Rohingyas in Myanmar or the Yazidis in Syria, sometimes by different opinions concerning their essence, like the Assyrians in Sweden, the Laz in Turkey or the Egyptians in Kosovo and Macedonia. The aim of this research model is to maintain awareness about their existence and to promote systematic research attention to their cultural and other expressions and in some cases also needs.

My own research encompassed, though briefly and with different foci, several groups that can be named microminorities (for instance, Ababda and Bisharin in Egypt, Gorani in Kosovo), while my pedagogical work demonstrates increased sensitivity and inclusiveness in this regard.

RESEARCH MODEL 10:
Minority individuals

A common sense of whether an individual is "a minority" or not is largely based on external features such as ethnicity, nationality, or race. The individual is rarely asked whether he or she approves such a label, feels indifferent about it, or rejects it. In real life, some individuals are ready to give their lives for any of the earlier mentioned features, while on the other side of the spectrum are those with claims like "I have not selected my parents" or "I had to be born somewhere".[77]

Approaching a culture through the perspective of an insider individual is a common practice in ethnomusicology, augmented by a thematic issue of the journal *The World of Music*, which the editor Jonathan Stock titled Ethnomusicology of the Individual.[78] There are several representative examples of this approach on the Slovenian and world-wide scale.[79] The third symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities in Croatia in 2004 featured two presentations based on individual musicians, even though none of the themes called for such contributions.[80] Hopefully, these two early examples will encourage systematic thematic coverage of the individuals in one of the upcoming symposia.

Writing about my own father[81] was such a strong experience that I still practice and continue to encourage biographical writing. Several of my students followed this path. My fieldwork and teaching activities clearly benefitted from joining forces with the

77 Personal communications at various times and places.

78 Jonathan Stock, ed., *Ethnomusicology and the Individual – The World of Music* 43, no. 1 (2001).

79 Igor Cvetko, *Jest sem Vodovnik Jurij: o slovenskem ljudskem pevcu, 1791–1858* (I am Vodovnik Jurij: On a Slovene folk singer, 1791–1858) (Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1989); Drago Kunej and Rebeka Kunej, *Music from Both Sides. Gramophone Records Made by Matija Arko and the Hoyer Trio* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2017); Virginia Danielson, *The Voice of Egypt: Umm Kulthum, Arabic Song and Egyptian Society in the 20th Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Joselyne Guilbault and Roy Cape, *Roy Cape: A Life on a Calypso Soca Bandstand* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014).

80 Philip V. Bohlman, "Minorities of One, and Other Traces on the Postcolonial Musical Landscape," 1–14, and Ivan Lešnik, "Prospects of an Individual Minority Musician. The Case of Slavo Batista," 259–74, both in *Shared Musics and Minority Identities,* eds. Naila Ceribašić and Erica Haskell (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2006).

81 Svanibor Pettan, "Čekajući Mendelssohna: Hubert Pettan (1912–1889)," *Arti musices* 30, no. 2 (1999): 221–39.

minority individuals and my upcoming publications within the scope of the ongoing minority project will feature several individual perspectives.

3. Conclusions

A common, sometimes idealized and simplified perception of a minority as a bridge between the country of origin and the country of current residence can be documented by real-life examples from ethnomusicological research. Here I bring three contrasting cases:

Example 1 (folk music): Minority vocal group within the Sedef Association of Bosnian women, based in Malmö, Sweden, has a history of joint performances with the Swedish female choir Röster utan gränser. This collaboration enriched their repertoires with several Bosnian folk songs translated into Swedish.[82]

Example 2 (art music): Young Indian immigrant to Norway, the tabla player Jai Shankar, placed on his first CD a track titled Griegraga, in which he and his family musicians created an interplay of Indian and Norwegian art music elements, improvising on the motifs from The Morning Mood from the Peer Gynt suite by the Norwegian composer Edward Grieg.[83]

Example 3 (popular music): In her song Es ist Zeit [The time has come], a Berlin-born hip-hop performer of Turkish immigrant ancestry Aziza A combined Turkish pop music and American rap to express in the German language her experience of life between two cultures and to address a large audience, including German majority and Turkish minority.[84]

These examples, comparable to many other bridge-building collaborations worldwide, are reflected in the activities of the Cultural and Ethnomusicological Society Folk Slovenia, which started in 1996 as a Slovenian folk music revival association and gradually became a creative meeting point of musicians and scholars of Slovenian and various other (minority) ethnic backgrounds. The Society got additional inspiration to manage a number of thematic concerts, workshops, lectures, symposia, and CDs from the International Council for Traditional Music that held the first symposium of the Study group on Music and Minorities in Ljubljana (2000), and after several other events had its headquarters at the University of Ljubljana for six years (2011-2017).[85]

The ten research models make a methodological contribution, which partly documents and frames the ongoing practices and partly attempts to trace the path to the future activities of the Music and Minorities studies. As suggested, our research should expand from the still dominant ethnic criterium and take into account the other observable

82 Jasmina Talam, *Bosnians in Sweden – Music and Identity* (Stockholm: Svenskt Visarkiv, 2019), 51.

83 Jai Shankar, *Shankar of Norway* (CD) (Oslo: Etnisk Musikklubb, 2000).

84 Aziza A, *Es ist Zeit* (CD) (Berlin: Orient Express, 1997).

85 The other ICTM-related events include a symposium Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology in Education: Issues in Applied Scholarship (2006), the first symposia of the three other Study Groups (Applied Ethnomusicology in 2008, Audiovisual Ethnomusicology in 2016, Music and Dance in the Slavic World in 2016, symposium of the Study Group on Music Archaeology in 2018, and a number of annual symposia with engaged topics such as Music and Protest (2012), Music and Otherness (2014), and Music and Ecology (2016).

criteria including race, religion, language, gender and sexuality, disability, political opinion, and social and economic deprivation. There is a need for more research focused on the modalities and consequences of the interconnectedness of these criteria, as well as on their impact on people with different senses of identity sharing the same territorial units. Indigenous people, involuntary migrants, returnees, and microminorities make particularly important cases, partly due to the specific consequences in regard to the nation state concept and its functioning. Some of the models point to the importance of collaboration in approaching the sensitive issue of self-representation on all three levels: community, group, and individual.

The models also serve as a reminder that studying minorities often implies engagement beyond research for the sake of broadening and deepening scholarly knowledge, and that ethnomusicological involvement in both theory and praxis enables action that can and should bring improvements to the minority–majority power continuum. The lessons learned from the wars in the territories of what was Yugoslavia suggest that times of peace and stability are the right times for sensitizing and improving mutually respectful and beneficial relations involving majority and minority populations. As demonstrated in this article, music has considerable potential in such a process. Music and minority studies could thus be understood as an open call to researchers to contribute to peacebuilding here and now, by advocating for more sensitive interhuman relations based on knowledge and mutual respect, for research collaborations across political and other boundaries, and nevertheless for passionate and argument-based passing of positive values to future generations.

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POVZETEK

Definicija manjšine v članku temelji na novi različici le-te, ki jo je Študijska skupina Glasba in manjšine pri Mednarodnem združenju za tradicijsko glasbo (ICTM) sprejela leta 2018. Zajema »skupnosti, skupine in/ali posameznike, med katere sodijo staroselci, migranti in drugi ranljivi ljudje, ki so v večji meri podvrženi diskriminaciji zaradi njihove etnične, rasne, verske, jezikovne ali spolne pripadnosti, seksualne usmerjenosti, zdravstvenega stanja, političnih pogledov ter družbenih ali ekonomskih razlogov«. Članek ponuja pregled teh razlogov v sklopu etnomuzikološke stroke in študija manjšinskih glasb. V osrednjem delu članka so predstavljeni raziskovalni modeli, ki po eni strani odsevajo delo Študijske skupine v preteklosti, po drugi pa temeljijo na avtorjevi viziji potreb raziskovalnega polja v prihodnosti. Ne gre za tipologijo medsebojno se izključujočih kategorij temveč za predstavitev tematsko profiliranih metodoloških celot, ki so samostojne, lahko pa se tudi medsebojno dopolnjujejo. Imena desetih raziskovalnih modelov so: Manjšine na določenem ozemlju (država, območje, naselje), Izbrana manjšina na določenem ozemlju, Izbrana manjšina na različnih ozemljih, Obmejne krajine, Manjšinska stičišča, Staroselci, Neprostovoljni migranti, Povratniki, Mikromanjšine in Posamezniki. Študij glasbe, ki namenja pozornost različnim manjšinskim kontekstom lahko prispeva k bolj ponotranjenem doživljanju in razumevanju medčloveških odnosov. Aplikacijo etnomuzikološke teorije in praktičnih izkušenj z namenom izboljšanja kontinuuma moči na relaciji večina – manjšine je tukaj mogoče razumeti kot mirovniško naložbo v bolj ozaveščeno prihodnost.

UDK 78+793.31(=1:6)(497.4):061.2:159.923.2
DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.65-78

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Identifications through Musical Expressions of Africanness in Slovenia*

Identifikacije skozi glasbeno izražanje afriškosti v Sloveniji**

Prejeto: 10. avgust 2019
Sprejeto: 5. september 2019

Ključne besede: afriškost, migracije, etnične prezentacije, identifikacije, zborovsko petje

Received: 10th August 2019
Accepted: 5th September 2019

Keywords: Africanness, migrations, ethnic presentations, identifications, choir singing

IZVLEČEK

Članek predstavlja, kako je afriškost (kot reprezentacija in identifikacija z afriško kulturo) predstavljena v Sloveniji. Afriškost javno predstavlja bodisi afriška diaspora, ki etnično identifikacijo vzpostavlja preko kulture, bodisi ne-Afričani, ki so iz različnih razlogov vzpostavili kulturne vezi z glasbo in plesom. Članek prikaže, v katerih primerih glasba nudi prostor varnosti in samoidentifikacije, prostor fascinacije, estetske izraznosti ali kulturne rasti in obogatitve.

ABSTRACT

In the article I am interested in the ways that Africanness (as a representation of and identification with African culture) is musically performed in Slovenia. Africanness is being publicly represented either by African diaspora that is negotiating their ethnic identifications through culture or non-Africans that have established connections with African culture for various reasons. The article illustrates in which cases music offers a space of safety and self-identification, a place of fascination, aesthetic expression or cultural growth and enrichment.

* The article was written as part of the research programme *Research on Slovenian Folk Culture in Folklore Studies and Ethnology*, No. P6-0111, and the research project *Music and Ethnic Minorities: (Trans)cultural Dynamics in Slovenia After the Year 1991*, No. J6-8261, funded by the Slovenian Research Agency.

** Članek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa Folkloristične in etnološke raziskave slovenske ljudske duhovne kulture (P6-0111) in raziskovalnega projekta *Glasba in etnične manjšine: (trans)kulturne dinamike v Sloveniji po letu 1991* (J6-8261), ki ju finančno podpira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

1. Introduction

In their music and dance production, public presentations of formally organized migrant communities often draw from traditional music and dance of their country of origin, due to the fact that on a global scale, traditional music has become (or remains), through various nationalization and heritage processes in ideology and rhetoric, a label for the representation of nationality or ethnicity. Therefore, such presentations often lead the mainstream society to a generalized understanding of migrants as "internally homogenous ethnic groups" or entities, and their culture as "simply the preservation of national/ethnic identity in exile".[1] Contemporary research and debates often criticize such concepts and contribute to a constructivist understanding of identity dynamics, with cultural products such as traditional music and dance being merely a "basis for continuous construction and renegotiation of ethnic identities".[2] In-depth studies based on qualitative case analysis show that attachments to ethnicity are often more complex, while representations of traditions can be a fusion of hybrid musical elements and genres, and result of transnational and global connections. However, those musical performances can be seen as "identity performances"[3] where identities as "points of temporary attachment to a subject-position"[4] are maintained, negotiated, and developed in their new settings through elements such as music, sound, gesture, movement, bodies, and atmospheres.

In this sense, this paper, which focuses on the musical activity of African migrants and their descendants in Slovenia, illustrates a series of dynamic processes that co-create musical representations of Africanness. The main focus of the paper is on contemporary production of the African diaspora and its most recognizable musical formation, the Sankofa Choir, which has been active in Slovenia for the last ten years. Having been present at some of their performances and talked with the choir members and leaders, I began to ask myself questions about the meaning and role of music in the context of their (ethno)identity identifications, about the means and processes of forming cultural identity expressions in the public space, about the internal causes for their music-identity performance, and the external factors affecting their expression.

This paper seeks to answer these questions by firstly presenting a brief historical overview of the cultural activities of African migrants in the Slovenian public space, since they have not yet been documented. In the second part, it focuses on the more prominent currently active cultural formation (Baobab Association and its Sankofa Choir) and further elaborates on the analysis of their membership structure and musical repertoire, as well as the related funding structures and contexts of public performances of the choir. Most of the information needed for the analyzes and interpretations presented in the paper was obtained through interviews and online communication with members of the choir, sheet music, music recordings, and web presentations of the choir.

1 Alenka Bartulović and Miha Kozorog, "Gender and music-making in exile," *Dve domovini* 46 (2017): 40.

2 Rolf Lidskog, "The role of music in ethnic identity formation in diaspora: a research review," *International Social Science Journal* 66 (2017): 23.

3 Linda Duits, *Multi - Girl - Culture: An Ethnography of Doing Identity* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 35.

4 Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?" in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd., 1996), 6.

2. Meanings and ways of organizing cultural activities of the African diaspora

Compared to many other European countries, the presence of African migrants and their descendants in Slovenia is small but noticeable. Due to their small number, active individuals or groups of the community identify themselves (when they do so) as 'African', and rarely associate their self-identification with a particular nationality, ethnicity or culture from which they originate. At the same time, their small number is most likely the reason for their need to emphasize common elements rather than differences, and the simplified Pan-African representation is also more attractive for public in terms of promotion. This self-identification certainly also stems from the position of the majority population which tends to generally perceive all blacks as Africans. In the following, I occasionally use such designation myself, mainly due to the fact that cultural formations appear under this term as community formations, and because the members of the community themselves generally did not stress their closer cultural ties with a particular country.

Cultural formations of the African diaspora in Slovenia can be traced back to former Yugoslavia and the first formally organized arrivals of African migrants to Slovenia. In the context of the Non-Aligned Movement,[5] which – among other things – enabled many African students to receive scholarships at Yugoslav universities, some of them found a new home or created families in Slovenia. Today, the majority of the African diaspora consists of these migrants and their (now second- and third-generation) descendants, along with those who have migrated to Slovenia in the last decade for economic, political or personal reasons.

There are few written records of the history of the cultural activity of the African diaspora in Slovenia,[6] so I present it in the words of one of the most active members and initiators of the founding of certain cultural communities, Max Zimani. Due to his position as an migrant, he felt the need to get formally involved in various s.c. African associations, which also resulted in his current business career,[7] and the ever-present cultural ties motivated him to perfect his musical skills. As he explains, he used to play drums in Zimbabwe, though entirely at the amateur level, whereas here, he has built on his knowledge both in this area as well as in the field of dance and singing. Upon his arrival at the student campus in Ljubljana in 1983, there was already a so-called Afro Disco operating in the basement of the Building 4 of the campus, but was soon afterwards shut down due to some problems. He and his two friends decided to bring it back to life, and the redesigned Afro Disco with its six DJs from different African countries gained recognition within the wider alternative scene of the time, both in

5 The Non-Aligned Movement was founded in 1955, and the meeting was first held in Belgrade in 1961. The principle of the movement was to form a coalition of countries as an alternative to the division of world into blocks and the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia played an important role in the development of the movement.

6 The same is true of the Croatian area. In her master's thesis, Mojca Piškor mentions the International Students' Club, which was presented to her by her Ethiopian friend who used to attend such events during his student years. See Mojca Piškor, *World music i njegova recepcija u Hrvatskoj uz studij primjera recepcije i percepcije afričkih glazbi u Hrvatskoj* (Master's Thesis, Academy of Music, University of Zagreb, 2005).

7 Max Zimani is the founder and programme director of the Global Institute – Institute for Global Learning, and the founder and owner of Skuhna, a social enterprise.

Slovenia and beyond. Max explains the musical and social significance of the Afro Disco, both for the integration of Africans and for the opening up of Slovenian society to different cultural influences:

> *We were a serious alternative to other music venues. People were visiting the disco from Austria or from Belgrade, not just Africans. [...] This Afro Disco was important in this sense, not only did it bring together Africans and Slovenians, assisting in the integration process of Africans, it was also a place where future partners met, many people met their future husband or wife here. [...] It was a very important place for socialization.*[8]

The official formation, the African Students Union[9] with sections in Maribor and Ljubljana, included a cultural section under which a folk dance ensemble operated in the 1980s. Max, who also presided the Ljubljana section and later the entire Union, was actively involved as a dancer and drummer. While one can observe considerable concern of folklore ensembles of Slovenian and other minority communities (especially from the former Yugoslavia) with the concept of "authentic presentations of original folklore", Max describes their attitude towards the means of representation in the following words:

> *We bought our clothes in Mali [...], and drums as well, we bought them there. Quite simply, we had a chance. We were very well aware of our limitations. [...] If you are an African folk dance ensemble [...] One has to reach an agreement, a sort of consensus. We were never too loud in proclaiming our Africanness, that we are everything African. No, it was a snippet, our contribution to these different cultures.*[10]

Even in later, even more recognizable formations such as Afrofolklor folk dance group (operated in early 1990s) and Kesukozi drum and dance group (operated at the turn of the millennium),[11] where Max was involved as a drummer, the concept of hybridization and improvisation prevailed (this is especially true for Kesukozi). As Max points out, each member contributed a piece of cultural knowledge from their own country, providing the group with the basis and structure for upgrading of their songs:

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8 Max Zimani, in discussion with the author, August 1, 2019.

9 After the independence of Slovenia, African Students Union (sln. Zveza afriških študentov) came under the umbrella of the International Friendship Club (sln. Klub mednarodnega prijateljstva), which operated within Student Organization of Slovenia (sln. Študentska organizacija Slovenije). It had been active for a few years and also brought together migrants from other countries, though African were their most active members. After the turn of the century, African Centre Association (sln. društvo Afriški center), led by Max Zimani in 2005, was important to the African community. The African Centre Association added social content to the cultural presentation, such as helping new migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, mentoring training, social integration of Africans. In their words, one of their important achievements is the analysis of school textbooks that address African topics, and contributing to the changes in the colonialist and Eurocentric content in one of the textbooks. See, for example Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, ed., *IN – IN: življenjske zgodbe o sestavljenih identitetah* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2011).

10 Max Zimani, in discussion with the author, August 1, 2019.

11 The name represents the initial syllables of the founding members' countries of origin: Kenya, Sudan, Congo and Zimbabwe.

> *At Kesukozi, you had different songs from different cultures. What we tried to do was to always try to leave our mark. Kesukozi was a distinctly improvisational [group]. What we had was just a structure.*[12]

In addition to the public formation such as folk dance groups and the Kesukozi music group, Africans in Slovenia also created participatory cultural spaces, reviving drumming, dance workshops and "African nights" in the late 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium (in places such as Jazbina, Druga pomoč, Konkurenca bar, Gromka), and later complementing the musical segment in the form of concerts with educational content such as roundtables on pressing social topics or culinary experiences (e.g., Club Gromka).[13]

For some, amateur cultural formations represented a starting point for their further involvement related to Africa, including professional one. Max recalls many people, both Africans and non-Africans, whose journey began in the drumming or dance workshops or were permanently influenced by their visits to Afro Disco or later social events in the context of African nights:

> *They perhaps attended some drumming class 20 years ago, or dance class, and they kind of grew fond of African culture, and later did something about it, and today they work with Africa. For example, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But now I am referring to concrete individuals, as I know that we were together years ago, and perhaps this is why they are now working in areas that somehow relate to migrations or with Africa, Africans. So this is the effect that I am talking about, it is very hard to measure it or prove it, but it does exist.*[14]

Africa Day was the central event of the African diaspora in the 1990s, which served as a framework for presenting their cultural activities. For the last 8 years, the organization of the event was taken over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The cultural programme is presented by invited cultural artists which represent African culture in Slovenia, but it is only presented as an accompanying programme of a business economic conference.[15]

Among the more visible associations organizing cultural activities of the African diaspora today is the African Village Institution (sln. Zavod Afriška vas) with their yearly festival African Village Fest and collaboration with individual performers in the context of the Africa Day event. The festival features music or theatre events (e.g., children's theatre performance, guest performances by musicians, drumming performances), with the cultural programme complemented by culinary delights (African cuisine and drinks) and business activities such as stalls offering "exotic multicultural" tourist products (henna paintings, knitting, Mayan calendars, Brazilian Palo Santo wood, etc.).

In 2019, Africa Day, coorganized with certain cultural institutions, was celebrated for the first time by the Baobab Association (presented in more detail below). The event took

12 Max Zimani, in discussion with the author, August 1, 2019.

13 These activities also coincided with the active role of Max Zimani and some of his colleagues within the African Centre Society.

14 Max Zimani, in discussion with the author, August 1, 2019.

15 An example of an announcement for the 2019 event can be found at the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: http://mzz.arhiv-spletisc.gov.si/si/medijsko_sredisce/novica/36939/, accessed August 9, 2019.

place in Maribor, with exclusively cultural events such as storytelling, drumming and dance workshops for children and adults, and drumming group performance. Today, there are some active members of the African community in Maribor as well (some of them were formerly active in Ljubljana), who are now reviving the new surrounding with the conscious intention of bringing the African culture both to adopted children from Africa[16] and to their parents, as well as to their offspring, the second- and third-generation African migrants:

> *Above all, this activity is important for children of African roots, in order for them to search for their cultural identity, and to develop a positive self-image through their own engagement. This need is present both in the adoptive parents' community, as well as among the members of the African community who came to Slovenia for economic migration or humanitarian reasons.*[17]

Today, the Baobab Arts and Cultural Association is one of the more prominent associations in Slovenia, focusing primarily on music, dance and theatre in connection with African cultures. It is based in Ljubljana, but is expanding its activities to Maribor due to the relocation of some of its members to that area. The association organizes dance and drumming classes, workshops, and events for children. A member of the association, a descendant of the second-generation migrants, founded the Sankofa Choir in 2009.[18]

3. Diversity of choir members and their motives for membership

Sankofa Choir was designed as a choir intended exclusively for African migrants, their partners and descendants, which is one of the reasons for the diversity of the membership structure also in terms of attachment to African culture. Over the last decade, the choir, whose structure and membership numbers have varied, consisted of: a) first-generation African migrants (dating back to the times of politically motivated African migration to Yugoslavia), b) second-generation African migrants, c) Slovenian women, mostly partners or ex-partners of African migrants, as well as mothers of children resulting from these relationships, and d) recently arrived first generation of African migrants.

The membership of the choir is very unstable, in the sense that a considerable number of members leave the choir after a certain period of time (some members often go on longer visits to African countries, others have relocated from Ljubljana, etc.). The choir usually consists of a relatively small number of singers (compared to the "traditional" choirs in Slovenia),[19] which also poses a certain challenge, both in

16 There has been a slight increase in the number of adopted children from African countries over the last decade. In informal conversations with parents of adopted children (two families), I learned that because of their children, they like to attend events connected with African culture, as well as to meet, exchange experiences and help those who are dealing with adoption.

17 "Spoznavanje in ohranjanje kulturnih izročil Afrike. Medkulturni in medgeneracijski pevski zbor," Vetrinjski dvor, accessed August 5, 2019, https://www.vetrinjski-dvor.si/dogodki/medkulturni-in-medgeneracijski-pevski-zbor_4.

18 The name Sankofa is derived from the Ghanaian symbol that signifies taking something good from the past and use it in the future (http://www.baobab.si/o-zboru, accessed August 5, 2019).

19 At the time of my first interview, there were around 10 members of the choir, and at the time of my last interview, the number rose to almost 20. This was mainly due to the upcoming commemoration of the choir's 10th anniversary with a concert.

terms of working on the repertoire and in terms of the songs that have to be constantly arranged for the changing ensemble (and sometimes also for joint performances with instrumentalists or dancers). At the beginning of my research in 2018,[20] the membership structure with regard to the country of origin was as follows: two singers were born in Africa, while the others were descendants of migrants or partners of African migrants, born in Slovenia.

Different social relations and cultural connections to Africa influence the members' impulses and identification motives for their participation in the choir. For many of the singers, children represent an important aspect in the formation of the choir, with many of them actually feeling an increased need to transmit cultural values and knowledge after they have their own children. Initially, the children were present at the rehearsals, as the choir members wanted their children to be part of their activities, as is very often the case in Africa. However, as one of the singers put it, "in an African spirit, it is just fine for our children to be with us, but here, children are raised as they are [...]. They need more attention. In Guinea, I never say children interfere with the creative process."[21] Eventually, they provided care for the children, but they still remain close by, and the choir gives them a small performance at the end of the rehearsal, helping children to get to know the repertoire from an early age.

Thus, one of the former singers of Slovenian origin (a single mother) emphasizes the importance of transferring music culture and language, and also tries to learn some of the phrases online: "I feel it's the only thing I can give her, at least to an extent. I cannot contribute in any other way. I haven't even been to Zimbabwe, I know almost nothing about the culture."[22] At the same time, she also emphasizes the pragmatic reason for attending the choir: the childcare that was provided enabled her as a single mother to attend the rehearsals, and at the same time, her child had the opportunity to interact with other children of African origin. Much in the same way, another member of the choir, also a single mother, emphasizes the importance of childcare that allows her to attend the rehearsals as a very important factor in her decision to join the choir.[23]

The descendant of the second-generation migrants and the founder of the choir points out that for her, singing in the choir also represents "searching for her roots".[24] While blaming her father for not introducing her to African culture and especially to the language of his origin, she started to seek connections with Africa by herself as an adult woman. For her, singing in the choir represents the establishment of a new connection with the culture of her ancestors, both through music and through language (lyrics in African languages), as well as social ties with Africans and their descendants living in Slovenia. When asked how she came up with the idea to found a choir, she replies:

20 I obtained the research data mainly through interviews with members of the choir, the founder (and also a member) of the choir, and some choir leaders, who also provided me with sheet music and sound recordings. Other material includes attending some choir performances and online information.

21 Excerpt from an interview with a choir member, March 18, 2018.

22 Excerpt from an interview with a choir member, February 2, 2018.

23 Excerpt from an interview with a choir member, August 20, 2019.

24 Excerpt from an interview with a founder and a member of a choir, April 12, 2018.

> *Because I love to sing ... I totally missed some kind of contact with my father's homeland, and with Africa in general, so to speak ... And it also seemed a very good opportunity to keep in touch with African culture through singing, through music. So I rang up all the Africans and their descendants I knew.*[25]

The aforementioned Max Zimani, a member of the first generation of migrants, who has been involved in various African cultural initiatives in Slovenia, also explicitly emphasizes (in addition to stressing the importance of culture as a means of eradicating stereotypes, recognizing, and entering into a dialogue with Slovenian culture) the significance of the intergenerational transfer and integration: "It seems to me that it is important for us Africans to have our own choir, not only for ourselves, but also for our children, in order for them to be able to feel this culture."[26]

For some, the amateur cultural activities also represented a link between (trans)cultural capital and economic capital, providing many of those who are today professionals or semi-professionals in the field of music or dance with the chance to enter the cultural artistic expression or education of others. However, the second generation[27] seems to be the one who saw the focus on cultural intersections as a tool to overcome political and social injustices. Their strong inclusion in society, which has been enabled since their childhood, gives them the power in a culture that they know well to fight against intolerance to differentiation, and they have developed strong critical thinking on social and political attitudes towards cultural diversity in Slovenia. To summarize the above in the words of theatre director Kim Komljanec, who directed the musical *Sunlighting*, produced by KUD Baobab:[28]

> *The main drama character of the performance comes from Africa, whose culture with music and dance is in Europe – especially in Slovenia – still unknown enough to be attractive and unthreatening for the majority population. Through the story of an migrant from Africa, the performance also speaks of all other migrants, which Slovenian society has difficulties accepting, and often aggressively rejects: about Albanians, Macedonians, Bosnians, Bulgarians, Roma, Kurds, Syrians, and others ...*[29]

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25 Excerpt from an interview with a founder and a member of a choir, April 12, 2018.

26 Max Zimani, in discussion with the author, August 1, 2019.

27 The author is aware of controversial generalization of the "second generation" concept in writing and thinking about assimilation in migration contexts. Contemporary studies on further generations use the concept of segmented assimilation which considers the assimilation processes as subject to several factors (family sources, socio-economic status, job opportunities...), therefore, migrants are assimilated into different segments of society. In the article the (second) generation concept is used to differentiate members that are artistically expressing African cultures as well as to identify their relations towards those representations. In the specific case the second generation appears to be mostly involved in critical reflective discourses on racism and discrimination.

28 As an example, some of the performances produced by KUD Baobab: *Born Outside Her Village*, *Sunlighting, A Visit To an African Village*, or participating at the *Project for intercultural dialogue*, part of which was the music video "Žive naj vsi narodi - Dobrodelna Zdravljica," Youtube video, 4:45, posted by "Žive naj vsi narodi," December 3, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5kUGvhU_mnI.

29 "Ko se Afričan zaljubi v Slovenko, a ne tudi v Slovenijo in Evropo," *MMC*, October 28, 2011, https://www.rtvslo.si/kultura/oder/ko-se-african-zaljubi-v-slovenko-a-ne-tudi-v-slovenijo-in-evropo/269425, accessed August 5, 2019.

The first generation of political and economic migrants is the least active in the society, despite the fact that the Sankofa Choir was established as part of the project Expressive World of African Culture (EWAC), which aimed to "promote African culture through the active involvement of migrants from Africa and their descendants in training in the field of dance and music. The target groups of the project were African migrants and their descendants who are marginalized in Slovenia."[30] But this original idea was quite unsuccessful. As the organizer stated: "We imagined they would come, we would train them in dance and percussion ... In this way, they might even make a living in Slovenia. But there was no interest."[31] Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain the information about the social groups and the number of Africans that have migrated to Slovenia in the last ten years (since the establishment of the choir). However, as I found out in conversations with the choir members, that very few of them joined the choir and subsequently left it. The reason for this could be later departures of these migrants from Slovenia, or perhaps their (non)involvement in cultural activities is influenced by their age, gender, or economic status. It is also that in their active period of employment or raising a family, people – and women in particular – tend to be less active in extra cultural activities. The singer also highlighted the fact that it is possible they are not doing enough to get in touch with recent migrants.[32] Most migrants did not take part in social activities or even left the community, and it seems that despite positive intentions, the vision of the community is far from the real needs of the migrants.

An explanation for this can be found in the study that was made among migrants from the former Yugoslavia living in Slovenia, which could also be applied to the members of African community. It establishes the interdependence between the deteriorating socio-economic situation of migrants and the interests and motivation for their cultural engagement, "whereas the level of social vulnerability, in turn, means the greater need to integrate into existing social networks, but at the same time it represents the greater obstacle to the actual involvement in such networks".[33] On the other hand, the reasons for the non-involvement of recent migrants in society and the choir can also be found in some studies[34] which show that the concepts of integration are very differently understood by those 'others' who wish to integrate migrants into the existing community.

In order to maintain their social ties, the choir members initially insisted on the membership only being available to Africans and their descendants. However, mainly due to the diminishing number of members and difficulties in maintaining the African migrants' and their descendants' interest in singing, the choir eventually began accepting non-African members. On the other hand, non-Africans have been entrusted the position of choir leaders from the very beginning (currently, the choir has their fourth leader), with some of them moving to this position from their original status as choir members.

30 "Izrazni svet afriške kulture," Isak, accessed August 5, 2019, http://www.isak.si.

31 Excerpt from an interview with a founder and a member of a choir, April 12, 2018.

32 Excerpt from an interview with a member of a choir, August 19, 2019.

33 Janja Žitnik Serafin, *Večkulturna Slovenija: Položaj migrantske književnosti in kulture v slovenskem prostoru* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2008), 117.

34 Floya Anthias, Maria Kontos, Mirjana Morokvasic-Müller, ed., *Paradoxes of Integration: Female Migrants in Europe* (Springer: Dordrecht, Heildelberg, New York, London, 2013) and Marita Eastmond, "Egalitarian Ambitions, Constructions of Difference: The Paradoxes of Refugee Integration in Sweden," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37, no. 2 (2011): 277–295.

For example, one of the later choir leaders stated that she accepted invitation to join the choir due to their lack of tenor singers. Though she found African music interesting, she had never been musically involved in it before entering the choir.

The musical and aesthetic criteria set by the choir required them to search for a competent, formally musically educated person, even if they were not connected to Africa of African music. This was confirmed in my conversation[35] with a formally educated composer who used to lead the choir for some time. She emphasized the need for vocal skill of the singers, as well as for new singers, especially tenors which are usually being replaced by female voices. For this reason, she hosted singing workshop as part of the project, and some of the participants later joined the choir. This engagement of choir leaders[36] who had no ethnic affiliation with Africa also affected the choir's working methods and its repertoire structure.

4. Hybridity of choir's singing repertoire

The choir's repertoire was initially composed in accordance with the knowledge and skills of the existing choir members and their leaders. Different choir leaders were confronted with the same questions: how to present the diversity of African music in public presentation in Slovenia; how to create an artistic bond with a culture that is basically unknown to them; and finally, a very pragmatic question: how and where to get a repertoire?

During conversations, some interlocutors said that despite their willingness, they find it difficult to identify with the country, let alone the regional or local culture of their origin. Most of them speak no African language, nor are they familiar with the musical culture to improve their repertoire. In addition, the choir bring together individuals who have ties with a wide variety of African cultures and languages. Despite their outwardly "Pan-African" identification, they are trying to break up the persistent stereotype of a single Africa. For example, they emphasise the fact that they are presenting music of African cultures (plural), and sometimes complement their programme with an educational insert, commenting on the songs and their context and explaining their origin.

The repertoire is put together in various ways. They sing the songs that "they get their hands on", trying to take into account the geographical, musical diversity and the aesthetic preferences of the singers. The founder of the choir, who is not a choir leader, but has always been actively searching for the repertoire, said that finding a suitable repertoire is very demanding, as the choral literature mainly consists of the adaptations of African songs in the European choral style. Some of the songs were contributed by Zimbabwe-born member from his memory, others were found on YouTube and arranged for the choir, some were taken and arranged based on the animated film The Lion King, and the rest were acquired from visiting African musicians or from Africans living in Europe hosted by the EWAC project and arranged for the choir. The latter was singled

35 Excerpt from an interview with a choir leader and a member of a choir, March 31, 2018.

36 Choir leaders conduct rehearsals, however, during singing and performing, they stand in a semicircle formation with other singers and sing with them.

out by the choir members as the best way of transferring the musical repertoire, because by learning directly from the musicians, they not only felt the song, but also their way of performing, found it easier to learn the correct pronunciation, and found out about the textual meaning of songs.

Due to the lack of repertoire, lack of understanding of the languages of certain African cultures, and her own need to be musically creative, one of the choir leaders herself put together an interesting part of the repertoire, which was also possible due to her university degree in composing. She arranged part of the repertoire and composed some of the songs, adding fictional lyrics in fictional language to her own music. The reactions have shown that people do not notice the difference between her songs and the templates of other songs, as her songs have been well received by both singers and audiences, and really "caught on".[37] In teaching the song, she also conveyed a fictional content of the song to the choir members in order to encourage them to interpret the song in a more sensitive way.[38]

The decision to create their own compositions in "African style" was also influenced by the choir's participation at the Ljubljana choir show. By participating at such events, the choir gets additional points for the selection of the funding of further projects under the Etn call.[39] The choir show requires the submission of sheet music before the performance, which has been a problem for the choir, since they perform many songs by ear or accompany the usual sheet music with improvisational parts, solo inserts which are in line with the current composition of the choir. To this end, the choir leader wrote down the compositions and created the afore mentioned original composition with a fictional text to meet the condition of the call to perform one song by a Slovenian author.

5. Conclusion

The musical and dance culture of the African diaspora in Slovenia creates a sense of imaginative homeland and sense of belonging for the members of the choir. For migrant offspring and adopted children, it has a significant influence in their negotiation of identity, generating an identity bond with Africa in a unique way.

Due to their choice of repertoire, their appearance and the contexts of their performances, the musical presentation of Africanness by the Sankofa Choir acts as an identity marker for the maintenance of group boundaries. It strengthens the sense of belonging and a sense of differences for the participants of the group, and plays an important role in identity formation. It is a cultural capital for the choir members and their descendants and through the different contexts of musical performances seeks to "re-territorialize their space" (e.g., African Village Fest, African Day) in order to "re-create and strengthen their assertion of identities (who they feel they are) within the host society."[40]

37 Excerpt from an interview with a founder and a member of a choir, April 12, 2018.

38 Excerpt from an interview with a member of a choir, August 20, 2019.

39 The call is discussed in more detail by Urša Šivic, "History of Public Call for Funding in the Field of the Cultural Activities of Ethnic Minority Communities and Immigrants ," *Muzikološki zbornik* 55, no. 2 (2019): 133–153.

40 Maheshvari Naidu, "The Social Face of Networks: The Features of Maintaining Self in Migrant Space", *Sociological Bulletin* 63. no. 1 (2014), 45.

Initially, the aim of the choir was to include only African migrants and their descendants, demonstrating their original tendency to establish their own space of belonging. In doing so, they were in a sense maintaining the boundary between "us" and "others", despite the fact that pragmatic reasons to include non-Africans (at first, choir leaders, and later singers as well) existed from the very beginning. By opening the door to "others" and with their public representations, the choir members are bringing the message of the presence of migrants or about the coexistence of African Culture in Slovenia, as well as raising awareness of African culture in general,[41] thus becoming both active citizens who are contributing to society, as well as "active change agents in the fields of identity politics and anti-racism struggles".[42]

African cultural formations in Slovenia are never inclined to seek the so-called authentic representations of cultural elements of their home countries, as evidenced in the first formations such as folk groups and Afro Disco. In the Sankofa Choir, singers and their leaders meet their own need and the expectations of others through ethnic clothing, stage movement, or by singing songs that "sound African", even though they are taken from a variety of transmitted sources of Africanness (film music, popular music events) or are based on new music compositions. In some ways, however, the functioning of African choir is no different from other cultural formations that are not ethnically defined. On the one hand, their activities can be seen as a pure musical and aesthetic fulfillment of their musical ambitions and the need to develop their musical abilities, while at the same time, the choir with its regular weekly rehearsals functions as an element of socialization for singers and their children.

As noted by one of the singers, cultural formations are not about preserving African culture, but rather about keeping in touch with African and musical culture. Disco, folklore or choirs are meeting places, spaces for creating identifications according to one's own reasons, abilities and wishes. Africanness is being created in a unique way, providing community members a safe place for their self-identification, while at the same time giving meaning to the identity ties of their descendants who are facing these questions early on. On the other hand, to the descendants of Africans and to nonAfricans participants, the choir can simply represent a place of fascination with African music and culture, or a place for their aesthetic expression, cultural growth and enrichment. Ethnicity can therefore be an important element of identification for an individual and their involvement in a cultural area, but it is by no means the only one, the most powerful or important in creating the individual's reality and their position in society.

41 This is mainly related to the Max Zimani's narrative of numerous Slovenes whose participation at African cultural events led them to professional engagement with African or other cultures, and to the active cultural involvement of some migrants and their descendants in the fight against intolerance and differentiation.

42 Anna Rastasa and Elina Seyeb, "Music as a site for Africanness and diaspora cultures: African musicians in the white landscape of Finland," *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 9, no. 1 (2016): 82.

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POVZETEK

Glasbene in plesne predstavitve etnično samodefiniranih manjšinskih ali migrantskih skupnosti se pogosto navezujejo na tradicijsko glasbo države 'izvora'. Te predstavitve vodijo v posplošeno razumevanje, da so priseljenci homogene etnične skupine, ki s svojimi prezentacijami ohranjajo nacionalno in etnično identiteto v 'novi' državi'. Vpogledi v strukture javnih nastopov, kot so na primer glasbene karakteristike glasbe, repertoar, prostori izvajanja, vzgibi za izvajanje in načini izvajanja, podajajo kompleksnejšo sliko o identitetnih dinamikah posameznikov znotraj skupnosti, razkrivajo pa tudi, da je tradicija navadno le referenčna točka identifikacijskih procesov.

V članku so kulturno-identitetne dinamike prikazane na podlagi javne reprezentacije afriške glasbene kulture v slovenskem prostoru. Sprva je podan krajši zgodovinski pregled kulturnega udejstvovanja afriške diaspore v Sloveniji. Osrednji del članka je namenjen strukturam znotraj pevskega zbora Sankofa, ki se javnosti predstavlja s petjem t. i. afriških pesmi. Podrobno je analizirana struktura članstva ter glasbenega repertoarja, v zvezi s slednjim pa tudi povezanost s strukturami financiranja društva in konteksti javnih nastopov pevskega zbora. Večina podatkov je pridobljenih na podlagi intervjujev in spletne komunikacije s članicami in člani zbora, notnega gradiva, glasbenih posnetkov ter spletnih prezentacij zbora. Članek razkriva vprašanja identifikacij in prezentacij afriškosti, problemov pri strukturiranju repertoarja, pri iskanju poti med socializacijskim prostorom in glasbeno estetskimi potrebami pevcev in vodji zbora.

Glasbena in plesna kultura, ki jo ustvarja afriška diaspora v Sloveniji so prostori srečevanja, prostori ustvarjanja identifikacij po lastnih vzgibih, možnostih in željah. Afriškost se kreira na svojstven način in članom skupnosti predstavlja varno zatočišče samoidentifikacije, hkrati pa osmišlja identitetne povezave njihovim potomcem, ki se s temi vprašanji srečujejo že zgodaj. Po drugi strani je predvsem potomcem Afričanov ter Neafričanom, ki sodelujejo v zboru, lahko zgolj prostor fascinacije nad afriško glasbo in kulturo ali prostor za estetski izraz, kulturno rast in obogatitev. Etničnost je torej lahko pomemben element identifikacije za posameznika in njegovo delovanje v kulturnem prostoru, vendar pa nikakor ne edini, najmočnejši ali pomembnejši pri kreiranju posameznikove realnosti in njegovega položaja v družbi.

UDK 78.087.6(430Berlin)"1973-2015":314.15
DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.79-110

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Choir Formations (1973–2015) in Berlin – in Connection with Migration/Refugee Movements

Ustanavljanje zborov (1973–2015) v Berlinu – v povezavi z migracijo/begunskimi tokovi

Prejeto: 8. junij 2019
Sprejeto: 16. avgust 2019

Ključne besede: ustanavljanje zborov, razmerje med manjšino in večino, kreativne oblike samopomoči, glasbeni repertoar, glasbeno kulturne povezave

IZVLEČEK

Ustanavljanje zborov je predstavljeno v oziru na razmerje med manjšino in večino, zlasti v povezavi s socialnimi in glasbenimi dejavniki. Poudarek je na kreativnih oblikah samopomoči in glasbeno kulturnih povezavah, kakor se zrcalijo v glasbenem repertoarju in kažejo na osnovi analize strukturnih in oblikovnih elementov posameznih pesmi.

Received: 8th June 2019
Accepted: 16th August 2019

Keywords: choir formations, minority-majority relations, creative forms of self-help, music repertoire, music cultural interactions

ABSTRACT

Two choir formations are featured in connection with minority-majority relations, under socially and music related aspects. The focus lies on creative forms of self-help and on music cultural interactions as reflected in the music repertoire and elaborated through analyzing structure and building elements of single music pieces.

1. Introduction[1]

As part of research on Urban Ethnomusicology and Diaspora Research, especially in Berlin since 1971, the author has examined in particular the music cultures that have developed within the communities of migrants from Turkey. On migrant and diaspora issues Bruno Nettl says: "One relevant area of study is the musical cultures of immigrant societies compared with the traditional homeland, a type of study fifty years earlier but now a standard, often labeled with the catchword 'diasporas'."[2] Within this framework of studies, the author put emphasis on choral traditions and has documented about 20 German-Turkish choirs of different categories,[3] partly for longer periods, with a focus on concerts of the performance cycle *fasıl*.[4] Her field research was extended on to new developments after the flood of refugees which began in 2015. They emerged from the cooperation of people from the majority society with refugees and additionally from multi-ethnic mass singing movements in public spaces, such as "Sing along, Berlin!".

It is worth noting that such an old structure as the choir – an original, cultural-anthropological phenomenon –until today has an effective power of integration in regard to modern choir formations.

This contribution presents two Berlin choirs, the Batıberlin İşçi Korosu (Westberlin Working-class Choir)[5] and the Begegnungschor e. V.[6] (Encounter Choir registered association). Batıberlin İşçi Korosu (BİK) was founded in 1973, its last concert dates from 1986, and the last record had been released in 1986, too. No official date of a dissolution of the choir is known. We may only assume that it does not exist anymore. Begegnungschor (BC) was founded recently in 2015. Both are mixed (male and female voice) choirs with instrumental accompaniment. Singers of both choirs are mostly amateurs, rarely semiprofessionals; the instrumentalists are semiprofessional up to professional musicians. The choirmasters of both choirs are professionally trained. In historical view, each choir will be classified in the frame of the general development of the choral system in Germany, especially Berlin. Regarding their date of formation, both choirs represent two quite different epochs. Each choir is differing from the other in relation to its position within its community as well as in relation and interaction with the majority society.

Batıberlin İşçi Korosu (BİK) was a relatively isolated hermetic group, in some respects a minority within a minority. Some members had agitational conceptions, engaged themselves politically in matters of the working class. The choir sang in Turkish, accompanied

1 Unless otherwise stated, all translations from German to English, Turkish to German, Turkish to English and all transcriptions are by the author Dorit Klebe.

2 Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology. Thirty-one Issues and Concepts,* 2nd ed. (Urbana, Springfield and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 2005), 72.

3 The author elaborates her field recordings for publication.

4 A compound *suite*-like concert form of the traditional Ottoman-Turkish courtly music, containing instrumental and vocal-instrumental oeuvres, on the basis of the musical features *makam* and *usûl*. It is still performed until today, of course having undergone several changes.

5 In this article, the Turkish name of the choir is used; in addition, the choir called itself also Türkischer Arbeiterchor Westberlin (Turkish Working-class Choir Westberlin).

6 The addition "e.V." is an abbreviation for "eingetragener Verein" (registered association) and is only indicated in this article when it is first mentioned in the context of a name. This practice will be applied in this article also when naming further associations. The term "e.V." is a fixed expression and the term "Verein" (association) in its abbrevition by the letter "V" in this context cannot be exchanged by the term "society" (Gesellschaft).

by an instrumental ensemble of non-Turkish and some Turkish musicians; they played on "western instruments", as well as traditional Turkish instruments like the long-necked lute *saz*. The Turkish-speaking choir members were mostly workers, some were students, partly politically involved. Begegnungschor (BC) is non-ideological, with cosmopolitan musical views and referring to "world music", multiethnic and multilingual music.

Access to research was made easier for the author by the fact that she knows the leaders of both choirs from her studies (2nd half of the 1960s) and her lectureship (2000–2013) at the Berlin University of the Arts (formerly Hochschule der Künste). The study is also affected by the author's experiences as a choral soloist.[7]

The following elaborations will discuss some socially and music related aspects by means of comparing the functioning of both choirs with the emphasis on the selection of the repertoire. Further, a focus of the research lies on questioning, to what extent the chorus structures are fixed or open to socio-political changes. And in what way this is expressed in the repertoire or in individual pieces of music. The research also reveals the reasons and purposes of choir foundations. Further on, questions are raised whether chorus formation could contribute to identity building and has integration-promoting functions or even re-integrating aims for a return to their home country in future.

