MUZIKOLOŠKI Z B O R N I K

MUSICOLOGICAL A N N U A L

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APLIKATIVNA ETNOMUZIKOLOGIJA
APPLIED ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

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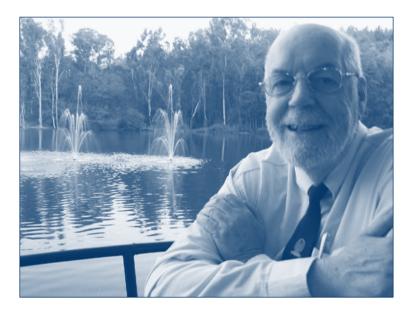
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Kjell Skyllstad and Applied Ethnomusicology

An Introduction

This volume of *Musicological Annua*l is dedicated to Prof. Emeritus Dr. Kjell Skyllstad on his 80th birthday and to applied ethnomusicology, the development of which owes him a considerable gratitude.



Picture 1. Kjell Skyllstad, Chiangmai (2007)

In the 44-year long history of the *Musicological Annual*, this is the first of its volumes ever dedicated entirely to the field of ethnomusicology. One of the major reasons for this was certainly the absence of a permanently positioned ethnomusicologist within the Department of Musicology at the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Arts, which publishes the journal. Lecturers such as Zmaga Kumer, Ph.D. and Igor Cvetko, M.A., both distinguished folk music researchers, were full-time employees of the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, which left them with rather limited time to invest into the development of ethnomusicology within the department. This volume coincides with the final part of both internal and external reforms of the study programs, which are expected to considerably increase the presence of ethnomusicology within the department and open new opportunities for upbring-

ing of new generations of ethnomusicologists. It is also related to two international conferences to be hosted by the department (*Approaches to Music Research: Between Practice and Epistemology*, May 8-9, 2008, and *Historical and Emerging Approaches to Applied Ethnomusicology*, July 9-13, 2008, and above all to the celebration of the inspiring colleague and dear friend Kjell Skyllstad, who while approaching the ninth decade of his life increasingly commits himself to new challenges in the world-wide scholarly arena.

Kjell Skyllstad was born in the northernmost city on Earth, the Norwegian Hammerfest, on June 30, 1928. In his own words, "I was born with the rays of the midnight sun reaching my eyes through the windows of the Grand Hotel. A Sami midwife performed traditional birth ritual, probably including giving me a *joik*, and helped bringing me to life. So, one could say that I was predisposed from birth for engaging in multicultural music activities" (e-mail, April 1, 2008). After completing his studies, he started opening new avenues for musical life in a variety of ways and contexts. In the beginnings, he initiated concerts of early music played on authentic period-related instruments and later promoted experimental performances, bringing together art music and jazz music domains within the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). In the course of his career, he became an expert for music of Norwegian composers such as Edward Grieg, Fartein Valen and Arne Nordheim. Within the realm of Western art music he often immersed himself into research of various innovative themes and approaches, including the relations between music and ideology, focusing on the role of music in totalitarian regimes like Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

From the late 1980s he became increasingly aware of the potential of music in fostering intercultural understanding and while embracing ethnomusicological viewpoints and viewpoints associated with some other scholarly disciplines he started to focus on cultural ecology and peace issues. *Norwegian Biographical Lexicon* from 2006 worded this as follows: "Throughout his whole career Kjell Skyllstad has been a remarkable initiator and a colorful actor on a series of seemingly unrelated fields, excerting considerable influence on national and international musical arenas."

He earned two master's degrees: in education at the Walla Walla University, USA in 1952 and in musicology at the University of Oslo, Norway in 1960, spending a couple of years in between as a DAAD scholar at the University of Munich, Germany. Except for a three year assignment on a research scholarship from the Norwegian Research Council (from 1972) to the Department of Evaluation Research, connected to the Music Academy in Graz, Austria, he served at the University of Oslo's Department of Music and Theater, at which he earned his Ph.D. degree in musicology, for 34 years - from appointment as Assistant Professor in 1962 until his retirement in 1998.

Influenced by his encounter with the cultural conglomerate in the United States of America, he became an advocate of openness, inclusion and cooperation in his native Norway and instead of assuming the traditional role of a musicologist as observer, he started to demonstrate the advantages of action-oriented scholarship. His research of music as an important counterforce to totalitarianism and regimentation led him to explore the potentials of music as a place of cultural encounters, especially after

increased immigration mostly from Asia, Africa and Latin America began to be felt in the Norwegian society.