Through the choir models represented by the two choirs and the basic principles for the applied models, the following will be explored: the "self-help/supported-help principle" and the "tandem partner principle", as well as their effects on the stability of the choirs' existence and duration will be evaluated. Further issues of the article are the musical approach to the internal and external relationship between migrants/refugees and majority society as well as tracing of the forms of reception by majority society.

In regard to the music related aspects the focus lies on examination and comparation of repertoire formation (i.e. mixing of songs of the countries of origin as well as the ones from the majority society) and to what extent the repertoire has widened and enriched the music culture of the majority society. In this context transcultural interactions are investigated underlining change processes and mutual interactions like permeations and amalgamations of the respective poetical and musical elements: in the poem's structure, its embedding in the traditional Turkish folk literature, the formal structure of the stanzas in relation to musical sections, metric-rhythmic structuring, melodic/harmonic basis, choral performance forms of *unisono,* multi-part and heterophonic singing as well as instrumental accompaniments with monophonic versus heterophonic sections. Furthermore, the individual style of composers/arrangers will be thematized.

2. The Term "Chor", English: "Choir"/"Chorus"

Choral singing is a global-wide phenomenon. The term "Chor" had taken different meanings at different times since antiquity. The term "Chor" (English: "choir"/"chorus") is

7 E.g.. she was a member of the Berlin oratorio and concert choir Fritz Weisse and solo and chorus singer in the musical "Hair" (Berlin of the 1970s). Furthermore, she functioned as a choir director of, also mixed German-Turkish, school/student/teacher choirs, in the subject-specific education of Turkish teachers in a model experiment (TÜLL) of the Berlin Senate, and as an Assistant Professor at the Berlin University of the Arts.

– besides choral singing – used in music-related contexts like for music theory, for many part instrumentation, the choral work to be performed, only to name some. Further attributions of meaning can be found in areas like architecture, theater, dance (especially round dances). Rather, this paper focuses on choral singing in German-speaking countries and especially the city of Berlin. Documentary references about choir singing in the sacral context mention already in 1465 five Singeknaben (boy singers), appointed by the Brandenburg Elector Friedrich II at the Berlin cathedral.[8]

From the 18th century, there is to mention an event that developed especially for the emergence of mixed choirs with a predominantly secular repertoire in the bourgeois milieu: the foundation of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin (1791). The choir took a unique position as an independent musical institution. At that time, an early form of singer associations emerged, which can be seen as precursors of today's associations.

The use of the German term "Chor" in this contribution is based on today's colloquial usage in Germany. It generally means „eine Gruppe von Singenden, die in verschiedenster Besetzung (Kinder-,...Männer-, Frauen-, gemischer Chor...u.s.w.), ein – oder mehrstimmig ohne Begleitung oder mit Instrumenten singen kann"[9] (a group of singers, who can perform in a variety of types (children's-,...male-, female-, mixed choir etc.) either in *unisono* or in many parts without accompaniment or with instruments). Both choir forms, those who mainly perform a sacral and those who mainly perform a secular repertoire, call themselves choir. A distinction between "choir" and "chorus", as it is often made in English-speaking countries,[10] is not common in Germany. However, the use of the term "chorus" quite often occurs e.g. in connection with "musicals". Choirs of migrant communities mostly use in their names the term for choir that is common in their homeland, e.g. "koro", as contained in the name of Batıberlin İşçi Korosu for communities from Turkey.

2.1. Short Remarks on the Musical Life in Germany after the end of World War II

Ordinary life in Germany at that time was first dominated by survival strategies and attempts of rebuilding, reconstructions of cities. Only two weeks after the capitulation, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra improvised its first concert.[11] In 1949, the two German states that were characterized by different political conceptions were established. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) aligned itself towards international developments. In the rapidly developing FRG economy, there was a need for labour force. From the beginning of the 1950s "guest workers" migrated to West Germany mainly from Mediterranean countries like Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and the former Yugoslavia. The migrants performed in the beginning predominantly their own music. Communities from Turkey, the largest

8 Kai-Uwe Jirka and Dietmar Schenk, eds., *Berliner Jungs singen – seit 550 Jahren* (Beeskow: Ortus, 2015), 11. Today's Staats- und Domchor Berlin, a boy choir, derives its origin from the five boy singers (1465).

9 Walter Blankenburg, "Chor und Chormusik," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Sachteil vol. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995): 766–774, 776–777.

10 See Smith, James G., and Percy M. Young, "Chorus(i)," In *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2001, accessed July 18, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05684.

11 On May 26, 1945, at the Titania Palast Berlin playing the 4th Symphony of Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky.

migrant population in Germany and especially in Berlin (West), developed a limited, but rich cultural life. Choral formations were established among these communities in the 1970s (we have only sparse documents from the time before).

The German Democratic Republic (GDR) was looking for contact with the socialist, brother countries. "So-called contract workers from communist countries, the Eastern bloc, the Balkans, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, were employed from 1965 to 1990 to work for limited periods of time in East Germany. Little is known about the private activities of these workers and to what extent they maintained their musical cultures."[12]

2.2. After the Reunion in 1990: Choir Statistics and New Developments

Data on the musical life in Germany after the reunion of the two German States was collected between 2004 and 2008 by Deutscher Musikrat, gemeinnützige Projektgesellschaft mbH (German Music Council, non-profit project society Ltd). The publication *Musical Life in Germany. Structure, facts and figures*[13] informs us on choir organisations. Among amateur singers "the 55,000 choruses organized in registered associations include 22,000 secular ensembles, most of which are found in the German Choral Association. Some 33,000 belong to Germany's two major (Catholic and Evangelical) churches".[14] Choirs of minority groups are not included in this Germany-wide inventory. And the 2019 subsequent edition *Musikleben in Deutschland* does only marginally consider choirs of migrant communities.[15]

According to the Chorverband Berlin e. V. (Choir Association Berlin registered association), there are an estimated 1500 choirs in Berlin, single-sex or mixed, from professional, semi-professional up to amateur choirs of different style orientations.[16] Since probably only those choirs are listed, which have organized themselves as registered associations, it is unclear whether church choirs and choirs of migrant communities were taken into account or not.

We can also assume that autochthonous minorities – some of whom live in Germany for many hundreds of years, and which were officially recognized by the Federal Republic of Germany in 1997 – nowadays also have a lively choir life. But there are hardly any researches or statistics. For one of the autochthonous minorities – the people of the Lusatian Sorbs –, having migrated around 600 AD to East Elbia, we can refer to the publication of Rosemary Statelova.[17]

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12 Dorit Klebe, "Germany: Modern and Contemporary Performance Practice," in *The SAGE International Encyclopedia of Music and Culture*, ed. Janet Sturman, vol. III (Washington: SAGE Publishing, 2019), 1002.

13 Deutscher Musikrat, gemeinnützige Projektgesellschaft mbH, Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum eds., *Musical Life in Germany. Structure, facts and figures* (Bonn: Deutscher Musikrat gemeinnützige Projektgesellschaft mbH, 2011).

14 Ibid., 98–99.

15 Astrid Reimers, "Amateurmusizieren," in *Musikleben in Deutschland*, eds. Deutscher Musikrat, gemeinnützige Projektgesellschaft mbH, Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum (Bonn: Deutscher Musikrat gemeinnützige Projektgesellschaft mbH, Deutsches Musikinformationszentrum 2019), 182–83.

16 See "Mehr als 1500 Chöre freuen sich über Mitsänger," accessed May 1, 2018, https://www.morgenpost.de/familie/article104911001/Mehr-als-1500-Choere-in-Berlin-freuen-sich-ueber-Mitsaenger.html.

17 Rosemary Statelova, *Musikalische Begegnungen bei den Sorben. Aktuelle Musikpraktiken einer ethnischen Minderheit* (Bautzen: Domowina Verlag, 2013), 70, 90.

With the refugee wave since summer 2015, refugees came from countries/regions like Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, North and Black African regions to Germany to apply for asylum. In 2015, there had arrived about one million refugees, and in October there lived already about 70,000 of them in Berlin. The refugees, in Berlin and also generally in Germany, differ from minority communities in so far as they fled as single individuals – even in adolescent age – and after that many formed small communities during their migration route. Or they came with small communities as existed already in country of origin, like families, family-like groups. In regard to their religious affiliations, it can be assumed that a large part of the group is of Muslim faith (Sunnites and Shiites), smaller groups are of other religious affiliations, among them Syriac Christians e.g. from Syria, or the ethnic/religious group of the Yezidis. Exact statistics are missing so far.

3. The Batıberlin İşçi Korosu (Westberlin Working-Class Choir) and the Begegnungschor (Encounter Choir): Comparative Study of Socially and Music Related Aspects

3.1. Social/Life-Practical Matters, Creative Forms of Self-Help

Below, the charitable, nonprofit or beneficial aspects as well as administration, management, purposes, objectives and social encounters of the choirs will be pointed out.

3.1.1. Initiatives for the Formation of the Choirs

Initiators for the establishing of BİK were a group of workers under the leadership of the musician and composer Tahsin Incirci (born in 1938). He studied first in Ankara (Turkey) at the *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü* (Gazi Institute for Education), with Eduard Zuckmayer[18] who had founded the music branch of the Teacher's College in 1938 and was its director until 1970. In the 1960s, Tahsin came to West Germany through a DAAD scholarship, studied violin (Siegfried Borries), choral conducting and composition at the Musikhochschule Berlin (Berlin Academy of Music). After a stay in Turkey from 1969, he returned to Berlin around 1971/72 and taught violin at the State Music School. Furthermore, he arranged 23 Turkish folk songs for two violins, published in 1972.[19] Since 2000 he has also re-arranged some of his arrangements of 23 Turkish folk songs, now for solo voice, violin and piano. The author Klebe recorded two concerts in which Incirci's daughter Aslı Incirci performed the vocal part and Tahsin himself played the violin part accompanied by a German piano player.[20] Incirci later turned his attention

18 Eduard Zuckmayer, brother of Carl Zuckmayer, lived 1890–1972. He was a German pedagogue, composer, conductor, choir leader, pianist. Because of an occupational ban under the Nazi dictatorship, he had emigrated to Turkey in 1936.

19 Tahsin Incirci, *23 Violin-Duos über türkische Volksweisen* (Berlin [West]: Robert-Lienau Verlag, 1972).

20 The re-arrangement of one of the 23 folk songs, the *türkü Daldalan,* was recorded on August 1, 2000, Berlin Academy of Arts by Dorit Klebe (signature: K 2000/3). See also in Dorit Klebe, "Music of Sephardic Jews and Almancılar Turks," in *Music and Minorities*, eds. Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes, and Maša Komavec (Ljubljana: ZRC Publishing, 2001), 283–84.

to the *Klasik Türk Müziği*[21] (Turkish art music), became leader of the choir Berlin Klasik Müzik Derneği (Society for Classical Music Berlin). Klebe recorded a choir's concert at the Berlin Congress Hall, 3 June 2000.[22]

Begegnungschor (BC) is a cooperation project of the Leadership Berlin – Netzwerk Verantwortung e. V. (Leadership Berlin – Network Responsibility registered association)[23] in collaboration with Chorverband Berlin. In October 2015, Michael Betzner-Brandt and Bastian Holze founded the Begegnungschor. Artistic directors are the bandleader Michael Betzner-Brandt[24] and the choir leader Bastian Holze.[25]

Michael Betzner-Brandt (*1972) was Lecturer at the Berlin University of the Arts from 2000 to 2016. His concept Chor kreativ: Singen ohne Noten (Choir creative: singing without notes) made him internationally renowned in the 2000s. In the fall of 2003, he founded the Fabulous Fridays – the Jazz Pop Choir of the University of the Arts. In 2011, he invented the Ich-kann-nicht-singen-Chor (I-cannot-sing-choir). Bastian Holze is founder (together with Dr. Thomas Busch) and director of TOTAL CHORAL, an annual Berlin Pop and Jazz festival and B Vocal – the house of vocal art, an *a-cappella* Pop Floor.[26]

Both, Michael Betzner-Brandt and Bastian Holze, arrange songs of different cultural origins for BC choir and band and, with their versatile improvisational and creative approaches, manage to ensure that all those involved lose their fear of contact and shyness towards strangers. In 2018, Lydia Griese – a former student at the Berlin University of the Arts – played the violin part in the instrumental ensemble of the BC – was also Managing Board member.

3.1.2. Models for Choirs

As models for the choirs BİK and BC several principles can be observed. These are the "self-help principle", the "supported-help principle" and the "tandem partner principle".

The self-help principle means that the self-help activities come from the inside of the choir and rely on the members itself. Self-help, also "Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe" (Help for self-help), is supposed to empower people to help themselves. This includes receiving help but also passing it on, meaning a continuous learning process for the participants.

In relation to the sociopolitical situation and development in (Western) Germany in the 1970s, the BİK wanted to give its members assistance in raising awareness of one's own position in the social system, "to fight for their rights, to be proud of their work".[27] It can be seen as a self-recognition process.

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21 The term *Klasik Türk Müziği* (also called f.i. *Türk Klasik Müzik*) can comprise contemporary Turkish art music, partly using Western many part composition techniques, as well as – in the meaning here – the heritage of the former traditional Ottoman-Turkish courtly music. See also footnote 4.

22 The concert was partly recorded by Dorit Klebe (signature: K 2000/5).

23 Founded in autumn 2011. See "Leadership Berlin – Netzwerk Verantwortung e.V.," accessed August 14, 2018, http://leadership-berlin.de/.

24 For further information see Begegnungschor, "Menschen," accessed May 2, 2018, http://begegnungschor.com/menschen/.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Edda Brandes, Dieter Hauer und Marcella Hoffmann, "Der türkische Arbeiterchor in West-Berlin," in *Musikalische Streiflichter einer Großstadt – gesammelt in West-Berlin von Studenten der Vergleichenden Musikwissenschaft*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Berlin: Fachrichtung Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft des FB 14 der Freien Universität Berlin, 1979), 81.

The supported-help principle differentiates between the self-help principle in so far as the supported help comes from outside the choir, mostly in form of financial support e.g. by institutions, the government, organs of the state, more seldom private sponsors. The eingetragener Verein –e. V. (registered association) plays an important role, is indispensable for the application of support. Because not being a registered association, the BİK did not get any financial support by the government. The BC as a registered association can profit from supported help.

The tandem[28] partner principle applied for the Begegnungschor consists of a membership constellation in such a way that a member of majority society (a "long-established Berliner") brings a refugee ("New Berliner") into the choir. Thus, the choir has created a new way or new form to link people together in order to correspond to current social needs and new forms of community. Through the musical encounter at choir rehearsals, the choir members establish contacts with each other. They create a network which supports the choir members on both sides: e.g. they help each other finding a flat or a job, provide translations, assistance for visiting the authorities or joint concert visits.

Other Choirs as Models

In the two Germanies of the 1970s, the situation for workers-singers movements was different. In the FRG, in connection with the student movements from the 1968s, there isolated choir foundations took place in the sense of working-class choirs. These choirs existed more in the students' and not in workers' environments. In the GDR, there were few workers choir formations, not comparable to the situation of the workers in Germany before 1933.[29]

In West Berlin, we can find two choir formations in 1973. The founding of the Hanns Eisler Chor Berlin – Ensemble für neue Chormusik e. V. (Hanns Eisler Choir Berlin – Ensemble for new choral music registered association) on 6 July 1973, was the result of a long (music) political development. It has been inspired by the idea of using choral singing "to set in motion political and aesthetic learning processes, with a 'music that generates, activates attitudes', a music that can move."[30] The second choir foundation was the Batıberlin İşçi Korosu, which today does not exist anymore.

Today's Ernst Busch Chor Berlin e. V. (Ernst Busch Chor Berlin registered association), was first founded in East Berlin (GDR) on April 18, 1973 as Chor der Berliner Parteiveteranen (Choir of the Berlin party veterans) with approval and support of the District administration Berlin of the SED.[31] In 1983, the name of the singer and actor Ernst Busch was added, becoming Chor der Berliner Parteiveteranen 'Ernst Busch'. When the end of the GDR was foreseeable in 1990, the choir changed into Veteranenchor Ernst Busch

28 The term "tandem" is used e.g. in the context of learning languages, see "What is Tandem?" last modified Mar 23, 2019, accessed September 23, 2019, https://www.sprachenzentrum.hu-berlin.de/en/independent-study/tandem/was-ist-tandem?set_language=en.

29 See Inge Lammel, *Arbeiterlied, Arbeitergesang* (Teetz: Hentrich, 2002), 72–114.

30 The citation (translated to English) follows Internationale Hanns Eisler Gesellschaft (IHEG) e. V., ed., "Chorgeschichte," *Eisler-Mitteilungen* 59 (April 2015): 22. See also "Hanns Eisler-Chor Berlin – Ensemble für neue Chormusik e.V.," accessed April 23, 2019, https://www.hanns-eisler-chor-berlin.de/.

31 SED= Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany).

(Veteran choir Ernst Busch), registered as an association, e.V. From 1991, after the reunion of the two Germanies, they sing under Ernst Busch Chor Berlin e.V..[32]

A choir foundation, which took care of the refugees in 2015 as well, and has similar objectives comparable to the Begegnungschor, is the Kölner Willkommenschor (Cologne Welcome Choir).[33] The model for its founding however is unclear.

Further Models

The idea and motto[34] of the non-profit organization Leadership Berlin – Network Responsibility "Begegne dem anderen" (Meet the other) was taken up by the Begegnungschor. The verb "meet" means in German "begegnen", thus being the basis for the choir's name Begegnungschor. Help came also from the Chorverband Berlin providing their knowledge of setting up a choir. The BC is based, on the one hand, on a tradition of "open singing", a musical phenomenon which has a long and varied history in Germany. This tradition relates to singing movements in churches, or among movements of the youth, e.g. *Jugendbewegung*, *Bündische Jugend*. Since 2011, on the other hand, increasingly open singing formations and sing along choirs in public space can be observed.[35]

3.1.3. Purpose and Objectives

The activities of the BİK aim a step forward towards joint actions that could be the union of workers' organizations, union membership. Another concern is to maintain the cultural bond with the homeland. The choir's objective is also – in connection with re-integration of returnees – a contribution to a social-political change in the homeland, in order to open a possibility for the workers to return to Turkey, for example by creating new job opportunities.

For the Leadership Berlin, Susanne Kappe,[36] underlines that the members (volunteers and refugees) of the BC are meeting and thus constantly learning from and with each other. Everyone can actively contribute. Singing connects people, communicates a sense of community and offers access to language and culture. In this way, BC is contributing to the integration of refugees.

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32 "Ernst Busch Choir cultivates the tradition of the workers-singers movement, which has its roots in the liberation struggles of previous centuries and in the year 1908 when the Workers' Singing Association was founded [...] The choir is committed to the artistic and humanistic work of this great artist-personality. [...] Like him, we cultivate the tradition of the workers-singers movement". For all citations, see the website of the choir. "Ernst Busch Chor Berlin e.V.," last modified March 29, 2019, accessed April 23, 2019, https://www.ernstbuschchorberlin.de/.

33 Kölner Willkommenchor existed from September 10, 2015 to February 21, 2019, see "Kölner Willkommenschor," accessed April 24, 2019, https://integration.miz.org/koelner-willkommenschor-k40461. Reasons for its dissolvation are not known.

34 The Leadership Berlin explains his motto the following: "[...] that in its training programs and projects [it] brings together numbers of executives from the business, public and non-profit sectors, who then work together on the social dimension of leadership responsibility." ("Über uns – Idee begegne dem anderen," accessed August 14, 2018, http://leadership-berlin.de/idee/.)

35 For example "Rudelsingen" (horde singing) – a cult format of singing along in communities, see "Rudelsingen," accessed April 18, 2019, https://rudelsingen.de/.

36 The explanations of Susanne Kappe (Project Coordinator) are shortened by the author Klebe. Full text, see http://www.berlinerratschlagfuerdemokratie.de/projekte/begegnungschor-berliner-singen-mit-gefluechteten/, accessed May 1, 2018 .

3.1.4. Conditions for Membership and Membership Structure

A precondition for membership at BİK is the social position as a worker. The BİK members consists from about 90% workers, the remaining part are students. No previous musical knowledge is necessary.

The tandem partner principle of the BC requires the so-called membership admission, meaning that a member of the majority society brings a refugee into the choir. The members of the majority society are often volunteering in refugee work. Some of the older generation have similar experience, as they have been refugees after the end of the Second World War. For this choir, also no previous musical knowledge is necessary.

3.2. Music-Related Aspects

The focus is on the evaluation of the sources in order to examine to what extent the material is significant. Batıberlin İşçi Korosu and Begegnungschor are represented by their song repertoire as being performed in concerts to an audience in public, or live recordings of concerts and studio shots on disks. The main part of this section will be the description of the repertoire, the construction of the programs, and the classification of the songs, supplemented by details of performance structures, performers, instrumentation. Some insights are given on the reception by the majority society.

3.2.1. The Choirs' Performances, Programs, Repertoires

During the years 1973–1986 BİK gave several concerts, solo concerts or concerts with other choirs, and published several records.[37] To mention some of the concerts:[38] one in front of the exhibition building Bethanienhaus on the occasion of the exhibition Mehmet Berlin'de – Mehmet kommt aus Anatolien (Mehmet in Berlin – Mehmet comes from Anatolia) in Berlin-Kreuzberg in 1975.[39] Second, it is necessary to highlight a joint concert of the Batıberlin İşçi Korosu with the Hanns Eisler Choir. It was devoted to the poet Nâzım Hikmet,[40] it took place in the Audimax of the Berlin Technical University in 1977. The third to name is the participation of the BİK at the 11th Festival of Political Song 1981 in East Berlin. Among the performers was e.g. the Chor der Berliner Parteiveteranen based in East Berlin.[41]

37 See Discography.

38 It is unclear if any sound documents exist.

39 Subproject of the "Berliner Festwochen" celebrating its 25th anniversary. Kreuzberg is a district of Berlin with a high percentage of German-Turkish inhabitants.

40 More information about the poet, see section 4.1 ff.

41 Which took the name Ernst Busch Chor Berlin after the reunion of the two Germanies.

Figure 1a and 1b: Batıberlin İşçi Korosu in concert at the Audimax of the Berlin Technical University, 15 November 1977 (© by the Henschel-Fotobestand, FHXB Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum).[42]

Three records can be useful as sound sources for the study of the repertoire. The first is "İşçi şarkıları ve marşları" (released in 1974), the second is "*Barış ve gurbet türküleri* – Lieder für den Frieden und Lieder aus der Fremde" (released in 1979) and the third one is "Wenn die Feinde mächtig sind... : Chöre live" (released in 1980).[43] There is a further record (released in 1986), but it is not taken into account here because it contains mainly traditional Turkish folk songs and folk dance tunes, thus greatly differing from the song repertoire from the years 1974, 1979, 1980.

Ela Gezen has analyzed the record "İşçi şarkıları ve marşları" in her article "The Soundtrack of Migration: Tahsin Incirci and the Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin". In the chapter Sound of Solidarity she foregrounds three songs. Two of them are based on the song texts by Bertold Brecht/Hanns Eisler which are originally in German and were translated for the performance into Turkish. The third one is a song based on a traditional epic tale about Kerem and Aslı. Ela Gezen sees the innovativeness of the BİK in the musical settings of poems written by the Turkish writer Nâzım Hikmet. She stated that "they transformed traditionally solo and male-dominated repertoires into choral repertoires [...]".[44] She furthermore sums up in her conclusion that Tahsin Incirci through his musical settings of Turkish poems, "accentuates the mutual interactions of Turkish and German traditions, which he illustrates by his creation of something new that draws on both traditions".[45] Demonstrations of the interactions between Turkish and German traditions through music and its structures are unfortunately missing in this article.

The second source comprises the repertoire of the LP Pläne 88196, titled "*Barış ve gurbet türküleri* – Lieder für den Frieden und Lieder aus der Fremde" (Songs for Freedom and Songs from Abroad). Performers of this studio recording from 1979[46] are the

42 I am grateful to the Museum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (Berlin) for providing me with the copyright for these photos (numbered B01_0149_23 and B01_0149_24).

43 See Discography.

44 Ela Eylem Gezen, "The Soundtrack of Migration: Tahsin Incirci and the Türkischer Arbeiterchor West Berlin," *Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 24, no. 2 (2010): 121. Remark of the author Klebe: Already from the 1930s onwards, Turkish composers, educated in Western composition techniques, set songs to be sung traditionally as *solo* into music for many-part choirs. See Hayrettin Akdemir, *Die neue türkische Musik: dargestellt an Volksliedbearbeitungen für mehrstimmigen Chor* (Berlin: Hitit, 1991).

45 Ibid., 128.

46 LP, Pläne 88196, see Discography.

solo singer Sümeyra[47] and the BİK accompanied by an instrumental band; the leader is Tahsin Incirci. On side A, Sümeyra sings mostly alternating with the choir. The songs on side B are sung solo by Sümeyra with instrumental accompaniment.

The third source for research is a recording of a live performance of the BİK in 1980, LP Pläne 88 240, titled "Wenn die Feinde mächtig sind ...: Chöre live" (If the enemies are powerful ...: choirs live). The BİK is represented by two songs. Further choirs performing at this concert recording were for example: Bert Brecht Chor Essen, Ernst Busch Chor Kiel, Bremer Chor Die Zeitgenossen and Hanns Eisler Chor Berlin.[48]

Figure 2: Record's label of the LP Pläne 88196, Side A (© Dorit Klebe).

As documented in Table 1, the repertoire of the BİK examined for this contribution consists of twelve music pieces, arranged/composed by Tahsin Incirci. For the author's detailed investigation of the song "Asker Kaçağı" is taken into account, see section 4.1.

Remark: "Asker Kaçağı" is Incirci's musical setting of the poem "Köyün evleri..." (of the Turkish poet Nâzım Hikmet). The song was part of a concert at the International Congress-Centrum Berlin 1980. Though the choir sang the song in Turkish, the title is presented on the label (Pläne 88240) in German: "Der Deserteur" (The Deserter) instead of "Asker Kaçağı".

47 Sümeyra Çakir (1946–1990), had studied Western Music Voice Training at the Istanbul Music Conservatory.
48 See Discography.

Repertoire of the Batıberlin İşçi Korosu (Westberlin Working-class Choir)		
LP Pläne 88196, 1979 "Barış ve gurbet türküleri – Lieder für den Frieden und Lieder aus der Fremde" (Songs for Freedom and Songs from Abroad) Studio recording Performer: Solo singer Sümeyra and Batıberlin İşçi Korosu with instrumental ensemble Music and choir-/bandleader: Tahsin Incirci	Side A (1) "El kapilari" (Foreign Doors), lyrics: H.H. Korkmazgil (2) "Ateşçiler türküsü" (The Song of the Stoker), lyrics: Yaşar Miraç (3) "Dursun kaptan" (Captain Dursun), "Halk Türküsü" (Folk song), lyrics: traditional/ Sadettin Kaynak (4) "Bariş türküsü" (Peace Song), lyrics: Rezul Rıza	Side B "Nâzım Hikmet'in şiirleri üzerine Türküler" (Songs on poems of Nâzım Hikmet) (1) "Varna türküleri – Burda Yesil Biber, Dikili taşlar, Sofra" (Three Varna Songs – Green Pepper, Standing Stones, Table) (2) "Japon balikçisi" (The Japanese fisherman) (3) "Kızçocuğu" (Little Girl) (4) "Hürriyet Kavgası" (Fight for Freedom)
LP Pläne 88240, 1980 "Wenn die Feinde mächtig sind... : Chöre live" (If the enemies are powerful ...: choirs live) Concert recording. Compilation of several choirs on the record, as "Bert Brecht Chor Essen", "Ernst Busch Chor Kiel", "Bremer Chor Die Zeitgenossen", "Hanns Eisler Chor Berlin" and "Batıberlin İşçi Korosu". Batıberlin İşçi Korosu with instrumental ensemble perform two songs. Choir-/bandleader is Tahsin Incirci.	Side A (7) "Der Deserteur" (The deserter), lyrics: Nâzım Hikmet, music: Tahsin Incirci Remark: Title of the song "Asker Kaçağı" on the Pläne label in German: "Der Deserteur"; the choir sings the original version in Turkish.	Side B (1) "Lass mich heiraten, Vater, sonst brenne ich Dein Haus ab" (Let me me get married, father, otherwise I will burn down your house), lyrics: traditional, music: Tahsin Incirci Remark: see above, title on the label in German, choir sings in Turkish.

Table 1: The repertoire of the BİK, a selection from the records: LP Pläne 88196 and LP Pläne 88240.


Figure 3a and 3b: sing-along concert of the BC, 25 May 2018; a. The choir with its choir leader Bastian Holze; b. the instrumental ensemble with its bandleader Michael Betzner-Brandt at the piano (© Dorit Klebe).

Although the BC is a very young choir, it has already had about 70 performances since its foundation in 2015 (as of April 2019). They perform choral concerts on various occasions, such as charity concerts, community concerts with other choirs (such as the Chamber Singers of Haverford and Bryn Mawr Colleges, USA), run workshops with concerts, perform sing-along concerts in social clubs, such as the Nachbarschaftshaus Friedenau (Neighborhood House Friedenau[49]), Telefonseelsorge Berlin e. V. (Telephone Pastoral Care registered association) and other foundations, like Robert Bosch Stiftung GmbH (Robert Bosch Foundation Ltd.), and also at summer festivals (like school festivals). Furthermore, they perform at political and social events, such as ceremonies in the Federal President's Office, awards, such as an integration award, to the opening of action weeks, e.g. against antisemitism, racism. Since 2016, the performances have spread beyond the Berlin area to other cities, such as Rheinsberg, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Dortmund. The following three concerts are considered exemplary by many: 1. the Flashmob[50] "Ode an die Freude" – Ausstellung Erlebnis Europa der Europäischen Kommission (Exhibition European Experience of the European Commission) at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, 14 May 2016,[51] 2. a concert in Hamburg "Wir singen heute alle zusammen!" (We All Sing Together Today!), together with the International Mandolin Orchestra "SOL", at the Foyer of Hamburg Central Station on 28 October 2018, 3. a sing-along concert of the BC with neighbors and guests in the Nachbarschaftshaus Friedenau, Berlin, on 25 May 2018. The titles and some background information on the lyrics were given to the audience by the choirmaster. The lyrics were projected onto the wall with a projector. The sing-along concert program consisted of fifteen songs, see Table 2, and section 3.2.2.

49 Friedenau is a district of Berlin.

50 A flashmob is a group of people who assemble suddenly in a public place, perform an unusual and seemingly pointless act for a brief time, then quickly disperse, often for the purposes of entertainment, satire, and artistic expression. Flash mobs are organized via telecommunications, social media, or viral emails, see "Flashmob," *Wikipedia,* accessed July 31, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Flash_mob&oldid=902269281.

51 Flashmob "Ode an die Freude", Brandenburg Gate Berlin, May 14, 2016, for an audio example see "Flashmob 'Ode an die Freude'," accessed August 14, 2018. http://begegnungschor.com/videos/.

Program of the Mitsingkonzert beim Fest der Nachbarn (Sing-along concert at the Festival of neighbors) at the Nachbarschaftshaus Friedenau (Neighborhood House Friedenau), Holsteinische Straße 30, 12161 Berlin-Friedenau, May 25, 2018 Performer: Begegnungschor with instrumental ensemble Choirleader: Bastian Holze, Bandleader: Michael Betzner-Brandt. Guest singer: Sonja Poland	
(1)	"Wir singen heute alle zusammen..." (Today we sing altogether), anonym
(2)	"Hallo Nachbar, Sidi Mahzur" (Hallo, neighbour), anonym, lyrics in German and Arabic
(3)	"Lamma bada yatathanna... " (When she appeared, my lissome love...), from the Mašrīq, lyrics and melody are anonym[52]
(4)	"Komma zamma, na samma mehra" (Come together, then we will become more), anonym, lyrics in Bavarian dialect, with guest singer Sonja Poland from Bavaria
(5)	Ludwig van Beethoven: "Ode an die Freude", lyrics by Friedrich von Schiller
(6)	"Nassam alayna El-hawa" (The air breezed upon us), from the Libanon, well known and popular song by the Lebanese singer Feyrouz
(7)	"Jannie Mama", traditional from Jamaika
(8)	"Mensch« (Human being); lyrics and music by Herbert Grönemeyer
(9)	"Musik ist meins, Musik ist deins... "(Music is mine, music is yours), anonym, with guest singer Sonja Poland from Bavaria
(10)	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: "Eine kleine Nachtmusik" (Erster Satz, Ausschnitt), instrumental
(11)	"Die Gedanken sind frei" (Thoughts are free), traditional, German-speaking folk song
(12)	"Labkhand" (Das Lächeln), anonym, from Persia
(13)	"Liebeslied" (Love song), lyrics and music by Bodo Wartke, multilingual lyrics in German, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Japanese, Finish;
(14)	"Bi na mo", traditional from Africa
(15)	"We want peace", lyrics by Lenny Kravitz, music by Lenny Kravitz, Kadim Al Sahir.
Remark: The program was documented in written form during the concert by the author, who added supplementing informations partly given by the choirmaster to the choir and the audience during the concert. The choir sang fifteen titles with a pause between the eighth and ninth song. During the pause the author could talk to some of the refugees from Syria on their situation in Berlin and also on their knowledge about the music of their home country.	

Table 2: The program[53] of the sing-along concert of the BC, 25 May 2018.

52 Refering to Habīb Hassan Touma – the lyrics belong to the genre *muwaššaḥ*. "The term muwaššaḥ refers not only to a poetic form, as used in the andalusī nūba [a suite-like large form composed of vocal and instrumental pieces], but also in the [Arab] East, a separate vocal art genre of the Arabs, basing on a poem genre of the same name". Following Touma, lyrics and melody are anonym. As shaping features he indicates *nahawand* for the *maqām* and *samā ʿī ṯaqīl* (10/8) for the metro-rhythmic structure *wazn*. See Touma, *Musik der Araber*, 117–120. Music notation, 119–120.

53 The source are handwritten field notes by the author Klebe.

3.2.2. The Selection and Structure of the Repertoire, Performance, Performers and Instrumentations

The repertoires of both choirs consist of songs that are sung chorally with occasional solo performances and accompanied by instruments. These are songs that have been passed on in aural/oral or written tradition. For the choir performance, most of the songs have been arranged or more rarely set to music at least in parts. Furthermore, they got a frame of pre-, inter-, and postludes and/or additional composed parts. The lyrics can be classified as belonging to folk literature in its broadest sense. Classical poem forms are infrequent, exceptions are e.g. "Ode an die Freude" (Friedrich von Schiller); songs in Arabic may have lyrics in forms of classical Arabic poetry.

Predominantly the songs belong to the fields of folk songs, love songs, ballads, political songs, battle songs, dance songs. Many lyrics are in German and/or in languages from the areas of the refugees and even multilingual (up to 8 international languages in one song).

In majority, they are secular songs if they come from the German and Western cultural areas. In the songs from Mediterranean cultural areas in the broader sense, – with regard to the textual content and the music – a secular reference cannot always be distinguished from a sacral one, especially when the sacral piece is performed in an extra-ceremonial context. Occasionally, arrangements of instrumental pieces known world-wide are performed, like "Eine kleine Nachtmusik" by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

The repertoire of the BİK: it is safe to assume that the choirmaster of the BİK, Tahsin Incirci included the members into the choice of the repertoire, for example, the selection of lyrics and the translations of non-Turkish lyrics into the Turkish language. The choirmaster himself has made musical settings and/or arrangements. To what extent the accompanying instrumentalists have been involved in this process is not known.

The lyrics forming the basis for the BİK song repertoire are mostly of political content. They can be classified as belonging to folk literature in its broadest sense; structures from Ottoman poetry are not used. All lyrics are in strophical form and with an end rhyme. They were written by three poets of Turkish and one of Azeri origin from the 20th century. The poets are Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil (1927–1984), Yaşar Miraç (*1953), Resul Rıza (1910-1981, Azeri), and Nâzım Hikmet[54] (1902-1963). One song is called a *halk türküsü* (folk song).[55]

The title of the record Pläne 88196 "*Barış ve gurbet türküleri* – Lieder für den Frieden und Lieder aus der Fremde" (Songs for Freedom and Songs from Abroad) is partly alluding to the *gurbetçi*[56]– migrant songs that have a long tradition in Turkish folk mu-

54 Because of his political beliefs, the poet spent a great part of his life in exile.

55 It is unclear whether the lyrics are traditional or written by the composer Sâdeddin Kaynak, or a combination of both.

56 *Gurbetçi* (singer of the *gurbet* songs), see Dorit Klebe, "Identitätsbildungen in multiethnischen, insbesondere deutsch-türkischen Singtexten und Musiken – Entwicklungen und Tendenzen ab ca. 1980 in Deutschland," in *Musik und Identität. Tagungsband des 22. Seminars für Volksmusikforschung und -pflege, Augsburg, Januar 2013*, ed. Elmar A. Walter (München: Bayerischer Landesverein für Heimatpflege e.V., 2015), 56.

sic. Furthermore, the *gurbetçi* songs belong to the repertoire of the *âşık*,[57] wandering poets (minstrels) and song makers accompanying themselves on string instruments, mostly the longnecked lute *saz*. "Their repertoire included and still includes religious and erotic songs, elegies and heroic narratives. Their songs may contain social criticism and political content".[58]

The song repertoire from both records can be categorized as follows:

- songs for peace and freedom: "El kapilari", "Bariş türküsü", "Kızçocuğu",[59] "Hürriyet Kavgası" and "Asker Kaçağı";
- songs of the workers: "Ateşçiler türküsü", "Japon balikçisi";
- *gurbetçi*: "Ateşçiler türküsü",[60] "Varna türküleri";
- traditional Turkish folk song: "Lass mich heiraten, Vater, sonst brenne ich Dein Haus ab";
- composition of a ballad-like *türkü*: "Dursun Kaptan", composed by Sâdeddin Kaynak (1895–1961).[61] Tahsin Incirci has taken Kaynak's composition for the choral part and provided it with an instrumental introduction composed by himself.

Performance structures, performers, instrumentation: the choir sings to the accompaniment of the instrumental ensemble. Individual pieces are performed by guest singers who sing solo parts, in some cases the solo singer and choir are singing alternately, or the choir sings the refrain part. The accompanying instrumental ensemble consists of a transverse flute, oboe, two clarinets, trumpet, trombone, violin, viola, violoncello, guitar, piano, drums, and the long-necked lute *saz*, depending on the arrangement. The musicians are mostly Germans and some of them are Turkish.

The repertoire of the BC: in the BC association (consisting of a seven-member board with two refugees and five other members), a repertoire group decides which songs are going to be included in the repertoire program of the choir. The decisions are often emotional as well as the songs that are "living within the choir" are often included, as Bastian Holze[62] said on May 25, 2018.

The song repertoire of the sing-along concert (May 25, 2018) can be categorized as follows (categorization contains partly multiple nominations):

- songs from the homeland of the refugees or migrants (also considered their cultural home): "Lamma bada yatathanna ..." (Mašrīq), "Nassam alayna El-hawa" (Libanon), "Labkhand" (Persia),

57 "The word is derived from the Arabic *'ašq* (love, passion) in the meaning of an ardent lover, frequently in a mystical sense, ecstatic love of Allah, including also the one of the prophet Muhammed and Ali = Ali bin Ebu Talip, cousin and son-in-law of the prophet Mohamed. Ali became the fourth Caliph (successor of Mohammed); under his reign the later called Shiites separated from the orthodox Sunnî Muslims". In Klebe, "Music in the Immigrant Communties from Turkey in Germany," *Music in Motion*, eds. Bernd Clausen, Ursula Hemtek, Eva Sæther and European Music Council (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2009), 312, footnote 38.

58 Ibid., 312.

59 The lyrics thematize the consequences of the Hiroshima bomb.

60 The song can be regarded as a *gurbetçi,* too, because of the refrain of the last stanza beginning with "Türkiye'den geldik" (We come from Turkey), added by Tahsin Incirci.

61 See Yilmaz Öztuna, "Hacı Hâfız Sâdeddin Kaynak," in *Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi* I, Vol 1. (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 332.

62 Citation Holze, the source are handwritten field notes by the author Klebe.

- songs of the "old-established" Berliner (the majority society) and other German folk songs: "Die Gedanken sind frei",
- German dialect songs: "Komma zamma, na samma mehra" (Bavaria),
- songs from different countries or continents, mostly traditional: "Jannie Mama" (Jamaika), "Bi na mo" (Afrika),
- new songs, anonymous or composed: "Wir singen heute alle zusammen ...", "Musik ist meins, Musik ist deins ...", "Liebeslied",
- multilingual songs: "Liebeslied",
- lament songs: "Lamma bada yatathanna ...", "Nassam alayna El-hawa", "Mensch",
- internationally recognizable melodies or songs from Western art music: "Eine kleine Nachtmusik" (Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart), "Ode an die Freude" (Ludwig van Beethoven/Friedrich von Schiller),
- songs with rhythmic accompaniment and/or movement, "Jannie Mama" (Jamaika), "Bi na mo" (Afrika),
- songs for peace and freedom, "Ode an die Freude", "Die Gedanken sind frei", "We want peace".

Most of the songs are arranged by Michael Betzner-Brandt and Bastian Holze, the repertoire is constantly expanding, changing and being supplemented, see e.g. a stanza[63] in the Arabic language in the song "Die Gedanken sind frei" (Thoughts are free), see section 4.2.2.

Performance structures, performers, instrumentation: the choir sings to the accompaniment of the instrumental ensemble. Individual pieces are performed by soloists that are singers from the choir, the choir sings mostly the refrain parts, or the solo singer and choir are singing alternately. Among the choir members there are – besides amateur – also semiprofessional singers, as the author could realize when interviewing the choir singer Abdullah from Syria during the pause of the sing-along concert.[64] The song texts are projected onto the wall via a projector.

The audience also takes part in the singing as much as possible and is animated by the choirmaster Bastian Holze to sing along. In some songs, rhythmic accompaniments in the form of body percussion and/or dance movements are included, and here too, the audience is encouraged to participate. The instrumentation of the ensemble consists of a transverse flute, two violins, violoncello, guitar, piano (bandleader Michael Betzner-Brandt), various percussion instruments, like bongo, djembe, darabuka. The instrumentation is chosen differently for individual musical pieces. The musicians are of mixed nationalities/ethnicities, partly refugees as well.

63 The term stanza in this article indicates a stanza form of a poem; the term strophe is used for the musical setting of a poem's stanza.

64 For the source, see footnote 62.

4. Analysis of Two Musical Examples Performed by BİK and BC – Creative Forms of Transcultural Interactions

Transcultural interactions between the music cultures of the minority/refugee groups and the majority society are demonstrated by analyzing the songs "Asker Kaçağı" (BİK) and "Die Gedanken sind frei" (BC). In regard to the content of the lyrics both songs can be classified as belonging to the rubric "Songs for peace and freedom".

The analysis will underline the processes of change and mutual interactions like permeations and amalgamations of the respective poetical and musical elements. The elements are examined in the poem's structure, its embeddedness in the traditional Turkish folk literature, the formal structure of the stanzas in relation to musical sections, metric-rhythmic structuring, melodic/harmonic basis, choral performance forms of *unisono,* multi-part and heterophonic singing, as well as instrumental accompaniments with monophonic versus heterophonic sections. Furthermore, the individual style of the composers/arrangers will be taken into consideration.

4.1. "Asker Kaçağı" (BİK)

The poem with the incipit "Köyün evleri ..." (The houses of the village) forms the basic lyrics for Incirci's composition of the song "Asker Kaçağı" (The Deserter). The poem with six stanzas was written by the poet Nâzım Hikmet (1912–1963) on February 26, 1959.[65] The musical setting of four of the six stanzas is by Tahsin Incirci who gave his composition the title "Asker Kaçağı".

4.1.1. Lyrics

Each stanza of the poem "Köyün evleri ..." consists of 4 lines of text or two couplets. The building principle orientates towards traditional folk poetry, based on a verse metre with *arsis* and *thesis* and counting the syllables – *parmak hesabı* –, here constantly eight syllables for each line. The rhyme scheme for the four lines is consistent in each of the six stanzas: abcb. The verse lines 2 and 4 are not repeated as a whole; they only have the same final rhyme. Due to its formal structure, the number of syllables and the rhyme scheme, the poem can be assigned to the *koşma* or *semai* form of traditional Turkish folk literature.[66]

65 For the source for the lyrics, see "Köyün evleri," accessed August 14, 2018, https://siirlerlesarkilarla.wordpress.com/2012/12/21/nazim-hikmet-koyun-evleri-grup-yorum-asker-kacaklari/.

66 Klaus-Detlev Wannig, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980), 150.

»Köyün evleri« – The houses of the village Poem with six stanzas by Nazim Hikmet (1912-1963); Tahsin Incirci is using the following four stanzas for his musical setting with the title "Asker Kaçağı" (The Deserter)	
(1)	
köyün evleri karanlık, a gökte yıldız pır pır eder. b ben bir asker kaçağıyım, c gelin, bana bir tas su ver. b	The houses of the village are dark, Stars flicker in the sky. I am a deserter, Bride, give me a cup of water.
(2)	
neyliyim kusura bakma, elleri kınasız gelin, çalar asker kaçakları kapıları geceleyin.	Sorry, What should I do, Bride, her hands without henna, The deserter knocks on the doors at night.
(3)	
köyde bebeler ağlıyor, uyku uyutmuyor açlık. yaramı sanver, bacım, jandarmalarla çarpıştık.	In the village little children cry, Because of hunger they cannot fell asleep, Get my wound bandaged, sister, We have fought with gendarms.
(4)	
görüp durur yolumu emzikli bir kadıncağız. biz on kere on bin memet on kere on bin kaçağız.	Await my return full of worries A woman with a baby, We are ten times ten thousand soldiers We are ten times ten thousand deserters

Table 3: Lyrics of the song "Asker Kaçağı", formal structure, number of syllables, rhyme scheme.

4.1.2. Musical Setting

Tahsin Incirci makes the first change for the setting already in the song's title. Although it is customary in Turkish literature to name a poem with the incipit "Köyün evleri ..." he created the title "Asker Kaçağı" for his setting of the poem.[67]

The topic of the deserter has been widely elaborated in literature and music. Under the title "Deserter" a series of songs exists based on poems by poets other than Nâzım Hikmet, e.g. Bertold Brecht; in settings by various other composers, like Hanns Eisler and in performances by other performers, like Josef Degenhardt, Hannes Wader, Joan Baez. In addition, the topic is part of various movies and even an operetta.

Formal structure of the music, compositional structure and musical sections: the composition of Tahsin Incirci consists of an instrumental introduction followed by a

67 Audio example under "Der Deserteur," YouTube video, 3:20, posted by Andreas Kettel, accessed August 14, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xVctCRsdKCU.

choir part with instrumental accompaniment. The choir is singing the lyrics. The composer however has formed one "musical long-strophe", as this structure can be called, out of two poem stanzas.

"Asker Kaçağı"	
Formal structure of the setting are 2 Musical long-strophes. First Musical long-strophe comprises the stanzas 1 und 2; Second Musical long-strophe comprises the stanzas 3 und 4.	
The composition starts with an Instrumental Introduction, played by transverse flute, oboe, clarinet in B, violin, viola, violoncello, piano, drums.	
First Musical long-strophe comprises 4 Musical form sections: A, B1, C, B2. Performers are the choir and ensemble musicians. They accompany partly with single instruments, partly with the whole ensemble.	
Structure of one "Musical long-strophe":	
First stanza, first couplet |:köyün evleri karanlık a gökte yıldız pır pır eder :| b Chant (Choir) one-part + instrumental accompaniment (clarinet, piano)	– |:Musical form section A:|
First stanza, second couplet |:ben bir asker kaçağıyım, c gelin, bana bir tas su ver:| b Chant (Choir) two-parts + instrumental accompaniment (see Instrumental Introduction)	– |:Musical form section B1:|
Second stanza, first couplet |:neyliyim kusura bakma, a elleri kınasız gelin:| b Chant (Choir) one-part + instrumental accompaniment (clarinet)	– |:Musical form section C:|
Second stanza, second couplet |:çalar asker kaçakları c kapıları geceleyin.:| b Chant (Choir) two-parts + instrumental accompaniment (see Instrumental Introduction)	– |:Musical form section B2:|
Instrumental Interlude (corresponding to the Instrumental Introduction) The Second Musical long-strophe corresponds musically to the First Musical long-strophe (with slight variations).	