In 1975 he established the Intermusic Center, initially concerned with promoting musical cooperation with Asian countries, which is currently led by him, Prof. Bussakorn Sumrongthong from Thailand and the undersigned (see: www.intermusiccenter.com). Within the period between 1989 and 1992 he served as research director for multicultural music project *The Resonant Community* for the Norwegian Concert Institute (Rikskonsertene). The report of this highly successful project has been translated into Slovene language and published in *Glasbena mladina* št. 24/4 (1993-94).



Picture 2. Directors of Intermusic Center, Chiangmai (2007)

Professor Skyllstad's connections with Slovenia go back to the year 1993, when he took part in the *Slovene Music Days* symposium titled "Music as Provocation". In 1994 and 1996 I was fortunate to cooperate with him at the Department of Music and Theater of the University of Oslo and in several other venues in Norway. We joined forces in bringing to life the project *Azra* that in the midst of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina linked around music many Norwegians and Bosnian refugees in Norway. We also cooperated at several international scholarly meetings, including the *International Society for Music Education* conference in Amsterdam in 1996, *Music and Minorities* conference in Ljubljana in 2000, *Invested in Community: Ethnomusicology & Musical Advocacy* in Providence, USA, in 2003, *International Peace Research Association* conference in Sopron, Hungary, in 2004 and *Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology in Education: Issues in Applied Scholarship* in Ljubljana in 2006. Following Prof. Skyllstad's lectures at the Department of Musicology and at the Music Academy in Ljubljana in 2002, his article "Nordic Symphony – Grieg at the Cross-roads" was published in the Musicological Annual XXXIX/1-2 (2003). In 2007 he provided generous help in

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fostering cooperation between the Bangkok-based Chulalongkorn University and the University of Ljubljana and as a result a group of 11 Thai professors and students came to Slovenia in May 2007. Within the Day of Thai Culture at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana and related events they gave concerts, lectures, and workshops, and interacted with carriers of Slovenian cultural expressions. This mutually beneficial intercultural communication will expectedly continue on an annual basis (in February) in the Thai city of Chiangmai.



Picture 3. Interaction between Thai and Slovene students, Ljubljana (2007)

All these activities are related to the new program in ethnomusicology at the Department of Musicology and its envisioned Center for Applied Ethnomusicology. The intention to establish a study group focused on applied ethnomusicology has been present among some members of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), which is the world's leading association of ethnomusicologists, for several years. The symposium *Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology in Education: Issues in Applied Scholarship* that took place in September 2006 in Ljubljana served as a major boost in this direction, while the articles for this volume of *Musicological Annual* derive from the presentations prepared for a double panel *The Politics of Applied Ethnomusicology: New Perspectives at* the ICTM's 39th world conference in Vienna, Austria, in August 2007. Five out of six panel's presenters, each from a different continent - Samuel Araújo (Brazil), Maureen Loughran (USA), Jennifer K. Newsome (Australia), Patricia Opondo (South Africa), Svanibor Pettan (Slovenia), and Tan Sooi Beng (Malaysia) - succeeded in creating articles out of their conference presentations. Due to escalating violence in her native Kenya, Patricia Opondo was unable to join us this time. On behalf of her and

S. PETTAN • KJELL SKYLLSTAD AND APPLIED ...

all the contributors, I attach best expectations to this ethnomusicological *Festschrift* for Kjell Skyllstad and wish you to enjoy the articles.

Svanibor Pettan



Picture 4. Participants in the panel The Politics of Applied Ethnomusicology: New Perspectives, authors of the articles. From the left: Tan Sooi Beng, Jennifer K. Newsome, Samuel Araújo, Patricia Opondo, Svanibor Pettan and Maureen Loughran, Vienna (2007)

Kjell Skyllstad in aplikativna etnomuzikologija

Uvod

Pričujoči zvezek *Muzikološkega zbornika* je posvečen emeritiranemu profesorju dr. Kjellu Skyllstadtu ob njegovi osemdesetletnici kakor tudi aplikativni etnomuzikologiji, ki slavljencu dolguje upoštevanja vredno hvaležnost.

V svoji štirinštiridesetletni zgodovini izhajanja je ta zvezek *Muzikološkega zbornika* prvi, v celoti posvečen etnomuzikološkim vprašanjem. Enega izmed glavnih vzrokov za to je iskati v odsotnosti stalnega učiteljskega mesta za področje etnomuzikologije v okviru Oddelka za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, ki izdaja zbornik. Predavatelja dr. Zmaga Kumer in mag. Igor Cvetko, pa čeprav ugledna raziskovalca ljudske glasbe, sta bila redno zaposlena na Inštitutu za glasbeno narodopisje SAZU, kar ju je časovno omejevalo pri njunih prizadevanjih za razvoj etnomuzikologije v okviru oddelka. Pričujoči zvezek sovpada z notranjimi in zunanjimi zaključnimi reformami študijskih programov, s katerimi je upati na povečano prisotnost etnomuzikologije znotraj oddelka ter na nove možnosti vzgoje bodočih generacij etnomuzikologov. Prav tako je pričujoča publikacija povezana z dvemi mednarodnimi posvetovanji, ki ju organizira Oddelek za muzikologijo (Pristopi k raziskovanju glasbe: med prakso in spoznavoslovjem, 8.-9. maj 2008, in Zgodovinski in novi pristopi k aplikativni etnomuzikologiji, 9.-13. julij 2008), in predvsem s praznovanjem zanosno vzpodbudnega kolega in dragega prijatelja, Kjella Skyllstada, ki se navkljub nastopajoči deveti dekadi življenja okrepljeno posveča novim izzivom na svetovnem znanstvenem prizorišču.

Kjell Skyllstad se je rodil v najbolj severnem mestu na svetu, v norveškem Hammerfestu, 30. junija 1928. Z njegovimi besedami: »Rodil sem se, med tem ko so žarki polnočnega sonca osvetljevali moje oči skozi okna Grand Hotela. Samijska (laponska) babica, ki mi je pomagala na svet, je opravila tradicionalni rojstni obred, tako da je v samščini zapela tudi *joik*. Kar pomeni, da sem bil že z rojstvom vnaprej določen za ukvarjanje z multikulturnimi glasbenimi aktivnostmi« (e-mail, 1. aprila 2008). Po zaključku svojega študija je zastavil nova pota glasbenega življenja, in to na različne načine in v različnih povezavah. Najprej je vpeljal koncerte zgodnje glasbe, ki so jo izvajali na prvotnih, obdobjem ustreznih instrumentih, nakar je pospeševal eksperimentalne prireditve, ki so povezovale umetno glasbo z raznimi področji jazza v okviru *Mednarodnega združenja za sodobno glasbo* (ISCM). V svoji karieri je postal izvedenec za glasbo norveških skladateljev, kot so Edward Grieg, Fartein Valen in Arne Nordheim. Na področju zahodne umetne glasbe se je večkrat podal v raziskovanje različnih novodobnih tem, med drugim tudi odnosov med glasbo in ideologijo, pri čemer se je osredotočal na vlogo glasbe v totalitarnih režimih, kakršna sta bila nacistična Nemčija in Sovjetska zveza.

Od poznih osemdesetih let dalje se je vse bolj zavedal možnosti, ki jih lahko ima glasba pri pospeševanju medkulturnega razumevanja, in se je začel ukvarjati s kulturno

ekologijo in z mirovnimi vprašanji, v katere je vključil etnomuzikološke poglede kakor tudi stališča, povezana z nekaterimi drugimi znanostmi. V *Norveškem biografskem leksikonu* iz leta 2006 lahko v tej zvezi med drugim beremo: »V vsej svoji karieri je bil Kjell Skyllstad pobudnik in viden znanstveni delavec na vrsti navidez nepovezanih področij, pri čemer je imel nemajhen vpliv na dogajanje na domačem in mednarodnem glasbenem prizorišču«.

Dosegel je dva magisterija: iz pedagogike na univerzi Walla Walla, v ZDA leta 1952, in iz muzikologije na Univerzi v Oslu 1960. Dve leti je kot štipendist fundacije DAAD deloval na Univerzi v Münchnu. Razen treh let, ki so bila na podlagi štipendije Norveškega raziskovalnega sveta (od 1972) posvečena raziskovalnemu delu na Inštitutu za raziskovanje vrednotenja pri Glasbeni akademiji v Gradcu, je Kjell Skyllstad na Oddelku za glasbo in gledališče Univerze v Oslu, na kateri je dosegel doktorat iz muzikologije, delal 34 let - od izvolitve za docenta leta 1962 do upokojitve 1998.

Pod vtisom srečanja s kulturnim konglomeratom v ZDA je postal pobudnik odprtosti, vključevanja in sodelovanja v svoji domovini Norveški in, namesto da bi si lastil tradicionalno vlogo muzikologa-opazovalca, se je začel zavzemati za prednosti akcijsko usmerjene znanosti. Njegovo raziskovanje glasbe kot pomembne sile proti totalitarnosti in reglementaciji ga je vodilo v odkrivanje potencialov, ki jih lahko ima glasba kot kraj kulturnih srečanj, še zlasti potem ko je bilo na Norveškem čutiti posledice povečane imigracije, posebej iz Azije, Afrike in Latinske Amerike.