Table 4: Text-music construction of the musical long-strophe.

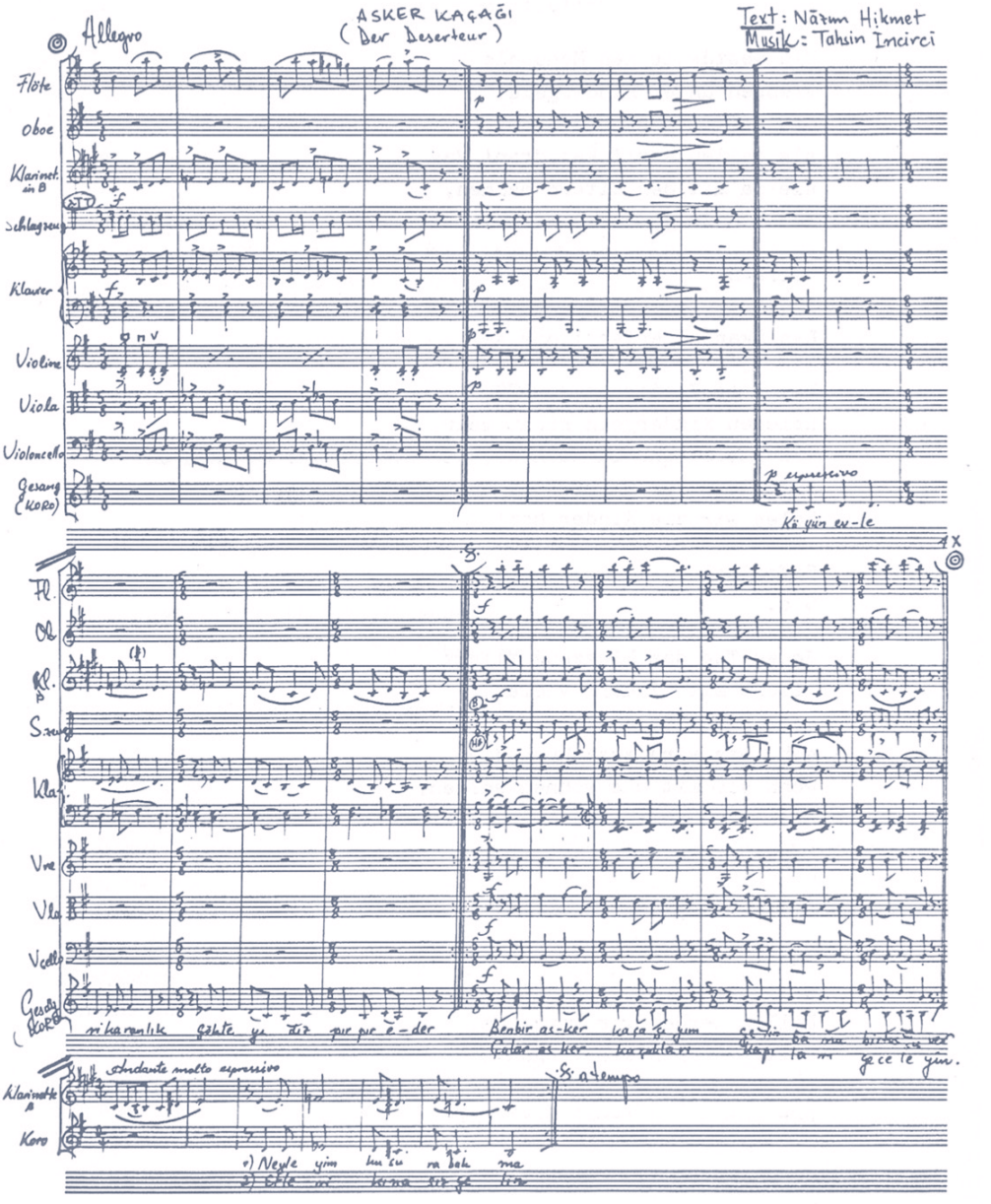


Figure 4: "Asker Kaçağı", the score of the composition[68]

68 For the source of the score see Brandes, Hauer and Hoffmann, "Der türkische Arbeiterchor in West-Berlin," 89.

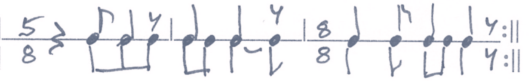
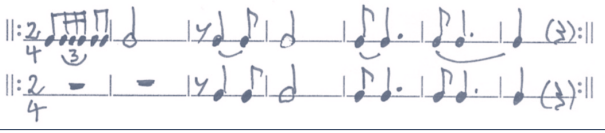
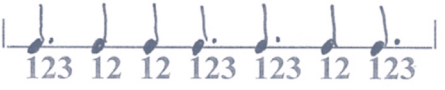
»**Asker Kaçağı** «	
Metric-rhythmic structuring of the melodic sections of the Musical long-strophe	
First Musical long-strophe	
First stanza, first line	
First stanza, second line	
First stanza, third line, 1st singing part First stanza, third line, 2nd singing part	
First stanza, fourth line, 1st singing part First stanza, fourth line, 2nd singing part	
Second stanza, first line clarinet solo Choir	
Second stanza, second line = Second stanza, first line Second stanza, third line B2 = B1 Second stanza, fourth line B2 = B1	
Development of a Metric-rhythmic basic formula for the musical form sections A, B1 and B2	
From the rhythmic material of the six variants, taken from the musical setting of the first stanza, (four lines), there can be derived a metric-rhythmic basic formula for this composition consisting of 18 meters, structured in	
Conclusion: This Metric-rhythmic basic formula can be considered as a characteristic compositional element in the composition “Asker Kacagi”.	

Table 5: Metric-rhythmic structuring of the melodic sections of the long-strophe.

Metric-rhythmic structuring, metric-rhythmic basic formula: asymmetric meters – *aksak*[69] – are very common in traditional Turkish folk music, like five, seven, nine meters; some of them occur specifically at the Black sea coast. The 5/8 time signature used in this composition is metrically divided into 3 + 2 and 2 + 3. It occurs in the musical parts A and B as a constant musical section of two 5/8 time units, followed by one time unit in 8/8 meter. The 8/8 time signature can be seen as a bar divided into even units (4+4, 2+2+2+2), however it is here subdivided into smaller, irregular groups: 3 + 2 + 3.

A combination of the two 5/8 time units with one time unit of the 8/8, that is a number of three bars, results in a metric-rhythmic pattern, formed out in six variants. From these variants, the author developed a metric-rhythmic basic formula of 18 beats, see Table 5. It can be understood as a compositional characteristic of the creator of this piece of music. The effect of the metric-rhythmic basic formula is a very insistent and striking one, thus emphasizing the content of the song's topic, a deserter.

Melodic/harmonic basis: the melodies of the single musical sections (A–B1–C–B2) are characterized through a very small *ambitus*. For the musical section A the range is a sixth (a-fis'), section B is in the first part a third (h'–d') and in the second part an octave (a–a'), section C comprises a fifth (h–f'). All musical sections have in common small tone steps consisting almost exclusively of intervals of a second. Small tone steps and a frequency of intervals of a second are a characteristic element of traditional Turkish folk music. Further characteristics are scales, like the tone group of g'–fis'–es'–d'–c'–h used in the musical sections A and B, containing the interval of an augmented second, a building element used in folk music of some regions of Turkey. Moreover, the one-and-a-half tone step is a distinguishing feature of tone scales of traditional Turkish art music, like the *makam* Hicâz. It is necessary to stress the fact that the intervals in both music areas, traditional Turkish folk and art music, are played non-tempered. Tahsin Incirci uses the tempered European system for his compositions. The harmonic framework is based generally on a very early form of Western homophony, using especially in the musical section B2 two-part singing, reminiscent of the early occidental pedal point in the first voice and with contrary motions in the second voice, as Edda Brandes et al. evaluated.[70]

Monophonic vs. heterophonic music making: the heterophonic music making is an essential element of traditional Turkish music. Tahsin Incirci puts stylistic elements of monophonic (*unisono*) and homophonic music making in its place. The composer uses also elements of traditional Turkish music, e.g. the characteristic *aksak* rhythms. In the song "Asker Kaçağı" the basic metric-rhythmic pattern, which is intensified with *aksak* rhythms in combination with parts sung *unisono,* emphasizes the content of the poem in a forceful manner. Heterophonic music making however is then practiced when the long-necked lute *saz* is integrated into instrumental parts (not applicable to "Asker Kaçağı").

69 *Aksak,* the Turkish word literally means limping, stumbling or slumping.

70 Brandes, Hauer and Hoffmann, "Der türkische Arbeiterchor in West-Berlin," 88.

4.2. "Die Gedanken sind frei" (BC)

4.2.1. Lyrics and the Origin of the Song[71]

The lyrics themselves had already undergone several processes of change over time. It is said that later versions of the song were built of stanzas from a song that was distributed at the time of the French Revolution on handbills in southern Germany. Approximately between 1800–1815, the lyrics appear together with a melody in Switzerland. The melody probably originally came from a Swiss folk song – whether it was a shepherd song in the mountains or a dance song, it is not certain. A text variant, in form of a dialogue between a girl and a prisoner, was printed in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (The boy's magic horn: old German songs) by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, eds.[72] Hoffmann von Fallersleben published another song version in the edition *Schlesische Volkslieder mit Melodien: Aus dem Munde des Volkes*, 1842.[73] This version appears to this day in many song collections. The song often became a symbol of inner resistance, even in Nazi concentration camps.

4.2.3. Structure and Arrangement of the Song Performed by BC[74]

The first strophe was sung by the choir in *unisono* to the basic melody (the sequence of the stanzas, see Table 6; the basic melody, see Figure 6.)

In place of the lyrics' second stanza, a text in Arabic is sung. The Syrian refugee journalist Abdulrahman Osmaren, member of the BC, composed it together with some choir members.[75] The Arabic characters had been phonetically transcribed into Latin characters, so that the choir could sing the lyrics. A translation into German by Rafael Sanchez[76] for those choir members who could not understand Arabic was given. The literal translation of the German words of Rafael Sanchez into English is the following: "If we can hoist the flag of freedom, thoughts will sparkle like stars in the dark. Once upon a time in a harbor people sang our songs. We want to hear the flute's voice. The flute's voice should sound." This second strophe (with lyrics in Arabic) is sung in *unisono* to the basic melody.

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71 See also Hans-Peter Banholzer, Harald Hepfer, Klaus Wolf, *333 Lieder zum Singen, Spielen, Tanzen* (Stuttgart: Klett Verlag, 1987), no. 299.

72 Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, two poet friends, born in Germany in the 18th century; among others they edited *Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Alte deutsche Lieder. 3 volumes* (Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1806/1808), a compilation of old and new lyrics of German folk songs.

73 Hoffmann von Fallersleben, August Heinrich, and Ernst Heinrich Leopold Richter, *Schlesische Volkslieder mit Melodien: Aus dem Munde des Volkes,* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1842), 307.

74 Research is based on the author's handwritten field notes documenting the performance and transcriptions of selected songs on May 25, 2018. A video of this song shot at a concert of the BC on another date and at another location is available at: "Die Gedanken sind frei," YouTube video, 5:55, posted by "Mal's Scheune," accessed August 1, 2018, https://youtube/oNJmMZHuBhM.

75 Source of the Arabic text is the article "Musik verbindet Flüchtlinge und Berliner" (Music combines refugees and Berliners) written by the journalist Abdulrahman Osmaren for the Berlin newspaper "Der Tagesspiegel," October 15, 2015, see "Die Gedanken sind frei," accessed August 20, 2018, https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/jetztschreibenwir-musik-verbindet-fluechtlinge-und-berliner/14691074.html.

76 Source ibid.

"Die Gedanken sind frei" – lyrics	
The Begegnungschor has sung the song on the 25 May 2018 with the following stanzas[77]	
First stanza: Die Gedanken sind frei. Wer kann sie erraten? Sie fliegen vorbei Wie nächtliche Schatten. Kein Mensch kann sie wissen, Kein Jäger erschiessen mit Pulver und Blei: die Gedanken sind frei.	Fifth stanza: Und sperrt man mich ein Im finsteren Kerker, Das alles sind rein Vergebliche Werke; Denn meine Gedanken Zerreißen die Schranken Und Mauern entzwei: Die Gedanken sind frei.
Second stanza:[78] Iza mumkin fiena nirfaa rayaat al-huriya al-fikkra mitel nadschma fi l-aatma tilmaa kan ya ma kan fi miena kan yighanni aghan'ena bidna nismaa saut an-nay challi yaala saut an-nay	Sixth stanza: Nun will ich auf immer Den Sorgen entsagen, Und will mich auch nimmer Mit Grillen mehr plagen. Man kann ja im Herzen Stets lachen und scherzen Und denken dabei: Die Gedanken sind frei.
Third stanza: See First stanza	Seventh stanza: Ich liebe den Wein, Mein Mädchen vor allen, Sie tut mir allein Am besten gefallen. Ich bin nicht alleine Bei meinem Glas Weine, Mein Mädchen dabei: die Gedanken sind frei.
Fourth stanza: Ich denke, was ich will Und was mich beglücket, Doch alles in der Still' Und wie es sich schicket. Mein Wunsch und Begehren Kann niemand verwehren. Es bleibet dabei: Die Gedanken sind frei.	
Remark: for a translation into English, see under https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die_Gedanken_sind_frei.	

Table 6: "Die Gedanken sind frei" – lyrics as sung by the BC on May 25, 2018.

77 Copy by D. Klebe, on her written documentation of the performance.

78 Source for the Arabic text, see the issue of the newspaper "Der Tagesspiegel", October 15, 2015.

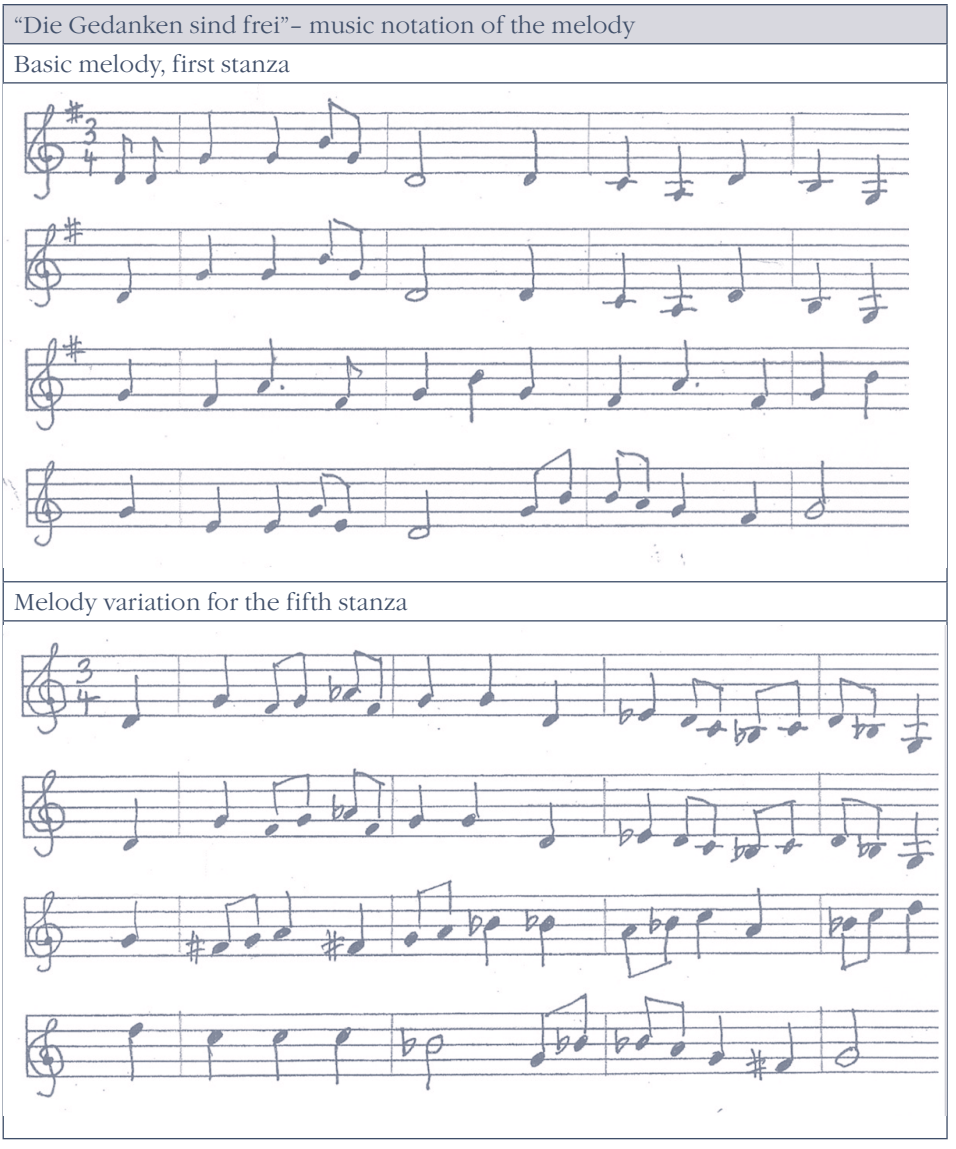

Figure 6: "Die Gedanken sind frei", partly de-ornamented music notation of the basic melody and a variation form of fifth strophe.

In the third strophe the choir starts to sing the basic melody in *unisono,* some male choristers sing selected melody parts transposed an octave higher, the second part of the strophe is sung by the choir as arranged in a homophonic, simple harmonic manner.

In the fourth strophe, the basic melody is rhythmized and arranged in a Brazilian-like rhythmic style. Onomatopoetic syllables, like *papalapapap,* are additionally sung, rhythmically structured to the *samba*-like rhythm, and the choir's members are moving their bodies rhythmically. The fifth strophe is arranged with a change in the key. The scale of the basic melody, the major key is turned into minor, giving the melody an "orientalized" character through using a one-and-a-half tone step (see Figure 6). A soloist partly sings melodic ornamentations and melisma in a free meter and retarding manner. Solo and choir parts are sung alternately.

The sixth strophe is arranged as a Shout and Rap chant.

The seventh strophe is sung by the choir in a homophonic arrangement of the basic melody, ending with some voices partly changing into a higher register.

5. Conclusion

The two featured mixed choirs with instrumental accompaniment belong to two fundamentally different choral models. From the large number of choral models briefly mentioned in the general section, the BİK is characterized by the type of the "self-help principle". This is a principle with relatively closed internal structures, which obtain a rather closed and specifically defined group character through certain ideological or dogmatic definitions. Such choirs with very special, in this case national orientations or even hermetic encapsulations, are in danger of a short lifespan, but can also exist across generations or centuries. The BİK has not shown signs of life since 1986, though the official date of its dissolution is not known. Maybe the choir and its leader Tahsin Incirci, a strong personality, did not withstand huge political and economic changes. The BC Begegnungschor is a very powerful project - it is open, young, modern, a "breath of fresh air", international, global. The "tandem partner principle" is aimed at help from the majority society; a refugee has a reference person, so it can also come to quite personal contacts here. However, both choirs can be viewed as successful in terms of self-help. The BİK remained in a narrower sociated group, while the BC is comprised of a wide variety of social groups in a more complex manner. Both choirs have promoted communication and community experiences as well as established and improved interactive contact with the majority society. In addition, re-integrative goals were added to the BİK, as many members were at times thinking of returning to Turkey, which was seldom actually done. Through public appearances, both choirs have had a great response throughout Germany and beyond its borders, while in the music culture of the majority society they have been accepted in different ways.

The detailed analyses of the repertoires and specific songs show that with the interweaving of different cultures, both choirs make an important contribution to the music culture of the majority society. The musical settings of poems for the BİK were based on mutual influences of Western compositional techniques and amalgamations

with elements of traditional Turkish music, like metric-rhythmic structures, such as the *aksak* rhythms, a melodic framework with characteristic tone groups of one-and-a-half tone steps. With the instrumental accompaniment, heterophonic and non-heterophonic parts are created. The arrangements for the BC are comprised of solo and choir alternations. Soloists often sing melodies from their native repertoire and incorporate improvisations in an "orientalizing" style. The artistic director of the BC has complemented and loosened up the arrangements by setting single music strophes with dance-like rhythms, which stimulate the choral members to dance movements and, in the case of sing-along concerts, also spreading quickly to the audience.

Both choirs have developed a repertoire that did not exist before in this way. By setting the political literature into music, the artistic director of the BİK has created a compositional oeuvre which is relatively homogenous in itself, and which can be regarded as a novelty in the field of choral repertoire. The repertoire of the BC has a broad spectrum, consists of songs which had been passed on in aural/oral or written transmission and were arranged additionally, and of present-time compositions. The songs originate from Germany, from Mediterranean cultures, traditional songs from other continents, belong to pop music of the mainstream, and even pieces from Western art music. There are differently structured arrangements which give some pieces of music an unexpected new shape.

Regarding the repertoire formation, the BİK has a relatively closed repertoire based on a limited period of time and a genre. The BC, on the other hand, shows a constantly changing repertoire, supplemented by the knowledge of individual choir members, in a form of "new openness".

In the overall assessment, the "tandem partner principle" of the BC is a very positive and stabilizing model compared to the "self-help principle" of the BİK. While the BİK lost its "breath" too soon for a longer existence, one can hope for the BC that the "breath" of the choir lasts for a long time and the "tandem partner principle" is expected to provide very positive impulses for the future.

Recent research in general anthropology and its neighboring disciplines has shown that the integration of the foreigner into a closed social group is unique to human beings. Music-making (as seen from the earliest developments of human culture) and especially the choirs can play a major and powerful role in this process and thus contribute to the currently highly pressing issue of the integration of migrants into the 'new' society.

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POVZETEK

Članek analizira tradicijo in ustanavljanje zborov v Nemčiji po drugi svetovni vojni: znotraj manjšin po začetku migracij v Zvezno republiko Nemčijo od leta 1955 naprej in po združitvi Nemčij (1990) ter v povezavi z migracijami beguncev od leta 2015. Iz obeh obdobij je bil izbran po en zbor glede na svoj položaj v skupnosti kot tudi glede na povezave z večinskim prebivalstvom. Za izbor je bilo pomembno, da sta bila oba mešana zbora in da ju spremljajo glasbeniki. Položaj zborov je določen v oziru na razvoj zborovske tradicije v Nemčiji. Primerjalni razmisleki naslavljajo socialne in z glasbo povezane poglede. En poudarek je na vprašanjih kreativnih oblik samopomoči, drugi pa osvetljuje pomen kreativnih oblik glasbeno kulturnih interakcij in medsebojnih vplivov. Pri tem se pojavijo vprašanja, do kakšne mere so ti razvoji dokončani oz. še odprti, kar se kaže na repertoarju in/ali posameznih pesmih. Raziskava je pokazala, da se v besedilih mešajo besede različnih jezikov, nastajajo nove kombinacije različnih zvočnih sistemov in tehnik skladanja. Tradicionalni elementi so sestavljeni v nove jezikovne in glasbene stvaritve, še zlasti na osnovi zlitja »zahodne« in mediteranske, a tudi zahodnoazijske glasbe ter s skladanjem »orientalskih« jazz, brazilskih, govornih/rap in popularnih stilov. V zaključku sledi presoja, kako uspešno sta zbora uporabila različne socialne modele, in poudarek o pomembnosti prispevka zborov h glasbeni kulturi večinskega prebivalstva v povezavi s kreativnimi in novimi kompozicijskimi deli, ki so predstavljala novosti za zborovske repertoarje, ter s skladbami z veliko variacijami, ki so nastale pod vplivom lokalne, pa tudi svetovne glasbe. Zbora sta odigrala ključno vlogo pri integraciji migrantov in beguncev v »novo« družbo; prav tako pa je tudi v prihodnosti mogoče pričakovati nove pobude.

UDK 793.31(497.4):39: 323.15
DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.111-131

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Dancing For Ethnic Roots: Folk Dance Ensembles of Ethnic Minority Groups in Slovenia*

Plesanje za etnične korenine: folklorne skupine etničnih manjšin v Sloveniji**

Prejeto: 3. avgust 2019
Sprejeto: 26. avgust 2019

Ključne besede: etnoidentitetni plesi, folklorna skupina, folklorna umetnost, diaspora, migracije

Received: 3rd August 2019
Accepted: 26th August 2019

Keywords: ethno-identity dance, folk dance ensembles, folkloristic art, diaspora, migrations

IZVLEČEK

Folklorne skupine v okviru manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti (albanske, bošnjaške, črnogorske, hrvaške, makedonske in srbske) so v Sloveniji nastale v 90. letih 20. stoletja, po razpadu Jugoslavije. Avtorja pokažeta ključne razloge v delovanju folklorne de-

ABSTRACT

Folk dance ensembles within minority ethnic communities (Albanian, Bosniak, Montenegrin, Croatian, Macedonian and Serbian) in Slovenia were formed in the 1990s, after the breakup of Yugoslavia. The authors present the key reasons for the folklore

* The article was written in frame of the research programme *Research on Slovenian Folk Culture in Folklore Studies and Ethnology,* No. P6-0111, and the research project *Music and Ethnic Minorities: (Trans)cultural Dynamics in Slovenia After the Year 1991,* No. J6-8261, funded by the Slovenian Research Agency.

** Članek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa *Folkloristične in etnološke raziskave slovenske ljudske duhovne kulture* (P6-0111) in raziskovalnega projekta *Glasba in etnične manjšine: (trans)kulturne dinamike v Sloveniji po letu 1991* (J6-8261), ki ga je finančno podprla Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

javnosti, ki je vplivala na nastanek t. i. manjšinskih folklornih skupin, kakšni so bili začetki delovanja ter kako so se sčasoma organizirale, institucionalizirale in vključile v sistem delovanja ljubiteljske kulture v Sloveniji. Manjšinskim folklornim skupinam je cilj izkazovanje etnične pripadnosti skozi ples, a hkrati tudi želja po obogatitvi prostora v novi državi in integraciji v družbo, v kateri živijo.

activities that contributed to the emergence of the so-called minority folk dance ensembles, describe their beginnings and how they eventually became organized, institutionalized, and integrated into the amateur culture system in Slovenia. The goal of minority folk dance ensembles is to dance for ethnic roots, but at the same time, the desire to enrich the cultural space in their new county and to integrate into society in which they live.

Folk dance ensembles are a form of cultural production with over a century old tradition in Slovenia. The history and development of the folk dance ensembles, which – aside from few specifics – is not significantly different from the history of other folk dance ensembles in this part of Europe, has been discussed in various works.[1] In this paper, we want to investigate the emergence of folk dance ensembles within minority ethnic communities in the 1990s, which were not present in Slovenia before.

Activities, purpose and stage production of folk dance ensembles have recently been the topic of various folkloristic and ethnological discussions addressed by the authors to such practices in Southeastern and Eastern Europe, with a particular focus on the second part of the 20th century and their function in the totalitarian and socialist societies.[2] The authors mainly focus on the activities of folklore ensembles in their countries of origin, as well as on their activities in diasporic communities.[3] Only in exceptional cases,[4] the authors have also been focusing on the minority communities within their

1 E.g. Rebeka Kunej, "Leaders and Followers: Artistic Leaderships and Stage Presentations of Folk Dances in a Slovenian Folklore Ensemble," in *Folklore Revival Movements in Europe Post 1950: Shifting Contexts and Perspectives*, eds. Daniela Stav lová, and Theresa Jill Buckland (Prague: Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2018), 25–271; Rebeka Kunej, "From Kolo to Polka: Folk Dance Ensembles in Slovenia after 1991," in *Music and Dance of the Slavic World: Tradition and Transitions*, eds. Sonja Zdravkova Djeparoska (Skopje: Faculty of Music, forthcoming).

2 E.g. Philipp Herzog, ""National in Form and Socialist in Content" or Rather "Socialist in Form and National in Content"?: The "Amateur Art System" and the Cultivation of "Folk Art" in Soviet Estonia," *Narodna Umjetnost* 47, no. 1 (2010): 115–40; Anna Ilieva, "Bulgarian Folk Dance during the Socialist Era, 1944-1989," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 33 (2001): 123–26; Sille Kapper, "Post-Colonial Folk Dancing: Reflections on the Impact of Stage Folk Dance Style on Traditional Folk Dance Variation in Soviet and Post-Soviet Estonia," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 47, no. 1 (2016): 93–111; Martina Pavlicová and Lucie Uhlíková, "Folklore Movement and Its Function in the Totalitarian Society (on an Example of the Czech Republic in the 2nd Half of the 20th Century)," *Národopisná Revue* 23 (2013), no. 5 (2013): 31–41; Filip Petkovski, "Professional Folk Dance Ensembles in Eastern Europe and the Presentation of Folk Dance on Stage," in *Music and Dance in Southern Europe: New Scopes of Research and Action. Fourth Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe,* (Belgrade: ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe; Faculty of Music, University of Belgrade, 2016), 173–78; Daniela Stavělová and Theresa J. Buckland eds., *Folklore Revival Movements in Europe Post 1950: Shifting Contexts and Perspectives* (Prague: Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2018).

3 E.g. Rebeka Kunej and Drago Kunej, "Folklorna skupina v diaspori. Soočanje tradicije in ustvarjalnosti v Ameriki," *Etnolog* 26 (2016): 49–64; Iivi Zájedová and Eha Rüütel, "National Cultural Hobby Activities of Estonians in Exile and Their Role as a Means of Perserving Estonianism," *Ethnologia Actualis Slovaca* 9 (2009): 97–109; Iivi Zájedová and Eha Rüütel, "Folk Dance Practice and Transmission of the Folk Dance Tradition by Expatriate Estonians in Sweden and Germany," *Český Lid* 101, no. 1 (2014): 57–76.

4 E.g. Alma Bejtullahu, "Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji: Nacionalna identiteta, eksotika, past stroke," *Traditiones* 45, no. 2 (2016): 159–76.

own state,[5] due to their understanding of folk dance ensembles as the apparatus of the state, which was used to portray the nations as strong, pure entities. As Laurent Auber noted, the tradition of dancing in the form of folk dance ensembles was exploited for "national cohesion".[6] At the same time, contemporary discussions[7] increasingly note that in their activities, folk dance ensembles avoided the dance heritage which in some way represented a departure from the image of a "pure" nation.

The article focuses on those minority folk dance ensembles that have emerged in Slovenia only after the breakup of Yugoslavia (Albanian, Bosniak, Montenegrin, Croatian, Macedonian and Serbian folk dance ensembles), and omits folk dance ensembles operating within constitutional minorities (i.e. the Italian and the Hungarian National Communities and a special Roma Community).

The authors base their case on their own experience, having participated in different folk dance ensembles in the 1980s and 1990s and witnessed a programme turn (see more below) following the breakup of Yugoslavia. Later on, we have replaced the autobiographical method with observation of and participation in various events featuring folk dance ensembles. In terms of data, we rely heavily on publications in *Folklornik* magazine[8] and make use of digital ethnography. We have gained additional insight from interviews with stakeholders, conducted since 2017 as part of the research project *Music and Ethnic Minorities: (Trans)cultural Dynamics in Slovenia After the Year 1991*. The interviews were held with artistic leaders of individual minority folk dance ensembles and/or with those who were also part of the institutional guidance of such ensembles.

The article first presents an insight into the history of folk dance ensembles in Slovenia, and at the same time, into the modern-day organization of the folklore activity in Slovenia. This is followed by a description of the situation in 1991 and an analysis of the circumstances that contributed to the emergence of minority folk dance ensembles in Slovenia at the turn of the 21st century. In doing so, the authors want to highlight the key moments in the amateur cultural activities that led to the founding of ethnic minority folk dance ensembles, and use them to answer questions such as why minority folk dance ensembles appeared only in the 90s, what were the beginnings of these ensembles, and how they eventually became organized, institutionalized, and integrated into the system of amateur culture in Slovenia.

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5 For example, this is different for American and Australian researchers, who are more likely to study minority communities in relation to dance in their own countries, e.g. Jeanette Mollenhauer, "Dance in Diaspora: The Politics of Practice", Paper presented at Power, Politics and the Dancing Body; Dance Research Forum Ireland Conference, Limerick, June 2018: 1–8; Jeanette Mollenhauer, "Dancing Transnationally: Croatian Immigrants in Sydney, Australia," *Narodna umjetnost* 561 (2019): 129–47; Sau-ling C. Wong, "Dancing in the Diaspora: Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism and the Staging of Chineseness by San Francisco's Chinese Folk Dance Association," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 2, no. 1 (2010): Article 15, http://escholarship.org/uc/item/50k6k78p; Louise Wrazen, "Diasporic Experiences: Mediating Time, Memory and Identity in Górale Performance," *Musicultures* 32 (2005): 34–51.

6 Laurent Aubert, *The Music of the Other: New Challenges for Ethnomusicology in a Global Age*, trans. Carla Ribeiro (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 50.

7 Cf. Pavlicová and Uhlíková, "Folklore Movement and Its Function in the Totalitarian Society (on an Example of the Czech Republic in the 2nd Half of the 20th Century)," 38.

8 *Folklornik* is a professional magazine for re-creators of folk tradition, published by the Public Fund for Cultural Activities of the Republic of Slovenia since 2015, and is primarily intended for folk dance ensembles, folk singers and folk musicians, as well as anyone else working with heritage (clothing, customs and traditions, etc.).

1. Ethno-identity dance and minority folk dance ensembles

Folk dance ensembles can theoretically be classified into the concept of ethno-identity dance used by Anthony Shay.[9] By using this concept and expression, Shay wanted to avoid redefining the terms *folk, ethnic,* or *vernacular dance*, and therefore suggested using single terminology to describe and analyse "the genre of staged and presentational traditional, folk, and popular dance".[10] In his view, the term incorporates "all attempts to display some kind of ethnic identity through dance representation",[11] which can be found in festive or concert settings, tourist contexts, and competitions, which belongs to a huge spectrum of staged traditional or folk dances as a separate genre. He points to various motives that encourage individuals to participate in dance events, either as a performer or viewers (audience), while highlighting and addressing three key ones in his book: sex, profit and nation. An important aspect of ethno-identity dance genres is that they are primarily being used for the purposes of representation and self-presentations, and invariably refer to some form of dance that is associated with specific ethnic identities.[12]

The activities of folk dance ensembles and their stage production perfectly match the proposed term. Therefore, we understand the dance genre, along with related activities by individuals, groups and institutions discussed in the article, in the concept of ethno-identity dance. As pointed out by Shaw, this avoids using a term such as "folk dance", which is oversaturated, among public and in academia, and without implying what is "less than" or "not as authentic" as other dance genres.[13]

Folk dance ensembles fall within the broader framework of "folklore activity", which includes tradition-based music, dance, clothing culture, and customs and rituals, and is often the most popular, active and representative activity of minority cultural societies in Slovenia. Often, folklore activity is most fully embraced in folk dance ensembles that bring together and integrate these elements of tradition. Members of minority communities have repeatedly point out the great importance of folk dance ensembles in "maintaining and building their national identity";[14] in part because the presentation of one's tradition to others, especially in the form of stage performances, is one of the most important goals of folk dance ensembles.[15]

Although all folk dance ensembles operating in Slovenia can be defined as Slovenian, we hereafter distinguish folk dance ensembles that present dances based on the tradition of Slovenes from those of other ethnic groups, using the term *Slovenian* exclusively for them. When the term *minority folk dance ensemble* is used, it refers to those ensembles in Slovenia whose activities are based on the dance traditions of ethnic/national groups of the former Yugoslavia; that is, folk dance ensembles of the so-called new national

9 Anthony Shay, *Ethno Identity Dance for Sex, Fun and Profit: Staging Popular Dances around the World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
10 Ibid., viii.
11 Ibid., 14.
12 Ibid., 6.
13 Ibid., 10.
14 Milan Glamočanin, "Organiziranje pripadnikov srbske skupnosti v kulturna društva v Sloveniji," *Folklornik* 6 (2010): 127.
15 Cf. Bojan Knific, "Interpretiranje plesnega izročila: Lokalno, nacionalno in nadnacionalno," *Traditiones* 42, no. 1 (2013): 133.

communities. Similar to Slovenian ones today, minority groups are monocultural in their representations, usually representing only the programme (culture) of their own ethnic community.

2. Activities of folk dance ensembles in Slovenia and professional guidance of folklore activity

Today, folk dance ensembles in Slovenia are all institutionally organized. They operate as sections within cultural societies or as independent (folk) societies, and are non-profit entities whose activities are often made possible through financing of amateur cultural activities from state and local sources, as well as through symbolic membership fees. The greatest responsibility in terms of the extent to which these activities are supported seems to lie with local communities.

The beginnings of folk dance ensembles in Slovenia – dating back to the first half of the 20th century – are related to the presentation of dance traditions that were for the most part still practiced. At the time, it was primarily an experience of dance tradition for the performers. Even with the rise of the folk dance ensembles after World War II, the division between original (presenting their living dance tradition) and performing ensembles (which presented newly learned dance repertoire).[16] Today, such a division no longer makes sense, because members of folk dance ensembles no longer share the dance experience they present on stage in terms of *vival dance*, as defined by Nahachewsky[17] – today, their shared experience is *performing* – recreating folk dance on stage and public presentations of ethno-identity dances. An increasing number of authors[18] have recently pointed to this, and in Slovenia, it is true for both minority and Slovenian folk dance ensembles. What Wrazen noted for younger members of the Polish Gorals in Toronto – "through performance, [they] may portray a near-mythical world of the past, imagined, possibly longed for, but not actually remembered"[19] – also applies to ensembles in Slovenia.

Rather than the performers' own dance experiences, the source of their performances are publications, archives, dance classes (seminars) or ready-made stage choreographies, on the basis of which a choreographer creates a stage performance. For most of the participants today, folk dance ensembles represent a leisure activity *per se,* the possibility for social interactions and regular socializing, and last but not least, the fulfillment of personal ambitions with regard to public speaking.

Folk dance ensembles were (and still are) a part of cultural policy. Especially in the former communist countries, folk dance ensembles were a means of mass education and consolidation of national cohesion: "For the governmental powers concerned, the perversion, codification and mediatization of musical and choreographic folkloric forms

16 More in: Kunej, "From Kolo to Polka".

17 Andriy Nahachewsky, *Ukrainian Dance: A Cross-Cultural Approach* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Co, 2012), 24–8.

18 Bejtullahu, "Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji"; Kunej, "From Kolo to Polka"; Shay, *Ethno Identity Dance for Sex, Fun and Profit*; Wrazen, "Diasporic Experiences".

19 Wrazen, "Diasporic Experiences," 48.

of often ritual origin constituted ideal instruments of propaganda and normalization".[20] Their purpose was to eradicate certain practices and beliefs, and to present them as completely separate from the actual context.

In Slovenia, the number of newly-established folk dance ensembles increased after World War II, within the framework of cultural and educational societies. The first decade saw the emergence of folk ensembles that operated within trade unions or as independent educational associations. The influence of trade unions on the functioning of societies began to diminish in the 1960s, and cultural societies began to gain independence. This change was also reflected in their names: the adjectives *educational* and *union* became increasingly less frequent and were being replaced by *cultural*.

Folk dance ensembles have always been an important pillar of such educationalcultural-amateur activities. Their activities have always been watched over by cultural politics or a relevant institution. The name of these institutions has often been changed, but their mission remained more or less the same. After World War II, amateur cultural activities were at first covered by *Ljudska prosveta Slovenije* ("People's Education of Slovenia"), which had been established on the basis of the programme guidelines of the Liberation Front and later adopted the conceptual framework of the Communist Party of Slovenia. In the 1950s, more and more educational associations were formed within trade unions, which led to the formation of *Zveza Svobod in prosvetnih društev Slovenije* ("Union of Freedoms and Educational Societies of Slovenia"). In the 1960s, the organization has been renamed to *Zveza kulturno-prosvetnih organizacij Slovenije* ("Association of Cultural and Educational Organizations of Slovenia"), and in the 1970s, to *Zveza kulturnih organizacij Slovenije* ("Association of Cultural Organizations of Slovenia") or ZKOS. In the 1990s, ZKOS was faced with an unregulated status and a broken system of financing. The year 1996 saw the establishment of the Sklad republike Slovenije za ljubiteljske kulturne dejavnosti (Fund of the Republic of Slovenia for Amateur Cultural Activities) or SLKD, which provided professional assistance for amateur cultural activities and co-financed programmes of more than local importance. The tendency of this institution to emphasize expertise and professionalism is also reflected in its renaming to the Javni sklad Republike Slovenije za kulturne dejavnosti (Public Fund for Cultural Activities of the Republic of Slovenia) or JSKD in 2010.

The political-financial role of the above institutions was only later joined by the function of professional facilitator. The first professional in the field of folklore activities at the then ZKOS was employed in 1984, and the institution (or its successors) retained this position ever since. The activities of the ensembles were also guided by professional working bodies, which included external members and decided on the co-financing of the ensembles, as well as on the design of the educational program.

Also organized within this institution were annual meetings of folk dance ensembles. Until 1990s, they consisted of demonstration (exhibition) programme and were essentially non-competitive. The meetings were held at the local, regional and national[21] levels. Ensembles were selected at each level, which then presented their programme on a higher level. In the past, the ensembles were not only selected based on the quality

20 Aubert, *The Music of the Other*, 50.

21 During the Yugoslav period, the meetings were only held at republican level, i.e. in Slovenia. There was never an official national level for the entire Yugoslavia.

of the presented programme, but also on the progress made since the previous year, and partly dependent on the programme concept of the higher-level event, in order to ensure the diversity of selected participants. After each meeting, there was a discussion with an expert evaluator who gave his assessment of each performance and provided some guidance, encouragement and commendation to each participating ensemble.

The current three-tier selection system for the meetings has a competitive/evaluative nature and is therefore often referred to as "competition". The expert evaluator (often an experienced artistic leader of another folk dance ensemble, their formal education being irrelevant) assesses the performance of each ensemble according to certain criteria, evaluates it with points, and makes the selection for the higher level event based on the total scores. Regional meetings include two expert evaluators (for music and for dance) who select ensembles for the national level. Promotion to higher levels of events represents an important (if not key) reference for various tenders for co-financing programmes and activities of the ensembles.

3. Slovenian ensembles and Yugoslav programme

Larger (amateur) folk dance ensembles and professional national folk dance ensembles[22] in all the republics of the former Yugoslavia had a programme that was not limited to individual republics but to the entire Yugoslavia. The members of Slovenian folk dance ensembles coined the term *Yugoslav programme*, also *Southern programme*, Slovenia being the northernmost republic of the country. The term was used to colloquially refer to all those parts of the programme that were not linked to the Slovenian tradition. In this way, the folk dance ensembles as cultural institutions acted in a political manner, using their programme orientation to support political slogan of brotherhood and unity among the nationalities in Yugoslavia.

There is no information about Slovenian folk dance ensembles presenting the dance traditions of the other nationalities of Yugoslavia before World War II, when Slovenes were already part of the common Kingdom of Yugoslavia. However, historical archives show that this changed after 1945. For example, as evidenced by a leaflet[23] for the folk dance "competition" organized in 1949 by The Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia,[24] or rather its Slovenian branch in Ljubljana, the event included seven folk dance ensembles operating within different trade unions (railway, engineering, construction, printing, commercial). Of the seven ensembles, three presented exclusively Slovenian dances, another three also presented Yugoslav dances, and one ensemble presented only a program of another republic.

The Yugoslav programme was also an informal condition ("entry ticket") for participating at the folk dance festivals abroad, since Slovenian ensembles primarily represented

22 In addition to Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia was the only republic with no professional national ensemble. For more, see Kunej, "Leaders and Followers"; Petkovski, "Professional Folk Dance Ensembles in Eastern Europe".

23 Zveza sindikatov Jugoslavije, "Spored plesov in izvajalcev na tekmi folklornih plesnih skupin sindikalnih kulturno-umetniških društev in sindikalnih podružnic" (1949).

24 The first decade following World War II in particular was characterized by operation of folk dance ensembles within trade unions.

Yugoslavia.[25] The ensembles in cities, which were larger, better organized, with a stronger financial (and political) background, generally also had greater ambitions to represent the country at the international festivals. However, presentations of the Yugoslav program by Slovenian ensembles abroad should not only be seen as a political act, but also as a pragmatic one, since the ensembles with diverse programmes were seen as more attractive and preferred at foreign festivals.

As a rule, the Yugoslav programme was mostly performed by ensembles in major cities with the largest numbers of migrants from other Yugoslav republics. Smaller, peripheral rural ensembles did not have such programmes due to several reasons: the artistic management relied more heavily on local tradition, the ensembles had ethnically uniform and smaller memberships, and they generally didn't tour abroad, so the Yugoslav programme was not necessary.

Following the political changes in 1991, the major Slovenian folk dance ensembles abandoned much of their (Yugoslav) programme, which led to a sort of folklore turn: "The previously marginalized ensembles that only performed Slovenian programme have, in terms of values, moved closer to larger urban ensembles than ever before"[26]. It should be added that the rise in importance of smaller local ensembles was influenced not only by political changes, in terms of redefinition of national borders and new dividing lines between "us" and "them", but also by new social and economic circumstances – the failures or privatization of many important companies, unreliable financing of amateur activities, and greater significance of local communities and financing of these activities through local community funds.

In 1991, the Yugoslav programme disappeared from the stage repertoire of all Slovenian folk dance ensembles. For example, in the 1980, the repertoire of folk dance ensemble *Koleda* from Velenje featured 4 Slovenian and 8 Yugoslav choreographies, whereas in 1996, the entire repertoire consisted of 11 different choreographies, all of which represented exclusively Slovenian dance tradition. Similarly, in 1980s, folk dance ensemble *Tine Rožanc* from Ljubljana had 4 Slovenian and 7 Yugoslav choreographies, whereas in 2018, their entire programme consists of 28 choreographies, presenting and reproducing Slovenian traditions. It is estimated that such ensembles "lost" one-half to two-thirds of their previous programme.

Until the ensembles consisted of dancers who had performed such programme on stage in the past, the programme was occasionally performed off stage, as part of regular exercises aimed at developing dance skills or just for fun. After 1991, in was not "politically correct" to perform this programme on stage, except in exceptional circumstances – on anniversaries, as part of a retrospective. On such occasion, it was (is) usually performed by former dancers rather than relevant active dancers. Therefore, the experience of performing Yugoslav programme on stage is reserved for the generations of dancers from 1945 to 1991. This was another factor that contributed to the formation of minority folk dance ensembles.

25 When, in 1973, France Marolt Student Folk Dance Group toured in USA as the first Slovenian ensemble, they performed with one Slovenian choreography; the other four were part of the Yugoslav programme.

26 Bojan Knific, "Folkloriziranje plesnega izročila: prostorske, časovne in družbene razsežnosti ljudskih in folklornih plesov," *Etnolog* 20 (2010): 127–28.