Leta 1975 je osnoval Interglasbeni center, ki se je v začetku zavzemal za glasbeno sodelovanje z azijskimi deželami; poleg Kjella Skyllstada center vodita prof. Bussakorn Sumrongthong iz Tajske in podpisani (gl.: www.intermusiccenter.com). Med letoma 1989 in 1992 je bil prof. Skyllstad vodja multikulturnega glasbenega projekta *Zvočna skupnost* pod okriljem Norveškega koncertnega inštituta (Rikskonsertene). Poročilo o tem zelo uspešnem projektu je bilo prevedeno v slovenščino in leta 1994 objavljeno v *Glasbeni mladini*, št. 24/4 (1993-94).

Prof. Skyllstadove zveze s Slovenijo segajo nazaj v leto 1993, ko se je udeležil Slovenskih glasbenih dnevov, simpozija pod naslovom »Glasba kot pravokacija«. V letih 1994 in 1996 je podpisanemu bilo dano, da sodeluje z njim v okviru Oddelka za glasbo in gledališče Univerze v Oslu ter v različnih krajih na Norveškem. Sredi vojne vihre v Bosni in Hercegovini sva uresničila projekt Azra, ki je ob glasbi združil mnoge Norvežane in bosanske begunce na Norveškem. Razen tega sva organizirala zasedanja ob mednarodnih znanstvenih srečanjih, tako ob posvetovanju Mednarodnega društva za glasbeno vzgojo (ISME) v Amsterdamu leta 1996, konferenco Glasba in manjšine v Ljubljani leta 2000, mednarodni posvet Vlaganje v skupnost ob posredovanju etnomuzikologije in glasbe v mestu Providence, ZDA, leta 2003 in konferenco Mednarodnega združenja za mirovne raziskave (IPRA) v Sopronu na Madžarskem leta 2004. Prav tako pa je v letu 2002 prof. Skyllstadovim predavanjem na Oddelku za muzikologijo in Glasbeni akademiji v Ljubljani sledila tudi objava njegovega članka »Nordijska simfonija - Grieg na razpotju« v Muzikološkem zborniku XXXIX (2003) 1-2. Leta 2007 je zopet velikodušno pomagal pri vzpostavljanju sodelovanja med univerzo Chulalongkorn v Bangkoku in ljubljansko univerzo, čemur je v maju 2007 sledil obisk enajstih tajskih profesorjev in študentov v Sloveniji. V okviru Dneva tajske kulture na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani

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in spremljevalnih dogodkov so gostje koncertirali, predavali in vodili delavnice ter se z nosilci slovenskega kulturnega izpovedovanja medsebojno oplajali. To obojestransko koristno medkulturno sodelovanje naj bi našlo tudi svoje vsakoletno nadaljevanje februarja v tajskem mestu Chiangmai.

Vse omenjene aktivnosti so povezane z novim študijskim programom etnomuzikologije na Oddelku za muzikologijo in njegovim načrtovanim Centrom za aplikativno etnomuzikologijo. Že več let je bila namera po ustanovitvi študijske skupine, ki bi se posvetila aplikativni etnomuzikologiji, prisotna med nekaterimi člani Mednarodnega sveta za tradicijsko glasbo (ICTM), sicer vodilnega etnomuzikološkega združenja. Simpozij Etnomuzikologija in etnokoreologija v vzgoji in izobraževanju: vprašanja aplikativne znanosti, ki se je odvijal v Ljubljani septembra 2006 (poročilo Mojce Kovačič in Urše Šivic je bilo objavljeno oktobra 2006 v Biltenu ICTM-a), je predstavljal močno vzpodbudo v tej smeri, medtem ko članki pričujočega *Muzikološkega zbornika* izhajajo iz referatov v okviru dvojne okrogle mize Politika aplikativne etnomuzikologije: nove perspektive ob 39. svetovnem srečanju ICTM-a na Dunaju avgusta 2007. Pet izmed šestih panelistov, vsak z različnih kontinentov - Samuel Araújo (Brazilija), Maureen Loughran (ZDA), Jennifer Newsome (Avstralija), Patricia Opondo (Južna Afrika), Svanibor Pettan (Slovenija) in Tan Sooi Beng (Malezija) - so uspeli oblikovati članke, ki so sloneli na njihovih konferenčnih predstavitvah. Zavoljo povečanega nasilja v njeni domovini Keniji se nam tokrat žal ni mogla pridružiti Patricia Opondo. V njenem imenu in v imenu vseh sodelujočih naklanjam kar najboljša pričakovanja temu slavnostnemu etnomuzikološkemu Zborniku in slavljencu, Kjellu Skyllstadu, vsem pa želim obilo spodbudnega branja.

Svanibor Pettan



Slika 1: Kjell Skyllstad ob Dnevu tajske kulture, Ljubljana (2007)

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From Neutrality to Praxis: The Shifting Politics of Ethnomusicology in the Contemporary World

Od nepristranosti k praksi: spremembe v naravnanosti etnomuzikologije v sodobnem svetu

Prejeto: 3. januarja 2008 Sprejeto: 2. aprila 2008

Ključne besede: etnomuzikologija, etnografija, moč, politika

Izvleček

Potem ko obdela najnovejše spremembe v paradigmah družbenih ved in premisli lastne raziskovalne izkušnje z glasbenimi skupnostmi v Braziliji, avtor predstavi štiri raziskovalne primere, v katerih odkriva dokaze za precejšnje spremembe raziskovalnih scenarijev v smeri naraščajočih, politično naravnanih zahtev, ki jih skupnosti postavljajo pred raziskovalce.

Received: 3th January 2008 Accepted: 2nd April 2008

Keywords: ethnomusicology, ethnography, power, politics

ABSTRACT

Reflecting upon recent changes in socio-scientific paradigms and thinking over his own research experience with musical communities in Brazil, the researcher presents four case studies in which he finds evidence of a considerable transformation of research scenarios toward growing and more politically charged demands placed by communities upon academics.

This paper addresses the field of ethnomusicology in view of new epistemological scenarios emerging out of post-colonial situations, demanding that old roles played out through research (insider/outsider; engaged native/neutral foreign observer) be thought over carefully and replaced by new, more politically articulate ones. It will first refer to a set of assumptions and problems affecting the field's theory and practice in

the contemporary world, reflecting not only the critique of a series of modernity's illusions with the supposedly neutral character of the human sciences but also the limitations of post-modern criticisms to the latter. As argued here, and despite their certainly well-wishing intentions, such criticisms have fallen short of effectively theorizing, not to speak of counteracting, the asymmetrical power between knowledge-producing, though politically disempowered, communities and a world largely shaped by commodity forms, some of which materialized in the authority of certain academic discourses. Finally I will briefly present four distinct cases from my own research engagements in Brazil, attempting to illustrate how local community demands have affected their respective objectives and approaches, opening up potential issues on the way of a new disciplinary praxis.

It should also be warned that although these issues have been raised by a growing literature on seemingly marginal sub-areas eventually called applied,¹ collaborative and participatory research in ethnomusicology, I refrain from using any of such terms to qualify my object—the socio-political implications of face-to-face music research—as such, since in my view even those who believe in "pure" or "neutral" research are opening, intentionally or not, ways of application in and through their work, triggering such categories of distinction would just reveal a matter of degree and not really of substance.

Simultaneously I intend to highlight the political substance and epistemological consequences of new research contexts and roles as one area with potentially ground-breaking contributions toward the emergence of a more balanced social world, i.e. one in which knowledge will hopefully emerge from a truly horizontal, intercultural dialogue and not through top-to-bottom neo-colonial systems of validation. This choice is strongly rooted in my own personal experience in coordinating an academic unit that has maintained a four-year collaboration with a communitarian organization in Rio de Janeiro, attempting to devise forms of community's self-empowerment and counter-hegemonic forms of organization through music research on local social memory and sociability. During this so far stable collaboration our joint research team has experienced moments of high hopes in a new type of music (or ethnomusicological) research, despite the enormous challenges it may face under mostly adverse conditions.

Modern and Post-modern Modes of Musical Ethnographies

Assuming the risk of attempting to draw a necessarily broad characterization here, commensurate to acknowledging that there are many possible modes of doing ethnographies of musical practices, we will approach first a more conventional (meaning long legitimized, academically speaking) mode I shall call modern, as it is inspired by humanistic models consolidated in and through modernity. The researcher in this case

The term "applied" was though the one adopted in the 39th ICTM World Conference (2007) double-session in which a first draft of this paper was first presented in public, and from which a Study Group on Applied Ethnomusicology was proposed and finally created. I thank Svanibor Pettan, panel co-organizer, and fellow panel members Sooi Beng Tan, Patricia Opondo, Maureen Loughran and Jennifer Newsome for the fruitful cross-cultural perspectives on our mutually distinct cases and approaches.

is usually an individual tied in some way to an academic institution, equipped with academically oriented theories, methods and research categories. He or she defines (1) research focuses and goals, as well as (2) the nature of data to be "collected", after a period of "immersion" in "another" cultural reference system, (3) "collects" the necessary data, with, to some extent, native collaboration, (4) "translates" the data (i.e., through comparisons with his/her own cultural referents), something which is eventually done with native help, and, finally (5) interpret these data in the more coherent as possible manner, generating a textual form to be published under the researcher's exclusive authorship.²