4. Emergence of minority folk dance ensembles and their organization

During Yugoslav era, there were no minority folk dance ensembles in Slovenia (yet). Similarly, there was no formally organized groups or societies, in which ethnic groups from the former republics of Yugoslavia would meet and work, and in which minority folk dance ensembles operate today. The main reason for this was the state system, in which six socialist republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia) and two autonomous provinces (Vojvodina, Kosovo) were united into a federal state.[27] Such arrangement ensured equal status of the people of Yugoslavia in all republics and provinces and was based on the principle of *brotherhood and unity*, which emphasized a "brotherly" relationship among peoples and nationalities and the equality of all citizens under socialism. The system was devised to resolve the complex international, cultural and religious relations in Yugoslavia. Many people from other republics used to live in Slovenia during the time of Yugoslavia, having migrated to Slovenia mainly for economic reasons. However, these migrations were considered as internal migrations within the country. Due to the federal system of the government, the principle of equality of all inhabitants, and the universal promotion of brotherhood and unity, there were no formal organizations of ethnic-based communities among the migrants. Namely, the state institutions oversaw the program of internationalization and cultural exchange between the republics and nationalities of the common state and organized numerous cultural exchanges and meetings. Furthermore, the state policy did not support the establishment of cultural societies on a national basis, and as a result, only some informal types of socializing existed among the members of ethnic groups, e.g. in the form of clubs.[28]

After the independence of Slovenia in 1991 and the breakup of Yugoslavia, the sociopolitical situation has changed, and with it the status of residents from other republics of Yugoslavia in Slovenia. The situation led to a "state of cultural isolation",[29] where the relations and contacts between institutions, as well as between individual residents of the former republics were cut off, which was especially felt by migrants from the former Yugoslav republics. Their relation between "us" and "them" changed; despite the fact that they mostly acquired Slovenian citizenship and began living in the new Slovenian state, their status has changed from members of the previously common state to ethnic minority communities, which often felt the need to reinforce their ethnic identity, "to distinguishing the minority from the majority nation",[30] and to cultivate relations with their nations of origin.

These changes let to the formation, in accordance with the Societies Act, of societies on ethnic (national) basis, which today represent the institutionalized form of migrant activities in Slovenia and organize various activities that enable their members to socialize and express their identity. Often, these societies began as informal activities and participation of the minority communities in humanitarian efforts in the early 1990s,

27 The official name of the country at the time was Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, abbreviated SFRY.

28 Cf. Ilija Dimitrievski et al., eds., *20 let uspešnega delovanja Zveze makedonskih kulturnih društev Slovenije: 1994–2014* (Ljubljana: Zveza makedonskih kulturnih društev Slovenije, 2014), 8.

29 Ibid., 11.

30 Bejtullahu, "Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji," 161.

when the war was still ongoing in some parts of the former Yugoslavia; migrants living in Slovenia organized humanitarian actions to help the inhabitants and relatives in their homeland, and provided care for refugees. As the situation in the Balkans improved, they focused their efforts on organizing social evenings, parties and events, as well as on the formal establishment of societies.[31] These societies are engaged in different areas, with their main focus on cultural activities, which is usually reflected in the very names of the societies.[32] Cultural and artistic activities thus represent a common and important task of many ethnic minority societies in Slovenia.

In Slovenia, cultural associations of member of other nationalities from the former common state began to form in 1992, but their number quickly increased in the mid-1990s, following the end of the wars after the breakup of Yugoslavia. According to Vera Kržišnik-Bukić, there were 64 officially registered cultural societies, associations and federations of Albanians, Bosniaks, Montenegrins, Croatians, Macedonians and Serbs in mid-2004, and 70 in 2008.[33] According to the 2014 estimate, "over 100 such societies"[34] were operating in Slovenia at that time.[35]

The increasing number of cultural associations of ethnic communities highlighted the need of these organization to integrate, work together and coordinate their activities, which was realized with the establishment of federations of cultural societies of the individual ethnic groups.[36] These federations function as umbrella organizations, bringing together associations and highlighting their common goals, which most often include preserving national identity and nourishing traditions, culture and language, as well as active engagement in addressing social status and promoting the collective rights of members of ethnic communities.

The federations that linked the associations of individual ethnic communities also had certain common interests and goals, in particular facilitating the implementation of their programmes vis-à-vis the state and its institutions. As a result, they united to form the so-called *EXYUMAK Coordination*, or *The Coordination of Federations and*

31 Cf. Bejtullahu, "Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji"; Glamočanin, "Organiziranje pripadnikov srbske skupnosti v kulturna društva v Sloveniji"; Marina Perić Kaselj et al., "Croatian Ethnic Associations in Slovenia: Historical Context and the Ethnic Situation," *Dve domovini*, 34 (2016): 105–15.

32 For example, the article on Croatian societies in Slovenia states that out of eleven societies united in the Association of Croatian Societies in Slovenia, no less than eight societies have the phrase "Croatian Cultural Society" in their name (Perić Kaselj et al., "Croatian Ethnic Associations in Slovenia," 109). List of the names of societies in other associations also show frequent occurrence of the terms such as "cultural society" or "cultural artistic society", and the names of some associations in themselves indicate that they are bringing together societies in the field of culture (e.g., *Association of Macedonian Cultural Societies in Slovenia*, *Bosniak cultural association of Slovenia*).

33 Vera Kržišnik-Bukić, "Narodnomanjšinsko vprašanje v Sloveniji po razpadu Jugoslavije: O družbeni upravičenosti vprašanja statusa narodnih manjšin Albancem, Bošnjakom, Črnogorcem, Hrvatom, Makedoncem in Srbom v Republiki Sloveniji s predlogi za urejanje njihovega narodnomanjšinskega položaja," *Razprave in Gradivo* 56–57 (2008): 130.

34 Dimitrievski et al., *20 let uspešnega delovanja Zveze makedonskih kulturnih društev Slovenije*, 13.

35 An example of the rapid increase in the number of societies can also be seen in Milan Glamočanin's presentation of the organization of Serbian community into cultural societies, where he states that in 2003, "approximately 15 Serbian societies" were registered in Slovenia, and this number almost doubled in the next six years for a total of "27 Serbian [registered] cultural societies" in 2009. Glamočanin, "Organiziranje pripadnikov srbske skupnosti v kulturna društva v Sloveniji," 124.

36 *The Association of Macedonian Cultural Societies in Slovenia* was founded in 1994, and according to their website, includes seven cultural societies. *The Association of Serbian Societies of Slovenia* was established in 1996; at the time of the establishment, it consisted of eight societies, which over the years increased to seventeen. *The Bosnian Cultural Association of Slovenia* was officially registered in 1997, and in 2014, consisted of nine member societies. *The Alliance of Montenegro Associations of Slovenia* was founded in 2009 – it first included two societies and was later joined by another one. Also active are *The Association of Croatian Societies in Slovenia* and *The Association of Albanian Societies in Slovenia*.

Cultural Societies of Constituent Peoples and Nationalities of the Former Yugoslavia in The Republic of Slovenia,[37] which in 2006 was formally registered as an association under the Societies Act as *The Association of Cultural Societies of Constitutive Nations and Nationalities of the Former SFRY in Slovenia*. The Coordination Agreement, signed by the federations of the Albanian, Bosniak, Croat, Macedonian, Serb, and later Montenegrin cultural societies, defined the purpose of the operation, highlighting the efforts to recognize the status of national minorities to these ethnic communities.[38] As noted by Vera Kržišnik-Bukić:

> *It [The Association of Cultural Societies] is in fact an informal and, in light of the circumstances, a common political representative body of the respective population in the Republic of Slovenia. It is a body with a dual, complementary role, which internally articulates and synthesizes the common interests of the represented entities as a whole, and externally establishes contacts with state bodies, political parties, other entities in Slovenia and abroad, and with the media – in short, with all those who are in any way willing and able to contribute to, or at least understand, the goals of the Association of Societies.*[39]

The number of minority folk dance ensembles which emerged in Slovenia in the changed social and political situation after the breakup of Yugoslavia soon increased, and their activities became organized. The institutional framework in which they operate today as part of cultural societies, along with their integration into federations of individual national communities and into the umbrella organization, The Association of Cultural Societies of Constitutive Nations and Nationalities of the Former SFRY in Slovenia, enables them to establish connections and cooperate within associations, and is indicative of the broader efforts and goals which go beyond the cultural and artistic activities of the cultural societies. Through their representatives and associations, the societies thus function as a "socially and politically organized body",[40] actively participating in the socio-political developments in Slovenia.

5. Activities of folk dance sections within ethnic cultural societies

Alma Bejtullahu[41] notes that in 2016, there were about 70 groups in Slovenia that were involved in music and dance representation within cultural societies of ethnic communities, adding that in such societies, music and dance have "a special place, due to their nationally representative meaning".[42] She particularly emphasizes the various forms of representation of folk music and folk dance tradition, often realized in the form of folklore ensembles, which in the central, eastern and southeastern parts of Europe also

37 For more, see: Kržišnik-Bukić, "Narodnomanjšinsko vprašanje v Sloveniji po razpadu Jugoslavije."
38 Cf. Dimitrievski et al., *20 let uspešnega delovanja zveze makedonskih kulturnih društev Slovenije*, 13.
39 Kržišnik-Bukić, "Narodnomanjšinsko vprašanje v Sloveniji po razpadu Jugoslavije," 131.
40 Bejtullahu, "Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji," 160.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid., 161.

emerged on the basis of ethnomusicological and folkloristic research approaches. Similarly, Glamočanin states that based on the analysis of the activities of 27 cultural societies of the Serbian community in Slovenia, the folklore activity is the most widespread and developed activity of Serbian cultural societies,[43] with folklore sections organized in as many as 16 societies:

> *No other section (drama, literary, sports, etc.) is so widely represented. Among the 16 associations, there are even a few where the folklore section is the only one active and was the reason for the founding of the cultural society. [...] Folklore activity is the most widespread both in terms of active members of sections, the folklore events organized by the societies, and by the number of visitors.*[44]

The multiplicity and prevalence of the folklore activity within societies is also evident from the number of applications submitted for the tender for the co-financing (ETN projects under the Public Fund for Cultural Activities). Although several activities are financially supported under the call (folklore, literature, theatre, music, dance, film, fine arts, and interdisciplinary projects), the minority ethnic associations are predominantly applying in the field of "folklore activities", which again proves to be the most important area of cultural production for minority communities, and is their most representative activity. The predominant focus on "folklore activities" is also apparent from the fact that as a rule, music projects are always linked to traditions and are therefore classified as "folklore" rather than "music".[45]

In addition, folk dance ensembles are the most active sections of societies. For example, as noted by the Macedonian Cultural Society of St. Cyril and Methodius from Kranj: "The folklore section has been the most active section ever since the founding of the society, and remains to this day. From the earliest beginnings until today, multiple generations of dancers have exchanged."[46]

Furthermore, the activities of folk dance ensembles are of broader significance for the minority communities. The analysis of the Serbian societies highlighted the following:

> *Regarding the activities of the folklore sections within Serbian cultural societies, it should be noted that the rehearsals and meetings of the members are held in Serbian language, that the members use non-translated names and descriptions of dances, poems and names of particular customs or beliefs. At the same time, in connecting individual dances to their areas of origin, the members of sections also learn about the geographical areas of Serbia and the territories where Serbs used to live (in Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary). In addition to geographical information, the member gain knowledge of historical facts, of the settlement*

43 Here he cites the example of the Cultural Society Brdo from Kranj, where the folklore section of the society consists of 110 members, drama section of 11 members, vocal section of 7 members, alpine section of 15 members, and sports and chess section of 20 members. Glamočanin, "Organiziranje pripadnikov srbske skupnosti v kulturna društva v Sloveniji," 126.

44 Glamočanin, "Organiziranje pripadnikov srbske skupnosti v kulturna društva v Sloveniji," 127.

45 See more: Urša Šivic, "History of Public Call for Funding in the Field of the Cultural Activities of Ethnic Minority Communities and Immigrants," *Muzikološki zbornik* 55, no. 2 (2019): 133–153.

46 Dimitrievski et al., *20 let uspešnega delovanja Zveze makedonskih kulturnih društev Slovenije*, 45.

of Serbs in these areas, and of their cultural development. Their acquaintance with the past clothing culture, the history of the development of traditional instruments and more contributes to the dissemination of knowledge about a particular nation. In addition, folklore events build the knowledge of the national identity and raise awareness of their roots. Dressing in folk costumes, most of which are reconstructions the "national costumes", in itself gives impression, at least during the performance, of a different, changed identity.[47]

With their prevalence, activity and numbers, folk dance ensembles are the most recognizable and representative sections of many ethnic cultural societies, representing the "showpiece" of a society.[48] Furthermore, it has repeatedly been shown that it is through the activities of the folk dance ensembles, with mostly young active membership, that societies succeeded in achieving the fundamental goal of ethnic associations: to address and engage the younger generation.[49]

6. Institutionalization and regulation of activities of minority folk dance ensembles

Experts in the field of minority folk dance ensembles emphasize the great importance of presenting the traditions on stage, especially for the younger generation who are motivated by socializing, performing, evaluating and competing. Initially, minority folk dance ensembles mainly performed at local levels and in art events organized by members of individual cultural communities. As their numbers and activities increased, ensembles began to become more involved in various cultural events in Slovenia. Soon, the desire and need emerged for a more organized representation of minority folk dance ensembles, closer cooperation, encouragement of activities, and care for quality growth. In 1999, for example, Macedonian Cultural Society of St. Cyril and Methodius from Kranj organized its "First ethno-folk meeting" of minority folk dance ensembles. The event named "Ethno-Folk Festival" soon became traditional, it has survived to this day, and according to organizers, is "one of the largest folklore events organized by an amateur cultural association in Slovenia".[50] Throughout the years, the purpose of the event has remained the same: "to unite and represent the Macedonian, Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, Bosniak and Montenegrin folklore traditions in one place, and to remain open to other traditions".[51]

Similarly, Serbian folk dance ensembles also began presenting their activities in Slovenia in an organized manner. Due to the large numbers and great activity of

47 Glamočanin, "Organiziranje pripadnikov srbske skupnosti v kulturna društva v Sloveniji," 127.

48 Cf. "Folklorna sekcija," Kulturno i sportsko društvo SANDŽAK u Sloveniji, http://www.glas-sandzaka.si/nase-sekcije/folklorna-sekcija.

49 For example, the analysis of the activities of Croatian ethnic societies in Slovenia emphasizes the fact that the main purpose of establishing most societies is "the need to transfer ethnic culture to one's successor, and to gain more young members of the community", which is seen as the only possibility for the ethnic community to survive. Perić Kaselj et al., "Croatian Ethnic Associations in Slovenia," 110.

50 Dimitrievski et al., *20 let uspešnega delovanja Zveze makedonskih kulturnih društev Slovenije*, 30.

51 See "17. Etno-folk festival," Sokultura, http://sokultura.si/wp/aktualno/17-etno-folk-festival/.

Serbian folk dance ensembles, The Serbian Community Association, based in Ljubljana, began organizing the *Meeting of Serbian Folk Dance Ensembles of Slovenia* in 2001, which was then held annually over the next five years. According to Jovan Mijalković, the chief organizer of these meetings within The Serbian Community Association, the first meetings had more of an exhibition character, with no expert evaluations, mainly for the purpose of presenting the activities of individual ensembles and socializing; the quality of the program was also relatively low.[52] However, the report from the 4th meeting in 2004 already mentions higher quality of stage sets and dance technique of the performers compared to previous years.[53] At the same time, Mijalković points out in his report the lack of personal knowledge, skills and creativity of some dance choreographers, who often use choreographies or parts of choreographies of other ensembles without permission, and advises the young to educate themselves at seminars in Serbia and Slovenia.

Increasingly, minority folk dance ensembles also became involved in an organized system of meetings, evaluations and educations, used by the Public Fund for Cultural Activities (JSKD) to promote and guide the activities of folk dance ensembles in Slovenia. Until 2008, minority ensembles have been presenting themselves at local and regional meetings, together with Slovenian folk dance ensembles.[54] Their performance was evaluated by an expert evaluator, who supervised both Slovenian and non-Slovenian ensembles and guided them with advice. During this period, the most suitable people for the position of expert evaluator at the meetings where minority ensembles participated were former artistic leaders of established Slovenian folk dance ensembles with the Yugoslav programme, who thus had a relatively good knowledge of the dance tradition of other republics of Yugoslavia.[55]

Due to the increasing number of minority folk dance ensembles attending the meetings organized by JSKD, they decided in 2008 to organize special meeting with only minority folk dance ensembles in Slovenia.[56] Only one meeting for the whole Slovenia was organized that year and was held in the Gorenjska region, where most of such ensembles were active. There were two Macedonian, two Serbian and one Bosniak folk dance ensemble participating, all of them based in the Gorenjska region (Kranj, Jesenice). The 2009 meeting saw similar participants and was also organized only once, again in the same region.

In 2010, JSKD wanted to take a more systematic and comprehensive approach to organizing minority folk dance ensemble meetings. A letter was sent to all minority cultural societies at the end of 2009, containing a notice on the organization of meetings and an invitation to participate:

52 Jovan Mijalković, in discussion with the author, October 23, 2017.

53 Jovan Mijalković, "4. Srečanje Srbskih Folklornih Skupin Iz Slovenije," *Folklornik* 1 (2005): 56.

54 For example, folk dance ensemble *Moravac*, which operated as a folklore section of The Serbian Community Association from Ljubljana, has participated at the regional meetings of the folklore ensembles in it designated area every year since 2002.

55 Cf. Jovan Mijalković, in discussion with the author, October 23, 2017; Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, September 14, 2018.

56 Cf. Vesna Bajić Stojiljković, "Ples nas združuje: Srečanja folklornih skupin manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti", *Folklornik* 6 (2010): 148.

> *In the 2009/2010 season, the Public Fund for Cultural Activities, in cooperation with cultural societies, organizes meetings of folk dance ensembles (children, youth, adults, veterans, etc.) which are active in Slovenia and recreate dance and music traditions of other nations and nationalities (Croatian, Serbian, Bosniak, Macedonian, Albanian, Montenegrin, and other). We are preparing four calls for proposals in order to have as many ensembles as possible presenting themselves at the meeting [...] with this letter, we want to inform you about the meetings so you can prepare for them on time.*[57]

Following the model of the meetings of Slovenian folk dance ensembles, the meetings of minority ensembles were organized in the form of regional meetings, which divided the territory of Slovenia into four units, slightly fewer than in the case of Slovenian folk dance ensembles. The letter also states that the meetings are aimed at "getting to know, monitoring and promoting the quality of the associations and ensembles, as well as keeping records of the societies active in the field of recreation of the cultural heritage of other nations and nationalities in Slovenia".[58]

The call by JSKD and a different organization of meetings clearly contributed to the increased participation of minority folk dance ensembles at the meetings. For example, the 2010 meetings saw the participation of 14 minority folk dance ensembles: 8 Serbian, 2 Macedonian, 2 Bosniak, and 2 Croatian. Vesna Bajić Stojiljković, who has been performing the role of expert evaluator at these meetings since 2008, published a report in 2010 titled "The meetings of folk dance ensembles of minority ethnic communities",[59] where she emphasized the fact that, due to various reasons, the participation of minority folk ensembles at the meetings was quite low, since the number of such ensembles in Slovenia is much higher than the number of participating ensembles at the meetings. As an exception, she mentioned Serbian ensembles which had begun participating at the meetings in large numbers. In conclusion, she describes the expert consultations after the performances as being very helpful for the participants, due to the fact that the ensembles – in addition to opinions, advice and guidance of the expert evaluators – get the opportunity to get to know each other, talk, and exchange views and experiences.

The practice of organizing special meetings for minority folk dance ensembles in the form of four regional meetings continued in the following years, with the number of participants increasing every year. In the 2011/2012 season, for example, a total of 25 ensembles, including children ensembles, participated at the meetings.[60] The increasing trend of the number of participating ensembles, the diversity of the programme, and the increase in the number of children ensembles can also be seen in the report by Vesna Bajić Stojiljković, who was the expert evaluator at the meetings in the following, 2012/2013 season.[61]

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57 JSKD, "Dopis kulturnim društvom," November 15, 2009.

58 Ibid.

59 Bajić Stojiljković, "Ples nas združuje".

60 Jovan Mijalković, "Poročilo o regijskih srečanjih folklornih skupin manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti – 2011/2012," *Folklornik* 8 (2012): 130.

61 Vesna Bajić Stojiljković, "Aktivnosti folklornih, pevskih in godčevskih skupin manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti v sezoni 2012/13," *Folklornik* 9 (2013): 133–34.

However, the increase in the number and activities of the minority folk dance ensembles actively involved in the organized JSKD system of meetings, evaluations and guidance of amateur cultural activities in Slovenia, was not merely a reflection of the needs and desires for a more organized representation of the minority folk dance ensembles, for a closer cooperation, encouragement of activities, and care for quality growth. By integrating into the JSKD framework, the ensembles and associations of minority communities could apply for financial support. This is evidenced from the aforementioned letter, sent in 2009 by JSKD to minority cultural societies, inviting them to participate at the meetings:

> *In addition, by attending the meetings, you will gain a unified and direct insight into the functioning of the societies, which is also important in other aspects (e.g., with tenders by JSKD, Ministry of Culture, municipalities, and the like). [...] At the same time, we would like to use this opportunity to inform you that for the first time this year, the Public Call for Selection of Cultural Projects in the Field of Different Minority Ethnic Communities and Immigrants in the Republic of Slovenia will be made through the Public Fund for Cultural Activities of the Republic of Slovenia (JSKD). [...] We invite you to submit quality projects with a clear concept.*[62]

The financial support by Slovenian institutions is very important for the functioning of minority folk dance ensembles, which is often emphasized; some ethnic cultural societies have even been formally institutionalized in the form of cultural societies, mainly to facilitate the acquisition of funds through tenders of state institutions.[63] With regard to the financing of societies within the *Association of Macedonian Cultural Societies in Slovenia*, for example, they noted that one of the key activities of the Association was to secure the financing of their societies, and added that the largest share of the funds received by their societies came from the current JSKD and the Ministry of Culture – Department for Minority and Immigration Issues.[64] However, as the number of minority ethnic society increased, the number of applicants for funding from the aforementioned sources increased, while the amount of available funds remained the same. Due to the increase in the number of applicants and applications submitted, the criteria for awarding funding in the tenders were also raised. One of the important criteria introduced by JSKD for the financing of project in the field of "folklore activity" was participation at the regional meetings, while a good evaluation of the performance increased the possibility of financial support.[65] This further increased the importance of participating at the meetings organized by JSKD, as well as of the evaluation of the performances by expert evaluators. In turn, such professional monitoring, guidance and financing also influenced the repertoire of the minority folk ensembles, the way they are presenting dance and music traditions, and the functioning of such ensembles.

62 JSKD, "Dopis kulturnim društvom," November 15, 2009.

63 Cf. Bejtullahu, "Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji; Glamočanin, "Organiziranje pripadnikov srbske skupnosti v kulturna društva v Sloveniji"; Jovan Mijalković, in discussion with the author, October 23, 2017; Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, September 14, 2018.

64 Ilija Dimitrievski et al., *20 let uspešnega delovanja Zveze makedonskih kulturnih društev Slovenije*, 28.

65 Cf. Bejtullahu, "Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji," 173.

7. Conclusion

There are several causes for the emergence of minority folk dance ensembles in Slovenia after independence. The breakup of Yugoslavia led to significant changes in the functioning of Slovenian folk dance ensembles, with the latter completely abandoning the Yugoslav programme and focusing exclusively on presenting Slovenian traditions. The largest share of the Yugoslav programme was performed by folk dance ensembles in major cities, with the largest number of migrants from other Yugoslav republics, who were also members of such ensembles. But above all, the principle of brotherhood and unity between the peoples of the former Yugoslavia has been abandoned due to political changes following independence, and the once vibrant intercultural exchange between the republics has died down. A new relation between "us" and "them" was formed, uniting many migrants from the former republics of Yugoslavia in ethnic minority communities, which felt the need to strengthen their ethnic and cultural identity and to establish connections with their nations of origin.

Minority folk dance ensembles have proven to be a very suitable form for realizing the goal of minority ethnic communities, which have institutionalized their activities in the form of cultural societies. The latter, along with the Associations of Cultural Societies were established primarily for the purpose of preserving national identities and nourishing the traditions and culture of the ethnic minority communities.[66] In the new socio-political context, the orientation of the folk dance ensembles – which in the countries of Southeast and Eastern Europe was closely linked to national cultural policy, and in the former Yugoslavia also to the political ideology of building a common Yugoslav identity based on brotherhood among nations – has been transferred, in a modified form, to a minority folk dance ensembles. These have often become the most widespread, active, and representative activity of the societies, closely linked to ethnic identifications. Due to their attractive nature of activity, which combines music, dance, and tradition and is being realized through socializing, performing, meetings and competitions, folk dance ensembles include many actively involved young people. The inclusion in societies of the younger generation, and thus passing on the culture to the next generations, is one of the most important goals of societies, as it is the only way for the long-term survival of the ethnic communities.

Minority folk dance ensembles are part of the cultural policy in Slovenia. They are not looking to assimilate, but rather to integrate, and their goal is to obtain equal status to Slovenian folk dance ensembles. On the other hand, Slovenian ensembles are also looking for the equal treatment to minority ensembles, especially in terms of financial support.[67] This was the reason for the transfer of the funding for ethnic

66 Cf. "O SSDS," Zveza srbskih društev Slovenije, http://www.ssds.si/?page_id=29; "O nas - Bošnjaška kulturna zveza Slovenije," Sokultura, http://sokultura.si/wp/kdo-smo/o-nas/; "Zveza Črnogorskih Društev Slovenije," https://zvezacds.weebly.com/about.html.

67 All Slovenian folk dance ensembles operate in the amateur sphere, by which we mean, above all, unpaid artistic creating and re-creating (performing), since there is no professional who could engage in this activity (choreography, artistic leadership, expert advice) as their main source of income. In the case of minority folk dance ensembles, however, there are signs of professionalization of the activities, despite the significantly smaller number of ensembles, especially when activities are supported by their country of origin and are not only tied to the Slovenian territory but also but to global ethnic networks.

societies from the Ministry of Culture to JSKD, which takes care of the entire amateur culture in Slovenia through calls for proposals (ETN and a call for folklore activity) and professional guidance.

The activities of minority folk dance ensembles do not depend solely on the Slovenian cultural policy, but largely also on the interest and support of their "countries of origin"[68] with their own financial, professional and moral support. Therefore, all minority ensembles cannot be considered as a homogenous entity; each one deserves individual attention. In Slovenia, too, minority folk dance ensembles are at the same time "part of their respective global diasporic networks, with each one being a node whose inspirational focus is the sending society",[69] as noted by J. Mollenhauer for Australia and its Irish and Croatian folk dance ensembles.

Countries of origin can use ethno-identity dance for purposes of valorizing ethnicity and the nation.[70] Based on the presented activities of minority folk dance ensembles and the analysis of their involvement in the organized amateur culture in Slovenia, the top-down perspective shows that the goal of such ensembles in Slovenia is dancing for ethnic roots, but also the desire to enrich the cultural space in the new country and to integrate into the society in which they live. Janette Mollenhauer notes that dance takes on a new role in diaspora: "It retains its salience to the cultural identity formation of the dancers, but its role changes from being a normative practice to being an indicator of difference ...".[71] Wrazen's statement, "in order to present this past as a way to better define their present",[72] also applies to minority folk dance ensembles in Slovenia, especially bearing in mind that music and dance, as forms of non-verbal communication, are (or can be) a marker of ethnic identity which remains long after the language disappears.

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68 The term *country of origin/source country* is used in minority cultural societies, despite the fact that many members of the minority ethnic folk ensembles were born in Slovenia. In using the term, we are aware of its "inadequacy" when understood in a literal sense.

69 Mollenhauer, "Dance in Diaspora," 1.

70 Cf. Shay, *Ethno Identity Dance for Sex, Fun and Profit*, 11.

71 Mollenhauer, "Dance in Diaspora," 1.

72 Wrazen, "Diasporic Experiences," 48.

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POVZETEK

Članek obravnava pojav in delovanje folklornih skupin etničnih manjšinskih skupnosti, ki so se v Sloveniji izoblikovale z razpadom Jugoslavije: albanske, bošnjaške, črnogorske, hrvaške, makedonske in srbske folklorne skupine. Pri tem se osredotoča na analizo okoliščin, ki so pripomogle k nastanku t. i. manjšinskih folklornih skupin in poskuša odgovoriti na vprašanja, zakaj se pojavijo takšne folklorne skupine šele po osamosvojitvi Slovenije, kakšni so bili začetki njihovega delovanja ter kako so se sčasoma organizirale, institucionalizirale in vključile v sistem delovanja ljubiteljske kulture v Sloveniji.

Pojavu manjšinskih folklornih skupin v Sloveniji po letu 1991 je botrovalo več vzrokov. Po razpadu Jugoslavije je prišlo do bistvenih sprememb v delovanju folklornih skupin v Sloveniji, saj so povsem opustile predstavljanje programa iz drugih jugoslovanskih republik in se usmerile zgolj na prikaz slovenskega izročila. Predvsem pa se je zaradi političnih sprememb opustilo načelo bratstva in enotnosti ter načelo enakosti prebivalcev vseh republik nekdanje Jugoslavije, zamrla je tudi nekdaj živahna medkulturna izmenjava med republikami. Na novo se je oblikoval odnos mi-drugi, ki je priseljence iz nekdanjih republik Jugoslavije povezal v etnične manjšinske skupnosti, ki so čutile potrebo po krepitvi svoje etnične in kulturne identitete in potrebo po povezovanju z matičnimi narodi; svoje aktivnosti so pogosto institucionalizirale v obliki kulturnih društev. Folklorne skupine, ki so delovale v okviru kulturnih društev, so velikokrat postale najbolj aktivna, množična in reprezentativna dejavnost društev, tesno povezana z etnoidentitetnimi prizadevanji. Zaradi svoje atraktivne narave delovanja, ki združuje glasbo, ples in tradicijo ter se uresničuje na podlagi medsebojnega druženja, nastopanja, srečevanja in tekmovanja, je v folklorne skupine aktivno vključenih veliko mladih; njihovo vključevanje v društva in s tem posredovanje kulture naslednjim rodovom pa je eden najpomembnejših ciljev društev, saj lahko le tako etnične skupnosti dolgoročno preživijo.

V želji po institucionalizaciji, lažjemu pridobivanju finančnih sredstev na razpisih državnih ustanov in prizadevanju biti del slovenske kulture, so se manjšinske folklorne skupine vedno bolj vključevale tudi v organiziran sistem srečanj, evalvacij in izobraževanj, s katerimi JSKD vzpodbuja in usmerja delovanje folklornih skupin na Slovenskem. To je delno vplivalo na repertoar, na način predstavljanja plesnega in glasbenega izročila ter delovanje tovrstnih skupin, pri čemer pa si etnične manjšinske skupnosti ne želijo asimilacije ampak integracijo v slovenski kulturni prostor.

UDK 323.15(497.4):061.2:336.13
DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.133-153

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History of Public Call for Funding in the Field of the Cultural Activities of Ethnic Minority Communities and Immigrants*

Zgodovina razpisa za financiranje kulturno-umetniških dejavnosti manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev**

Prejeto: 1. avgust 2019
Sprejeto: 10. september 2019

Ključne besede: manjšinske etnične skupnosti, kulturna politika, javni razpisi za kulturne projekte

Received: 1st August 2019
Accepted: 10th September 2019

Keywords: ethnic minority communities, cultural politics, public calls for cultural projects

IZVLEČEK

Namen prispevka je analizirati zgodovino javnega razpisa za projekte v polju kulturnih dejavnosti manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti v Sloveniji. Javni razpis uveljavlja strategije programa za posebne kulturne pravice, ki jih izvajata Ministrstvo za kulturo in Javni sklad Republike Slovenije za kulturne dejavnosti.

ABSTRACT

The article aims to analyse the history of public calls for funding projects in the area of cultural activities of ethnic minority communities in Slovenia. These public calls put in action the strategies of a special rights programme, which are being carried out by the Ministry of Culture and the Public Fund for Cultural Activities of the Republic of Slovenia.

* This article was written within the framework of the research project called: Music and Minorities: (Trans)cultural Dynamics in Slovenia After the Year 1991, no. J6-8261 funded by the Slovenian Research Agency.

** Članek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega projekta Glasba in etnične manjšine: (trans)kulturne dinamike v Sloveniji po letu 1991 (J6-8261), ki ga je finančno podprla Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

1. Introduction

The article presents the part of cultural politics that had an important impact on the cultural production of ethnic minority communities and immigrants[1] in Slovenia since Slovenian independence in 1991. I aim to present the history of public calls for funding, the initial purpose of which is to provide financial and expert support to the preservation, development and promotion of cultural activities organised by ethnic minorities and migrants. My article therefore focuses on the research of archival documentation from this area. Despite a broad array of cultural activities included in the calls, I have focused on the cases from the areas of folklore and music.

In addition to the historical viewpoint, I have looked closely at the transformation dynamics of the content, the public calls' criteria and the guidelines by analysing public calls' texts, regulation documentation, reports and have also conducted interviews with persons who were involved in shaping specific cultural policy segments. The purpose is to determine to what extent the texts of public calls reflect the principles, expert incentives and programme strategies. Another important aim of this research is to find out which criteria play a key role in meeting the strategies of the umbrella cultural programme and which public call formulations affect the cultural activities' schemes. As this article makes part of a broader research project, it will serve in the current phase as the analysis of the formal framework of the public calls and should not be seen as an analysis of public calls' implementation in the cultural production of the ethnic minority communities and migrants.

2. The history of public calls for the financial and expert support of cultural projects

The legislation of the Republic of Slovenia defines the status of national and ethnic minorities and provides different levels of formal protection, depending on the historical, political and societal factors. The rights of the Italian and Hungarian national communities, on the west and on the east borders respectively, are stated in the constitution. The two minorities are defined with the element of history and autochthony. They enjoy all the constitutional rights and their members are organised in cultural, political, social and other areas, all the while maintaining strong connections with their home countries.[2] The Romany community, on the other hand, does not have the same status; stricter legislative protection was only implemented in 2007 with a special law, which defines the Romany people as a "community" and states specifics tasks that the state authorities have to put into practice in order to ensure the Romany their rights.[3]

1 Slovenian expressions "Manjšinska etnična skupnost" (ethnic minority community) and "priseljenci" (immigrants) are used in the public calls for funding issued by the Ministry of Culture. Therefore, they are also used in the texts of the Public Fund for Cultural Activities.

2 Klavdija Zajc, "Varstvo romske skupnosti v Sloveniji" (BA thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2005), 38.

3 Uradni list RS, št. 33/07, "Zakon o romski skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji (ZRomS-1)," Pravno-informacijski sistem, accessed August 2, 2019, http://www.pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=ZAKO4405; Milan Glamočanin, "Ohranjanje narodne identitete manjšin skozi kulturna društva v Sloveniji. Primer srbske narodne manjšine" (BA thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2010), 23, accessed August 5, 2019, https://repozitorij.uni-lj.si/IzpisGradiva.php?id=19704&lang=slv.

The independence of Slovenia in 1991 changed the relations between the majority population and the ethnic minority communities. All of a sudden, practically "overnight, internal migrants coming from former Yugoslav republics became international immigrants."[4] Still, due to their history of residing within the common Yugoslav state, their status, although not formally defined, was different to that of other migrants. With these political changes, a new concept and naming for these communities has emerged, namely, "new" minorities.[5] This term came into use to refer to the ethnicities of the former Yugoslav republics, i.e. the Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Albanians.

Following Slovenian independence, many ethnic communities remained outside the legislative framework protecting the minorities. Tendencies to resolve the issue of new minorities therefore focused on cultural activities. On one hand, the incentives came from the authorities as a way of solving the issues arising from the newly established relationships between the majority population and the minorities. On the other hand, representatives of minorities were included in the discussions on current issues and the possible solutions on a systemic level. There has been an active programme for the cultural activities of the Hungarian and the Italian minorities at the Ministry of Culture since 1974.[6] In 1992 the framework of this programme was extended to the members of other ethnic minorities.[7]

Cultural groups, like musical and dance groups, within ethnic minority communities (at the time rarely organised as societies) were sparse at the time, which made their funding easy. In this early period, the Ministry of Culture transferred financial resources to the Association of Cultural Organizations of Slovenia[8] to stimulate establishment of new societies[9] of ethnic minority communities and for supporting their initial work.[10] The funding was not intended for content based projects, as is normally the case today (e.g. concerts, folklore groups meetings), but was to be used for the regular and running costs, such as purchase of costumes, rent, mentors' fees etc. Later, from the 1996 on, the funding of minority communities' societies remained under the Ministry of Culture, while the Association of Cultural Organizations of Slovenia referred the applications for funding, still allocated for the regular costs of societies, to the ministry.

4 Suzana Čurin Radovič, "Program varovanja posebnih kulturnih pravic v Republiki Sloveniji od zametkov do leta 1999," *Razprave in gradivo. Revija za narodnostna vprašanja* no. 35 (1999): 166.

5 In publications, we can find formulations of non-autochthony modern ethnic minorities, modern ethnic minority communities, new ethnic/national communities, new national minorities etc. Janja Žitnik Serafin, *Večkulturna Slovenija: Položaj migrantske književnosti in kulture v slovenskem prostoru* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2008), 32.

6 The programme has never been officially named; the Ministry of Culture refers to it as the "special cultural programme", "special programme for cultural activities" (Suzana Čurin Radovič, "Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti narodnih skupnosti, romske skupnosti drugih manjšinskih skupnosti in priseljencev," *Analiza stanja na področjih kulture in predlog prednostnih ciljev* (Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije, 2002), accessed August 14, 2019, http://www.mk.gov.si/fileadmin/mk.gov.si/pageuploads/Ministrstvo/Zakonodaja/Analiza_stanja/10.pdf) or "special provisions for the protection of cultural rights of minority communities" (Marjeta Preželj, in discussion with the author, July 10, 2019); Suzana Čurin Radovič, "Program varovanja posebnih kulturnih pravic."

7 Marjeta Preželj, "*Analiza prenosa finančnih sredstev in javnega postopka za financiranje kulturnih projektov na področju različnih manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev v RS z Ministrstva RS za kulturo na Javni sklad RS za kulturne dejavnosti v letu 2010*," [unpublished report, Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo, 2010], [1].

8 The Association of Cultural Organisations of Slovenia is the predecessor of the Public Fund for Cultural Activities. See footnote No 22.

9 In the text I mostly refer to societies as the common form of cultural activities of the ethnic minority communities. This does not exclude other organisational or legal forms of cultural activities, nor activities of individuals.

10 Marjeta Preželj, in discussion with the author, July 7, 2018.

We can follow the history of public calls for funding that implement the protection of special cultural rights of ethnic minority communities into the time of former Yugoslavia.[11] Throughout decades, various initiatives have reshaped the call into its present form. My aim is to present those facts that brought about the changes that shaped the public call into a financial and expert support of cultural activities of ethnic minority communities that is in use today.

It was Suzana Čurin Radovič from the Cultural Association of Slovenia, who played the key role in the development of a systemic approach to the funding of ethnic minorities' cultural activities. In the year 1999 the Sector for the Cultural Rights of Minorities and the Development of Cultural Diversity was established at the Ministry of Culture directed by Čurin Radovič.[12] From an office manned by one person, Čurin Radovič, grew a small department and then an independent Cultural Diversity and Human Rights Service,[13] which co-operates with other ministries.[14]

In 1995 the Ministry of Culture formalised funding of ethnic minorities' cultural activities within the framework of the joint call for projects under the name Public Call for the Funding and Co-funding of Cultural Programmes and Projects.[15] In addition to the areas the call had issued up to that point (literature, music, performing arts etc.) this call included "cultural activities of Italian and Hungarian national minorities, Romany community, other ethnic minority communities and immigrants in the Republic of Slovenia".[16]

In 2002, Exercising of the Public Interest in Culture Act[17] came into force, and so the call for funding had to be redrawn in 2003: instead of one joint call there were individual call for each area. A new a call also emerged that included the area of ethnic minorities' cultural activities named Public Call for the Selection of Cultural Projects of Different Ethnic Minority Communities and Immigrants in the Republic of Slovenia.[18] The public call provided only legal and formal framework, while a separate text outlined the content by defining the principles, targets and objectives of Slovenian cultural politics and its relation to the ethnic minority communities and immigrants in the Republic of

11 See Čurin Radovič, "Program varovanja posebnih kulturnih pravic," 159–96.

12 Marjeta Preželj, in discussion with the author, September 12, 2019.

13 The service aims to support vulnerable groups that should have the opportunity for self-expression »regardless of their social standing, ethnicity, nationality or medical condition«. The service also implements a »special programme dedicated to the members of different ethnic minority communities«. ("Predstavitev področja," Ministrstvo za kulturo, accessed June 18, 2018, http://www.mk.gov.si/si/delovna_podrocja/sluzba_za_kulturne_raznolikosti_in_clovekove_pravice/predstavitev_podrocja/).

14 Suzana Čurin Radovič, Initial consultation session, Ljubljana, October 19, 2017.

15 "Javni razpis za zbiranje predlogov za financiranje in sofinanciranje kulturnih programov in projektov, ki jih bo v letu 2001 financirala Republika Slovenija iz dela proračuna, namenjenega za kulturo" (Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo, 2001).

16 "Javni razpis za zbiranje predlogov za financiranje in sofinanciranje kulturnih programov in projektov, ki jih bo v letu 2001 financirala Republika Slovenija iz dela proračuna, namenjenega za kulturo," 1. Calls before the year 2001 were not available.

17 Exercising of the Public Interest in Culture Act is the basic legal document that holds liable all »public interest holders«, among them the Ministry of Culture and Public Fund for Cultural Activities. The act is in line with the National Programme for Culture with the basis in the assurance of public domain work in the area of culture and cultural development in Slovenia. It includes cultural development of the majority population, constitutionally recognised minorities (Hungarians, Italians and Romany), Slovenians living in neighbouring countries, certain special needs communities, and »integration of minority communities and immigrants«. (Uradni list RS, št. 77/07, "Zakon o uresničevanju javnega interesa za kulturo," Pravno-informacijski sistem, accessed August 2, 2019, http://pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=ZAKO3370).

18 "Javni poziv za izbor kulturnih projektov na področju različnih manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev v RS, ki jih bo v letu 2009 financirala Republika Slovenija iz proračuna, namenjenega za kulturo" (Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo, 2009). The 2003 call was not available.

Slovenia.[19] Despite changes that happened in a broader context, the formalisation of a separate public call for cultural activities of ethnic minority communities is partly the result of many years of dialogue between the Ministry of Culture and members of ethnic minority communities.[20]

3. The beginnings of the project call for funding intended for the ethnic minority communities and immigrants and its transfer to the Public Fund for Cultural Activities of the Republic of Slovenia

Unlike the Ministry of Culture, which is a state umbrella organisation, the Public Fund for Cultural Activities of the Republic of Slovenia (from hereafter the Slovenian acronym JSKD will be used to denote this institution) has the role of a professional service of the authorities; it is managed independently and is responsible for the support of cultural activities of amateur groups and individuals. Its network of regional and local branches promote "development of universal creative potential in culture" through project and content based calls, publishing, training and education, organisation of cultural events and providing expert evaluation.[21]

During the 1990s, the Ministry of Culture and JSKD issued invitations to project calls for funding in the same period. JSKD issued the Public Call for the Selection of Cultural Project in the Area of Amateur Cultural Activities (from here on PR Public Call). Its formal context made it possible for the ethnic minority communities to submit their applications. Applications for projects with minority thematic were therefore evaluated together with other projects in cultural framework.

Consequently, there were two similar programme schemes available for the projects of ethnic minority communities, one at the Ministry of Culture (with special public call for ethnic minority communities) and another one at JSKD (with the public call for cultural activities on general). This situation brought about changes that happened in the following years. After years of discussions,[22] the Ministry of Culture and JSKD signed an Agreement on the Transfer of Competences in the Procedure of Co-Funding of Cultural Projects of Different Minority Communities, Excluding Constitutionally recognised [Hungarian and Italian] Minorities and the Romany Community.[23] With this agreement the call and consequently the funds for the programme of protection of special cultural rights of ethnic minority communities were formally transferred from the Ministry of Culture to JSKD.

19 "Načela, cilji, kriteriji, področja dejavnosti ter način prijave za (so)financiranje kulturnih projektov različnih manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev v Republiki Sloveniji iz dela državnega proračuna, namenjenega kulturi za leto 2010" (Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo, 2009); See: Glamočanin, "Ohranjanje narodne identitete manjšin," 29–30.

20 Čurin Radovič, "Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti," 234–235.

21 JSKD was established in 1996 as the successor of the Association of Cultural Organisations of Slovenia. It covers folklore, historical dances, dance, instrumental music, literature, theatre and puppetry, fine arts and film. "Organizacija sklada," JSKD, accessed August 6, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/organizacija/uvod_organizacija.htm.

22 Marjeta Preželj, "Analiza prenosa finančnih sredstev in javnega postopka za financiranje kulturnih projektov na področju različnih manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev v RS z Ministrstva RS za kulturo na Javni sklad RS za kulturne dejavnosti v letu 2010," [2010]: [1]; Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, July 7, 2019.

23 "Sporazum o prenosu pristojnosti vodenja postopkov sofinanciranja kulturnih projektov različnih manjšinskih skupnosti, razen ustavno priznanih narodnih skupnosti in romske skupnosti, in posledično o prenosu finančnih sredstev za izvedbo postopkov z MK na Javni sklad Republike Slovenije za kulturne dejavnosti" ([Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo], 2009).

There were several factors at play that led to the transfer of the call from the ministry to JSKD: the institutions already co-operated at the time the call for cultural activities of ethnic minority communities was still the ministry's responsibility. As I mentioned before, JSKD dealt with project applications with minority thematic for its own PR Public Call at the same time as the ministry dealt with its own call. In that period the two institutions made an effort to avoid double funding of the submitted projects by basically communicating and achieving mutual agreement.[24]

However, it turned out that discrepancies occurred in the funding of projects with minority thematic and those outside the minority context, which was a direct result of two separate calls. In addition, there were discrepancies within the funding of minority projects.[25] Due to

> *the need for concerted action and our goal to make it easier for the ethnic minority communities to obtain funds from the state budget, it [the new call that is being transferred to JSKD] combines the funds that were in the past available for the ethnic minority communities through the invitation to calls issued by the Ministry of Culture [...] with those available through the public call issued by JSKD.*[26]

Limiting the evaluation of project applications to one location and one institution that had already had a strong and recognised expert base seemed to be an appropriate solution. In addition, JSKD had well-established mechanisms of expert evaluation commission and evaluation criteria. These had already been required to deal with applications for the PR Public Call. It is clear that JSKD had partly supported and professionally directed the development of cultural activities of ethnic minority communities even before the call was transferred.[27] Moreover, the institution had very good general knowledge of folklore creativity, which meant it also had a good insight into the cultural activities of minority societies on the whole.[28]

The logical consequence was to transfer the call for funding of ethnic minority communities' cultural activities to JSKD. With this, local communities became more involved as well, as regional and local JSKD branches also became part of the discourse. JSKD also agreed to "include the appropriations in their financial planning" of their programme guidelines.[29]

Before the call was transferred to JSKD in 2010, cultural projects of ethnic minority communities were handled by two institutions, the Ministry of Culture and JSKD, and were funded on the basis of similar programme definitions. With the transfer of the call to JSKD in 2009 and (the first public call was issued in 2010) the collection and evaluation of applied projects was centralised. Since then, ethnic minority communities have been

24 Marjeta Preželj, in discussion with the author, July 10, 2018.

25 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, July 2, 2019.

26 Bojan Knific, "Smernice društvom manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti," *Folklornik* 4 (2008): 99.