Contrastingly, one might place a reflexive mode (or "post-modern", if you may), in which the researcher is still an individual who (1) defines his/her initial focuses and goals but all the other subsequent steps will present differences to some degree in comparison with the previous outline. He/she (2) will define and redefine the nature of the data to be collected through a persistent dialogue, negotiation and approximation with his/her "chosen society", (3) "collect" and "translate" data with systematic native help, and finally (4) interpret them with native collaboration (collaborative editing) aimed at a publication still to be authored by the researcher his or herself, despite the fact that native voices are granted greater credit and growing complexity as compared to conventional ethnographies, as well as a relative space to diverge from or even to contradict the credited author.³

However, this paper is concerned with a third and progressively expanding mode of musical ethnography, intensely "participatory" indeed, in which both native and academic researchers (subject positions sometimes merged in one single individual) negotiate from the start the research focuses and goals, as well as (2) the nature of the data to be gathered, (3) the type of reflection they require, highlighting community demands which may be potentially met with the research results, in which (4) natives will both gather and interpret the data, resulting in diffusion through collective authorship in various academic and non-academic contexts (5) non-academic natives and academics of different social origins develop reflections on the dialoguing process that permeates the research, and finally (6) new focuses arisen in this reflection open new research interests and suggest new forms of diffusion beyond the conventional ones.⁴

A Brief Note on Applied Research in Social Anthropology

The term "applied", used as a diacritical sign of the anthropologist's intervention in the cultures he/she works with, can be traced to the 19th century, with British anthro-

This accounts for, broadly speaking, the model found in one of the more influential books of the 1960s in the field of ethnomusicology (Merriam, 1964).

This model is even more liable to broader characterizations than the previous ones since its politically sensitive impulse elicits a myriad of responses in terms of research ethics, principles and procedures. But a good initial survey of such reactions, as appearing in musical ethnographies, is found in a collective publication organized by Barz and Cooley (1997).

⁴ A growing number of examples can be found in the literature since at least the 1990s (e.g. Ellis, 1994; Impey, 2002; Lassiter, 1998, 2004; Cambria, 2004; Araújo et al., 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b).

pologist L. Fox Pitt-Rivers's use of the term back in 1881, while the institutionalization of an applied anthropology as a subject matter in universities came as early as the 1920s, with Radcliffe-Brown's first courses under that heading at the University of Cape Town, South Africa (for a good historical overview, see Gardner and Lewis, 1996). Its basic goals by then were to provide trained personnel to posts in the colonial administration as a way of counterweighing difficulties or even failures in public policies, in other words, political and administrative problems seen as related to ignorance of cultural differences between administrators and administrated peoples. While both the legitimacy and asymmetry of this relationship were to remain for the most part unquestioned, it opened a new job market for trained anthropologists and at least one reputed ethnomusicologist, John Blacking (see Byron 1995).

The 1930s and 40s would see an expansion of applied research in anthropology, leading to the creation, in the US, of the American Association for Applied Anthropology, in 1941, pioneering the emergence of similar organizations elsewhere (Gardner and Lewis 1996). This professional society also launched the first publication dedicated to applied research, Human Organization, which is still available until today, and, since the late1990s, in free-access online form.

However, despite its expansion and relative acceptance as an academic field, applied anthropology has always been met with a certain disdain in so-called "pure research" circles, which have mainly called the former into question for its intervention in the studied peoples and cultures. According to anthropologist Eric Wolff:

Applied anthropology, by definition, represents a reaction against cultural relativism, since it does not regard the culture that is applying anthropology as the equal of the culture to which anthropology is to be applied (1962: 24).

In other words, cultural relativism, as much as anthropology's main currents up to the 1970s, has quite often taken as granted the non-interventionism and neutrality of anthropological methods and techniques, a modernity's fantasy timely criticized within anthropology in the 1980s.⁵ On the other hand relativists were not entirely off the mark, when they criticized applied anthropologists' frequently uncritical acceptance of "modernization" or "development", two euphemisms for deferral to commodity-driven worldviews and, at its extreme, to aid counter-insurgency initiatives, as the framework of their research.

It is perhaps unnecessary to bring up here too the relative discredit surrounding applied research in the academic milieu vis-à-vis pursuing "pure research" in the social sciences. These illusions as already suggested above were to dissipate under the post-modern turn in anthropology although the latter never really challenged academic authority in assuming to full extent the debate on anthropology's interventionism in the studied cultures, since to do it in full length would probably undermine the very structures of academic work as we know it (see, for instance, Jacobs-Huey 2002).

⁵ Among a plethora of pertinent titles, one should bear in mind a few seminal contributions by Fabian (1983), Marcus and Clifford (1984), Marcus and Fischer (1986), and Clifford (1988).

Applied Ethnomusicology in Perspective

The emergence of new scenarios of interaction between researchers and researched community's demands has occupied a narrow, but unquestionably growing, space in ethnomusicological literature and practice. Among the several factors behind this increasing visibility, I will point out, on one hand, the anthropological critique of ethnographic practice as an instrument of neo-colonial domination in the current context of world political economy (e.g., problems posed or reawakened by the so-called post-modern anthropology such as the crises of representation, of ethnographic authority, etc.); on the other hand, it becomes more and more common the assimilation of research techniques (sometimes learned from academic researchers) by carriers of cultural traditions, which articulate scholarship and socio-cultural activism, in order to maintain control of the reproduction or reinvention of their respective worldviews. Thus, the case studies presented in the literature may perhaps be roughly split into two main tendencies: 1- collaborative efforts developed by academic researchers and/or researched community members in search of recovering and preserving the memory of tradition, which are made viable through access to archives and collections housed outside the community space, through oral history, through access to and storage of iconographic, phonographic, visual or audio visual records, through the formation of musical groups, educational projects, etc.; 2- creation of community's teaching and research institutions, as well as databases maintained by the communities, with or without partnerships with governmental or third sector institutions. A common element in all of these possible situations has been the relative distancing from research models oriented toward goals defined exclusively or at least ultimately by the outside researcher (see Ellis 1994), and an epistemological turn toward perspectives in which community control over the generated knowledge is always at stake-although not always congruent with mainstream academic discussions.

Beginning with the first tendency outlined above, let me remind you of an entire volume of the US-based periodical Ethnomusicology (1992) dedicated to the discussion of new arenas for ethnomusicological work outside academia; these new fields of action have been alternatively called "public sector", "applied", "active", or "practical" ethnomusicology. As stressed by the volume's editor, each one of these categories is, by definition, sensitive to public interest and to the flux of knowledge generated outside the boundaries of traditional research institutions, thus reinforcing "music producers and musical cultures in collaborative projects that present, represent and affect the cultural flux of music the world over" (Titon 1992: 315). Among the various contributions to this issue, I would highlight two: a- the one by Anthony Seeger (1992) on legal problems regarding intellectual property in a world dominated by royalties and trademarks, and discussing the role of ethnomusicologists in the mediation process in defense of communities' rights to eventual outcomes of commercialization and diffusion of their traditions; b- the article by Daniel Sheehy emphasizing the importance of ethnomusicology "in 'feeding back' with cultural models to the community which conceived them" (Sheehy 1992: 333).

In fact, ethnomusicology has always been punctuated by collaboration between researchers or academic institutions and musical communities in specific projects of interest to those communities, such as commercial recordings, public presentations in new contexts, etc. As short-term experiences, such activities have usually depended on the establishment collective trust on the researcher, quite often stemming from a previous longer-term project with goals defined by the researcher himself (frequently a thesis or a dissertation).⁶

The second type of situation mentioned above, however, may demand from the ethnomusicologist an involvement of unpredictable duration and intensity, as well as assuming the risk of raising issues not seen as welcome in the academic sphere, such as, for example, his/her observance of interdict issues or of certain forms of knowledge diffusion. It is redundant to say this may easily jeopardize a research career evaluated by criteria such as number of publications and a production that may be judged exclusively (so one is told...) by standardized, peer-reviewed professional rules.

In contrast, one such way in which both anthropologists and now a few ethnomusicologists have developed more horizontal participative strategies in their research activity has implied the adoption of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's ideas on dialogic knowledge building. A basic distinction underlies his approach to this issue: one between a situation in which the student remains the self-conscious subject of the cognitive operations making possible the emergence of liberating knowledge, the teacher acting as a mediator of the process, and another one he termed "banking education" in which the student remains primarily as object of the teacher's knowledge transference, a knowledge produced by a distant Other, in many cases foreign or even hostile to the student's cognitive backgrounds (Freire 1970, 1996).

An interesting experience in this sense was discussed in a special 1994 issue of the journal The World of Music comprising articles on music research and the ethical concerns it raises among indigenous peoples of Australia. The general objective of all contributions was precisely to bring to the fore the new roles and new research contexts emerging at a moment in which indigenous peoples were intensifying their struggle for political and cultural autonomy, as well as for the maintenance or rescue of their ancestral territories. Although space limitation here does not allow a more encompassing appraisal of the panel, it is worth noticing the introductory piece by the late Catherine Ellis (1994). She recollects her initial involvement, as an academic researcher, with indigenous peoples and their respective musical cultures, her progressive engagement in short-term community-driven projects, and finally the creation of the Center for Aboriginal Studies of Music⁷ at the University of Adelaide in 1975, resulting from a project collectively conceived by the ethnomusicologist and indigenous musicians with whom she had been working. Its aims, she continues, were to offer the world indigenous views of music-making, through continuous research and teaching of musical practices by and to both indigenous and non-indigenous community members, as well as to provide a new context for students in general to study music in general.