27 Bojan Knific, "Smernice društvom manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti," 99.

28 Drago Kunej in Rebeka Kunej, "Dancing For Ethnic Roots: Folk Dance Ensembles of Ethnic Minority Groups in Slovenia", *Muzikološki zbornik* 55, no. 2 (2019): 111–131

29 "Sporazum o prenosu pristojnosti vodenja postopkov sofinanciranja kulturnih projektov različnih manjšinskih skupnosti, razen ustavno priznanih narodnih skupnosti in romske skupnosti, in posledično o prenosu finančnih sredstev za izvedbo postopkov z MK na Javni sklad Republike Slovenije za kulturne dejavnosti," 2009, [2].

submitting their projects to JSKD following the call to Public Call for Cultural activities of Ethnic Minority Communities (from here on Etn Public Call) first. However, as in the past, they can also enter the PR Public Call. In addition, in the context of content and organisation "JSKD took over the responsibility for these societies, [private] institutions and creators that preserve the culture of other ethnic minority communities in Slovenia. With this, the last unresolved issue was dealt with; since 2010, JSKD has shouldered the responsibility for all cultural societies and creators equally [in all areas of its operations]".[30] The first visible consequence was seen in the time after 2010, when we can notice a bigger variety of applications, as JSKD started to receive applications from the societies that had not submitted before.[31]

4. Analysis of the content and the categories of the Etn Public Call

Every year JSKD opens call to two (annual) project calls[32] that refer to folklore activities. The first one, Public Call for the Selection of Cultural Projects in the Area of Amateur Cultural Activities (PR Public Call[33]), selects cultural projects in the area of amateur cultural activities, while the second one, Public Call for Cultural activities of Ethnic Minority Communities and Immigrants in the Republic of Slovenia[34] (Etn Public Call);[35] invites applications only for the ethnic minority communities' activities.

As a rule, societies that formally combine various activities (not only cultural but also sports, voluntary initiatives and others) submit applications to the Etn Public Calls. These include projects within the frameworks of the following areas: "music, theatre, folklore, film, dance, fine arts and literature and [project applications] within thematic frameworks that include more than one of the mentioned areas of the amateur cultural activities", i.e. multi-genre area.[36]

30 Urška Bittner Pipan, "*Poslanstvo JSKD in prenos skrbi za kulturne ustvarjalce, ki skrbijo za ohranjanje drugih kultur v RS,*" 2010: [1].

31 Marjeta Preželj, "*Analiza prenosa finančnih sredstev in javnega postopka za financiranje kulturnih projektov na področju različnih manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev v RS z Ministrstva RS za kulturo na Javni sklad RS za kulturne dejavnosti v letu 2010,*" ([Ljubljana: JSKD, 2010]: [1]).

32 Apart from the general PR Public Call, JSKD also issues calls for multi-year programmes of societies as well as for other project-focused calls.

33 In 2010 acronym PP was used to refer to the public call. From 2011 on, acronym PR has been in use.

34 Slovenia provides funds for the Italian, Hungarian and Romany communities separately from the funds for other ethnic minority communities and immigrants. The funds for the former communities that are allocated for cultural activities are funnelled through the Ministry of Culture. Consequently, the Etn Public Call does not invite these communities (members of constitutionally recognised minority communities can submit at the Etn call only if they operate outside the bi-lingual areas of the Republic of Slovenian). From the beginning, the purpose of the call has been to support cultural activities of those ethnic communities that do not enjoy the highest, i.e. constitutional protections.

35 "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019," JSKD, accessed May 22, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/razpis_etn_19.htm.

36 Multi-genre applications can combine for example elements of literature, traditional music, dance. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019," JSKD, accessed May 22, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/razpis_etn_19.htm.

The introductory definition of the call states:

> *The subject of the call is co-funding the cultural projects of cultural organisations that are legal persons in private law in the area of ethnic minority communities and immigrants in the Republic of Slovenia and cultural projects of creators who are members of ethnic minority communities and immigrants*[37] *in the Republic of Slovenia with the status of self-employed professionals in culture.*[38]

The subject has remained unchanged throughout the years, as did (mostly) the aims of the Call. The aims, as they were defined from the beginning were: to foster creativity, preservation of cultural identity in line with the expressed cultural needs, presenting creativity to broader public, supporting projects important for the general cultural development of ethnic minority communities, boosting cultural diversity and availability of cultural content and developing quality cultural education programmes.[39] Most of the more or less stylistic amendments were added in the Call for 2011. The added integrative goal was more notable. It is formed as "inclusion of ethnic minority communities' creativity into Slovenian cultural space".[40]

The call areas include music, theatre, folklore, film, dance, fine arts, literature and a multi-genre area. In addition, the Call determines the forms of the submitted content, i.e. production of an event, post-production of an event (at home or abroad), international co-operation, publishing and education activities. The applications for education activities should specify the age of the target population, the events include "events and workshops for young artists (up to 27 years of age) and events and workshops for children and youth".[41] In 2011, the Call omitted the preferred age definition.[42] In 2012, the "post-production of cultural events" was also excluded.[43] In 2011, the diction specifying international co-operation was shortened: the former description of "events abroad, tours and exchanges in the international cultural space and organisation of visiting events of renowned amateur artists that are members of minorities in other countries",[44] is now shortened into "international co-operation".[45] The diction of the Call has otherwise remained the same in all other call areas – be it artistic or production.

The text of the Etn Public Call saw the most amendments in 2011, in the second call issued by JSKD. The reasons for the amendments in criteria and conditions that appeared in the years after that were twofold. It is paramount to take into account the considerations of the members of the evaluation commission; every year the commission

37 Although the diction always includes the formulation "and immigrants" in the Republic of Slovenia, I do not use it in the text as I am primarily interested in ethnic minority communities.

38 "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019," JSKD, accessed May 22, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/razpis_etn_19.htm.

39 "Javni projektni poziv Etn-2010," JSKD, accessed July 3, 2019, https://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_10/etn_10_besedilo.htm.

40 "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2011."

41 "Javni projektni poziv Etn-2010."

42 "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2011."

43 "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2012," JSKD, accessed July 3, 2019. https://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/uvod_etnicne_skupnosti.htm.

44 "Javni projektni poziv Etn-2010."

45 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2011."

has to consider possible changes that could improve the artistic quality of the groups' and individuals' activities. The amendments also depend on the total financial appropriation: the calls need to meet the available financial resources, which was especially the case in the recession period after 2011. Up until 2014 every society (or individual) could submit no more than six applications and no more than three applications in each individual area.[46] The call of 2015 reduced the highest amount of applications of one society from six to five.[47] This number was further reduced in 2016 to four applications per society and the highest number of applications per individual area was also reduced from three to two.[48]

5. Evaluation of project applications submitted to the Etn Public Call and evaluation criteria

At the time the call for cultural projects of ethnic minority activities was still issued by the Ministry of Culture, the applied projects were evaluated by the Expert Commission for Cultural Activities of Special Communities in the Republic of Slovenia.[49] The commission addressed the needs of the Italian, Hungarian, Romany and other ethnic minority communities, of the German speaking group and of the sensory impaired persons. However, representatives of these communities have never been members of any commission due to their connections within their interest areas. Instead, the commissions were always selected among the experts from the individual fields included in the Call.[50]

As the call was transferred from the ministry to JSKD, a new concept of evaluation commission developed as well. The expert commission for the Etn Public Call differs from the commissions that evaluate project applications submitted to the PR Public Call. Each area in the PR Public Call is evaluated by a separate commission (there are eight commission with three to five members), while the applications submitted by the ethnic minority communities are evaluated by one commission that consists of experts from different fields of expertise. This commission has five members: one member represents the Ministry of Culture (as a representative of the financier and as a link between past public call and the current one), while the other four represent the Call areas.[51] In addition, a representative of JSKD is connected to the commission through the role of the secretary of the commission.[52] Commission members are well-acquainted with the

46 "Javni projektni razpis Etn 2014," JSKD, accessed, July 29, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_14/besedilo_etnicne_skupnosti_14.htm.

47 "Javni razpis Etn 2015," JSKD, accessed July 29, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_15/besedilo_etnicne_skupnosti_15.htm.

48 "Javni razpis Etn 2016," JSKD, accessed July 29, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_16/besedilo_etnicne_skupnosti_16.htm.

49 "Strokovne komisije," Ministrstvo za kulturo, accessed September 20, 2019, https://www.gov.si/zbirke/delovna-telesa/strokovne-komisije-ministrstva-za-kulturo/.

50 Marjeta Preželj, in discussion with the author, July 10, 2019.

51 At the moment, the commission consists of two experts from the fields of literature and folklore art, while the other two members are well-acquainted with the activities of ethnic minority communities in general.

52 "Strokovno-programska komisija za izbor kulturnih projektov na področju različnih manjšinskih skupnosti in priseljencev v Republiki Sloveniji," JSKD, accessed June 12, 2019. http://www.jskd.si/organizacija/posvetovalna_telesa/organizacija_posvetovalna_telesa_spk_manjsine.htm.

work of the cultural societies and the individual artists, so they can spot the weaknesses in the text of the Calls and in the evaluation criteria and can therefore influence any amendments to the Calls.

The project applications submitted to the Etn Public Call are evaluated according to the established criteria from other areas within JSKD, although there are certain deviations. While the general PR Public Call clearly defines the Call areas, the Etn Public Call has a more relaxed approach and does not exclude the accompanying additional content, e.g. traditional cuisine or hand crafts. The scope of programme realised through Etn Public Call is therefore much broader, multicultural and multi-genre from that of the PR Public Call.[53] Positive evaluation of project applications that include content not specified in the Call is partly the result of available financial resources. If these were to be reduced, the evaluation criteria would be set higher and applications with additional activities would be evaluated negatively.[54]

A discussion with a member of the evaluation commission supports the conclusion that the available criteria are not objective enough to evaluate the adequacy or inadequacy of project applications in a simple and clear way. Apart from the existing, formulated criteria, specific circumstances of ethnic minority communities are also considered,[55] which at least partially averts ethnic stratification.[56] Therefore the evaluation is more demanding compared to that for the general PR Public Call. Those competent for the Etn Public Call are "committed" to the principle of positive discrimination "in order to improve the situation of potentially underprivileged or underprivileged groups".[57] The specifics of the minority field require a different approach with regards to content as well as ethics, therefore factors such as the right balance of the approved projects' among ethnic communities is also considered.

What the call defines as "immigrants" can be a particular issue.[58] The concept of the "immigrant" is not explained in the call. It is, however, meant to differ the constitutionally recognised and the so called new minorities from the rest of the migration. As such the term "immigrants" can refer to refugees, asylum seekers, and asylum holders. This is a growing community in Slovenian society, which has seen a significant increase in numbers after 2015, when the European immigration wave hit Slovenia as well.

The people responsible for the Etn Public Call had scruples with the "immigrant" segment as the groups in the immigrant communities are usually not formally organised. Nevertheless, Etn Public Call accepts and evaluates applications with the so called "refugee themes", as the umbrella programme formally supports the cultural activities of these members of Slovenian society as well. The fact that it is difficult to ensure a more permanent formation of performers and audiences creates a problem with organisation and evaluation of the applications with the so called refugee themes. The contenders therefore find it difficult to plan the projects or performances. On the other hand, the

53 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, July 2, 2019.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Peter Klinar, "O nacionalni identiteti in etnonacionalizmih," *Teorija in praksa* 31, no. 5-6 (1994): 421.
57 Čurin Radovič, "Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti," 246.
58 Čurin Radovič uses the wording 'members of ethnic minority communities' (Čurin Radovič, "Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti.").

evaluation commission cannot anticipate the quality or the feasibility of such projects based only on the received application.

6. Financial resources for the Etn Public Call and the project structure

Financial resources for the Etn Public Call comes from the state budget. JSKD receives two separate amounts from the Ministry of Culture: one for the Etn Public Call and one for the general PR Public Call. While the amount allocated to the PR Public Call is (informally) divided among the individual call areas, the Etn Public Call amount is only allocated to individual project applications, regardless of the Call area.[59] That means that only the scored points of all project applications are considered regardless of the project area; consequently, the call areas are not balanced. The Table 1 (p. 144) shows basic statistic data of Etn Public Call.

The table shows funds appropriated for the cultural activities of ethnic minority communities, first from 1992, when the Ministry of Culture formalised funding for their activities; second from 2010 on, when the Call was transferred to JSKD. The dramatic fall in the funds seen between 2011 and 2016 was due to the economic recession and general austerity measures. The funds did not increase before 2017, and even then only marginally. It is worth mentioning that the amount earmarked for the Etn Public Call was not as reduced as the amount for the general PR Public Call because the funds for special rights that were already provided cannot be taken away.

7. Description of applicants to the Etn Public Call

The Etn Public Call defines the eligible applicants as "cultural societies and their associations, private institutes and other non-governmental organisations with status of legal person in private law and creators with self-employed status in the field of culture that are active in the call area".[60] The applicant does not have to be a member of the ethnic minority community, but is required to be active in the area of ethnic minority community. The formulation takes into account the communities of different (national, ethnic) provenance and requires the applicant to have meet the requirements concerning their legal status. Due to relatively relaxed concept, an organisation that is not necessarily active in the field of minority thematic can still submit a project with suitable content. However, the evaluation will take into account the achievements of the previous three years: "the applicant should carry out programmes that foster preservation of special cultural heritage of different ethnic minority communities and immigrants that are consistent with the expressed cultural needs".[61]

59 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, July 2, 2019.
60 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2011."
61 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019."

Ministry of Culture Public Call	Available funds	Number of applications	Number of approved programs/ projects	Average financial value of a project
1992	EUR 2,086	2	2	EUR 1,043
1993	EUR 4,172	5	5	EUR 1,043
1994	EUR 9,447	5	5	EUR 1,889
1995	EUR 10,015	6	6	EUR 1,669
1996	EUR 9,706	14	14	EUR 693
1997	EUR 12,068	12	5	EUR 1,005
1998	EUR 36,650	42	29	EUR 1,263
1999	EUR 24,937	22	15	EUR 1,662
2000	EUR 42.505	36	27	EUR 1,863
2001	EUR 68.924	37	30	EUR 2,257
2002	EUR 84,622	41	37	EUR 2,063
2003	EUR 75,989	78	47	EUR 1,616
2004	EUR 82,445	82	41	EUR 2,113
2005	EUR 174,707	183	59	EUR 2,961
2006	EUR 193,110	144	60	EUR 3,218
2007	EUR 197,747	160	68	EUR 2,908
2008	EUR 202,691	138	81	EUR 2,502
2009	EUR 217,759	156	119	EUR 1,829
JSKD Public Call				
Etn 2010[62]	EUR 233,000[63]	276[64]	168	EUR 1.288
Etn 2011[65]	EUR 220,000[66]	270	197	EUR 1,065
Etn 2012	EUR 188,000	297	186	EUR 959
Etn 2013	EUR 175,000	309	212	EUR 794
Etn 2014	EUR 161,000	354	237	EUR 643
Etn 2015	EUR 157,600	312	220	EUR 660
Etn 2016	EUR 157,600	255	205	EUR 723
Etn 2017	EUR 160,000	258	220	EUR 716
Etn 2018	EUR 160,000	297	228	EUR 680
Etn 2019	EUR 160,000	269	223	EUR 695

Table 1: Basic statistic data for the calls for cultural activities of ethnic minority communities

62 All the data is taken from the records available at: https://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti, accessed July 3, 2019.

63 This was the first year JSKD issued the call for funding. The amount of funding takes into account the resources of the Public Call for the Selection of Cultural Projects in the Area of ethnic Minority Communities issued by the Ministry of Culture from the previous year (ca. EUR 217,000), and the previous PR Public Call issued by JSKD (ca. EUR 25,000). https://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_10/uvod_etn_10.htm, accessed July 3, 2019.

64 The difference between submitted applications and approved applications takes into account rejected applications.

65 Matej Maček, "Projektni poziv ETN-2011," *Letno poročilo JSKD*, [Ljubljana: JSKD], 2012, 2–3.

66 The amounts have been rounded.

The applicants' structure can be divided into three groups according to their provenance.[67] The first group consists of the members of ethnic minority communities from former Yugoslav republics. Among them approximately 40% of projects belong to the Serbian societies, followed by projects from Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, Albanian and Montenegrin ethnic communities. The second group consists of "other" ethnic minority communities, such as Arabian, African, German, Swedish, Russian and Ukrainian. These two groups of applicants need to be considered separately as they have different historical, cultural and other traditions in Slovenia. This can be seen also from the number of applicants and submissions. The third group consists of transcultural organisations; their activities and membership are not based on identity expression of individual ethnic minority communities. Their activities include voluntarism and topics concerning the issue of refugees and their integration into Slovenian society. By taking part in the call, these organisations aim to implement the cultural rights of the so called "immigrants", they represent individual migrants or migrant communities in Slovenia that have different legal status.

8. Etn Public Call areas and submitted content

The next part of the article aims to present the content of Etn Public Call and the key categories for the formation of project applications. The Etn Public Call allows the ethnic minority societies to submit their applications in the field of folklore, literature, theatre, music, dance, film and fine arts. In addition, it allows them to submit "activities" that include more than one areas of culture at one and the same time.[68]

There are three key call categories: performer carrying out the project content, the project content and the target audience. These categories could be as part of ethnic minority or not as the nature of cultural activities of minority ethnic societies usually intertwines both of them. In the end, the combination of these three categories (as illustrated in the examples of projects below) and to what extent the minority element is present in the individual category depend on the project concept itself.

The General Criteria of the call (Item 8[69]) defines the specifics of all three categories:

1. The applicant; its role is to carry out the "programmes that support the preservation of cultural identity[70] of ethnic minority communities and immigrants in conformity with the expressed cultural needs".[71] I should mention that the text of the call does not differ between the applicant and the performer (carrier) of the project content. The applicant can also be a performer, but not necessarily.

67 With reference to the Etn Public Call of 2018.

68 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019," JSKD, accessed May 22, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/razpis_etn_19.htm.

69 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019."

70 Up to 2016 the formulation included another word: "preservation of special cultural heritage". (E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2011.")

71 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019."

2. The public; the content must target "cultural creators, members of ethnic minority communities and immigrants".[72]
3. The content (in the text defined as "programme");[73] the content "must derive from the area of amateur cultural activities of creators that are members of ethnic minority communities or immigrants[74] and has to present "ethnic minority communities and immigrants", "supports preservation of [their] cultural identity [...] in conformity with the expressed cultural needs".[75]

It is impossible to determine what the satisfactory share of "minority" (i.e. content linked to the cultural creation of ethnic minority communities) is in the project application as it is "difficult to define it [...], there is no clear demarcation".[76] The evaluation commission needs to individually consider each project, but the fact is that the more minority elements a project includes, the more possibility it has for a positive evaluations.[77]

All three categories of an application must be linked to minority thematic, but they do not have the same gravitas within a project application. The structure of an application, if we try to illustrate it with all three categories, can therefore be quite varied.[78] The project applications that are the easiest to define contain clear definition of minority belonging in all three categories. This means that the applicant is also the performer organised in an association belonging to an ethnic minority community, it represents the cultural identity of this community and the target audience is a minority community. From this perspective, the project applications that are submitted by folklore societies are easy to evaluate (see Figure 1, p. 147).[79]

Call criteria also allow that the performer of the project content is not a member of an ethnic minority community (see Figure 2, p. 147).

There are also cases when the applicants do not belong to any ethnic minority community, but they are active within the framework of the contemporary migration issues and linked to their cultural creativity – these are often volunteer organisations (see Figure 3, p. 148).

72 Although the key for evaluation is that the content targets the minority public, the call points out one of the conditions, i.e. the integration criterion, according to which all project content that is financed by the public budget provided by JSKD must be available to the general public, the "broader environment". This is to meet the criterion of integration of "creativity of ethnic minority communities into the Slovenian cultural space". (E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019.") Although the call aims to foster integration of minority cultures into the majority cultural space, Alma Bejtullahu finds that "regular singing and dancing performances are not very well attended by the members of the relevant minority community and Slovenians rarely take part in these performances. (Alma Bejtullahu, "Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji: Nacionalna identiteta, eksotika, past stroke," *Traditiones* 45, no. 2 (2016): 174.

73 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019."

74 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019."

75 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019."

76 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, Ljubljana, July 2, 2019.

77 Ibid.

78 It is not the purpose of this article to deal with concrete cases of applicants and their project bids; all stated examples only illustrate individual content categories.

79 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, Ljubljana, July 2, 2019.

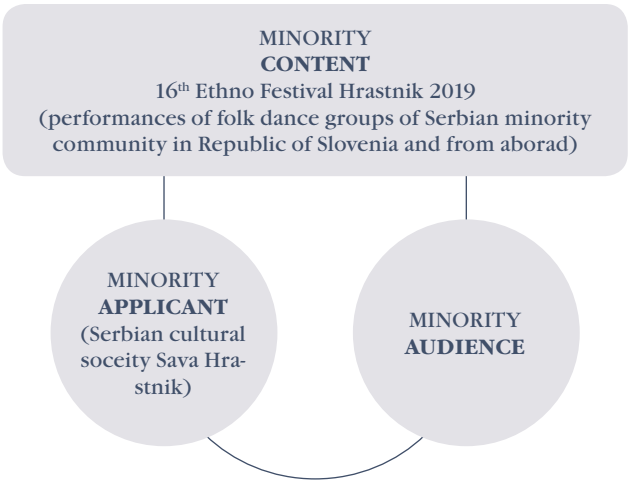

Figure 1: Project application for 16. Ethno Festival Hrastnik 2019[80]

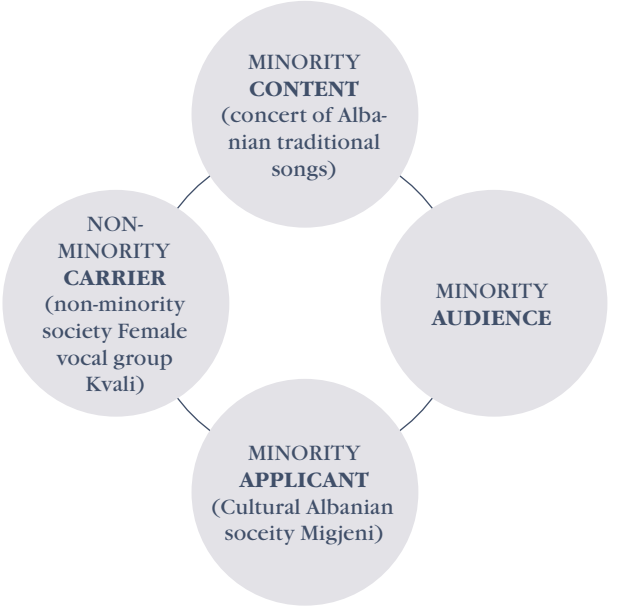

Figure 2: Project application for a concert of Albanian traditional songs[81]

80 "16. Etno festival Hrastnik 2019," KRC, accessed, July 29, 2019, https://krc-hrastnik.si/prireditve/5294/16_etno_festival_hrastnik_2019/.

81 "Rezultati, Sprejeti projekti," JSKD, accessed July 29, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/rezultati_etn_19.htm.

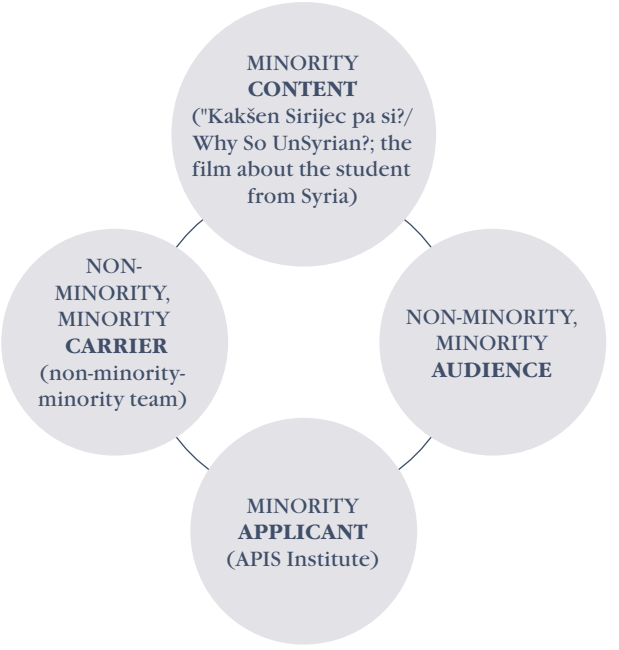

Figure 3: Project application for a film "Kakšen Sirijec pa si? / Why So UnSyrian?"[82]

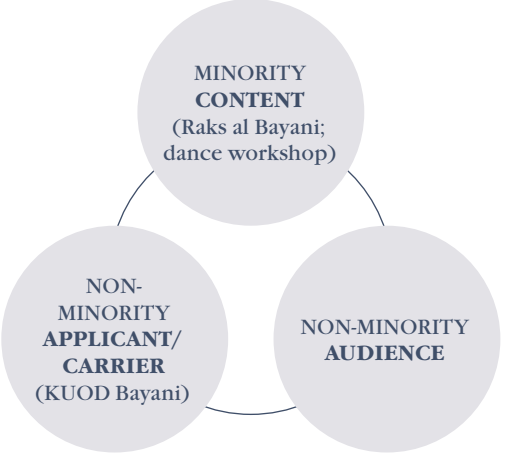

Figure 4: Project application for a dance workshop by Raks al Bayani[83]

82 Matej Maček, in discussion with the author, August 7, 2019; "Rezultati, Sprejeti projekti," JSKD, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/rezultati_etn_19.htm, accessed, August 7, 2019.

83 "Zavrnjeni projekti," JSKD, accessed, July 14, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_18/zavrnjeni_etn_18.htm

The criteria that requires the content to target the audience of ethnic minority community has its weight. A case of a rejected project application of Arab dance workshop is rather telling. The reasoning was that two categories (the carrier and the audience) did not belong into the minority context. Only the project content did,[84] but did not meet the other two criteria: preservation of cultural heritage of an ethnic minority community and presentation of content to that same community (see Figure 4, p. 148).

The call form itself does not determine which categories should include the minority elements. Looking into the approved and rejected project applications, we can find that the minority segment is fairly arbitrary in two categories: mostly in the category of applicant or carrier, and partly in the content category. The least forgiving is the category of audience: applications that have been most successful include the kind of programme that is intended for the "creators of culture, members of ethnic minority communities and immigrants".[85] It is therefore key that the projects include ethnic minority communities as recipients of the projects' activities.

Among the key categories, the project content is the most relative. The text of the call contains little criteria that would define content guidelines. Nor does it define in what way the project content should be linked to the relevant ethnic minority community. The call only defines the forms of projects, which should include an event, education or publishing.[86]

Formulations that are linked to the protection of special cultural rights and would help understand the contextual framework of minority projects are rare. For example, one of the strategies dictates preservation of "original ethnicity or special cultural identity",[87] which can "actively satisfy cultural needs through amateur activities in various cultural societies and groups that carry additional significance within the relevant ethnic communities because it is based on ethnic context and as such fosters preservation of special ethnic identity".[88] The text of the Etn Public Call includes formulations such as encouraging quality of cultural creativity, cultural development and cultural education, preservation of cultural identity and presentation of culture to broader public and integration into the majority's cultural space.[89] However, we cannot find specific definition that would determine cultural creativity "on ethnic basis".

The Etn Public Call is relatively open in the respect to the conceptualisation of the cultural identity of migrants and minorities, since it does not define them exclusively ethnically and enables applying project to the variety of areas and genres of expression. In this way JSKD as a national institution implements the aims of the protection of special cultural rights programme. JSKD takes into account the complexity of culture, the variety of identities and cultural expressions in society, while it successfully avoids

84 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, Ljubljana, July 2, 2019; Matej Maček, in discussion with the author, Ljubljana, July 7, 2018.

85 "Ustava Republike Slovenije," Pravno-informacijski system, 1991, accessed June 12, 2019, http://pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=USTA1.

86 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019," JSKD, accessed August 12, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/uvod_etn_19.htm.

87 Čurin Radovič, "Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti," 232.

88 Ibid., 236.

89 "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019," JSKD, accessed August 13, 2019, https://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_11/uvod_etnicne_skupnosti_11.htm.

limiting culture to its baseline.[90] When looking strictly at the diction of the call, the content of the submitted projects could include anything, if put within the framework of the relevant call area. However, the submitted applications – especially in areas of music and dance – show that a large share of groups and individuals represent their cultural creativity with practices that (re)create the traditional culture of their country of origin. Members of ethnic minority communities are to follow the standards "that are a far cry from the usual music and dance practices in their countries of origin. These practices then become the representative practices of (any) community or nation that they represent".[91] Although the Etn Public Call does not require the representation of the minority identity through heritage motifs and elements of ethnic belongings, in the submitted projects those elements are usually equalized with minority ethnic identity. Submitted project contents in areas of music and dance show accustomed feeling of own (ethnic) identities and understanding of the home country's traditions, although the frames of heritage-characterised identities are a cultural construct. While Etn Public Call remains ethnically neutral, the ethnic minority communities and their projects and activities create a map that is a dichotomy of identities and ethnically territorial constructs.[92]

9. Conclusion

Etn Public Call allows JSKD to realise goals defined by state on two levels: it distributes budgetary resources for the programme of protection of special cultural rights, more specifically rights that foster cultural creativity of ethnic minority communities on organisational level. By evaluating project applications and through expert evaluation of groups that actively appear at dance and music events organised by JSKD it supports "development of quality programmes in cultural education in the area of ethnic minority communities".[93] The criteria, as defined in the call, and through the use of different strategies enable JSKD to positively contribute to the development of artistic expression of ethnic minority communities in Slovenia. Etn Public Call, although not financially very strong, is one of the ways in which ethnic minority communities and other migrants can exercise their legal rights. In this way, ethnic minority communities and migrants come a step closer to the rights enjoyed by the constitutionally recognised Hungarian, Italian and Romany minorities. With this public call for funding the Slovenian state creates conditions for the implementation of the Slovenian constitutions' Article 61 about expressing the national belonging.

The analysis of the Etn Public Call texts and of the accompanying documents shows that strategically the call is fairly broad. However, while there are many submissions of

90 Anja Šter, "Konstrukcija identitete manjšin skozi njihovo reprezentacijo v osrednjih dnevnoinformativnih oddajah TV Slovenija" (BA thesis, University of Ljubljana), 35, accessed August 12, 2019, http://dk.fdv.uni-lj.si/diplomska/pdfs/Ster-Anja.pdf.

91 Alma Bejtullahu, "Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji: Nacionalna identiteta, eksotika, past stroke," *Traditiones* 45, no. 2 (2016).

92 Anja Šter, "Konstrukcija identitete manjšin skozi njihovo reprezentacijo v osrednjih dnevnoinformativnih oddajah TV Slovenija," 29, 36.

93 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019."

project applications, the financial value is limited. The funding provided by JSKD therefore represents only a share in the financial structure of a society's activities.[94] This means that JSKD has only limited expert impact on the societies' activities as these carry out numerous other events apart from those they submit to the Etn Public Call. In this way JSKD's development politics is only partially realised, while the minority societies are more or less integrated into the normative presentations of music and dance traditions of their home countries.

Based on the already defined principles and strategies, JSKD also forms and amends the evaluation criteria in addition to the call implementation. Consequently, JSKD introduces the mechanisms that help guide part of cultural activities of ethnic minority communities, the way they present themselves to the public and forms relationships between the ethnic minority communities and the majority. This article is a contribution to the overview of the actual and archival documentation linked to the Etn Public Call. Its purpose is to establish the basis for further research questions connected to the issues of call implementation and the reciprocal relationship between the call and cultural production of ethnic minority communities.

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POVZETEK

V prispevku predstavim zgodovino javnega projektnega razpisa za finančno in strokovno podporo kulturnih dejavnosti manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti v Sloveniji, njihovih ljubiteljskih društev in posameznikov. Nacionalni program, ki uresničuje varovanje posebnih kulturnih pravic manjšinskih etničnih skupnost in drugih priseljencev, sega v čas nekdanje Jugoslavije, predvsem pa dobiva nove strateške in zakonske okvirje po letu 1991, ko so se po osamosvojitvi Slovenije vzpostavili novi odnosi do manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti. Projektni razpis je bil prvotno v domeni Ministrstva za kulturo, kasneje, po letu 2009, pa v domeni Javnega sklada Republike Slovenije za kulturne dejavnosti. V prispevku analiziram razpisna besedila projektnega razpisa, spremljajočo arhivsko dokumentacijo in upoštevam podatke, pridobljene pri sogovornikih, povezanih z razpisom. V raziskavi so se razkrile tri kategorije, ki so ključne za projektno prijavo, in sicer izvajalec projektne vsebine, projektna vsebina in občinstvo. Vse kategorije morajo biti vezane na manjšinsko tematiko, vendar v projektni prijavi nimajo vse enake teže. Eden od rezultatov razkriva, da so omenjene tri kategorije realizirane na različne načine in imajo v projektni prijavi ter sami izvedbi projekta različne vloge. Če sta kategoriji prijavitelja (oz. nosilca) in projektne vsebine v razpisu arbitrarni, pa mora biti prejemnik projektne vsebine manjšinsko občinstvo. Kljub temu, da razpisno besedilo tega ne pogojuje, pa je v prijavljenih projektih manjšinskost pogosto enačena z »izvorno etničnostjo« še posebno v plesnih in glasbenih dejavnostih. V prispevku ugotavljam, na kakšne načine projektni razpis realizira nacionalni program implementiranja varovanja posebnih kulturnih pravic manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in kako so nacionalne strategije formulirane v dikciji razpisnega projekta.

UDK 78:314.7.045(=1:497.6)(497.4)
DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.155-170

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Making Music as Home-Making: Bosnian Refugee Music and Collaboration in Post-Yugoslav Slovenia*

Glasbeno ustvarjanje kot ustvarjanje doma: bosanska begunska glasba in sodelovanje v postjugoslovanski Sloveniji**

Prejeto: 10. april 2019
Sprejeto: 18. junij 2019

Ključne besede: ustvarjanje glasbe, ustvarjanje doma, begunci, glasbeno sodelovanje, Bosna in Hercegovina, postjugoslovanska Slovenija

Received: 10th April 2019
Accepted: 18th June 2019

Keywords: making music, home-making, refugees, musical cooperation, Bosnia-Herzegovina, post-Yugoslav Slovenia

* The authors acknowledge that the article is part of the project Music and Ethnic Minorities: (Trans)cultural Dynamics in Slovenia After the Year 1991 (J6-8261) and was financially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency.

** Avtorji želijo izpostaviti, da je članek del projekta Glasba in etnične manjšine: (trans)kulturne dinamike v Sloveniji po letu 1991 (J6-8261), ki ga je finančno podprla Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

IZVLEČEK

Članek raziskuje izbrane glasbene prakse bosanskih beguncev v postjugoslovanski Sloveniji sredi 1990. let z namenom izboljšanja razumevanja glasbe v prehodnih in negotovih okoliščinah. Zasleduje vpliv skupne jugoslovanske preteklosti na popularizacijo *sevdalinke* v Sloveniji ter prizadevanja begunskih in lokalnih glasbenikov pri ustvarjanju doma po razpadu Jugoslavije.

ABSTRACT

This article explores some of the musical practices of Bosnian refugees in post-Yugoslav Slovenia in the mid-1990s and aims to improve understandings of music in transit and in precarious times. In particular, the article traces the effects of common Yugoslav history on the popularisation of *Sevdalinka* in Slovenia and the efforts of refugee and local musicians to make a new home together after the breakup of Yugoslavia.

1. Introduction

Where migration and making music are concerned, anthropological, sociological, and ethnomusicological studies have mostly focused on artistic practices and musical expressions of recognised settled migrant and diasporic communities.[1] And while there is an established narrow field of scientific interest in refugee music-making in ethnomusicology and anthropology,[2] it has been persuasively argued that analysis of artistic practices in the context of temporary migrations as well as musical forms created in a dialogue between local agents and temporary migrants remains lacking.[3] Furthermore, the research on music-making in the context of migration adopts the supposition that cultural production of temporary migrants, i.e. those who expect to stay in one country for a limited period of time, is characterised by relatively limited interaction with the local milieu, which hinders the establishment of a market for their artistic creativity.[4]

Many aspects of the lives of refugees, who are the main concern of this article, are only temporary. Besides, their living conditions are often precarious, i.e. marked by various forms of insecurity (e.g. regarding income, residence, schooling etc.) and subjected to accelerated uncertainty concerning the future of their personal and communal lives. This precariousness renders their possibilities of implementing personal agency unstable; it also negatively impacts people's general futures when they have little say in how

1 Evrim Hikmet Öğüt, "Transit Migration: An Unnoticed Area in Ethnomusicology," *Urban People* 17, no. 2 (2015): 269; Tina K. Ramnarine, ed., *Musical Performance in the Diaspora* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007); Florian Scheding and Erik Levi, eds., *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2010); Thomas Turino, "Introduction: Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities," in *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities*, eds. Thomas Turino and James Lea (Warren, Mich: Harmonic Park Press, 2004).

2 John Baily, "Music and Refugee Lives: Afghans in Eastern Iran and California," *Forced Migration* December (1999): 1013; Keila Diehl, *Echoes from Dharamsala: Music in the Life of a Tibetan Refugee Community* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002); Barbara Franz, "Immigrant Youth, Hip Hop and Feminist Pedagogy: Outlines of an Alternative Integration Policy in Vienna, Austria," *International Studies Perspectives* 13, no. 3 (2012): 270–88; Dimitrije Golemović, "Tradicionalna narodna pesma kao simbol novog kulturnog identiteta. (Na primeru prakse jugoslovenskih ratnih izbeglica)," *Novi zvuk – internacionalni časopis za muziku* 19 (2002): 57–65; Adelaida Reyes, *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free: Music and the Vietnamese Refugee* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999); Öğüt, "Transit Migration," 269–282; Albinca Pesek, "Music as a Tool to Help Refugee Children and Their Mothers: The Slovenian Case," in *War, Exile, Everyday Life: Cultural Perspectives,* eds. Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Maja Povrzanović (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1996); Svanibor Pettan, "Making the Refugee Experience Different: 'Azra' and the Bosnians in Norway," in *War, Exile, Everyday Life: Cultural Perspectives,* eds. Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Maja Povrzanović (Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 1996).

3 Öğüt, "Transit Migration," 269–282.

4 Ibid.

their situation may change either locally or internationally, though this considerably impacts their prospects both in the present and future. This article aims to explore the refugees' music-making in these precarious circumstances in order to challenge certain assumptions concerning the limited scope of the connection between the refugees' music production and the local audiences and performers.

It must, however, be noted that this case study deals with the specific case of Bosnian refugee musicians in Slovenia in the mid-1990s. Their exile is particular insofar as refugees from a former Yugoslav republic, Bosnia-Herzegovina (B-H) settled in another former Yugoslav republic, Slovenia. Before the tragic breakup of Yugoslavia, Bosnian refugees and their Slovenian "hosts" shared Yugoslav citizenship and the ideology of "brotherhood and unity". In many ways the two factors succeeded in bringing a diverse population closer together. The local, regional and national (musical) traditions of these populations were often very dissimilar. But to our discussion it is even more relevant, that a degree of shared taste for popular music was established in the Yugoslav space, one which cultural activists and musicians actively preserved (and created anew) after the Yugoslav breakup to form a common musical universe.

Our ethnographic examination focuses on this specific post-Yugoslav context of music-making in exile, particularly on the relationship between Bosnian refugee musicians in the bands Vali, Dertum and Nešto između and their collaborators in Slovenia, who – as we will illustrate – were also dealing with their own specific type of precariousness and transit. It also appears that they shared a positive sense of Yugoslavia's cultural un-uniformity, which turned out to be an important factor shaping their cooperation and the development of post-Yugoslav shared space. Their cooperation affected a popularisation of Bosnian refugee bands and the musical genre of *Sevdalinka* in the independent Slovenia. Based on interviews with performers, supporters and fans,[5] this article examines the conditions, which resulted in a stronger than usual cooperation between refugees and locals.

Following a short introduction of the refugee bands, we will outline the wider socio-economic contexts of their emergence highlighting the invaluable contributions of certain local organisations and individuals (mostly activist, but also social workers), who encouraged the refugees' activities and proved vital in generating the acknowledgment of their cultural production.[6] Being that we addressed the supportive organisational background and local collaborators of the other two bands, Dertum and Nešto između, elsewhere,[7] we will turn our focus on the collaboration between Vali and Slovenian artist,

5 The research on which this article is based has been detailed elsewhere (see Miha Kozorog and Alenka Bartulović, "The Sevdalinka in Exile, Revisited: Young Bosnian Refugees' Music-making in Ljubljana in 1990s (A Note on Applied Ethnomusicology)," *Narodna umjetnost* 52, no. 1 (2015): 121–142; Alenka Bartulović and Miha Kozorog, "Gender and Music-making in Exile: Female Bosnian Refugee Musicians in Slovenia," *Dve domovini: razprave o izseljenstvu* no 46 (2017): 39–55). In brief, data collection primarily comprised interviews with musicians, singers, audience and supporters of the bands, supplemented with the research using secondary sources and personal memories of both authors, who were in different ways involved in and/or affected by the Bosnian music-making in the 1990s. The core part of the research we carried out between 2014 and 2016 and additionally in 2018/2019.

6 Kozorog and Bartulović, "The Sevdalinka in Exile," 121–142.

7 Miha Kozorog, "Doubly Excluded, Doubly Included, 'Something in-between': A Bosnian Refugee Band and Alternative Youth Culture in Slovenia," in *Sounds of Attraction: Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav Popular Music,* eds. Miha Kozorog and Rajko Muršič (Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2017), 73–97.

Vlado Kreslin, which considerably contributed to the popularisation of *Sevdalinka* in Slovenia, paying particular attention to Kreslin's motives and impetus for his decision to collaborate. In conclusion, we will argue that musical dialogues between Bosnian and Slovenian musicians were not solely the result of humanitarian aid and solidarity in times of crisis, but that they were also a part of a dynamic process of making a home in precarious circumstances as well as a result of shared feelings and needs for emplacement after the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

2. In pursuit of a new home: Vali, Dertum and Nešto između

Even though their statuses on the Slovene music scene in the mid-1990s were quite different, the bands Dertum and Vali shared a few key features; both played songs from the repertoire of Bosnian *Sevdalinkas* and were involved with established cultural organisations in Ljubljana. Vali began their musical career under the patronage of the refugee project *Cultural Weekend for Children from Bosnia and Herzegovina*, which took place at the Vodnik Manor House [Vodnikova domačija] cultural centre in Ljubljana. Dertum, having formed spontaneously in the room 135 C of a refugee centre in Ljubljana, relied on the logistics of the KUD France Prešeren youth cultural centre, initially as a part of its *Exiles* project, a programme for empowering refugees. Though both bands were included in cultural institutions in Slovenia, there was a key difference between them; the *Cultural Weekend* project was organised by the refugees themselves (helped substantially by Majda Lenič, the director of the cultural centre, and by humanitarian organisations financially supporting their activities) whereas the *Exiles* project was initiated and managed by the youth cultural centre. The two cultural centres were also themselves substantially different from each other; the Vodnik Manor House focused on "high culture", predominantly literature, while KUD France Prešeren was oriented towards the production of "alternative culture". In 1990s Slovenia, this distinction between "underground/alternative" and "mainstream/high" was an important factor in the shaping of young people's cultural identities and it had a profound influence on the two bands' music and careers. Dertum, adapting traditional music in the genres of rock and jazz, gradually attained cult status on the Slovenian "underground" scene, while Vali, adapting traditional music for dynamic choir singing, performed at "mainstream" cultural venues and, in one important chapter of its career, worked with one of Slovenia's most popular pop-rock musicians, Vlado Kreslin.

Both Dertum and Vali performed traditional songs from various Yugoslav regions with particular emphasis on *Sevdalinkas*, songs popular in B-H.[8] The latter in many ways came to represent (young) Bosnian refugee musicians in Slovenia. In contrast, Nešto između opted for the punk rock genre. This band was not based in Ljubljana, but was formed at a refugee centre housed in former army barracks at the edge of the town of Ilirska Bistrica. It remained largely unknown in Ljubljana (and wider Slovenia), yet it grew renowned on the local alternative scene. Not only did the band

8 For detailed description of the bands see also Kozorog and Bartulović, "The Sevdalinka in Exile," 121–142; Kozorog, "Doubly Excluded," 73–97.

write original songs, thus inevitably distancing itself from the *Sevdalinka* tradition, at one performance the singer even ironically commented on Dertum's popularity on the Slovene underground scene,[9] thus problematizing the ethnicisation of refugees' musical activities. Most Nešto između band members shared their refugee experience with other Bosnians in exile,[10] particularly those at refugee centres. This was clearly reflected in their songs about living conditions at the refugee centre in Ilirska Bistrica, where some of them lived. Their lyrics portray the life of refugee youth as marked with waiting, anxiety, lack of intimacy, and pervasive boredom.[11] One particularly bleak song, entitled Peggy's Farm, paints the refugee centre as a farm and refugees as livestock.[12] In sum, band members struggled with passing their days, months, and years, stuck in place with limited possibilities to effect a change. However, like Dertum, the members of Nešto između managed to find a place in an alternative cultural milieu, namely, at the MKNŽ youth cultural centre in Ilirska Bistrica.

The refugee musicians of the three bands called for a safe space or a "cool ground."[13] By building connections with cultural venues and organisations in Slovenia, they all succeeded in making "new homes" for themselves in Slovenia, thereby transcending the confines of refugee centres as well as escaping isolation and boredom in everyday life. When referring to home, anthropologists speak in terms of a de-essentialised notion of home, unburdened by the territorialised as well as oppressive ideologies of home as tied to nationalism and the sedentary point of view.[14] Home is not necessary a place, it is, as Ghassan Hage frames it,[15] a social realm of security, familiarity, community that guarantees the "sense of possibility", which is bound with the opportunities for change and dreaming. Our interlocutors' often nostalgic recollection of their refugee years confirm that; in spite of Slovenian official exclusivist migratory policies and the absence of real stability during the refugee years, they managed to generate a sense of belonging to Slovenian society, mostly in relation to cultural venues, and youth and other cultural scenes. By performing music, they were involved in co-creating spaces of relative security, which enabled them to undertake projects aimed at forging a new, possibly better future.[16]

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9 Kozorog, "Doubly Excluded," 79.

10 We are conscious of the fact that Bosnian refugees encountered very varied living conditions in Slovenia. It is however obvious that they shared some common aspects of their individual living conditions, e.g. the possibility for children and the youth to enrol in school programmes, the possibility of working etc., which affected the everyday life of many refugees.

11 See Bartulović and Kozorog, "Gender and Music-making," 39–55.

12 Kozorog, "Doubly Excluded," 81.

13 Cool ground denotes primary concern of the displaced people in Northeast Africa, studied by David Turton, but it is a useful conceptual tool for explaining a globally shared need of the refugees to find a secure place in order to work towards a better future. David Turton, "Migrants and Refugees: a Mursi Case Study," in *In Search of the Cool Ground: War, Fight and Homecoming in Northeast Africa*, ed. Tim Allen (Oxford: James Currey, 1996), 1–22.

14 Stef Jansen and Staffan Löfving, "Introduction: Towards an Anthropology of Violence, Hope and the Movement of People," in *Struggles for Home: Violence, Hope and the Movement of People*, ed. Stef Jansen and Staffan Löfving (New York, Oxford: Berghahn 2009), 1–23.

15 Ghassan Hage, "At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, 'Ethnic Food', and Migrant Home-building," in *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, eds. Helen Grace, Ghassan Hage, Leslie Johnson, Julie Langsworth, and Michael Symonds (Annandale: Pluto Press, 1997), 99–153.

16 See Stef Jansen, "Troubled Locations: Return, the Life Course and Transformations of Home in Bosnia-Herzegovina," in *Struggles for Home: Violence, Hope and the Movement of People*, eds. Stef Jansen and Staffan Löfving (New York, Oxford: Berghahn 2009), 43–64; Turton, "Migrants and Refugees," 1–22.

The following vignettes illustrate two young musicians' everyday life in exile and so elucidate their need and search for alternative home environments. Farah Tahirbegović was a singer in Vali (before founding Dertum), then a singer and founder of Dertum, and a mentor at a literary workshop for Bosnian refugee children at the Vodnik Manor House. In her memoires, she indicates that her music-making and other artistic activities were kindled by the monotony and precariousness of her everyday life in exile. Namely, in 1993 – two years before the formation of Dertum – Farah published a book of short stories, entitled *Pismo roditeljima* [*A Letter to My Parents*] as part of the collection of works titled Exile ABC, initiated by few Bosnian writers and their Slovenian colleagues in Ljubljana. With its small format and soft covers, this collection was designed for "people on the move." As the editors put it, their aim was to re-connect Bosnian refugees with Bosnian literature and their home country, since most of them were forced to leave their personal libraries behind in war-torn B-H. The collection also published selected writings of the most talented young writers, with Farah considered as part of the "promising youth" of Bosnian literature. Her book is a recollection of memories of her childhood and her last days in B-H as well as a diary reflecting war, exile, and a yearning for normal life. Part of her writing leaves an impression of prevalent repetitive activities and social alienation of a young refugee, focused on passing an overabundance of time while simultaneously seeking to create a "home" in the sense of security, familiarity, and community.

> *Ljubljana, the 3rd of December '93*
> *Another Friday in Ljubljana. [...] I stumble through the snow [...]. I walk up and down Čopova street, I stare at window displays, count shoes from the left side and the right side of the showroom. [...] I go down to the Three Bridges and turn towards the Old Town. The cafés are full. [...] Automatically, panicked, with insanely obstinacy I look for, have been for a year, a familiar face. I want so bad to greet someone on the street. I'm purposefully disregarding that it's 2.30 PM on a Friday. Everyone is rushing home, family lunch, white tablecloth, tableware, and hot soup. [...] I completed the circle along Ljubljanica, I'm back at the Three Bridges. [...] [Then suddenly] someone caught me by the hand. [...] My Maja [the piano teacher at Vodnik Manor House, also a refugee]. [...] My warm haven on the cold Ljubljana streets. [...] "Come on little girl, to the Vodnik Manor House, you have time."*[17]

Venues, like the Vodnik Manor House, open to refugees and their cultural activities, gave them hope and a "sense of possibility," which was crucial in their struggle to make a home.[18] The song by Nešto između, titled Ulice Ilirske Bistrice [The Streets of Ilirska Bistrica] communicates similar feelings framing a young refugee's everyday isolation and a sudden ensuing change of mood and gratitude following acceptance at a local cultural venue and from the acknowledgment of unity with the people there. The song is about a young refugee's walk through the streets of Ilirska Bistrica: "[The locals] pass me by, no one notices me, on the streets I leave no trace." However, at night the town becomes a warmer place, because of the venue – MKNŽ. The song describes the punks

17 Farah Tahirbegović, *Pismo roditeljima* (Ljubljana: Vodnikova domačija, 1993), 30–32.
18 Hage, "At Home in the Entrails of the West," 99–153.

from the refugee centre joining the walking community (the lyrics dubbing them "eternal walkers", because they would visit the venue regularly) and crossing the town to be part of the MKNŽ community. In interviews, the band members recalling their stay in this town said that they had more in common with people involved with the cultural activities in MKNŽ than with other refugees; this was due to inter-generational conflicts and life-styles miss-understandings at the refugee centre.[19] The said youth centre thereby functions as their true "new home", because they found it outside the refugee centre and the streets of Ilirska Bistrica.

Therefore, for some young refugees musical and artistic creativity were crucial in the process of home-making. However, this is not specific to them. As Stef Jansen and Staffan Löfving note, "moving people and non-moving people" may share many predicaments.[20] In this regard, it seems that forming musical dialogues with refugees also worked as a process of making a home for some Slovenes. With the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the country in which they were born and raised and which was rapidly vanishing before their eyes, they were also faced with feeling of loss and uncertainty. They, in a very broad sense like the refugees, were stuck in the precarious condition between a secure past and an uncertain and unpredictable future. Hence, though refugee musicians and their Slovenian counterparts and audiences had very different experiences of exile, home, Slovenia, the broader world etc., they nevertheless had certain feelings in common. We may therefore consider feelings of anxiety and entrapment in the state of "in-betweenness" as common to a wider scope of the population (not only to young Bosnian refugees) in post-Yugoslav space-time. We may also consider that some of them expressed these feelings through shared musical events and activities.

3. In pursuit of an (imagined) continuity

Many authors writing on the humanitarian aid for Bosnian refugees emphasised the importance of cultural activities organised for children and youth, sometimes by the refugees themselves.[21] While some organisations included young refugees in their cultural production because of solidarity, some activists in these organisations interspersed the general necessity for helping others with other motives. A motive, significant especially on the alternative youth scene was an "oppositional stance towards conformism in society",[22] particularly nationalism, which flourished in Slovenia after Yugoslavia broke apart. Many also actively fought against exclusivist policies of the newly formed independent state striving for a re-invention of Slovenian national identity, which was framed in terms of "exiting 'the Balkans' and entering 'Europe.'" As Sabina Mihelj argues, the "Europeaness

19 Kozorog, "Doubly Excluded," 83; see also Bartulović and Kozorog, "Gender and Music-making," 39–55.

20 Jansen and Löfving, "Introduction: Towards an Anthropology of Violence, Hope and the Movement of People," 13.

21 Vesna Andree Zaimović, "Bosnian Traditional Urban Song 'On the Sunny Side of the Alps': From the Expression of Nostalgia to a New Ethnic Music in Slovene Culture," in *Music and Minorities*, eds. Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes and Maša Komavec (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2001), 111–120; Hazemina Đonlić and Vesna Črnivec, *Deset let samote: Izkušnje bosansko-hercegovskih begunk in beguncev v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: Kulturni vikend, 2003); Natalija Vrečer, *Integracija kot človekova pravica: Prisilni priseljenci iz Bosne in Hercegovine v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, Andragoški center Slovenije, 2007); Kozorog, "Doubly Excluded," 73–97.

22 Kozorog, "Doubly Excluded," 85.

of Slovenia was literally negotiated through Bosnian refugees: if Slovenia was to prove its Europeaness, Bosnians had to be kept out of sight and remain complete strangers."[23] Nonetheless, many Slovenians found it hard to forget Yugoslavia and treat Bosnians as strangers, and some activists on the alternative scene expressed this stance openly.[24]

Let us consider this defiance of the call for erasing Yugoslav legacy through the lens of the case of collaboration between Vali and Vlado Kreslin. This case clearly illustrates the urge of some people to engage in the making of a common future for post-Yugoslav space. Vali's leader Vesna Andree Zaimović, herself a refugee, who directed the band towards performing *Sevdalinkas*,[25] studied ethnomusicology. In her ethnomusicological exploration of the role of *Sevdalinka* on the "sunny side of the Alps" in the mid-1990s, she argued that during the war in B-H many so-called "cultural immigrants" found a temporary home in Slovenia, choosing it also because of its geographical position. "Slovenia was perceived as peaceful and economically stable yet located close enough to home to make contact relatively easy."[26] It may have been even more crucial that most of those who came to Slovenia already had relatives, friends, colleagues, business partners etc. there, which eased the building of solidarity networks.[27] These connections enabled those whom Andree Zaimović calls "cultural immigrants", i.e. people with higher education, often intellectuals, teachers, and artists, to find supporters in Slovenia and start launching educational and cultural projects for young refugees. This is how the *Cultural Weekend for Children from Bosnia and Herzegovina* started, as did Vali within its auspices.

Such projects functioned with financial support. In Slovenia, the Open Society Institute was one of the leading supporters of activities of/for Bosnian refugees, including the *Cultural Weekend*. Another organisation, Društvo za prostovoljno delo Most [Association for voluntary work Bridge], which was part of the Slovenian branch of the Service Civil International, founded in 1991, also played an important part in providing financial support. In 1993, the latter started recruiting volunteers to work with the Bosnian refugees through organising excursions and musical activities for children and youth.[28] In this context, the leader of this organisation Eva Strmljan Kreslin initiated the first meeting between her husband Vlado Kreslin and Vali. However, as she later recalls, the original initiator of the idea (or wish) to collaborate with Kreslin was Vesna Andree Zaimović. Kreslin visited one of the band's regular Saturday rehearsals and decided to collaborate with the band.

Vlado Kreslin claims that he had previously engaged in humanitarian work and had frequently performed at fund-raising events. However, his decision to collaborate with Vali was (also) rooted elsewhere. In our interview, conducted in 2016, he began his account of his motivation concerning collaboration with Vali back in the 1970s, before most of Vali's members were even born.

23 Sabina Mihelj, "Negotiating European Identity at the Periphery: 'Slovenian nation', 'Bosnian refugees' and 'Illegal Migration,'" in *Media Cultures in a Changing Europe,* eds. Ib Bondebjerg and Peter Golding (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2003), 172.

24 Kozorog, "Doubly Excluded."

25 Kozorog and Bartulović, "The Sevdalinka in Exile."

26 Andree Zaimović, "Bosnian Traditional," 112.

27 Ibid.

28 Đonlić and Črnivec, Deset let samote, 46–47.

I was lucky because I served in the Yugoslav army in Banja Luka [in B-H]... While I was there, I went to the army band's audition. They were all old soldiers. They saw through me right away... And started playing the songs I should supposedly sing along [...] They said, "common' Slovenian, sing..." and played Šaban Šaulić [a Serbian folk singer]. But I didn't have a clue. I didn't know any of the songs they were playing back then. We were just standing there and I don't know what they were thinking, but it was obvious that I would not be accepted to the band. There were Croats, Serbs, Bosnians... so a Slovenian as a singer? No way. Well, OK, this hall was 50 meters long and I started making my way towards the exit and then... That was, I think, the first and the last time I actually did something good for myself. I turned around, went back and said: "Could you give me a guitar?" I took it and played the two greatest hits of that summer. One was Darling, I Love You More than Ever [singing]... and another one, I don't remember. Maybe Love Hurts or something. And they liked it. They said: "We will call you!" They called me for an event on the 22nd of November. They said: "Singer, come here. Do you know that foreign music was never performed at this venue? Why do you sing these American songs?" But in the end they allowed us to play Tom Jones, later even The Doors. But the band thus needed two singers, I sang these songs, one Montenegrin guy sang sevdah [Sevdalinkas]. Oh my god! And some Serbian songs and similar things... And he was often accompanied by this accordion player. He was an absolute genius [...] Once he said to me: "I have never heard the songs you are singing, but I like it." And I replied: "I have never heard yours, but I liked them too." [Laughing.] This is when I got hooked on sevdah and the sound of accordion [...] It wowed me instantly and I was sold.[29]

The story of Kreslin's first encounter with *Sevdalinka* highlights that musical worlds of former Yugoslavians, coming from different republics, regions and social backgrounds, were – especially where traditional music is concerned – quite diverse and that Slovenians perceived Bosnian *Sevdalinkas* as odd. We have elsewhere highlighted that many Slovenians regarded *Sevdalinkas* not merely as belonging to a different culture, but to the culture of semi-rural Others,[30] who came to Slovenia as economic migrants during the Yugoslav successful years. Therefore, in many ways *Sevdalinka* was regarded as music of migrants who, as one of our interlocutors put it, worked "on scaffolding". The genre was described more as "whimpering" than anything else, and it is therefore not surprising that *Sevdalinka* in Slovenia mostly resided in secluded and encapsulated diasporic communities, far from the general public.

Unlike the diasporic Bosnian community in Yugoslav Slovenia, the musical activity of Bosnian refugees was much more "outward-directed".[31] If nothing else, this may have been due to their youth. Yet, aside from wanting to present their music to wider audiences and be part of the musical and cultural scene in Slovenia, there was also a

29 Vlado Kreslin, in discussion with the authur, 2016.

30 Alenka Bartulović, "From Brothers to Others? Changing Images of Bosnian Muslims in (post-)Yugoslav Slovenia," in *Central Europe and Bosnian Muslims: Relations and Representations,* ed. František Šistek (forthcoming).

31 Su de San Zheng, "Music and Migration: Chinese American Traditional Music in New York City," *The World of Music* 32 No. 3 (1990): 48–67.

wider receptiveness towards their cultural production in the post-Yugoslav Slovenia in comparison to Yugoslav Slovenia. As already mentioned, underground culture and youth activists, but also other cultural venues/organisations, openly supported refugees' rights and Bosnian cultural production, which strongly contributed to removing the stigma from the *Sevdalinka* and elevate its previously low-status in Slovenia. However Kreslin was also an important agent in this process of popularization of *Sevdalinka* in post-Yugoslav Slovenia. As a musician, observing the distinctions between traditional genres in Yugoslavia since the 1970s,[32] he adopted certain *Sevdalinkas* into his own musical universe as the sounds of his wider Yugoslav home. This was an important factor in his agreeing to collaborate with Vali. Rather than some abstract notions of humanitarianism, it was the music itself that swayed him to spend his free weekends to rehearse with Vali, because it stimulated fond memories of his time in the Yugoslav army. In the interview, he remembered walking to the Vodnik Manor House for the first time, already partly convinced that he would help the band in some way at least, because he liked the enthusiasm of young people. Yet, when he realised that "it was *that* music," the music that enchanted him long ago, he accepted the invitation to work with the band.

This collaboration resulted in a CD, which includes three *Sevdalinkas* performed and recorded by Vlado Kreslin and Vali. They first promoted it on 19 March 1997 at Mladinsko gledališče [Mladinsko Theatre] in Ljubljana. As Kreslin recalls, many people, who did not know *Sevdalinka* before, were surprised by the power of this music, and the album became an instant hit. The news about Kreslin's new project travelled fast: he remembers that a few people, who missed the launch, contacted him the next day eager to purchase the CD and even offered "crazy sums of money for three songs."[33] In a way, this was a typical story about an established musician lending visibility to marginal music and musicians. A part of the musical audience in Slovenia, quite obviously Kreslin's fans, were enchanted by this, once disreputable (or simply unknown), type of music. A review of Kreslin's huge summer concert at the Križanke cultural venue in 1996, for example, touted the performance of the three *Sevdalinkas* as "perhaps the most beautiful part of the concert."[34] Vesna Andree Zaimović writes that one of the songs was number two on the Slovenian national radio's charts, which, according to her, clearly "shows how much the involvement of this [Bosnian] national icon contributed to breaking down the prejudice towards the culture of B-H."[35]

Aside from the huge benefit of Kreslin's popularity, the process of the popularisation of *Sevdalinka* also benefited from a genuine interest in Yugoslav legacy on the part of the general public. It seems that in many ways such songs advanced a re-connection to the abruptly lost Yugoslav multicultural space. The political promotion of cultural purity was often unproductive, pushing many to turn even more to ex-Yugoslav

32 Their profession makes musicians and composers more open to learning about traditional musical genres than the general public. For example, trumpet player Peter Ugrin also performed the Bosnian song Emina and published it on his record *Samo muzika* in 1979.

33 The CD was not for sale, since it was published as part of the pan-European humanitarian campaign All Different – All Equal. Partially, it was also financed by the Slovene Government Office for the Youth [Urad za mladino].

34 Blaž Kutin, "Bila je res edna luštna noč," *Dnevnik*, August 26, 1996.

35 Andree Zaimović, "Bosnian Traditional," 116.

cultural production. The music of the refugees that re-invented the traditional genre served as an excellent opportunity for this. Kreslin remembers that he encountered rare criticisms for his involvement with Bosnian refugees during the time of Slovenian independence. For instance, at one of these rare instances the most renowned Slovenian far-right national politician gave him a "friendly" warning that he might lose his Slovenian fans, if he continued to perform non-Slovenian music. Kreslin replied that he was always a risk-taker.

> *When we came to the Gorenjska region, people were shocked: "What kind of instrument is that?", if I exaggerate a bit. I was always interested in doing something new... I did not want to do only what they [audience] expected from me. Besides, these [Sevdalinka] songs... they are so deep... I mean, I adored singing them... I was crying most of the time. And then, also, I looked at the children [young singers, members of Vali], who were there.*

In sum, Kreslin's performing with Vali was a humanitarian undertaking, i.e. he felt the need to do something for young refugees in Slovenia, yet it was largely motivated by his personal musical taste and enjoyment of the *Sevdalinka*. By singing *Sevdalinkas*, he brought his personal sense of Yugoslavia back to life. *Sevdalinka* was part of his musical passion, which is evident also from his further collaborations with Damir Imamović and Davorin Popović, both performers of the genre. Moreover, after the breakup of Yugoslavia, he kept many friendships across Yugoslav space alive through music. In this way, he was nurturing continuity of his (former) Yugoslav home. Like some youth activists in the 1990s, who engaged themselves as supporters of the refugees' cultural production,[36] Kreslin was not prepared to shrink the realm of what he once called home. Through cooperation with Vali, he in fact fought the erasure of his own personal memories, prospects and imaginings of the future after the Yugoslav dissolution. As the analysis of this case reveals, in order to understand musical cooperation in exile, we must go beyond simplified ideas of humanitarianism and scrutinize the role of individuals and their personal motivations for making music with (and not for) refugees. The case also demonstrates that in precarious times some refugee musicians and local musicians in Slovenia, like Vesna Andree Zaimović and Vlado Kreslin, shared an interest in the specific cultural form of *Sevdalinka*, which provided common ground for collaborative music-making, which in turn enabled them to imagine continuity between the past and the future.

4. In pursuit of discussion

In his comparative study of Afghan music in two different refugee settlements, namely Pakistan and California, John Baily exposes a number of variables that affect music cultures in migration situations. In particular, he highlights the importance of "geographical

36 Kozorog, "Doubly Excluded."

distance between countries of origin and settlement; cultural similarity in terms of language, religion and other attributes; and prospect for the future in terms of security, employment and eventual integration in the host society."[37] In our case one of these variables, geographical and cultural distance, is an ambiguous factor, because refugees migrated to the country with which they until very recently shared the same state, but which was nevertheless culturally different. Yet, as the state was breaking apart, the prospect for the future was not only precarious for the refugees (although especially for them), but also for other people in the transforming Yugoslav space.

Our goal was to study particularities of three different bands, all formed by refugee musicians and all working with local musicians and cultural and youth activists in Slovenia. We traced their common aspirations for rebuilding their home as a social realm of security, familiarity and community that guarantees the "sense of possibility"[38] in the new, post-Yugoslav reality. As Bosnian and Slovenian musicians collaboratively co-created this "new home", they built on what they shared, which was the memory and sense of Yugoslavia. This was the precondition for the (un-expected) popularisation of Bosnian *Sevdalinka* in 1990s Slovenia.

In comparing the musical production of the Bosnian diaspora, formed during the Yugoslav era, with that of the Bosnian refugees that came to Slovenia because of the war in B-H, we were able to observe an interesting difference in and transformation of local attitudes towards this genre of Bosnian traditional music.[39] In Yugoslav Slovenia, the imaginary of Bosnians had a significant impact on their music-making. In Yugoslav Slovenia Bosnian voluntary economic migrants were predominantly perceived as uneducated manual workers and un-modernised semi-rural Others. As such, they were subjects to many, often well-hidden discriminatory practices.[40] Thus, it is not surprising that their music was "inward-directed" [41] and intended solely for the members of the Bosnian community. Furthermore, they already lived in their own homeland – Yugoslavia – and did not feel the need to form a continuous cultural dialogue with the local, majority culture. On the other hand, and ironically, in the 1990s, despite the rise of Slovenian nationalism and nationalistic politics, Bosnian refugees' cultural production suffered less discrimination. Their refugee status and bloody war in B-H obliged many to solidarity, including the newly independent Slovenian state, whose humanitarian policy in certain ways reflected the focus of Slovenia to meet the criteria for membership in the European Union. However, this article points at Slovenians whose experience of living in the multicultural Yugoslav state engendered genuine feelings of solidarity, but also concerns for the future of the post-Yugoslav space. To these Slovenians, the refugees' *Sevdalinka* provided a sense of continuity of a country that was already gone, whose (multi-)cultural traces and achievements they could not simply forget and leave to the past. For many, *Sevdalinka* was indeed

37 John Baily, "So Near, So Far: Kabul's Music in Exile," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 14, no. 2 (2005): 213.

38 Hage, "At Home in the Entrails of the West," 99–153.

39 See also Zheng, "Music and migration," 48–67.

40 See for example Bartulović, "From Brothers to Others,"; Špela Kalčič, "Changing Contexts and Redefinitions of Identity among Bosniaks in Slovenia," *Balkanologie IX*, no. 1-2 (2005): 149–171; Silva Mežnarić, *Bosanci: a kuda idu Slovenci nedeljom?* (Ljubljana: Krt, 1986).

41 Zheng, "Music and migration."

something new, but it symbolized something very positive, namely, the old country's cultural diversity. As one of the commentators noted, *Sevdalinka* was "strange and new to us, but only at the first glance". In these circumstances, refugees were encouraged to share their music with the wider local audience.

Moreover, in Slovenia, under these circumstances, i.e. in the precarious transition of the post-Yugoslav space, traditional music of Yugoslavia engendered aspirations for continuation of Yugoslavian cultural space into the future. In this respect, the refugees' collaboration with local musicians and activists in Slovenia in the music-making activities worked as a process of home-making, because they were both faced with new and unstable circumstances, which they did not want to accept passively. As a result they both strove for a different sense of community together.[42] As sociable youth, the members of the three bands were not merely seeking the safety of shelter, but a social atmosphere, which would allow them to form creative imaginings of new possibilities. This search for possibilities, as well as need to re-build a safe space in the new circumstances of the Yugoslav fall, was shared by young refugee musicians and their Slovenian counterparts.

This attitude was revealed in the case of cooperation between Vali and Vlado Kreslin. A crucial part of Kreslin's motivation to collaborate with the group lied in his experiences of Yugoslavia and its musical cultures. Interestingly, *Sevdalinka* evoked much stronger memories in Kreslin than in the members of Vali, since many of these young refugees were only introduced to the genre in exile.[43] However, both viewed *Sevdalinka* as a means of remaking their home during the post-Yugoslav transition.

Some authors have argued that uncertainty "discourages migrants from creating permanent relationships" with local communities and "developing expectations from the circumstances that surround them."[44] Our case study demonstrates the opposite, namely, that an absence of stability gave rise to the possibility for new solidarities. One could even argue that by building a musical social milieu in Slovenia, the refugees were sprouting roots fully intending to stay in the new social environment, therefore coining their own sense of stability. Sharing the post-Yugoslav atmosphere of uncertainty facilitated the need for Slovenians and refugees to manage concerns about the future creatively and together. However, being that the practices of cooperation between Bosnian refugees and Slovenians differ from other cases treating musical production in precarious situations, we propose additional variables be added to Baily's proposition. Bosnian music making during the 1990s attests to the importance of political changes – in this particular case the Yugoslav dissolution – as well as to the importance of political agency. In addition, the role of individual artists and collectives, who are able to establish a dialogue between migrants and local musicians, artists, intellectuals, activists, venues, and cultural scenes is another crucial dimension in understanding music-making in precarious settings. As we demonstrated, in the case of Bosnian exile in post-Yugoslav Slovenia the precarious condition did not hinder the establishment of a market for specific, migration-related art. Cultural exchange and

42 Jansen and Löfving, "Introduction: Towards an Anthropology of Violence, Hope and the Movement of People," 17.
43 Kozorog and Bartulović, "The Sevdalinka in Exile," 121–142.
44 Ög üt, "Transit Migration," 237.

multiple relations between locals and refugees flourished in certain Slovenian venues marked by the struggle to construct an alternative future through the collaborative musical production,[45] which challenged the dominant politics and discourses striving to disavow the multicultural Yugoslav legacy.

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45 See also Frances R. Aparicio and Cándida F. Jáquez, ed., *Musical Migrations: Transnationalism and Cultural Hybridity in Latin/o America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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POVZETEK

Raziskovanje glasbenega delovanja v kontekstu migracij se v antropoloških, sociooloških in etnomuzikoloških analizah osredinja zlasti na umetniške prakse in glasbeno izraznost ustaljenih priseljenskih ali diasporskih skupnosti. Še vedno pa je relativno malo poglobljenih analiz ustvarjanja glasbe v prekarnih okoliščinah begunstva kot tudi glasbenih sodelovanj, ki nastajajo v dialogu med lokalnim akterji in začasnimi migranti oziroma begunci. Dosedanje raziskave o ustvarjanju glasbe v begunstvu slonijo na domnevi, da kulturno produkcijo beguncev zaznamuje relativno omejena interakcija z lokalnim miljejem. Skozi raziskavo begunskega glasbenega delovanja v Sloveniji pričujoči članek preizprašuje določene predpostavke, predvsem pa postavlja pod vprašaj odsotnost stikov in povezav med glasbeno produkcijo beguncev in lokalnimi občinstvi in ustvarjalci.

Etnografska študija analizira specifičnosti postjugoslovanskega konteksta ustvarjanja glasbe v begunstvu, pri čemer sledi povezavam med bosansko-hercegovskimi glasbeniki – begunci, ki so delovali v skupinah Vali, Dertum in Nešto između, ter njihovimi podporniki in sodelavci iz Slovenije. Po kratki predstavitvi bosansko-hercegovskih begunskih skupin raziskava oriše širši socialnoekonomski kontekst njihovega nastanka, prikaže prizadevanja nekaterih lokalnih organizacij in posameznikov, ki so spodbujali begunske glasbene aktivnosti, in ki so se izkazali za ključne pri zagotavljanju prepoznavnosti njihove kulturne produkcije. Posebna pozornost je namenjena sodelovanju med skupino Vali in slovenskim glasbenikom Vladom Kreslinom, ki je odločilno prispeval k popularizaciji – v Sloveniji manj priljubljenega – glasbenega žanra – sevdalinke. Raziskava razkriva, kako so sevdalinke, skupaj s skupnim glasbenim udejstvovanjem, prispevale k ponovnem povezovanju in obnavljanju abruptno prekinjene jugoslovanske multikulturnosti. Povezovanje beguncev z lokalnimi glasbeniki in aktivisti je med drugim prispevalo tudi k procesu ustvarjanja novih domov, saj so se oboji srečali z negotovostjo, ki je niso sprejemali pasivno, temveč so v novih okoliščinah, tudi s pomočjo glasbe, uspeli vzpostaviti občutek skupnosti in pripadnosti. Članek zasleduje skupne aspiracije po konstruiranju novega doma, ki je viden kot družbeni prostor varnosti, domačnosti in skupnosti, predvsem pa kot prostor, ki zagotavlja priložnosti v novi post-jugoslovanski realnosti. V procesu soustvarjanja novega doma je pomembno vlogo odigrala prav skupna, sicer heterogena izkušnja jugoslovanske preteklosti, ki pa je bila prav tako ključen dejavnik pri (nepričakovani) popularizaciji sevdalinke v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja v Sloveniji.

UDK 78:314.15(450):004.738.5:930.25
DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.171-186

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Sounding Diversities. Towards an Open Online Archive of Migrants' Musical Lives

Zvenenje raznolikosti. K odprtemu spletnemu arhivu glasbenega življenja migrantov

Prejeto: 6. maj 2019
Sprejeto: 20. junij 2019

Ključne besede: migracije, razširjanje informacij, arhivi s prostim dostopom, *groupsourcing*, super-raznolikost

Received: 6th May 2019
Accepted: 20th June 2019

Keywords: migration, dissemination, open access archives, *groupsourcing*, super-diversity

IZVLEČEK

Od leta 2014 naprej na območju med Lombardijo in Emilijo - Romanjo poteka participativna akcijska raziskava o glasbi in migracijah. Glasba je pomemben medij ne le za oblikovanje novega razumevanja transnacionalne kulturne identitete, temveč tudi za ustvarjalne posege v oblikovanje javnega mnenja o kulturni, etnični in verski raznolikosti v sodobni Italiji. Poleg zbiranja podatkov o glasbenih praksah in kulturnih izmenjavah prirejamo tudi dogodke za razširjanje informacij in nameravamo ustvariti spletno podatkovno bazo.

ABSTRACT

Since 2014, in an area between Lombardy and Emilia Romagna, participatory action research about music and migration is being conducted. Music is a significant medium not only for shaping a new understanding of a transnational cultural identity, but also for intervening creatively to shape public opinion about cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity in contemporary Italy. Collecting data on musical practices and cultural exchanges, we are also organizing occasions of dissemination and intend to realize a database online.

1. Fieldwork

In 2009, shortly after my arrival in Cremona as Lecturer in Ethnomusicology, I was involved in preparing the nomination of traditional violin craftsmanship in Cremona for the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Representative list. This allowed me to gain a deep knowledge of the situation that existed in the town, which has more than 140 luthier shops. I was enthusiastic about the fact that this craftsmanship has a simultaneously traditional and transnational character: at least half of the violinmakers are foreigners[1] who have come to Cremona to learn how to make the *perfect* violin. But during this process of apprenticeship, they also go through a process of acculturation[2] and embrace Italian culture as a whole, with few exceptions. Despite the high percentage of foreign residents[3] – around 12% of the population[4] – it is rare to meet a foreigner in Cremona who is not somehow involved with the making of bowed instruments.

Yet, the more I familiarised myself with the city, the more I realised that there were a lot of resident foreigners, including economic migrants, outside the world of violinmakers. The main issue was and still is that they were and still are mostly invisible in the city. None of them were working in shops or bars or restaurants. The image of Cremona was all inscribed in the local traditions of food, classical music and art, and foreign residents were not part of the official narrative about the city and its province. Things have changed slightly in these last years, but we are still far from a really pluralistic city, especially as far as music is concerned.

That's why, since 2014, I have committed myself, along with my students and former students, to conducting action research[5] about music and migration in an area between Lombardy and Emilia Romagna, in the centre of the Padana plain. At the basis of the project is the conviction that music is a significant medium not only for shaping a new understanding of a transnational cultural identity,[6] but also for intervening creatively to shape public opinion about cultural, ethnic and religious diversity in contemporary

1 65 percent of the graduates of the International School of Violin Making are foreigners and come from over 50 countries on all continents.

2 The term indicates a cultural modification of an individual, group or people when they adapt to or borrow traits from another culture. See A. Merriam, "The use of music in the study of a problem of acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 57 (1955): 28–34.

3 I use this definition instead of "migrant" to underline the difference between people in movement and people who resettle permanently in a foreign country. It comprises people who have resided in Cremona for 30 years and people that came in the last few years. What they have in common is that they chose Cremona as their place of residence. This definition seems to me more neutral than definitions like economic or forced migrant, regular or irregular migrant, which strongly label people and refer to specific common places and easy simplifications. It is a condition completely different from that of the asylum seeker, that is, a person who lives in a limbo waiting for acceptance or refusal from the nation of arrival, and who when in Italy normally intends to move elsewhere. This is the only differentiation I will make in the article.

4 In 2018, they count 11.5 % of the population: 41,248 people. Of these, 27.9 % are from Romania (including Roma), India 15.6 % (mostly people from Punjab, of Sikh faith), 10.2 % from Morocco, 8 % from Albania, 5.6 % from Egypt, 3.4 % from the People's Republic of China and 2.6 % from Nigeria, while 26.7 % are identified by the National Population Register Offices as "others", which means Africans (mostly Ivorians and Ghanaians), Europeans (Ukrainians) and South Americans.

5 Angela Impey, "Culture, Conservation and Community Reconstruction: Explorations in Advocacy Ethnomusicology and Participatory Action Research in Northern Kwazulu Natal," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 34 (2002): 9–24; Michael Frishkopf, "Popular Music as Public Health Technology: Music for Global Human Development and "Giving Voice to Health" in Liberia," *Journal of Folklore Research* 54, no. 1-2, (2017): 41–86.

6 Glick Schiller, Nina and Garbi Schmidt, "Envisioning Place: Urban Socialities Within Time, Space and Multiscalar Power," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 23, no. 1 (2016): 1–16.

Italy. In the words of Dillane and Langlois, "At the heart of our discussion are the citizens themselves, not as undifferentiated and disciplined civic body, but as being made up of diverse peoples with different individual and collective lived experiences."[7] I was interested in working with all interested foreign residents in the area of the fieldwork, regardless of age, provenience and gender, to avoid any kind of essentialism and to let other diversities emerge. The concept of diversity calls for an openness towards a great variety of possible forms of differentiation and belonging, including age, generation, class, workplace, religion, language, migration history, length of residence and the ways they may be brought into play in social life.[8] "We must look at processes of social interaction and not assume the existence of stable, unchanging local communities."[9]

In constructing our approach, we were inspired by the community-based setting of the Limerick soundscape project Aileen Dillane and Tony Langlois started in 2013. But solutions like the Limerick or the Rostock projects or Ruth Finnegan's ethnography of Milton Keyes would probably not have worked in my case, which had come into being to give voice to the invisible. In fact, in Cremona we have 30 choirs, numerous orchestras, lots of street musicians, festivals of violinmakers and Monteverdi organised by the Museum of Violins and the Ponchielli Theatre and many other musical initiatives. The official musical narrative of the city of Cremona is that of Monteverdi, Ponchielli and all the music (mostly classical Western) made with strings, due to the strong cultural investment in violinmaking. Can you believe that 1,000 violin and cello players gathered for the 2019 ESTA[10] annual meeting in Cremona? A documentation of all these kinds of music or the participation of the entire citizenry would have again silenced the *other kinds of music* I wanted to let emerge.

That is why in our research we addressed mostly the foreign residents (not involved in violinmaking) and asylum seekers, with three projects: transcultural musical workshops in schools; musical workshops in reception centres; the creation of an audio-visual archive of public events involving music linked to the expression of cultural diversity.

The transcultural music workshops involved several schools interested in the project (from elementary to high school) and addressed all the students (not only second-generation migrants). They were aimed at improving inclusive and respectful citizenship in the younger generation through music and, at the same time, investigating the relation migrants and their descendants have with the musics of their places of origin.[11]

Workshops in reception centres addressed asylum seekers and intended to help them manage the awful limbo they are forced to live in for years and at the same time

7 Aileen Dillane, Tony Langlois, Martin J. Power and Orfhlaith Ní Bhriain, "Urban soundscapes and critical citizenship: Explorations in activating a 'sonic turn' in urban cultural studies," *Journal of Urban Cultural Studies* 2, no. 1 & 2 (2015): 91.

8 See Mette Louise Berg and Nando Sigona, eds., "Ethnography, diversity and urban space," special issue, *Identities. Global Studies in Culture and Power* 20, no. 4 (2013), doi:10.1080/1070289X.2013.822382.

9 Olwig Karen Fog, "Notions and practices of difference: an epilogue on the ethnography of diversity," In "Ethnography, diversity and urban space," eds. Mette Louise Berg and Nando Sigona, special issue, *Identities. Global Studies in Culture and Power* 20, no. 4 (2013): 473, doi:10.1080/1070289X.2013.822382.

10 The 47th edition of the European String Teachers Association International Congress was held in Cremona for the second time from 26 April-1 May 2019 (the first was in 2007). ESTA Italia is located in Cremona, and the Italian meeting has been held in Cremona for many years. (https://www.estaitalia.org/, accessed April 30, 2019).

11 See Fulvia Caruso, "*Music and migration*. Una ricerca/azione nel centro della pianura Padana," in *Scuola, migrazioni e pluralismo religioso*, eds. Fulvia Caruso and Vinicio Ongini (Todi: Tau, 2017).

to collect information about their musical skills and listening and the role music could have in their lives today.[12]

As regards the audio-visual archive of the musical expressions of the cultural diversity of foreign residents, I was interested in understanding if and how people who may have lived in Cremona for decades still engage in a relationship with their heritage and if and how their (cultural) associations play a role in this. That is why, in 2014, together with my students, I started to document any kind of public event organised by the associations or by the various communities of foreign residents. In organising this, I drew inspiration from the *Le Patrimoine Musical des Nanterriens* project (PNM) carried out in Nanterre by Nicolas Prévôt[13] and his students, even if I did not want to concentrate my attention either solely on professional or semi-professional musicians or on oral traditions. I also drew much information from the project of documenting the Christian foreigners' churches in Rome that Serena Facci[14] has been realizing since 2014, but I didn't want to document only religious expressions. The idea was to give visibility to the realities outside the nation-based Italian narration by creating an accessible archive in the Musicology and Cultural Heritage Department and by organising public events and an open access website.

The audio-visual documentation we[15] have produced comprises events (religious rites, performances, concerts, presentations...), rehearsals and semi-structured interviews about what is being documented, in order to gain the profoundest understanding of the various events. We pay particular attention to the role of music in the event; which language or languages are used; the presence of musical instruments; the distribution of musical roles according to gender, age and social role; the presence of dance; which technologies are involved (writing, tablets, cell phones...) during the performance and in the transmission processes; the audience the event addresses (internal, external or mixed) and audience participation. The musical analysis seeks to understand the continuity and transformation of music, the roles and strategies of musical memory and self-representation in music. Every event was to be recorded with an audio recorder and two cameras. Sometimes, if events overlapped, we were able to use only one camera

12 See Fulvia Caruso, "Sperimentare e superare i confini attraverso la musica," in *Disegnare, attraversare, cancellare i confini. Una prospettiva interdisciplinare*, ed. Anna Rita Calabrò (Torino: Giappichelli, 2018); Fulvia Caruso, "Faire de la musique ensemble: un programme de recherche action avec des migrants à Crémone (Italie)," in "Musiques de migrants", eds., Denis Laborde and Luc Charles-Dominique, special issue, *Cahiers d'ethnomusicologie* 32 (2019): 161–178; Fulvia Caruso, "How do we go about singing a new song about migration?" in *Travelling Musics/Musicians/Musicologists*, selected essays from the XXXIIth ESEM, eds. Giovanni Giuriati, Marco Lutzu, Ignazio Macchiarella, Udine: Nota, (forthcoming); Fulvia Caruso, "The Chorale Saint Michel Archanges in Cremona (Lombardy, Italy) between locality and translocality," *Philomusica on line* (forthcoming).

13 Nicolas Prévôt, "Ethnomusicologie et recherche-action: le patrimoine musical des Nanterriens," *Cahiers d'ethnomusicologie* 29 (2016): 137–156.

14 Serena Facci, "Liturgie musicali nelle comunità migranti nelle chiese di Roma," in *Scuola, migrazioni e pluralismo religioso*, eds. Fulvia Caruso and Vinicio Ongini (Todi: Tau, 2017).

15 Schools: Maurizio Corda, Daniela Conzadori, Beatrice Di Mario, Andrea Fugatti, Daniela Gozzi, Teresa Polizzotto, Monica Serafini, Francesca Vergani, Rouben Vitali, Andrea Rampin; public events: Giovanni Benetti, Sara Bernardis, Clarissa Biscardi, Edoardo Boschetti, Eleonora Carrucciu, Monica Colella, Federica Colucci, Francesco Dalla Libera, Giacomo Firpo, Clara Foglia, Gaiané Kevorkian, Gabriele Lazzerini, Giuseppe Lerario, Roberta Licitra, Alessandra Paciotti, Davide Pancetti, David Perez, Margherita Tealdi, Angela Tancredi, Thea Tiramani, Carla Turlà; reception centres: Elisa Tartaglia, Rossella Calvia, Clara Fanelli, Mattia Signaroldi, Francesco Brianzi (Piacenza); Gaiané Kevorkian, Massimiliano Caruso, Alba Cacchiani, Martina Drigo, Federica La Rocca, Simone Rude and Patrizia Vaccari (Cremona).

per event. I decided to use semi-professional cameras, which were small enough to not impact too much on the events.[16]

We have documented fifteen religious realities[17] and several events organised by cultural associations.[18] Most of the documentation is about religious rites, because music has only a small role in the events organised by the cultural associations. As far as the religious communities are concerned, we try to document the whole year so as to have complete documentation. In some cases this is not possible, but we document at least the crucial events of the year (such as Easter for the Orthodox community, or the *Sikhs* celebrating *Vaisaki* through a *Nagar Kirtan*).

We still do not have a complete frame for all the different cases and I cannot go into detail about all the documentation, but I can say that what all these musical events (religious or not) normally have in common is primarily the need foreign residents have to re-inhabit their own culture. Indeed, the roles and strategies of musical memory and self-representation in music are similar in intent, yet different in their results, because of the power imbalance that exists between locals and foreigners and also between communities of foreigners. As Orthodox Rumanians and Ukrainians stressed in our dialogues and as shown by comparing the various situations, foreign residents have few spaces at their disposal, and, for several reasons (denomination, size of the community, occupation...), not all the foreign residents are able to live their cultures in the same manner. In some cases, they are able to celebrate every week, but more often only once a month; in some cases they have their own place of worship, in others this is lacking. An example illustrative for all: no mosque is allowed in Cremona province; except one, all the Islamic cultural centres are situated outside the city of Cremona.

Except for those annual events held outside the churches and temples, like the *Nagar Kirtan* celebrated by the Sikh, the Orthodox Easter celebrated by the Romanians or the rare events organised by the associations, foreign residents are invisible and silent.

The elder generations in particular prefer not to be the centre of attention and this sometimes produces conflicts with younger generations who are proud of their diversity and intend to share it with Italians. As an example, the young Sikhs who have joined the Siki sewa society and organized Gatka events outside the temples and outside religious events were ostracized in the temple of Pessina Cremonese.

After five years being in touch with these occurrences and their documentation, it is now time to work on dissemination and restitution.

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16 I decided to buy two Canon Legria HF G40s and a Zoom H6 with all the interchangeable microphone capsules.

17 In the Province of Cremona alone: Africa: Islamic Community (in Pontevico, mostly from Morocco, but also from Senegal and Ghana. Apart from special events, specifically for the Sufi brotherhoods, the Saturday prayers are recited all together); Catholic Nigerian Community (Rivarolo Mantovano – CR); Catholic Ivorian Community (Cremona); Catholic Ghanaian Community (Casalmaggiore – CR); Our Lady of Nazareth Nuns from Togo (Cremona); Evangelical Pentecostal Church, Ghanaian Community (Rivarolo Mantovano – CR); Charismatic African Bethel Church (Cremona); Evangelical, Methodist and Waldensian Church (from different Sub-Saharan areas, in Cremona and various villages or in Brescia). Europe: Orthodox Catholic Community of Romania (Cremona); Catholic Community of Romania (Cremona); Byzantine Catholic Community of Ukraine (Cremona); Orthodox Catholic Community of Russia (Cremona); Reformed Philadelphia Church of Romania (Cremona). India: we have a Hindu Temple in Castelverde, 3 Sikh Gurdwārā (Pessina Cremonese, Martignana Po, Casalmaggiore) and a Ravidasi Temple in Cappella de' Picenardi. All these realities, and more, can be found in the neighbourhoods of the province of Cremona, both in Lombardy (Brescia, Bergamo, Mantua) and in Emilia Romagna (Piacenza, Parma, Modena, Reggio Emilia).

18 ASACP-Associazione Senegalesi Cremona e Provincia, Orizzonti Latini, ACAPN-Associazione Cittadini Africa il Popolo Nero, Associazione Latinoamericana di Cremona.

2. Towards an open access online archive

Collecting data through musical practice, workshops, interviews and human exchanges is only one part of our action research. We have also organized occasions to disseminate and share the varieties of music we encounter with Italians and with the other communities of foreigners. Part of this process is the publication of an online database that makes the reality of economic migrants visible.

This is not the place to renew discussion of the usefulness of ethnomusicological archives. A rich literature already exists on this, certainly a source of inspiration for me, but it mainly concerns the life of archives built in the past, about repatriations or dissemination processes that have today become precious for the various communities for recovering spaces of creativity, belonging and pride.[19] Today, however, when we are going to build an archive from scratch,[20] it is impossible to do so without involving the living people who are being documented. As Seeger[21] well demonstrated, a project of creating an archive has a different dynamic when it responds to a community. Only if the people documented are involved in the process of creating the archive will they also be its first users and benefit from its creation. My intention is that the dissemination address not only Italians, but also the holders of the documented knowledge.

Creating a standard scholarly archive online[22] can give a more official taste to the project that may help the process of legitimisation and empowerment of the communities. But creating an archive that intends to involve the heritage communities[23] is a different task. What makes a community archive different from a standard archive "is the accessibility of the archive to the community and the creation of that archive for the community. Of course community is not fixed and we should avoid at all costs the

19 The most inspiring articles were those of Anthony Seeger. See Anthony Seeger, "The Role of Sound Archives in Ethnomusicology Today," *Ethnomusicology* 30 (1986): 261–276; Anthony Seeger, "Creating and Confronting Cultures: Issues of Editing and Selection in Records and Videotapes of Musical Performances," in *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Wilhelmshaven: Lorian Noetzel Verlag, 1991); Anthony Seeger, "Ethnomusicologists, Archives, Professional Organizations, and the Shifting Ethics of Intellectual Property," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28 (1996): 87–105; Anthony Seeger and Shubha Chaudhuri, eds., *Archives for the Future: Global Perspectives on Audiovisual Archives in the 21st Century*. Calcutta: Seagull Press, 2004, http://www.seagullindia.com/archive/download.html; Anthony Seeger and Shuba Chaudhuri, "The contributions of Reconfigured Audiovisual Archives to Sustaining Traditions," *The world of music* 4, no. 1 (2015): 21–34; Carolyn Landau, "Disseminating Music amongst Moroccans in Britain: Exploring the Value of Archival Sound Recordings for a Cultural Heritage Community in the Diaspora," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 21, no. 2 (2012): 259–277; Carolyn Landau and Janet Top Fargion, "We are all Archivists Now. Towards a more Equitable Ethnomusicology," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 21, no. 2 (2012): 125–140; Monika Stern, "Les cheminements de l'ethnomusicologue. D'une ethnomusicologie de sauvegarde à une ethnomusicologie du contemporain," *Cahiers d'ethnomusicologie* 29 (2016): 55–72, http://journals.openedition.org/ethnomusicologie/2586.

20 Note that Italian national or regional audio-visual archives do not comprise intangible cultural heritages of foreign residents (except for the communities who came form Greece and Albania centuries ago and resettled in the South).

21 Seeger and Chaudhuri, *Archives for the Future. Global Perspectives on Audiovisual Archives in the 21st Century*, Calcutta: Seagull Press (2004). http://www.seagullindia.com/archive/download.html.

22 There are a vast number of online archives. Let me just mention the ones that inspired me most in my present fieldwork: the Centre de Recherche en Ethnomusicologie (http://lesc-cnrs.fr/crem), the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music (https://www.indiana.edu/~libarchm/index.php) and The Smithsonian Institution (https://www.si.edu/); Ethnographic Video for Instruction and Analysis (www.eviada.org).

23 See Faro Convention 2005, article 2 point b: "a heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations." (https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680083746). For a more recent discussion of the use of the terms, see Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, eds., *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration or Contestation?* (London: Routledge, 2011).

essentialising tendencies to conceive of community in this sense as a stable and absolute configuration."[24]

When I started to really think about publishing the archive online, I realized that usually we had not sufficiently involved the communities, creating a rather classical fieldwork documentation. For example, every event and any detail of the events was important to us, while only some of them were significant for the people in the process of maintaining their heritage.

Moreover, not every performance event can be disseminated, because of the delicacy of the images and their appropriateness. Only the owners of this heritage have the right to select what to make public in an online archive. And I am also willing to re-do the documentation for the archive from scratch. Our process of selection opens issues such as hegemony; the disparity of power between me and them and within their groups cannot be ignored. "Most communities are divided along class, gender, hierarchy and religious lines that can result in collections that reveal as much bias as colonial ones, albeit biases of an internal nature."[25] Both communities and archives need to establish clear ethical positions that can be explained to the public. I normally ask for consent and permission to record for educational and archiving purposes only. For dissemination, we have to create a new path together.[26] A simple solution to manage sensitive data can be a multimodal website: we can use just pictures or only sound or sound with pictures instead of videos.[27] But this is only a point of departure.

Fortunately, nowadays there are many innovative and creative ways to manage, preserve, use and re-use materials uploaded online, to create platforms that are mutually beneficial for scholars and heritage holders. One example is *FirstVoices*,[28] an open-source platform of texts, videos, games and more recently even iPhone applications created to support Aboriginal people engaged in language archiving, language teaching and cultural revitalisation projects. "In keeping with established community protocols and well-defined cultural norms, only some of these archival collections are publicly accessible, while others remain password protected at the request of an individual language community."[29] What particularly strikes me about this project is the collaboration between the elder members of the community, who are the keepers of the knowledge, and the younger, tech-savvy ones, who become engaged in the archiving techniques. "The digital age has intensified and changed discussions of repatriation in ways that are sometimes

24 Clara M. Chu, Rebecca Dean, and Patrick Keilty, "EPILOGUE: Meditations on the future of Latina/o archival and memory practice, research and education," *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies* 5, no. 1 (2009): 3.

25 Seeger and Chaudhuri, *Archives for the Future*, 25.

26 I am grateful to the Ethics Committees of SEM, ICTM and BFE for the wonderful work they do, which is the point of departure for my reasoning with the heritage communities. See Swijghuisen Reigersberg Muriel E, "Policy Formation, Ethics Statements and Ethics in Ethnomusicology. The Need for Increased and Sustained Engagement," in *Applied Ethnomusicology in Institutional Policy and Practice*, ed. Klisala Harrison (Helsinki: Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2016).

27 Far from a mechanical and objective process of capturing and fixing, the act of recording involves technical, theoretical and aesthetic abilities and choices and is often guided by specific working hypotheses that can have a decisive impact on key technical features. To be honest, my first interest was to document in such a way that could best comprise the whole performances. The idea was to have a fixed camera for the whole event and a movable camera focused on the specificities of the kinds of music involved. Nevertheless, I could not always have two cameras and not always were my students able to use them well. Sometimes the need to realise recordings useful for analysis conflicted with the aim of high-quality recordings.

28 http://www.firstvoices.com has been in operation since 2003, and is funded by the First Peoples' Cultural Council.

29 Mark Turin, "Orality and Technology, or the Bit and the Byte: The Work of the World. Oral Literature Project," *Oral Tradition* 28, no. 2 (2013): 176.

unpredictable. One such shift is away from legal definitions and assumptions about repatriation to more inclusive notions of digital return and community stewardship."[30]

A second inspiring example is that of the University of Alberta Ukrainian Folklore Audio, a site where the public can listen to songs, stories and beliefs recorded in Ukraine and among the Ukrainian Diaspora of Kazakhstan. "The data found on this site are minimally processed, a situation that is beneficial for researchers because of the wealth of information included, but a hindrance to non-academic users. To make the material I collected in Ukraine accessible to the non-specialist, it needed to be trimmed down to select items, transcribed, and translated."[31] This is an open-source platform where registered volunteers who wish to transcribe the recordings or translate them can check out the item that interests them and work on it. All completed transcriptions and translations are available for public use. Because of the registration requirement, the authors consider the site as a modification of crowdsourcing into "groupsourcing".[32]

In both cases, collaborative archiving in an open-source setting is essential to avoid the risk of creating *monumenta* for the communities that can become models. Even if a restricted number of people will be involved in the creation of the online website, *groupsourcing* allows a larger number of people to be involved, in an informal way.

To understand how and if it was possible to realize an open online archive of this kind, I observed how the associations and musical realities of foreign residents in Cremona present themselves on the Web. What emerges is that they often have both an institutional page and a Facebook page. If the former publicises events related to integration (as happens with ASCAP, the Senegalese Association) or presents the community outside the community (as in the case with *Orizzonti Latini,* the Romanian Association), the Facebook page is mostly used to present micro-stories and share events, a kind of reminder for both those who were part of them and those who were far away (as with the *Chorale de Saint Michel Archange*, made of Ivorian Christian believers). It is a more intimate and familiar, a more emotional world that is hardly oriented towards outsiders. The Facebook sites and sometimes the websites are not updated frequently and present several technical problems, such as the quality of posted videos and pictures.

It is interesting to note that even though I gave all the recordings I made to most of the archives two years ago, they have not used this material. Not to be rude, I haven't asked why. I'm afraid that the reason is that there are no "cultural professional specialists"[33] to take care of the matter. Moreover, not all the communities have the same access to technologies or high levels of computer literacy. Since foreign residents in the province of Cremona work mainly on farms and in factories, they have extremely demanding working times, and they are scattered throughout the territory. Over the years when we organised dissemination events together what already emerged is that these conditions complicate their direct participation in any project.

I have tried to solve the problem by planning a high-school student internship at the University to build the inventory of the Archive. To my mind, this should have a double

30 Ibid., 177.

31 Natalie Kononenko, "Ukrainian Folklore Audio," *Oral Tradition* 28 no. 2 (2013): 246.

32 http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/folkaudio/, accessed in February 2019.

33 Seeger and Chaudhuri, *Archives for the Future*, 25.

effect: the dissemination of the recordings to non-foreign young generations and the involvement of second-generation descendants. To date, a girl from Cremona has inventoried part of the recordings of the performances of the Oghene Damba Cremona Boys Musical Theater Group,[34] and a Romanian boy has inventoried and classified part of the recordings of the Orthodox Romanian Church. This process and the workshops in the schools made us realise that the new generations have little competence in their own cultures. This has meant that, in order to classify the recordings, we need the collaboration of the whole community. This is exactly what happened with the Romanian student, who had to interview the priest to fully understand the recordings.

Planning the work of archiving as a collaboration between various generations can probably also avoid the aforementioned problems of super-diversity[35] and hegemony. This could also help in the process of selecting materials for the online archive. Not only do we have the problem of sensitivity about content, but also the likelihood of being understood or appreciated by those who are not involved in the community. The scarce competence of young generations can work as a test of the efficacy of the selected images: their poor knowledge of their own cultures can be a help in understanding what is and what is not comprehensible for everyone and in finding the right words to explain it to people outside the community. When I write *outside the community*, I am not only thinking of Italians, but also of the many different proveniences of foreign residents.

I will try to create working groups by mixing different communities.[36] This will help realise shared principles of selection and explanations. It could also serve a broader aim, namely establishing contact between the various communities that otherwise would not meet. Resistance to diversity is not only between Italians and foreigners, but also between foreigners. This might not be as easy as it seems:

> *There is a school of thought in social psychology that suggests regular contact between groups may mutually reduce prejudice and increase respect (cf. Hewstone and Brown 1886). Yet "Habitual contact in itself is no guarantor of cultural exchange" (Amin 2002, p. 969). Indeed, regular contact can entrench group animosities, fears and competition. More research is needed here to test these hypotheses and to identify key forms of space and contact that might yield positive benefits. Further, as Jane Jacobs and Ruth Fincher (1998) advocate, in many cases we need to consider the local development of "a complex entanglement between identity, power and place", which they call a "located politics of difference". This entails examining how people define their differences in relationship to uneven material and spatial conditions.*[37]

If we apply this to the situation in Cremona, for example, there is an imbalance between communities simply due to their sizes. The larger the community, the more easily it can recreate the right conditions to express its culture and its music.[38] In some cases, when

34 A group of asylum seekers born in the Cremona Diocese Reception Centre.

35 Steven Vertovec, "Super-diversity and its implications," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 6 (2007).

36 Thanks to a suggestion I was given during the last BFE annual conference by Lee Watkins, Director of the International Library of African Music.

37 Vertovec, "Super-diversity and its implications," 1045–1046.

38 See Caruso, "Faire de la musique ensemble," 161–178.

the community is very small, the rituals can still exist but be quite simplified. Just to give an example, when we documented the masses of the Orthodox Ukrainian Church, the priest invited us repeatedly to go to Brescia, where there are a lot of Ukrainians and a large choir, instead of documenting a very small community. This means that not all the musics are equally represented. As mentioned before, the documentation we put together shows an imbalance between different religions and communities, and I would like to avoid having this emerge in the online archive.[39]

Even in a small urban situation/environment like the one in Cremona, the super-diversities are evident. Every foreign resident belongs to a different reality and positions himself or herself differently on each occasion. In some cases, nationality is less representative than religion, as in the case of the Romanians, who have one church for the Orthodox and another for the Catholics. In other cases, as with the Islamic Cultural Centre, we have several different nations of origin united by the same religion. The Latin Americans have decided to gather in a single cultural association, which promotes all the various cultures, because of the feebleness of single-nation representatives. And let us not forget the transnational correlations between different cultural expressions or between old and new forms produced in their homelands. One example is that of the Ivorian *Chorale* mentioned above, whose repertoire is renewed with chants coming from the Ivory Coast thanks to both the Internet and, even more, the chants brought by those who go back home for their holidays. The group sings mostly Ivorian songs, but it can also perform songs of other origins, because their condition of migration brings them into contact with other realities, be they local ones, such as the Christian community of Ghana in Cremona, or more distant ones, such as the Francophone Christian communities of Lombardy and Italy. For example, they love singing *Asen papa* at their masses, which they actually learned from the Ghanaians and which was composed by an African-American in the US. These super-diversities must be represented in the "groupsourcing" process.[40]

How can all this be represented in an open online archive? How can the data be organised without essentialising or simplifying all these complexities? How can we prevent the people involved from opting for the more *typical* examples? One other factor that makes our project delicate is that we are dealing with heritage communities far from home. This means that, as underlined above, not only can the heritage be unravelled and fragile, but also the emotions involved may be stronger than at home, which makes the task even more delicate. We are trying to avoid giving a simplistic interpretation to this cultural expression as merely being a nostalgic attempt to recreate a portion of a real or imagined birthplace. The behaviours of foreign residents fluctuate between a myriad of possibilities that also depend on positioning in a specific moment and place.

Even if Italy has historically been a place of transit and resettlement, Italians seem to have forgotten their past and still have to process multiculturalism. Even the internal

39 For my analysis of musical behaviours in resettlement, all this has been very interesting, but when speaking about restitution and even giving space and dignity to these realities, things change.

40 See Fulvia Caruso, "How do we go about singing a new song about migration?" in *Travelling Musics/Musicians/Musicologists. Selected essays from the XXXIIth ESEM*, eds. Ignazio Macchiarella (European Journal of Musicology, forthcoming); Fulvia Caruso, "The Chorale Saint Michel Archanges in Cremona (Lombardy, Italy) between locality and translocality," *Philomusica on line* (forthcoming).

migration from South Italy to North Italy has long been opposed and disapproved by the inhabitants of the North, and still there is a high level of intolerance for foreigners. In time, this slowly shifted from southern Italians to foreigners. This is one of the reasons why, over the last few years, we have witnessed an increase in racist actions, culminating in killing for no other reason than the colour of a person's skin. For 2018, this can be labelled institutional racism: circulars, directives and new rules such as those contained in Law 132/2018 demonstrate a high level of discrimination against migrants. There are also local, regional or national "creative" measures that attempt to circumvent the law to exclude foreign citizens from access to certain services or from carrying out certain activities.[41]

3. An imposed silence or a chosen invisibility?

As Roger Zetter and colleagues point out, "In the present climate of immigration policy, there are good reasons why minorities may wish to remain invisible to outsiders and resist forming themselves into explicit organisational structures."[42] None of this is to say that community organizations no longer have a place in bridging migrant groups and local authorities or service providers. Such bodies remain crucial to the process, but should be recognized as only partially relevant with regard to their representativeness and scope.[43]

I started this article writing about the invisibility of foreigners in Cremona. Based on my conversations with foreign residents in this town, it is evident that their behaviour is a result of the widespread distrust that Italians still show towards them. The only exceptions are the associations of foreigners, which are also all charity-based. They try to fight discrimination by conducting charity campaigns and organising public events aimed at demonstrating their cultural richness.

My space for this article is at its end, and I cannot give more details about this, but the foreigners' events go in broadly different directions, depending on the cultural-political intentions. Such behaviours range from staging exotic performances to raise funds more easily, to making complex and delicate events public, such as the celebration of Amadou Bamba's birthday for the Senegalese Sufi Murîdiyya brotherhood.

To try to find the right way to give voice to these communities in a participatory way and also to investigate the reactions of the Cremonese in these days of increasing racism, I decided to suspend for the moment the creation of the online archive and organise some public events with the collaboration of the associations and stable cultural realities like stable choirs.

I was wondering what to organise and how, when the Municipality of Cremona opened the call for applications for the funding of cultural events in the city for 2019

41 See Il razzismo nel 2018 *tra rimozione ed enfatizzazione*, Focus 1/2019, Lunaria Association, and the website Cronache di ordinario razzismo (Chronicles of ordinary racism), a site edited by Lunaria that since 2011 has reported daily and institutional racism (http://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/il-razzismo-quotidiano/). It also hosts a database with more than 6,800 brief accounts of racist episodes.

42 Roger Zetter et al., *Immigration, social cohesion and social capital: What are the links?*, (York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2005), 14.

43 Vertovec, "Super-diversity and its implications," 1045–1046.

dedicated to "the heritage of Cremona revealed to the Cremonese by the Cremonese". I decided to apply with those communities of resident foreigners I knew best: the Senegalese association, the Saint Michael Archangel Chorus and the Sikh Sewa Society.

In recent decades, the conception of cultural heritage has made important progress, thanks to two fundamental events: the UNESCO Convention on Intangible Heritage and the Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the value of cultural heritage for society. I'm aware of the debate among scholars about the effects they produce. Nevertheless, it is evident to me that, at least in Italy, these two Conventions have spread two pieces of fundamental knowledge, namely that there is a cultural heritage that is volatile and immaterial and not inscribed in objects but in people and that the communities themselves must identify, enhance and safeguard their material and immaterial cultural heritage. Taking care of one's cultural heritage does not mean wanting to sequester oneself in the distant past, but involves manifesting the pride and will to bring an extraordinary wealth made up of identity, values and know-how with us into the future.

The Lombardy Region has been farsighted about intangible heritage, approving a law on safeguarding Lombard intangible heritage in 2008 and creating the REIL (Net of Intangible Lombard Heritages), a sort of mapping of a multimedia archive of Lombard cultural expressions, mostly available online. Obviously, no foreign resident's cultural expression is documented in this archive. But Cremona's violinmaking craftsmanship is included, and the Lombardy Region supported its nomination for inscription on the Representative List of UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage. The process of nomination, and even more its approval, sensitised both the population and the municipality. This is why our request for funding and patronage is based on the dialogue between tangible and intangible heritages in Cremona.

Intangible heritage is inherently inclusive, living and procedural, linked to people and not places. From this point of view, why not consider the cultural expressions of communities of economic migrants that are now established in Lombardy as part of the region's cultural expressions? The three cultural realities accepted my invitation to reflect on how to underline the coexistence of heritages and cultures of different origins in Cremona. We decided to create a dialogue between the Cremonese material culture inscribed in the objects preserved in civic museums and the intangible cultural traditions of the world that have long been consolidated in the city of Cremona and its province. The project *Culture in dialogo* (dialogue between cultures) was born. Luckily, the municipality approved the project and a dialogue was set up between the three realities and the Archaeological Museum, the Museum of Natural History and the Museum of Rural Civilization. We began inside the three museums, visiting them and their respective directors and planning what to do. This resulted in the organisation of three events, one per museum and community: in April 2019, the Chorale of Saint Michel Archangel in the Archaeological Museum; in May, the ASACP (the Senegalese Association) in the Museum of Natural History; and in June, the Sikhi Sewa Society in the Museum of Rural Civilization. The Chorale decided to organise the event, alternating a PowerPoint presentation and songs. The presentation was about the Ivory Coast's ethnic groups, linking them to places and productions, in dialogue with some objects from the everyday life of the Ancient Romans. Even if the Museum is housed in a church

(one of the reasons for choosing this museum), instead of performing the usual religious songs, which are mostly in French, they chose to sing all the songs of welcome in *Baulé-Agni*, the language shared by the singers of the Chorale who participated in the project.[44] I cannot say much about the other events, because they will be held after my writing. Having participated in the preparatory meetings, I can say that the upcoming events will alternate between presentations of the more "traditional" aspects, expressed in music, and of the contemporary realities of their respective countries.

There have been other similar experiences in Italy involving migrants in museums, such as in Rome the *Imagine, Shoot, Tell* photographic training course addressed to the asylum seekers of the Reception Center in the *Decima* neighborhood, in collaboration with the Luigi Pigorini National Prehistoric Ethnographic Museum,[45] and the project at the Florence Uffizi Museum in 2018, in which some migrants were trained to be tour guides in the museum. The Luigi Pigorini Museum has also organised several other cultural events involving foreign residents in the past, connecting them with their heritages preserved in the museum.

It seems to me that opening up to the idea of *new Lombards* instead of *resident foreigners* means understanding these cultural expressions, not as mnemonic tools to recreate a past or a place, but as lively and constantly evolving cultural manifestations, which give an account of the current situation in Italy and the world, in which we can no longer speak of national identities, but of cultural, economic and media frames. "We must, in other words, investigate particular places of identification and not be content with referring to countries of origin that equal certain ethnic identities, and we must look at processes of social interaction and not assume the existence of stable, unchanging local communities."[46]

We shall have to see where this path will bring us and if the open access database will come to life.[47]

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44 The Chorale is made up of about 20 to 25 people, but they almost never manage to be present at the same time or all together at either the mass that is celebrated for the Ivorian community once a month or in public events like this.

45 http://www.altrephoto.it/index.php/storico-eventi-eattivita/45-eventi-pregressi/284-immagina-scatta-racconta.

46 Fog, "Notions and practices of difference," 473.

47 Thanks to the lapse of time between the writing of this article and its publication, I can say that the other two events have had growing success both in the size of the audience and in its participation in the dialogue. The success achieved has led the Municipality of Cremona to support the initiative also for the next year. We are planning to involve the Romanian association Orizzonti Latini, the Latin American association and the Islamic centre La Speranza.

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POVZETEK

Od leta 2014 skupaj s sedanjimi in nekdanjimi študenti izvajamo projekt akcijskega raziskovanja glasbe in migracij na območju med Lombardijo in Emilijo - Romanjo, v osrčju Padske nižine.
Izhodiščna predpostavka raziskave je, da je glasba pomemben medij ne le za oblikovanje novega razumevanja transnacionalne kulturne identitete, temveč tudi kot ustvarjalni poseg pri oblikovanju javnega mnenja o kulturni, etnični in verski raznolikosti v sodobni Italiji. V Cremoni in njeni okolici so ekonomski migranti, četudi so v Italiji že desetletja, večinoma nevidni in ne sodelujejo v razpravi o svoji vlogi v italijanski družbi. V sodobnih diskurzih o priseljevanju, nacionalnosti in veri v Evropi so priseljenci v glavnem opisani kot problem. S svojim delom želimo izraziti kritiko tega stališča.
Poleg zbiranja podatkov o glasbenih praksah in kulturnih izmenjavah prirejamo tudi dogodke, na katerih z Italijani delimo glasbo, ki jo spoznamo. Del tega procesa je ustvarjanje podatkovne baze na spletu, ki bo predočila resničnost ekonomskih migrantov. Literature o vplivu arhivov na ohranjanje kultur je ogromno, vendar mi ni uspelo poiskati veliko informacij o javnih spletnih arhivih, ki bi ljudem omogočali prepoznavnost, ne glede na značilnosti repertoarja ali kakovost izvedbe. Ugotavljam, da naloga ni tako enostavna, kot sem mislila ob začetku projekta, zlasti zato, ker sta se rasizem in netoleranca še okrepila, medtem ko sem zbirala podatke. Zaradi iskanja načina, kako dati glas tem skupnostim in tudi kako raziskati reakcije lokalnih prebivalcev v dneh vse večjega rasizma, sem se odločila, da za trenutek prekinem ustvarjanje spletnega arhiva in organiziram nekaj javnih dogodkov v sodelovanju z društvi in na ta način pripravim nove temelje za ustanovitev javno dostopnega spletnega arhiva.

UDK 78:37(436.1):323.15
DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.187-199

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Music without Borders: A Research Project about the New Methodologies of Music Teaching in the Viennese Primary and Secondary Schools

Glasba brez meja: raziskovalni primer o novih metodologijah poučevanja glasbe na dunajskih osnovnih in srednjih šolah

Prejeto: 10. avgust 2019
Sprejeto: 5. september 2019

Ključne besede: šola, učenci, glasbena izobrazba, identiteta, manjšina, migracije, spremljevalne raziskave, trans- in interdisciplinarnost

Received: 10th August 2019
Accepted: 5th September 2019

Keywords: School, Pupil, Music Education, Identity, Minority, Migration, Accompanying Research, Trans-, Inter-Disciplinarity

IZVLEČEK

Članek predstavlja nekatere rezultate projekta, ki ga je avtorica izvajala med letoma 2015 in 2018. Glavna tema prispevka je vpliv pouka glasbe, kateremu so učenci prisostvovali v okviru dotičnega raziskovalnega projekta. Članek pokaže, kako lahko otroci – z migrantskim ozadjem ali brez – s poukom glasbe okrepijo svoje dvo- ali večglasbene identitete v medkulturnih prostorih. Ključni namen pričujočega članka je predstaviti vpoglede v različne možnosti medkulturne glasbene vzgoje na dunajskih osnovnih šolah.

ABSTRACT

This article presents some of the results of a research project which the author conducted between 2015 and 2018. The influences of the music lessons which were offered within the framework of this research project is the main subject of this article. It shows how children with and without migrant backgrounds can improve their bi- and multi-musical identities in their transcultural spaces through these music lessons. Providing an insight into possibilities of intercultural music education in Viennese primary schools is the central aim of this paper.

It is often claimed that music can play an ideal mediating role between cultures. However, it must be considered that, similar to language, music is subject to rules, follows transmission methods, and has social functions and aesthetic specifications that are strongly dependent on the power relations within the respective society. Bi- or multiculturality is the ability to articulate oneself in diverse cultural spaces. This particular ability can make an invaluable contribution to the transmission of musics and cultures of different communities who share the same places with different cultural backgrounds. In particular, bi- or multi-musical people can disempower the cultural power relations between these communities. This article deals with the question of how the bi- and multi-musical identities of pupils with migrant backgrounds in Vienna and Austria develop and to what extent power structures play a role in this phenomenon. A research project of the *Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology*, and the *Franz Schubert Department of Wind and Percussion Instruments* in *Music Education* at the *University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna* on the musical identity process of elementary school children (called "Music without Borders – Multilingualism in Music – The Understanding of the Other, the Unfamiliar") will be presented here in order to answer the question of how to reduce these hierarchical structures, which mostly lead to discrimination.

Numerous research projects have shown that children who are interested in music develop a stronger sense of self-confidence, better social skills and a greater sense of belonging and empathy within the society in which they live. In addition, the influence of making music enables them to have a better sense of togetherness.[1]

At this point one may ask the following question: How does the bi- or multi-musical identity of pupils with an migrant background in Vienna manifest itself and to what extent do power relations play a role in this process? The above-mentioned research project, which is situated in urban primary and secondary schools in Vienna where around 95% of pupils have migrant backgrounds, can visualize this issue in various aspects and answer these questions.

If we consider that for centuries Vienna has not only enjoyed a high international reputation as a "city of music", but with around 40% inhabitants of migrant background also represents an important centre of migration within Austria and the EU, one cannot deny the necessity of imparting elementary knowledge about the musical languages of migrants.[2]

Furthermore, it is unfortunately a fact that in Austrian schools the "problematic situation" of children with migrant backgrounds is repeatedly discussed, among other things because they frequently do not master the German language at a native speaker

1 E.g. Patricia Campbell, *Teaching Music Globally: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Eva Fock, "Experiences from a High School Project in Copenhagen: Reflections on Cultural Diversity in Music Education," in *Music in Motion: Diversity and Dialogue in Europe*, eds. Bernd Clausen, Ursula Hemetek, Eva Saether (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2009), 381–394; Dorothee Barth, *Ethnie, Bildung oder Bedeutung? Zum Kulturbegriff in der interkulturell orientierten Musikpädagogik* (Forum Musikpädagogik, Band 78, Augsburger Schriften, Rudolf-Dieter Kraemer (Hrsg.) Ausburg: Wißner Verlag, 2008); Barbara Alge, Oliver Krämer, eds., *Beyond Borders: Welt-Musik-Pädagogik. Musikpädagogik und Ethnomusikologie im Diskurs* (Forum Musikpädagogik Band 116, Berlin: Berliner Schriften, 2013); Huib Schippers, *Facing the Music, Shaping Music Education from a Global Perspective* (Oxford: University Press, Oxford, 2010).

2 For detailed statistical information see: "Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund nach Bundesländern (Jahresdurchschnitt 2018)," accessed July 1, 2019, https://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_migrationshintergrund/033241.html.

level and exhibit "different" behaviour in school classes. Muslim pupils have also been criticized because of their "Islamic behaviour" such as not eating pork, wearing headscarves and behaving more aggressively(!).[3]

Intercultural music pedagogy has not yet been sufficiently researched in German-speaking countries, and there are still only a few publications. On the other hand, there are numerous studies and publications on the general situation of migration, migrants, interculturality and diversity that point to the need for intercultural music education in schools.[4]

The above-mentioned books and various conferences (e.g. "Beyond Borders: Welt-Musik-Pädagogik" Rostock, 2011; "Kulturen.Vermitteln.Musik" - organized by the Bruckner Conservatory - Linz, 2013; "musik.welt - Kulturelle Diversität in der musikalischen Bildung" - organized by the Center for World Music, Foundation of the University of Hildesheim - Berlin, 2013 and "Traditionelle Musik: Von der 'Überlieferung' zur 'Vermittlung'? Models and Methods", organized by the Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna) emphasize the need for greater embeddedness of interculturality in schools. The fact that it can be implemented more proficiently through cooperation between music education and ethnomusicology was often mentioned in those publications and conferences. The long research tradition of ethnomusicology – especially studies on music and minorities – on the issues of that which is "different" and "foreign" can, with its methodological tools, provide many suggestions and solutions, contribute new aspects to music education and make "being different" into a natural matter in school classes.

1. Project Design and Aims of the Project

On the basis of these conditions, we have conceptualized this research project in order to examine the problems mentioned above and to develop possible solutions and alternatives. The project was located at the municipal schools *Neue Mittelschule Kölblgasse* (Kölblgasse New Secondary School) and *Volksschule Kleistgasse* Kleistgasse (Primary School) in Vienna. In these schools around 95% of the pupils have a "migrant background"[5] and that is why they are unfortunately defined by many experts, but also by the school staff, as "problem schools".

The project combined scientifically-oriented ethnomusicological research methods with practice-oriented methods of music education. This interdisciplinary approach

3 See e.g.: "Österreichischer Kinder- und Jugendgesundheitsbericht," accessed July 1, 2019. https://broschuerenservice.sozialministerium.at/Home/Download?publicationId=637; "Migration ist nicht schuld an der sinkenden Durchschnittsintelligenz," accessed July 1, 2019, https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000104686817/migration-ist-nicht-schuld-an-der-sinkenden-durchschnittsintelligenz; "Wien: Vier von zehn Schülern sind Migranten," accessed July 1, 2019, https://diepresse.com/home/panorama/oesterreich/465887/Wien_Vier-von-zehn-Schuelern-sind-Migranten.

4 E.g.: Dorothee Barth, *Ethnie, Bildung oder Bedeutung*; Max Peter Baumann, *Musik im interkulturellen Kontext*, (Interkulturelle Bibliothek, Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz, 2006); Hande Sağlam, "Musical Code-Switching: Understanding, Learning, and Transmitting Other Musical Languages Using a Transcultural Approach," in *Open Ears - Open Minds Listening and Understanding Music*, eds. I. Malmberg and O. Krämer (European Perspectives on Music Education vol. 6, 91–104, Innsbruck, Esslingen, Bern-Belp: Helbling Verlag, 2016).

5 Unfortunately they are treated as "foreigners" in that school, although most of that pupils were born and grew up in Vienna.

represented an optimal cross section between scientific and practice-oriented methodologies in order to optimize the teaching strategies used in music lessons at the primary schools and at the music university. It also made it easier for pupils to discover and understand other genres of music, other music tradition beside Western European classical music and Anglo-American music genres and perceive them as an integrated part of the community. The project duration was from 1st March 2015 until 28th February 2017 with an extension of ethnomusicology lessons for pupils in the academic year 2017–2018.

It was a cooperation between the above mentioned departments of the University of Music and (Department of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology, and Franz Schubert Department of Wind and Percussion Instruments in Music Education) and *Neue Mittelschule Kölblgasse* (Kölblgasse New Secondary School) and *Volksschule Kleistgasse* (Kleistgasse Primary School).[6]

There were four groups of project participants: pupils, primary school teachers, ethnomusicologists and music teachers (teachers and students of the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna who have taught musical instruments at this school).

In this project, instrument education students got into contact with the "real" world by teaching their instruments in the environment of a "typical" Viennese school class, in which the majority of the children are of migrant origin. To be able to teach in a school of this kind together with their students was also a challenge for many teachers from the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, because communication with the pupils was rather different there than that which they were used to. The interest and support of the pupils' parents was also divergent here, and therefore the tasks and approaches of the teachers were different.

The instrument teachers and students of the Franz Schubert Department of Wind and Percussion Instruments in Music Education at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna had a key role in this project, both as mediators of their musical language – which was Western European classical music – to the pupils, and also as interview partners for ethnomusicological researchers, as knowers and doers helping to find answers to the following question: "Which changes are necessary if we want to optimize the curricula of the departments of music education in order to prepare our students for multicultural Viennese schools?" In order to answer this question, we conducted guided interviews with the students and teachers of Vienna Music University, with teachers at primary and secondary schools, and with pupils. These guided interviews included questions on musical socialization, instrument teaching practices, music classes, identification of issues among the pupils of these particular schools, and the issues at the schools concerning so called "integration problems". Some questions about the potential inputs of the music university and suggestions for the introduction of new teaching concepts in the curriculum of the music university were also included in these guided and anonymously evaluated interviews. Encouragingly, the statements were quite similar. All of the project participants who were interviewed stressed the importance and necessity of new teaching concepts for intercultural music education. At the end of the project, we conducted feedback interviews with the same

6 https://wms3koelblgasse.schule.wien.at/ and https://campuslandstrasse-vs.at/ (Accessed July 3, 2019).

groups in order to find out possible strategies and whether they wanted to be actively involved in future projects. The fact that all interview partners wanted to be actively involved in our future research work was actually the most important sign that such projects are long overdue.

The pupils who take part in afternoon supervision receive regular music instrument lessons held by the students and teachers of the music university. In this way the pupils come into contact with Western European classical music. It is now a fact that Western European classical music is increasingly rarely heard, appreciated and understood. This lack of knowledge is not only the case among children with migrant backgrounds, but also among many children without such backgrounds.[7] The teachers and students of the Franz Schubert Institute used this opportunity in order to present Western European classical music and its "unknown" musical instruments to these pupils. The idea here was not to familiarize the pupils with the musical traditions of their so-called country of origin, but with the help of music education students and teachers to pass on "unfamiliar" and "unknown" western European classical music and create for this pupils a new leeway for creativity.

Figure 1: Students and pupils during a trumpet lessons. 2016, copyright IVE-Sağlam

Through those instrumental lessons the students of the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna got in contact with children of working class families who mostly had migrant backgrounds. This was an unusual cultural mosaic which our students were not familiar with, although it is by no means an exceptional feature of schools in Austria nowadays.

7 According to a study by Harald Huber the market share of classical music is about 9.9%. For detailed information see page 14 of "Austrian Report on Musical Diversity - Österreichischer Bericht zur Vielfalt der Musik 2000 - 2010," accessed August 31, 2019, https://www.ipop.at/wp-content/uploads/ARMD-Summary-0214_68-MB.pdf.

An "ethnomusicological" lesson was offered to pupils once a week, during which the tutor spoke with pupils about diverse music and dance genres and about their "favourite" or own or their parents' musical world beyond Afro-American and European popular music styles. Great care was taken that the children were not compulsively confronted with their so-called "own roots".

The ethnomusicologists carried out accompanying research by using the main methods of ethnomusicology, such as participant observation, guided interviews and audio/video documentation.

Figure 2: Pupils during Ethnomusicology lessons, learning how to make a documentation. 2016, copyright IVE-Sağlam

The mediating role of ethnomusicology in the music education system was necessary in this case. This function was actually the key task of ethnomusicology in this research project in order to create and simplify communication among the pupils and teachers of the primary school, the teachers from the music university and the students of the music education department.

In this context, the statement of Ellen Koskofs reflects the aim of the project very well:

> *Our main responsibility as teachers is, I feel, to pass on [music] without canonizing. Instead, we should be helping our students to discover their own paths with an underlying bedrock philosophy that all values, just like all people and all musics, have equivalent meaning to someone, somewhere. What I want to be doing also is teaching them a new set of values that will enable them to know their own music well, but also to become good musical citizens in [the] world. [...] I want also to be teaching strategies for learning open-mindedness, fairness, and compassion for differences of all kinds.*[8]

8 Ellen Koskoff, "What Do We Want to Teach When We Teach Music? One Apology, Two Short Trips, Three Ethical Dilemmas, and Eighty-two Questions," in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 545–559.

The ethnomusicological aim here was to analyse the possibilities of intercultural music transmission, and to prefigure and suggest new perspectives for transmitting various musical languages without generating any type of cultural and social hierarchy among them.

The primary objective in this transmission process is to create implicitness and benefits of "otherness" as a prerequisite for achieving mutual communication, not only among minority groups but also with majorities. In order to research the "otherness" in a school class, we wanted to find some ways to show the implicitness and richness of an individual to the pupils and also the music university students. Breaking down hierarchical structures was necessary here too, especially in areas related to aesthetic assessment and judgment.

Otherness is a sociological phenomenon which helps social groups and individuals by representing/describing their own identities, because in many cases identity has no meaning without determining what the other is. So by defining itself, another person or group will take on the role of being different. In many societies, the consequence of this classification is social or legal discrimination and exclusion. This otherness can unfortunately form a very strong hierarchical structure which is also reflected in an extreme way in the transmission of the musical languages of different cultures.[9]

Hierarchy is a social system in which persons are ranked according to their levels of importance and their power. This inevitable and sometimes even necessary social structure has, without doubt, many problematic aspects, because the "level of importance" of people in a society is a multi-faceted issue and can cause many conflicts, abuse and oppression, especially concerning the relationship between majorities and minorities, because in this case priorities are usually decided upon by the dominant culture.

Schools also have a very strict hierarchical structure. This causes many serious problems if, in this hierarchical construction, teachers have a lack of knowledge of the realities of their pupils. In our case it mostly concerns pupils with migrant backgrounds.[10] In this case these children are doubly oppressed in this hierarchical structure: as pupils in a typical school system and as "others" because of their social, ethnic and/or religious background. Our study emphasized once again the necessity for additional training and different information sources for teachers concerning "dealing with pupils with migrant backgrounds". This is not only the key issue of our project, but also a key problem of many Viennese schools. It must be repeated here that around 40% of the population of Vienna has an migrant background. Accordingly, there are many primary and secondary schools with pupils with migrant backgrounds. In these schools, talking about the "problematic behaviour" of those children is not only an everyday topic, but also something which is unfortunately instrumentalised and manipulated by right-wing politicians. They do not make solution-oriented statements, they want to implement a populist xenophobic policy by blaming migration for a great deal of negative events. Pupils experience this exclusion indirectly and develop ambivalent opinions, because they actually feel unwelcome and at the same time they want to

9 See also: Mullin A. Jackson, *Racial and Cultural Otherness - The Lived Experience of Americans of Korean Descent* (Florida: Boca Raton, 2009).

10 Mostly so called second and third generation, which are actually a part of Austrian community for more than 60 years but considered by the majority as foreigners.

follow the rules of society. As a result they also begin to exclude "others", which must be seen as a snowball effect which leads to insoluble social conflicts such as endless exclusion and racism. A short passage from an interview we conducted with a pupil with an migrant background from this school can describe the matter much more clearly: "about refugees ... We shouldn't accept any more refugees, because there are too many refugees in Austria."[11]

Competence in inter- and transcultural communication is an issue of growing importance in our world. Understanding and using competence in transcultural communication can provide us with many new perspectives. In this context, the transmission of different musical genres offers a variety of opportunities which can serve as a communication and understanding process between different communities and between various hierarchal structures. In order to achieve suitable models of transmission of various musical genres, an in-depth understanding of their cultural values is necessary. A profound analysis of their social and economic conditions is also inevitable if we want to repair the damaged structures of many hierarchies. In this case an interdisciplinary approach can provide an optimal basis in order to analyse the situation from different perspectives and to develop new methods and ideas.

Getting to know new musical languages was intended to help eliminate mental barriers and to help pupils and their teachers to treat the otherness of each other respectfully. Pupils and teachers jointly developed sustainable concepts in order to understand, learn, identify and articulate their "own" interculturality. In order to achieve these goals via music, various musical languages were used. This also makes it easier to get into contact with the pupils, because they can and will find individual connecting factors in their bi- or multicultural identities. In addition, the intention is that pupils without migrant backgrounds should learn other, unfamiliar musical worlds and mentalities so that they no longer experience the 'other' as a foreign body but as a part of their own society into which they were born. An essential part of the project was that pupils bring their "own" songs or their favourite songs to class and speak about them. The idea of creating a book with a CD was one of the central goals of this project, and the project team member Wei-Ya Lin has already published this book.[12] The book contains music from many different cultures in the world without considering them as "alien" but as a part of "us". She gave pupils an active role in this process as singers and illustrators. This not only promoted communication and fostered their interest in ethnomusicological research; it also gave us important information about their "hidden" musical identities and those of their family members. This provided us with many answers concerning existing problems of integration in schools, and significantly improved the pupils' success at school and gave them self-confidence. The interest, motivation and success of pupils in music lessons proved that the "problem" was not the pupils, but the methods of teaching. Actually, the main problem has been

11 From an interview with a nine-year-old pupil with an migrant background from the above-mentioned primary school. His family migrated during the Bosnian War in the 1990s.

12 Wei-Ya Lin, ed., *Sieben Blätter und ein Stein: das Märchen von Märchen* (Seven Leaves and One Stone: the Tale of Fairy Tales). Weitra: Verlag Bibliothek der Provinz, 2017, accessed July 7, 2019, http://www.bibliothekderprovinz.at/buch/7219 (Accessed July 3, 2019).

the prejudiced approaches of schools. From the moment that pupils felt the respectful approach taken towards them, they could show their interest, knowledge and abilities.

To be a part of research and creating an audio book together with our university students and teachers improved the communication, conscious togetherness and research experiences of pupils. They learned to be reflective by considering their own identities and the identities of others.[13]

With our semi-structured interviews, which we conducted not only with pupils but also with students and teachers of University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna and teachers of these two schools, we obtained a large amount of information, feedback, inputs, and achieved educational progress. Consequently, we highlight three important outputs:

1. Showing primary school teachers (who partly have many prejudices against pupils with migrant backgrounds) the potential of the intercultural abilities of pupils and their potential benefits for the school. Now they recognize the advantages and consider the music lesson to be necessary.

2. To familiarize university students - future music teachers - with the "real world" by immersing them in the environment of a 'typical' Viennese class where a majority of the pupils stem from diverse minority communities. A quote from one of our interviews:

   I had heard about this kind of school since my childhood, but I never came in to contact with them. Everything functions differently here. I think the methodologies of music teaching which we learn at mdw (University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna) are not accessible in this kind of environment. Our curriculum needs new inputs. Otherwise we will not be able to get into contact with these intercultural facets of the schools.[14]

3. New didactic concepts for intercultural music teaching must be developed in co-operation between ethnomusicology and music education in order to facilitate the teaching, learning and understanding of interculturality within the curricula of the music university. Not only teachers, but also our music students of our university recognized that ethnomusicological inputs during their education process give them a wider perspective on the diversity of musical languages. The future music teachers can, with the help of ethnomusicological research tools and approaches, begin to think intensively about power structures, authenticity, ethnocentricity, postcolonialism, globalization, discrimination and individuality, as well as ethical issues. Learning from differences, which they will find in sufficient amounts in their classes, and questioning hierarchical structures are also very important points.

13 For more information about this book and its influences on our project see: Wei-Ya Lin, "Representing Musical Identities of Children with Immigrant Backgrounds - An Example from the Research Project 'Music Without Borders'," *Musicologist* 1, no. 1 (2017): 32–51.

14 Excerpt from an interview with a student of the University of Music, 2017.

2. Conclusion – Summary of the Results

Our project finished in 2018. Thankfully the school and the teachers from University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna want to continue their cooperation. Our students and teachers see that the transmission of different musical languages at our university is necessary.

The project showed us that music education and ethnomusicology have many questions in common which cannot be answered within only one of these two disciplines. The necessity of a better embedding of interculturality, especially in primary schools, and a more competent, well-grounded and practice-oriented implementation of it through cooperation between music pedagogy and ethnomusicology was also clearly underlined. This study emphasises that in this context the central research method of ethnomusicology – field research – can offer many benefits. The integration of competent musicians from different cultures into didactic concepts and the thoughtful perception of "otherness" – without distancing oneself from it – are areas in which music education can benefit from ethnomusicology. Ethnomusicology should be open to the didactic approaches of music education so that these aspects can be implemented in the best possible way in order to achieve the highest level of teaching skills. At university level, music education students should receive more focused training so that they can better interact with internationally-structured school classes in their daily work. The fact that future music teachers become familiar with the methods and theoretical approaches of modern ethnomusicology – in order to understand the intercultural and transcultural concepts of their social environments – can offer them a broader professional perspective.

The encounter with the "foreign" with the help of experts from different music cultures and with pupils with migrant backgrounds at the primary school in the context of ethnomusicological field research can be offered as a first step here. It would be an important step towards understanding and problem-free communication that students who have grown up with two or more musical languages (bi- or multi-musical students) are given a mediating role. Ethnomusicologists can assist music educators greatly in this step: by blending ethnomusicological theories and research to establish world music education methods that can be incorporated into the music education curriculum and teaching practices. They can help music educators to find, learn and utilize the traditional methods of transmission of a certain musical culture so that they can be incorporated into lessons as an additional way of teaching music in the classroom.

Helding the lessons on different music traditions for pupils by an ethnomusicologist in order to create communication between different musical "understandings" and in order to give the pupils the possibility to discover the diversity in their environments without discriminating each others is the most and valuable result of this project.

3. About the Future

Through the results of this research project, we have realized that the students of our music university need immediate support concerning intercultural music transmission

methods. We also questioned the current methods of music education and determined that we need new strategies of transmission and teaching which are freer of prejudice and hierarchies. To achieve this goal, we need several steps. The first and most important one is a new course in the frame of our university. We will conceptualize a field work course for music students. In this course we are planning to take the students on a "field research trip" to schools where there are a large number of pupils with migrant backgrounds, in order to show them the real world of Viennese primary and secondary schools. Additional courses on intercultural competence and on diverse musical traditions are also necessary for students to obtain an insight into a possible "non-elitist" school without viewing it with prejudices but with enthusiasm and implicitness. The efficiency of this approach was proven during our research project. This experience will also affect pupils very positively. They will get in to touch with a world with which they normally have no contact. This insight will create a genuine and close contact between future music teachers and students so that they can finally reflect on identity issues themselves. A communication basis of this kind – as we have observed during the project – creates confidence and awareness so that children can express, define, and establish their own identity instead of suffering or benefiting from it as "victims". Better communication in school between the head teacher, teachers and pupils, a conscious togetherness instead of underlining otherness, sustainable research experiences through the pupils' own motivation should be the tools for learning and opening up new horizons for future reflective thoughts and decisions on the part of the pupils. We are already observing several indications of progress at this school and consider it necessary to carry out additional projects of this kind at other primary and secondary schools in Vienna.

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POVZETEK

Z analizo interdisciplinarnih in večplastnih pristopov raziskovanega projekta poskuša članek prikazati nove perspektive v »prenosih glasbe med večinskim in manjšinskim prebivalstvom«, ki živijo v urbanih prostorih z veliko kulturno raznovrstnostjo, kot je npr. Dunaj. Projekt z imenom *Glasba brez meja – Večjezičnost v glasbi in razumevanje »Drugega« in Neznanega* se je posvečal analizi vzpostavljanja glasbene identitete in metodam prenosa različnih glasbenih žanrov pri otrocih delavskega razreda na dunajskih osnovnih in srednjih šolah. Osrednji namen tega prispevka je ustvariti pregled konceptov medkulturnega poučevanja glasbe na dunajskih osnovnih šolah, zato da bi prikazali, kakšne so prednosti medkulturnih in »nehierarhičnih« metod prenosa glasbe učencem, bodisi s »priseljenskim ozadjem« ali brez, kot tudi učiteljem.

Prvi korak je predstavitev nujnosti takšnih raziskovalnih projektov – s pomočjo dodatnih odgovorov na socialna, politična in vzgojna vprašanja. S tem je pojasnjen interdisciplinarni raziskovalni pristop projekta in predstavljene informacije o koristi tega, da učenci odkrijejo in si ustvarjajo različne glasbene svetove. Kako deluje interdisciplinarno komunikacijsko delo in kakšna je pri tem vloga etnomuzikologije? Kako si lahko znanstveno raziskovanje in praktično usmerjeno delo medsebojno koristita? Članek poskuša odgovoriti na ta vprašanja tako, da poda nekaj metodoloških priporočil glede glasbeno-pedagoških konceptov dunajske Univerze za glasbo in uprizoritveno umetnost.

UDK 78:323.15(548.7)
DOI: 10.4312/mz.55.2.201-224

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Indigenous Voices Within the Majority-Minority Discourse in Sri Lanka

Staroselski glasovi v razpravi o večini in manjšini na Šrilanki

Prejeto: 6. maj 2019
Sprejeto: 17. julij 2019

Ključne besede: Ljudstvo Veda, Šrilanka, glasba manjšine, vzdržnost, etnomuzikologija

IZVLEČEK

Obseg šrilanške staroselske manjšine ljudstva Veda se iz leta v leto krči zaradi pritiskov sodobnega sveta, kamor sodijo politične odločitve, socialnokulturne okoliščine, vprašanja tehnologije in podobo. Bi lahko sodelovanje, ki bi se osredinilo na krepitev zavedanja skupnosti in samozavedanja posameznikov ter izboljšanje odnosa do izročila in vprašanj identitete koristilo ogroženim skupnostim?

Received: 6th May 2019
Accepted: 17th July 2019

Keywords: Vedda people, Sri Lanka, minority music, sustainability, ethnomusicology

ABSTRACT

The presence of Sri Lanka's indigenous Vedda minority is subject to continuous shrinking due to imposed views of modernity, including political decisions, sociocultural circumstances, technological and other issues. Could the collaborative work on strengthening communal and individual self-perceptions and attitudes towards heritage and identity issues benefit the endangered community?

1. Background

Sri Lanka, a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-lingual island country in South Asia, was for decades perceived as the arena of mutually confronted interests of the two largest groups, the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Beside them, the population of about 20 millions includes several minorities, which have not received much scholarly attention. This article provides a critical overview of ethnomusicological writings about Sri Lankan musics, and points to the underresearched musical practices of Moors, Malays, Burghers, Veddas, and other minorities. Special attention is paid to the indigenous Vedda people, who presently count to as little as few thousand individuals. The Vedda leaders are concerned about the prospect of their disappearance and search for solutions that would strengthen their identity and provide sustainable strategies for survival. The problems and dilemmas they are facing resemble, in various ways and to various extents, the problems discussed by ethnomusicologists and other scholars working with the indigenous peoples.[1]

2. Sri Lankan Vedda People

The name of the Vedda people originates from the Sanskrit term *vyadha*, which means hunter.[2] The Veddas were originally hunters and gatherers.[3] "Wanniyala-Aetto" is the other commonly used name for Veddas, which means "forest-beings".[4] According to a popular myth, supported by the historical source *Mahāwansa,*[5] the ancestors of Sri Lanka's current Sinhalese majority, who came to the island from North-East India in the 5th century BC, brutally destroyed the native Yakkha and Nāga population.[6] According to this myth, Vedda people emerged from the offspring of the Indian prince Vijaya and

1 In the other parts of the world: Ken S. Coates, *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples: Struggle and Survival* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); including Americas – Michelle Bigenho, *Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity in Bolivian Music Performance* (New York: Palgrave, 2002) and Beverley Diamond, *Native American Music in Eastern North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Asia – (Christian Erni, ed., *The Concept of Indigenous Peoples in Asia. A Resource Book* (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2008); Australia – Karl Neuenfeldt and Kathleen Oien, "Our home, our land... something to sing about': an Indigenous music recording as identity narrative," *Aboriginal History* 24 (2000): 27–38, and Europe – Richard Jones-Bamman, "'Greetings from Lapland': The Legacy of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1943-2001)," in *Ethnomusicological Encounters with Music and Musicians,* ed. Timothy Rice (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 97–110.

2 More in Nandadeva Wijesekera, "Vanishing Veddas," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series* 26 (1982): 1; Shiran U. Deraniyagala, *The Prehistory of Sri Lanka: An Ecological Perspective* 2 (Colombo: Department of Archaelogical Survey, 1992), 392; E. M. Rathnapala, *Lankāwē Veddo* (Warakapola: Ariya Publishers, 2003), 3, 4.

3 More in James Brow, "The Incorporation of a Marginal Community within the Sinhalese Nation," *Anthropological Quarterly* (George Washington University: Institute for Ethnographic Research, 1990): 11.

4 See in Wiveca Stegeborn, "The Wanniyala-Aetto (Veddahs) of Sri Lanka," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers,* eds. Richard B. Lee and Richard H. Daly (New York: Cambridge University Press: 1999), 269.

5 The *Mahāwansa,* the 5th century chronicle of the Sinhalese indicates that Veddas are descendents of prince Vijaya (6th-5th century B.C.) who came to the island from eastern India. According to the source, Vijaya is the first recorded king of Sri Lanka (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedda – accessed 25 February 2019)

6 "The present day historians claim that 'the Yakkhas and Nāgas could be the aborigines of the island'" (C. de S. Kulatillake, *Ethnomusicology and Ethnomusicological Aspects of Sri Lanka* (Colombo: S. Godage and Brothers, 1991), 19.

a Yakkha woman named Kuveni,[7] while another interpretation suggests that Yakkha and Vedda are in fact the same indigenous people. According to Sri Lankan archaeologist Shiran Deraniyagala, the Veddas are related to the *Balangoda mānavaya* (Balangoda humans), who lived in the island in the period 11,000-500 B.C.[8] In Michael Roberts' words, "Sinhala mythology recognises the fact that there were autochthonous inhabitants in the island when Vijaya, the eponymous ancestor of the Sinhalese, is said to have arrived in the fifth century B.C. Subsequently Sinhala folklore refers to the Vedda people and these folk are deemed to be the lineal descendants of the original autochthonous peoples".[9] The current Vedda leader believes that the ancestors of the Veddas inhabited the island since prehistory.

Veddas of Sri Lanka count to those inhabitants of the planet who are associated with the concepts of indigeneity,[10] ancientness, aboriginality,[11] and firstness, but also with racist notions of being backward,[12] wild men,[13] culturally deficient or uncivilized,[14] primitive,[15] and scantily dressed, timid,[16] unclean, ill-mannered and aggressive.[17] They are those "contemporary ancestors" in whose musical legacies comparative musicologists used to search for the origins of music. A Vedda song that uses two pitches, for instance, is the first example in Karl Wörner's *Geschichte der Musik. Ein Studien- und Nachschlagebuch*[18], pointing to the most primitive form of music. In his book *Firstness, History, Place & Legitimate Claim to Place-As-Homeland in Comparative Focus*, Michael

7 According to Nandadeva Wijesekera, "The ancient chronicles of Sri Lanka explain the origin of the Veddas as the descendants of a brother and sister who were the children of prince Vijaya and Kuveni, the Yakkha woman" (Wijesekera, "Vanishing Veddas," 2). According to James Brow, "Vijaya cohabited with the aboriginal Kuveni, who bore him two children from whose own subsequent union the Veddas are believed to be descended" (Brow, "The Incorporation of a Marginal Community within the Sinhalese Nation," 12).

8 Shiran U. Deraniyagala, "Early Man and the Civilization in Sri Lanka: The Archaeological Evidence," *Vedda.org,* accessed 25 February, 2019, http://vedda.org/deraniyagala.htm. More in Wijesekera, "Vanishing Veddas," 10; Deraniyagala, *The Prehistory of Sri Lanka,* 392 and Rathnapala, *Lankāwē Veddo*, 6–8.

9 See in Michael Roberts, *Firstness, History, Place & Legitimate Claim to Place-As-Homeland in Comparative Focus* (Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2005): 15.

10 For concepts and definitions of indigeneity see Francesca Merlan, "Indigeneity: Global and Local," *Current Anthropology* 50, no. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009); Richard K. Wolf and Frank Heidemann, "Guest Editor's Introduction: Indigeneity, Performance, and the State in South Asia and Beyond," *Asian Ethnology* 73, no.1–2, (2014); and P. J. Jonathan Stock, "Indigeneity," *Music and Arts in Action* 6, no. 2 (2018).

11 "In Sinhala Vedda means an aboriginal tribe living in the forest [...]" (Wijesekera, "Vanishing Veddas," 1) and "The Veddas are the present-day aborignies of Lanka" (see in Deraniyagala, *The Prehistory of Sri Lanka,* 397).

12 "A Veddah [Vedda] is a person who is scantily dressed and unclean, 'backward', and incapable of understandning what is in his or her best interest; the term applies to someone who is ill-mannered and aggresive [...]" (In Stegeborn, "The Disappearing Wanniyala-Aetto of Sri Lanka: A Case Study," *Nomadic Peoples, New Series* 8, no. 1 (2004): 44.

13 "In this land are many of these wild men; they call them *Veddahs* [Veddas], dwelling near no other inhabitants" (see in C. G. Seligmann and Brenda Seligman, *The Veddas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 6; "'Wild Veddas', who as migratory hunters and gatherers lived in the jungles [...]" (Peter Kloos, "Review Report on 'Vedda Villages of Anuradhapura. The Historical Anthropology of a Community in Sri Lanka'. Publications on Asia of the School of International Studies No. 33 by James Brow," Bijdragen tot de Tal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel 139, 4de Afl, (1983): 487; "The 'wild' Veddas were still scantily clad than their neighbours, for they wear no cloth, but only a small apron of plaited leaves [...]" (Paul Streumer, "The Leaf-Clad Vedda: An European Contribution to Sri Lankan Folk-Lore," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka* 42 (1997): 61.

14 James Brow states that "Vedda means something like 'culturally deficient' or 'uncivilized'" (more in Brow, "The Incorporation of a Marginal Community within the Sinhalese Nation," 11).

15 This adjective was often used in scholarly writings in the past. It is strange that some academics in Sri Lanka still use it when writing about the Veddas. This will be discussed later in the article.

16 "They are a group of timid human beings who loved the jungle" (Wijesekera, "Vanishing Veddas," 3).

17 For more, see Stegeborn's "The Disappearing Wanniyala-Aetto ('Veddahs') of Sri Lanka: A Case Study," 44.

18 Karl H Wörner, *Geschichte der Musik. Ein Studien- und Nachschlagebuch* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 28.

Roberts considers "indigenous peoples of Australia, Malaya, Sri Lanka and other parts of the world, whose problems started with their political and cultural subordination following the occupation of large chunks of their space by foreign intrudors. It is not only that they lost land and clout, as time passed they were overwhelmed numerically."[19] Ken S. Coates suggests that "The creation of a global movement of indigenous peoples has had profound effects on long-ignored and marginalized peoples, who have found common cause and political voice with comparable soceities around the world."[20]

3. Geography and History

Sri Lanka is an island country situated in the Indian ocean, bordered by the bay of Bengal in the East and the Arabian sea in the West (Figure 1). It is located some 40 km south-east of India.

Figure 1: Map of Sri Lanka (author's drawing)

The history of Sri Lanka is marked by the successive colonial rules of Portuguese (1505–1658), Dutch (1658–1795), and British (1796–1948). None of them made systematic effort to affect the way of life of the Vedda people. The island proclaimed

19 Comp. Roberts, *Firstness, History, Place & Legitimate Claim,* 13, 14.
20 Coates, *Global History of Indigenous Peoples.*

independence from the Great Britain in 1948, then, the subsequent governments started to interfere in various ways in Veddas' lifestyle. Following quotes show its starting messures,

> *[...] it is especially in the 20th century that the* Wanniyala-Aetto *[Veddas] have been displaced from their equatorial forests. [...] Between 1951 and 1955, Sri Lankan government evacuated several* Wanniyala-Aetto *settlements, forcing them to yield to the socio-economic needs of the dominant population. [...] At that time, minister of finance J. R. Jayewardene put an extremely negative light on the* Wanniyala-Aetto *[Veddas] when he mentioned that the aim of the government was to: '[...] lead them away from the hunter stage to the agricultural stage. We want to bring about a stage when the backwardness, the primitiveness of the Vedda [...] will disappear [...] and make them full citizens of Lanka'. [...] To expedite the development process, the government established 'The Backward Communities Welfare Board', which focused on the* Wanniyala-Aetto *[Veddas] of the Eastern and Uva provinces. This board facilitated the government's plan to move* Wanniyala-Aetto *[Veddas] to make way for the dominant Sinhalese and Tamil, who needed more rice-paddy land. The government argued that the hunters and gatherers should change their ways, and that the new life would be better. The* Wanniyala-Aetto *[Veddas] would benefit from living in permanent settlements and becoming agriculturists.*[21]

4. Demography

The official census records from 1881 up to 1901 recognised six ethnic categories of the island's population.[22] These were: Sinhalese, Sri Lankan Tamils, Sri Lankan Moors, Sri Lankan Malays, Burghers/Eurasians, and Others. From 1911 on, the Tamils became bisected into Indian Tamils and Sri Lankan Tamils and the same was done with the Moors, creating the distinction between Indian and Sri Lankan Moors. Due to the steady decrease of the European and indigenous (Vedda) populations over the years, these two categories became included under Others from 1963 on.

> *Despite their [Veddas'] numerical insignificance, they remained a census category in British time and were counted: numbering 5,332 in 1911 and 2361 in 1946, figures that could not even make up 0.0 percent of the population. Since then their number has dwindled because the vast majority have become Sinhala-speakers and Buddists, while yet others in Eastern province have become Tamil and Tamil-speakers.*[23]

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21 Comp. Stegeborn, "The Disappearing Wanniyala-Aetto ('Veddahs')," 53–54; K.N.O. Dharmadasa and S.W.R. de A. Samarasinghe eds., *The Vanishing Aborigines-Sri Lanka's Veddas in Transition* (Norway: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 1990): 159–60.

22 "Demographics of Sri Lanka," *Wikipedia*, accessed February 10, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Sri_Lanka.

23 More in Roberts, *Firstness, History, Place & Legitimate Claim,* 15, 16.

Table 1 shows the dynamics of change during the second half of the twentieth century and in the two most recent censuses (2001, 2012) pointing to the inclusion of the two new categories (Chetti[24] and Bharatha[25]) expanding ethnicities upto eight categories.

						000'
Ethnic Group	**1953**	**1963**	**1971**	**1981**	**2001**[26]	**2012**
All ethnic groups	8,098	10,582	12,690	14,847	16,930	20,359.4
Sinhalese	5,617	7,513	9,131	10,980	13,876	15,250.1
Sri Lankan Tamil	885	1,165	1,424	1,887	732	2,269.3
Indian Tamil	574	1,123	1,175	819	855	839.5
Sri Lankan Moor	464	627	828	1,047	1,339	1,892.6
Indian Moor[27]	48	55	27	-	-	-
Europeans[28]	7	-	-	-	-	-
Burghers & Eurasians	46	46	45	39	35	38.3
Malay	25	33	43	47	55	44.1
Veddas[29]	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sri Lankan Chetty	-	-	-	-	-	5.6
Bharata	-	-	-	-	-	1.7
Others	32	21	16	28	37	18.2

Table 1: Ethnic Groups of Sri Lanka[30]

5. Research

As ethnomusicologists, we should pose the following important question: is the unquestionable multiethnicity, multireligiosity and multilinguality, which led sociologist Neluka de Silva to name Sri Lanka "a hybrid island" (2004), reflected in music research? If we take a look into some pioneer publications about Sri Lankan musics, it appears

24 Chetty is a Tamil term for all trading groups in South India. Sri Lankan Chetties are a class of Tamil-speaking traders who migrated from South India under Portuguese and Dutch rule from 16th to mid 17th century ("Sri Lankan Chetties," *Wikipedia,* accessed March 25, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Lankan_Chetties).

25 Bharatha ethnic group is considered a caste of the Sri Lankan Tamils. They are descendant of Tamil-speaking *Paravar* of Southern India, who migrated to Sri Lanka under Portuguese rule. They live mainly on the western coast of Sri Lanka ("Bharatha people," *Wikipedia*, accessed March 25, 2019, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bharatha_people).

26 Note that 2001 census enumeration did not cover the North-Eastern part of the country (Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi, Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts) which was considered a war zone at that time ("Population Census and Statistics," accessed February 10, 2019, http://www.statistics.gov.lk/Pocket%20Book/chap02.pdf).

27 Indian Moor ethnicity is under "others" in the years 1981, 2001, 2012 ("Population Census and Statistics.").

28 Europeans are under "others" from 1963 onwards ("Population Census and Statistics.")

29 Veddas are under "others" from 1963 onwards ("Population Census and Statistics.")

30 Source of data: Department of Census and Statistics. ("Population Census and Statistics," 8.)

that domestic learners, researchers and writers, simply understood "Sri Lankan" and the majority "Sinhalese" as synonymous, with a fairly characteristic lack of sensitivity for the minorities. Pioneers of folk music research in the island, such as Devar Suryasena (1899–1981), W. B. Makuloluwa (1922–1984), and C. de S. Kulatillake (1926–2005), paid considerable attention to local music cultures and to their carriers with whom they shared language, religion, and ethnicity.[31] This is in concordance with the notions and activities of folk music and dance researchers in Europe, such as for instance Zoltán Kodály or France Marolt. In Sri Lanka, it was foreign researchers who brought in a variety of new research topics, relating music to gender, cultural policy, war, popular music, and media (for instance, Jim Sykes,[32] Anne E. Sheeran,[33] Hege Myrlund Larsen,[34] Max Peter Baumann,[35] Caitrin Lynch,[36] Shakuntala Rao & Pradeep N' Weerasinghe[37]). Sensitivity to the "other voices" – and not only to those of the Sinhalese majority – is increasingly present, partly as a consequence of the lessons learned from the three-decade long civil war, which ended up in 2009. The questiones posed by the younger generation of ethnomusicologists trained abroad testify to the value of comparative insights and raised sensitivity.[38]

The rest of my article is entirely dedicated to the island's indigenous Vedda people. Map 2 (Figure 2), points to the concentration of traditional Vedda settlements in the hilly and heavily forested central part of the island. Their community settlements were present in about one third of the island in 1950s. A much more recent map (Figure 3) (2018) suggests that the Veddas still live in some of these areas, but their habitat clearly shrinked and is currently limited to the following eleven settlements: Rathugala, Pollebadda, Dambana, Hennanigala, Laggala, Nilgala, Dalukana, Sorabora, Dimbulagala, Kukulagala, and Vakarai.

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31 Kulatillake later did research on Veddas and published some articles about them, which will be mentioned later.

32 Jim Sykes, "Culture as Freedom: Musical 'Liberation' in Batticaloa, Sri Lanka," *Ethnomusicology* 57, no. 3 (2013): 485–517.

33 Anne E. Sheeran, "White Noise: European Modernity, Sinhala Musical Nationalism, and The Practice of a Creole Popular Music in Modern Sri Lanka," PhD diss., (University of Washington, 1997); and Anne E. Sheeran, "Baila Music: European Modernity, and Afro-Iberian Popular Music in Sri Lanka," *The Hybrid Island: Culture Crossings and the Invention of Identity in Sri Lanka*, ed. Neluka Silva (Colombo: Social Scientists' Association, 2004).

34 Hege Myrlund Larsen, "Buddhism in Popular Culture – The Case of Sri Lankan 'Tovil Dance'," (PhD diss., Norway: Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, 2009).

35 Martina Claus-Bachmann and Paul Green guest-edited the thematic issue 46, no. 3, *Women and Music in Sri Lanka* of the journal *The World of Music,* 2004.

36 Caitrin Lynch, *Juki Girls, Good girls: Gender and Cultural Politics in Sri Lanka's Global Garment Industry* (Brand: Cornell University Press, 2007).

37 Shakuntala Rao and Pradeep N' Weerasinghe, "Covering Terrorism," *Journalism Practice* 5, no. 4 (2011): 414–28.

38 For instance, see, Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya, "Indo-Portuguese Songs of Sri Lanka: The Nevill Manuscript," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 59, no. 2 (1996): 253–67; M.S.B. Alawathukotuwa, "An Ethnomusicological Study of Gypsy Music in Sri Lanka," abstract, *Peradeniya University Research Sessions: Proceedings and Abstracts* (2005): 31 and "A Study of the Western Impact on Sri Lankan Song", abstract, *Peradeniya University Research Sessions: Proceedings and Abstracts* (2006): 26; W.W. Jinadasa and Ruwin Rangeeth Dias, "The Changing Pattern on Classical Song on the Impact of Electronic Media with Special Reference to Radio and TV media in Sri Lanka," in *Research Symposium of the Faculty of Graduate Studies: Proceedings and Abstracts* (Peradeniya: Faculty of Graduate Studies, 2010); Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona, "Music and War in Sri Lanka," *Militärmusik im Diskurs, Band 3*, ed. Michael Schramm (Bonn: Bundesamt für Wehrverhaltung, 2009), 93–106; Svanibor Pettan and Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona, "Cultural Policies and Minority Musics in Kosovo and Sri Lanka. What Can We Learn from a Comparative Study?" *Voices of the Weak: Music and Minorities*, eds. Zuzana Jurkova and Lee Bidgood (Prague: Slovo21, 2009), 24–33; and Chinthaka Prageeth Meddegoda, "Musical Instruments in Local Taxonomies: The Case of Sri Lankan String Instruments as perceived through Internet Sources," *Música em Contexto* 12, no. 1 (2018): 21–33.

Figure 2: Map of Vedda Settlements in the Early 1950s (author's drawing)

Figure 3: Map of Vedda Settlements Today (author's drawing)

In his book, *The Veddas*, C. G. Seligman categorizes Veddas into three distinctive groups:[39]

Gal Veddas/cave or rock Veddas, living in caves and forests, associated with hunting and gathering;[40]

Gam Veddas/village Veddas, living in mud huts and associated with *chena* cultivation[41] and farming;

Muhudu Veddas/coastal Veddas, living in coastal areas and associated with fishing, boating, etc.

Out of three distinctive groups of the Veddas described in the literature, the first one is widely seen as a root source for the remaining two. It is currently obsolete due to the governmental policies that from the 1950s pushed towards their removal from the forest habitats. One of the measures made the Veddas subject to punishment if hunting beyond the officially set limitations. In Ken S. Coates' words, "The indigenous societies

39 Seligmann, C. G. and Brenda Seligman, *The Veddas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911): 81-87.

40 More in James Brow, "The Changing Structure of Appropriations in Vedda Agriculture," *American Ethnologist* 5, no. 3 (1978a): 450.

41 *Chena* cultivation refers to dry farming, "which involves clearing small plots of land from the forest, cultivating them by hand for one or two years. By Western standards, *chena* appears untidy, a jumble of diverse plants raised between the trunks of incompletely burned trees" (more in Stegeborn, "The Disappearing Wanniyala-Aetto," 46, 60; and James Brow explains chena cultivation as "[...] may thus be described as a nonmarket mode of production organized on a household basis. Neither land nor labor is here marketed, and production is for use rather than exchange" (Brow, "The Changing Structure of Appropriations in Vedda Agriculture," 451.)

identified closely with their specific setting and developed cultural forms, habits, movements, and harvesting activities which permitted them to sustain life in a particular ecological niche."[42] As those "who share a complex moral universe with visible and invisible fellow beings in an environment where everything is alive",[43] Gal Veddas have lost much more than a simple space.

How they live under the changed circumstances? How do they cope with the challenges of a very different mediatised world? How do they interract with the non-Vedda visitors? Where is the place of music under the changed and changing circumstances? These were some of the questions that motivated me to organise a fieldwork expedition with my Sri Lankan students in 2005 to one of the Vedda major settlements near Dambana (marked with a black square on Figure 3), which is also the seat of Mr. Ūruvarige Wanniyaletto, the leader of all Sri Lankan Veddas.[44] He can be seen on Figure 4, sitting in his house with an axe over his left shoulder.

Figure 4: Ūruvarige Wanniyaletto, The Vedda Leader[45]

As it is often the case with the indigenous peoples, there is a belief, shared by insiders and outsiders, that they – thanks to the knowledge about natural remedies – can be helpful as healers.[46] Ūruvarige Wanniyaletto is known as the community leader, adviser, care-taker, priest and healer. His knowledge about native medicine, healing skills and methods

42 Coates, *Global History of Indigenous Peoples,* 49.

43 More in Stegeborn, "The Disappearing Wanniyala-Aetto," 44.

44 His first name, Ūruvarige, refers to his family lineage. According to Nandadeva Wijesekera, "The Vedda society was divided into several clans (*varuge*) [*varige*]. About 12 were known but only a few are remembered now. [...] Ūru and Monara are the best recognized. [...]" (Wijesekera, "Vanishing Veddas," 9). Current Vedda leader belongs to Ūru clan.

45 Photographed by the author during her field research in the Dambana area on August 18, 2007.

46 See for information, Bernd Brabec de Mori, "What Makes Natives Unique? Overview of Knowledge Systems among the World's Indigenous People," *Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies* (2016): 43–61.

are rooted in the oral tradition and were transmitted to him by the elderly ancestors. According to Beverley Diamond, "indigenous knowledge is bound to the knowledge of place and environment".[47] Until recently, he used his traditional medicinal knowledge to treat the Veddas after animal attacks, against various diseases and epidemics. During my second visit to the Dambana settlement in 2007, he sadly commented that young Veddas nowadays often prefer to seek instant remedies in the hospitals rather than using his traditional medicinal practices and products. They do visit him occasionally and seek advices, mostly for their elderly family members. The bottles next to him on Figure 4 contain liquids with medicinal qualities, meant for communal use and for selling to the outsiders. Photographs on the wall behind him display some of his visitors, from unknown ones to the President of Sri Lanka. For Sinhalese and other visitors from urban environments, Veddas look like an exotic curiosity.

Figure 5: Visitors with the Vedda leader[48]

Visit to a Vedda settlement is reminiscent of a visit to an open-air museum or eco-park, in which the community leader patiently poses for pictures with his axe and sells liquid products of the indigenous knowledge, while community members sometimes respond to special requests to demonstrate traditional music and dance.[49] A house depicted on figure 6 is the Vedda leader's house made of natural ingredients; twigs plastered with clay, lime, water, cow dung, chopped straw, barks of trees and more, which are available in their natural environment.[50] The rest of the community lives in well-furnished, equipped and stylized modern houses comparable to those of neighboring Sinhalese, Tamils or Muslims.

47 Beverley Diamond, *Native American Music in Eastern North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 26.

48 Photographed by the author during her field research in the Dambana area on 18 August 2007.

49 Wijesekera mentions that "The dance is a simple movement of a few steps. It is artless and simple. Musical instruments are not known to the Veddas. Time is kept by beating the thighs with the palms of the hands. Veddas sing simple songs. These are chants and lullabies. [...]" (in Wijesekera, "Vanishing Veddas," 8.)

50 More in Wijesekera, "Vanishing Veddas," 3, 11.

Figure 6: Vedda Leader's House made of Natural Ingredients[51]

Opening of the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Community Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Languages at the regional Sabaragamuwa University in 2006 is certainly a positive initiative, which reflects the government's awareness of its responsibility for the survival of Sri Lankan Veddas. Due to a mixture of political, economic and social issues, Veddas became deprived from their dignity and choice to continue traditional life style in the environment they consider their own. Increasing encounters with the non-Vedda individuals, their religious beliefs, mediatized languages, values, habits and technologies, inform young community members of a reality in which they increasingly wish to participate. Hiding any connections with the indigenous minority commonly associated with "backwardness" is easier in modern urban settings. Will the mentioned University Centre be able to change this trend? The unknown's author's Figure 7 depicts the Centre at its opening in 2006 and Figure 8 from 2019 demonstrates its present look.

Figure 7: University Officials with the Vedda Leader and some Members on the Inauguration Day[52]

Figure 8: The Center's Current Look[53]

51 Photographed by the author during her field research in the Dambana area on August 18, 2007.
52 Unknown photographer on December 18, 2006.
53 Photographed by the author on March 22, 2019.

The aim of the centre mentioned at the University web is as follows: "providing facilities for those who are interested in postgraduate studies in indigenous knowledge and community studies".[54] The main objective of the programme is "to continuously produce professional researchers that are well equipped with theoretical and applied aspects of indigenous studies to contribute to the world of indigenous knowledge".[55] The centre has initiated an e-journal called *Ākyāna* (Narrations) and so far it has three volumes available online.[56] Below are the excerpts of the author's interview with the current director of the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Community Studies, Prof. Suranjan Priyanath at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Languages of Sabaragamuwa University, on 22 March 2019:

Q: *What is your area of specialization?*
A: *I am an economist.*
Q: *When were you appointed as the director to the centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Community Studies?*
A: *In 2018.*
Q: *Is there an ethnomusicologist engaged in the Centre?*
A: *Neither an ethnomusicologist nor any other employee has been appointed. Director is appointed to be in-charge of the Centre and a clerical staff member is shifted from another department to maintain the Centre and do the paperwork.*
Q: *What is/are current role/s of the Centre?*
A: *To accept postgrarduate candidates for their higher studies (About 20 postgraduate candidates register each year at the centre for M.Phill and PhD studies).*
Q: *Do you have some research projects connecting Veddas, their rituals, customs and cultural values?*
A: *Yes, generally candidates focus on Veddas' culture, history, religion, language, sport, livelihood activities, indigenous health system and indigenous knowledge about climate, environment and social changes, economic, legal and anthropological views, traditional technology, agriculture, medicine, management, fishery and fine arts, but so far there is no focus on ethnomusicological perspectives.*
Q: *What are your postgraduate candidates' attitudes about Vedda community?*
A: *They are familiar with Vedda problems. They say that "real Veddas live only in forests, not in villages, only about 40 families. They do speak pure Vedda language and keep their tradition with their way of living, attitudes and values. In villages, Veddas just speak, behave, live and do all activities like us and whenever visitors come, they try to show their identity with an axe holding on a shoulder, speaking the language and acting as Veddas, nothing is genuine. Otherwise, they live with modern technologies, speak Sinhala and do business like us, no difference to be noticed.*
Q: *What are your initiatives for the Veddas's sustainable future?*

54 "Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Community Studies (CIKCS)," accessed March 20, 2019, http://www.sab.ac.lk/cikcs/.
55 "Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Community Studies (CIKCS) / Courses," accessed March 22, 2019, http://www.sab.ac.lk/cikcs/courses.php.
56 "E-journal of the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Community Studies," accessed March 22, 2019, http://www.sab.ac.lk/cikcs/ejournal.php.

A: *Nothing at the moment.*
Q: *What are the Veddas immediate problems to be addressed?*
A: *Land limitation and they have to have their own police and a court to understand and address their sensitive problems.*
Q: *Does the Centre have direct connections to the Vedda community?*
A: *No.*
Q: *Do you organize some lectures, cultural shows or discussions periodically about indigenous Veddas?*
A: *No, nothing at the moment. I do not think that it would be useful to organize Vedda cultural shows in an exhibitional manner in the university environment.*
Q: *Do you have an archive, a documentation centre, with audio and video data and publications about Veddas in your centre?*
A: *There is no sizeable collection at the moment, but we started to collect books, articles and postgraduate dissertations. University has an e-journal online.*
Q: *Are there any professional musicians in the Vedda community?*
A: *Yes.*
Q: *What are your proposals/suggestions/ideas to develop capacities of the centre for the betterment of Veddas' sustainable future?*
A: *I would make changes at the university act to expand center's capacity; to make academics and leaders of the university to see its value, not only to accept postgraduate applications, but to lead candidates to do applied research for Veddas sustainable future, to introduce a postgraduate course unit/s about indigenous knowledge, culture and language, to invite Vedda leader and some intellectuals to run a course/s, and in that way encourage young Vedda members to study, to make them aware of their identity and value. In this way, there would be a mutual benefit. There should be a national awareness of indigenous knowledge and community studies as well.*[57]

After we discussed the experiences from some other parts of the world, for instance from Brazil, the director added that "he could apply for funds to invite Veddas to lead a course for the students in the Centre, develop the center with audio-visual materials and library facilities".[58]

6. Publications

What do the publications about Sri Lankan Veddas tell us about their everyday reality (Table 2)? Ranging from an early study published in 1911 to our days, marginality appears to be a common thread. Assimilation with the Sinhalese majority or with the Tamils in the areas in which they dominate reflects conscious search for a more privileged life style. A selection of publications is listed in Table 2:

57 Suranjan Priyanath, in discussion with the author, at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Languages of Sabaragamuwa University, March 22, 2019.
58 Ibid.

Author	Name of the Publication	Year of the Publication
C. G. Seligmann and Brenda Seligman	The Veddas	1911
James Brow	Vedda Villages of Anuradhapura District: The Historical Anthropology of a Community in Sri Lanka	1978
Jon Anderson Dart	Ethnic Identity and Marginality among the Coast Veddas of Sri Lanka	1985
James Brow	"The Incorporation of a Marginal Community Within the Sinhalese Nation"	1990
K.N.O. Dharmadasa & S.W.R. de A. Samarasinghe eds.	The Vanishing Aborigines-Sri Lanka's Veddas in Transition	1990
E. M. Rathnapala	Lankan Veddas (in Sinhalese)	2003
Gananath Obeyesekere	"Where have all the Veddas Gone? Buddhism and Aboriginality in Sri Lanka"	2004
Michael Roberts	Firstness, History, Place & Legimate Claim to Place-As-Homeland in Comparative Focus	2005
Dayananda Somasundara eds.	Indigenous People of Sri Lanka (in Sinhalese)	2006
Dayananda Somasundara eds.	Sri Lankan Islanders and Indigenous People (in Sinhalese)	2007
Dayananda Somasundara and Herath Madaka Bandara eds.	Primitive Societies of Sri Lanka (in Sinhalese)	2009
Iranga Samindini Weerakkodi and Ruwan Premasiri	Coastal Veddas of Sri Lanka (in Sinhalese)	2013
Dayananda Somasundara	Indigenous Research (in Sinhalese)	2015
R. M. M. Chandraratne	"Some Ethno-Archaeological Observations on the Subsistence Strategies of the Veddas in Sri Lanka"	2016

Table 2: A Selection of Publications about Sri Lankan Veddas

The following four publications in one way or another include musical expressions of the Vedda people (Table 3).

Author	Name of the Publication	Year of Publication
C. de S. Kulatillake	The Veddahs Still Sing the Oldest Melodies on Earth	No publication year
James Brow and Michael Woost	"Vedda". Encyclopedia of World Cultures	1996
Gananath Obeyesekere	"Where Have All the Väddas Gone? Buddhism and Aboriginality in Sri Lanka"	2004
Uthpala Ekanayake	Shrī Lankāwē Prāthamika Janathāwagē Sangeethaya [Music of Sri Lankan Primitive People]	2015

Table 3: Publications on Vedda Music

The earlier mentioned C. de S. Kulatillake, widely regarded as the "father of Sri Lankan ethnomusicology", referred to Veddas as to those who "still sing the oldest melodies on Earth".[59] Brow and Woost provide some information about music in their encyclopedic entry about the Veddas. The third listed source has musical reference in the title, pointing to Pete Seeger's song "Where have all the flowers gone". The fourth source is a book published in 2015 by a graduate from the University of Visual and Performing Arts in Colombo. The use of the term "primitive people" points not only to a lack of sensitivity, but also to a lack of familiarity with ethnomusicological standards where this term does not have space for several decades.

The ongoing disappearance of the Sri Lankan Veddas raises a fundamental question, which was in a way anticipated by Marcello Sorce Keller at a recent symposium in Vienna.[60] He asked whether it would be acceptable to simply allow some musics to die, if their carriers do not show interest in them any more? Can the same question be posed in regard to Sri Lankan indigenous people in light of the choice of many among them to hide their Vedda roots and assimilate with the stronger ethnically defined communities?[61] I have no direct answer to this question at the moment, but if some action is to be taken, this should certainly be done on a collaborative basis and with consent of the community generally perceived as endangered. At my latest telephone interview with the first Vedda degree

59 In his booklet, *The Veddahs Still Sing the Oldest Melodies on Earth,* C. D. S. Kulatillake has mentioned that, "One important feature is that all Vedda songs are in the mono-melodic form. The Sinhala people in very remote regions have the binary form in their recitation of the common 4-line verse or *seepada* style of folk song, which is widely distributed in the country. The Vedda song may have even 10 or 15 lines, but all lines of the song will be sung in the same single melody. Not a single line will take a second tune other than the first tune of the starting line." (C. D. S Kulatillake, *The Veddahs Still Sing the Oldest Melodies on Earth* (Ambalangoda: Bandu Wijesuriya, n.d., 10.)

60 At the ICTM Joint Symposium of the Study Group on Music and Minorities and the Study Group on Music and Gender which took place in University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna on 23-31st of July 2018.

61 James Brow and Michael Woost explain this attitude as; "Especially among the younger and more educated villagers, one is likely to encounter stronger assertions of their Sinhalese identity and disinterest, even embarrasment, about their Vedda origins [...]". See "Vedda," *Encyclopedia of World Cultures Vol. III: South Asia,* eds. David Levinson et al. (New York: G. K. Hall and Company 1996), 12.

holder, T. M. Gunawardhena on 11 May 2018, I realized that he - being a village school teacher - tries his best to educate Vedda children, to make them appreciate traditional values, to teach Vedda language[62] and to encourage them to use it for day-to-day needs, and in this way to protect his people from very real challenges leading to dissappearance. He added that "teachers, who come from elsewhere first try to learn the Vedda language and customs, but our children refused that".[63]

In her keynote address, Michelle Bigenho[64] argues that,

for indigenous people, modernity began when their lives were first interrupted by colonizers, when their land was invaded. The newness that comes with encounter is central to other definitions of 'alternative' modernities as well. Indeed, the very application of the concept of 'modernity' to indigenous cultures is part of a broad movement to decouple the idea of the modern from Euroamerican centrism. Indigenous modernities often differ from the 'developmentalist' narratives of 'the West' and emphasize the fragmentation, deterritorialization, and struggles for reclamation that are parts of indigenous experience in most parts of the world. Reclamation, recontextualization, and expansions of 'traditional' concepts to include new realms of experience are important elements of 'modernity'.[65]

Beverley Diamond reminds us that,

It is important to recognize, however, that local knowledge is neither homogenous nor isolated. Most modern people – indigenous and nonindigenous – have cross-cultural encounters, travel, or use various media and communication technologies that provide access to diverse social worlds. Powwow organizers, for instance, recognize the importance of the internet in circulating their protocols and descriptions of the meanings of various dances.[66]

In my telephone conversation with T. M. Gunawardhena, he made clear that almost every younger Vedda member uses phone, internet and other media for their own commercial purposes, while he would like to add educational means to their use. "Our lives today have become square typed with telephones, televisions, houses, rooms and mobiles."[67]

62 According to K. N. O. Dharmadasa, "[...] both Vedda and Sinhalese, favour categorizing Vedda as a dialect of Sinhalese" (more in "The Creolization of an Aboriginal Language: The Case of Vedda in Sri Lanka (Ceylon)," *Anthropological Linguistics* 16, no. 2 (1974): 80; and Nandadeva Wijesekera, "It is not possible to know the exact nature of the original Vedda language. Some words of an unidentified language can be detected. The view of language experts is that on structural and grammatical grounds the language of the Veddas is similar to Sinhala [...]" (see in Wijesekera, "Vanishing Veddas," 4).

63 T. M. Gunawardhena, a telephone interview with the author, May 11, 2018.

64 Bigenho's keynote address at the World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada (13–19 July 2011) on "The Intimate Distance of Indigenous Modernity". Visit the online journal for more informatin about her speech: https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/MC/article/viewFile/19993/21911 (accessed March 31, 2019)

65 See Beverley Diamond, Kati Szego, and Heather Sparling, "Indigenous Modernities: Introduction," *MUSICultures,* Online *Journal of the Canadian Society for Traditional Music.* 39, no. 1 (2012): 2.

66 See Beverley Diamond, *Native American Music in Eastern North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 10.

67 T. M. Gunawardhena, a telephone interview with the author, May 11, 2018.

Obviously, tradition and modernity could function to mutual benefit if there are means to make the former attractive to a generation which, for most part, refuses to look back. Consequently, I believe that collaborative efforts of scholars and community leaders could benefit the sense of self-respect among young Veddas, and familiarize them with the useful experiences of indigenous people in the other parts of the world.

7. Conclusion

The almost three decades long civil war on the island prevented research in the considerably large portions of the country. Time has come for a sensitive, collaborative research on music of Sri Lankan diverse communities, including the Veddas and other minority groups and individuals. In addition to Tamils and Muslims, scholarly attention should also be paid to smaller minorities, such as the Burghers (descendents of European colonists from 17th to 20th centuries). European-derived genres such as *baila* and *kaffrigna*,[68] which are a part of Sri Lanka's musical soundscape should receive more attention, as well.[69]

I am concluding the article with respect to Catherine Grant's Twelve Factors in Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework (Table 4). While applying her system to test sustainability and resilience in the Vedda context, I do not refer to a specific genre but to their sonic/musical world in general.

	Twelve factors in Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework	**Music/Cultural Practices of Vedda people**
1	Intergenerational transmission	Intergenerational oral transmission is the efficient factor in regard to music-making related to ritual practices based on their belief in the power of "Ne Yakun" (dead ancestor spirits), also in regard to their customs and medicinal knowledge.[70]
2	Change in number of proficient musicians	Oral transmission and practice keep up the number of proficient musicians for local needs, while professional musicianship is non-existent.
3	Change in number of people engaged with the genre	The number of people taking part in ritual practices is decreasing due to the shrinking community numbers.

68 The verb "bailar" in Portuguse means "to dance" and kaffrigna is marked by Portuguese music and African 6/8 beat rhythms.

69 The relevant studies include: Sunil Ariyaratne, *Baila Kapiringna vimarshanayak* [An enquiry into Baila and Kaffringna] (Colombo: S. Godage Publishers, 2005); Sheeran, "White Noise," 1997) and Sheeran, "Baila Music," 2004); and Kalinga Dona Lasanthi Manaranjanie, "Sri Lanka: History, Culture, and Geography of Music", *SAGE International Encyclopedia of Music and Culture* (New York: SAGE Publishers, 2019), 2070–73.

70 For more details see, Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona, *Music and Healing Rituals of Sri Lanka: Their Relevance for Community Music Therapy and Medical Ethnomusicology* (2013), 17, 40–42, and 55.

	Twelve factors in Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework	Music/Cultural Practices of Vedda people
4	Pace and direction of change in music and music practices	Negative attitudes about their "indigeneity" have negative impact on their participation in traditional practices. So far, there are no popular music performers among the Veddas (unlike e.g. among the Saami in Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden, Finland & western Russia),[71] Ainu in Japan,[72] and aboriginal performers such as Yothu Yindi & Troy Cassar-Daley and Narbalek band from Australia).[73]
5	Change in performance context(s) and function(s)	"Demonstrations" of ritual practices sometimes take place based on demands of individual and organised tourists. These coincide with somewhat lesser number of ritual practices.
6	Response to mass media and the music industry	Veddas in general are glad to have a voice in the media. The interest of national media in the Veddas is rather limited, sometimes with the sole focus on the International Day of the World's Indigenous People on 9 August. But, a community radio station named, "Dambana Radio", established in Dambana in 2010 under the SLBC (Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation), aims to give voice to the indigenous community.[74] Advisors of the station are Mr. Ūruvarige Wanniyaletto (the Vedda leader) and Mr. T. M. Gunawardhena (the village school teacher, who gave the earlier addressed telephone interview to the author of this article). Dambana radio enables indigenous people to publicly discuss their community needs, receive regional and national news, and learn about the programs on indigenous culture and environmental protection in Vedda language.
7	Accessibility of infrastructure and resources	There is no infrastrucure or resources beyond the community contexts and needs. The Centre for indigenous studies may provide infrastructure and resources not only for research and documentation, but also for performance and teaching in the future.
8	Accessibility of knowledge and skills for music practices	The leader and community members wish to keep the inherited knowledge and skills alive within the community. They make the musical part accessible also outside the original contexts and share it with visitors, too.

	Twelve factors in Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework	Music/Cultural Practices of Vedda people
9	Official attitudes towards the genre	Academic interest in Vedda culture is an unquestionable fact, but the sonic features of what we would call music attract minimal interest, limited to researchers and curious individuals.
10	Community members' attitudes toward the genre	Like in most other cultures, young generation is more attracted to mediatised than to communal traditional expressions. Access to new technologies increases the gap in attitudes accross generational lines, but respect for the elders still enables intergenerational transmission of traditional contents to the young ones.
11	Relevant outsiders' attitudes toward the genre	Showcases of interest in their culture by the outsiders in a range from academics to tourists sends a basically positive message to community members. The most relevant case may be the earlier mentioned Centre for indigenous studies, whose full potential is yet to be realised.
12	Documentation of the genre	A plenty of studies on Vedda culture is available in various formats, including books, articles, magazines, web pages, audio-visual materials and documentaries. The Centre for indigenous studies is expected to store and organise the data and collaborate in these processes closely with community members.

Table 4: Twelve Factors in Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework

71 Saami have created rocak'n'roll musics featuring Saami musical elements and Saami dialects intermixing with modern western cultural idioms and instruments. More in Richard Jones-Bamman's "From I'm a Lapp' to 'I am Saami': Popular Music and Changing Images of Indigenous Ethnicity in Scandinavia," *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 22, no. 2 (2001): 189–210 .

72 A group of young Ainu musicians and dancers form a band called "AINU REBELS", blend traditional strains and modern hiphop to imporve the status of Ainu people. More in: Yoko Kubota, "Japan's Ainu fuse tradition, hip-hop for awareness," accessed April 5, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-ainu/japans-ainu-fuse-tradition-hip-hop-for-awareness-idUST4893020071128.

73 "Some aboriginal performers such as Yothu Yindi and Troy Cassar-Daley comfortably occupy spaces in the world of mainstream Australian popular music. Other groups, such as the Narbalek band from the northern territory, perform and record almost exclusively for regional aboriginal audiences, a feature common to aboriginal bands, particularly in remote areas" (more in Chris Gibson's "Declonizing the Production of Geographical Knowledges? Reflections on Research with Indigenous Musicians," *Geografiska Annaler Series B, Human Geography, Encountering Indigeneity: Re-imagining and Decolonizing Geography* 88, no. 3 (2006): 279.

74 D. B. Herath and et al. note that Sri Lanka was the first country that established a community radio for indigenous people in Asia; D. B. Herath et al., "Radio 'Dambana': A New Experiment of Community Radio in Sri Lanka," abstract, *Proceedings of the International Postgraduate Research Conference,* University of Kelaniya, (2015): 339.

Veddas or Wanniyala-Aettos are widely considered the oldest inhabitants of Sri Lanka and associated with the concept of "firstness".[75] Their numbers are continuously shrinking due to a combination of factors, including the past governmental policies, development projects, urbanization, mixed marraiges and modern technologies, despite the present policies marked by the growing attention to human and cultural rights. My analysis based on the applicaton of Catherine Grant's Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework suggests that there is a space for collaborative work involving scholars and community members to benefit the endangered community and strengthen the minority indigenous voices in Sri Lanka. The Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Community Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Languages at the regional Sabaragamuwa University and a community radio station, radio Dambana point to the government's interest in Vedda's sustainable future. These two initiatives have potential to be further explored and developed. The growing field of applied ethnomusicology certainly contribute to the improvements thanks to its valuable theoretically and methodologically grounded world-wide practical experiences in relating music-centered interventions to various benefits on both communal and individual levels.[76] Using the tools developed within the realm of applied ethnomusicology at this critical point will be a challenge for all participants in the envisioned collaborative work, which has no alternative.

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75 Roberts, *Firstness, History, Place & Legitimate Claim*, 2005.

76 More in Jeff Todd Titon, "Music, the Public Interest, and the Practice of Ethnomusicology," *Ethnomusicology* 36/3 (1992): 315–22; Svanibor Pettan, "Applied Ethnomusicology and Empowerment Strategies: Views from Across the Atlantic." *Muzikološki zbornik* 44/1 (2008): 85–99; Klisala Harrison, Elizabeth MacKinlay, and Svanibor Pettan, eds. *Applied Ethnomusicology: Historical and Contemporary Approaches.* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010); Klisala Harrison, ed. "Special Section on Music and Poverty." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 45 (2013): 1–96; Svanibor Pettan and Jeff Todd Titon, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2015.

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POVZETEK

Šrilanka je otoška država v Južni Aziji, kjer sobiva več etnij, religij in jezikov. Desetletja je država veljala za prizorišče, na katerem se za svoje interese borita dve največji skupini – Singalci in Tamilci. Poleg njiju pa 20-milijonsko ljudstvo sestavlja tudi več manjšin, ki v nasprotju s singalsko in tamilsko večino skoraj niso bile predmet znanstvenih raziskav. Članek obravnava staroselsko ljudstvo Veda, ki danes šteje še zgolj nekaj tisoč posameznikov. Njihovo število se vztrajno niža zaradi sklopa socialnih, političnih in ekonomskih ter kulturnih procesov. Starejši pripadniki ljudstva so zaskrbljeni zaradi obeta njihovega izumrtja in si prizadevajo, da bi poiskali načine za krepitev lastne identitete in dolgotrajne strategije za preživetje. Prispevek se mestoma naslanja na odkritja etnomuzikologov, ki se ukvarjajo z staroselskimi skupnostmi v drugih delih sveta. Primer šrilanškega ljudstva Veda je predstavljen v okvirih dela *Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework* avtorice Catherine Grant. Obstajata dva primera, ki bi si zaslužila nadaljnjih raziskav: Center za staroselske vede in študije skupnosti (The Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Community Studies) na Fakulteti za družbene vede in jezike na lokalni Univerzi Sabaragamuwa, ki je bil ustanovljen v letu 2006, in radijska postaja za skupnosti, Radio Dambana, ki deluje od leta 2010. Oboje kaže na to, da se vlada zaveda odgovornosti za ogrožena ljudstva Šrilanke in želi pripraviti plodna tla za skupna prizadevanja. Avtorica vidi v izkušnjah rastočega področja uporabne etnomuzikologije po vsem svetu, obetavno pot za načrtovanje vzdržne prihodnosti skupaj s šrilanškim ljudstvom Veda – in za njih.

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