⁶ I will comment a bit more on this issues when discussing my case studies further in this paper.

See also Jennifer Newsome's contribution to this volume for a fresh perspective on CASM's activity.

Being an initiative inspired to a great measure in Paulo Freire's pedagogical thinking, Ellis explains how the research and teaching strategies passed through a process of systematic negotiation with indigenous community councils. This, she points out, eventually led to practices which were foreign to academic "ethics", such as interdicting speculation on and diffusion of given repertoires outside the community proper since both outcomes were considered concerning or threatening to the well-being of an entire society. In such context, as well stressed by Ellis, tradition cultivation intersperses the construction and reconstruction of indigenous identities and the struggle for rights to land, health, housing, education, etc. in the scope of the encompassing national society. This approach, as acknowledged by the late Australian ethnomusicologist, presents a series of paradoxes⁸ while we, academics, keep ourselves attached to scientific paradigms and evaluation criteria still dominant in the academic field. But, she adds, overcoming such paradoxes through patient, tortuous and radical intellectual changes may lead to innovative syntheses between indigenous (or, expanding, the argument non-academic) and academic thought processes.

Thinking over my own research experience with musical traditions in Brazil, I find evident a progressive move evidencing a considerable transformation of research scenarios toward growing and more politically charged demands placed by communities upon academics, which I will attempt to illustrate below with four case studies.

New Scenarios and Roles in Samba Research

In between 1988 and 1990 I worked on my dissertation on samba in Rio de Janeiro (see Araújo 1992), focusing on the so-called samba schools, huge carnival associations, encompassing about four thousand participants each, which compete annually for prizes and attract a great deal of tourist interest around the world. Pursuing a doctoral degree abroad at the time, and consequentially constrained by the usual research limitations faced by most outside researchers, I followed some basic principles of participant observation, centered on one of these associations and reflecting critically with my interlocutors, mostly musicians, on the role of music-making in the production of social meaning out of a myriad of interests, encompassing from worldwide TV broadcast copyrights and local organized crime activity to state propaganda and community self-esteem. In general terms, this research was conducted amidst a commercially overvalued context, generating accusations targeted at the abandonment of tradition and the selling out of community values, oftentimes, if ambiguously, vocalized by samba songwriters identified with the roots of samba (samba de raiz).

There had even been an attempt, in between 1975 and the mid-1980s, toward empowering traditional samba forms through the creation of a new type of samba school devoted to both research and creative activity—still existing but of little repercussion at

⁸ Among these paradoxes, one may be faced with the emergence of newly empowered academic subjects (e.g. the so-called native researcher), the critical acknowledgement of community-established ethical limits to research conducts, and the relativization of traditional signposts of academic legitimacy such as peer-evaluated publications, theses, dissertations etc.

the time my fieldwork was being carried—, the Grêmio Recreativo de Arte Negra Escola de Samba Quilombo (see Cabral 1997).9

Wishing to work on oral histories constructed with selected samba musicians as a way of mapping out questions the available literature seemed to overlook, I opted for individuals who had maintained a relatively long involvement with samba practices, some of which expressed—not without a certain ambiguity—firm disagreement with the current scene, others accepting the changes as they may fit new conjunctures, new anxieties, both seen as legitimate as the traditional ones. While the research project remained, until its final stages, under the academic researcher's control, its pertinence to the researched communities is to this date yet to be asserted.

However, as soon as I settled back in Rio after graduation (1992), and visiting one of the people who helped me more substantially with my fieldwork, himself a respected composer and carrier of the community's social memory, I was asked to check out a novelty in his Salgueiro¹⁰ house that had resulted, he said, from my insistent questions and his patient search for documents and records to answer them. He had transformed his home into a local reference center (or, as he called it, a small "museum"), covering up the house walls with documents on the samba school memory, an idea that had occurred to him about two years earlier, after being bothered by an insistent researcher (me) for some months in a row. After this meeting I tried to put forward a longer term research project, which should ideally be negotiated with community members, around the Freirean notion of the academic as a mediator of knowledge generated by the community, resulting in the expansion of the incipient musical memory center that had already been built. Nevertheless the aggravation of social and racial apartheid in Rio de Janeiro following still obscure facts surrounding the State government 1992 elections, with dramatic effects being felt to this day, suddenly made such enterprise, as defined by my interlocutor, "unadvisable". Eventually he felt compelled to move out of the community, of whose samba school he had been a co-founder and a respected leadership for decades, still living far away from it today.

Recently, however, relatively favorable conditions made possible, since 2006, for the university's Ethnomusicology Lab to start a new, ongoing joint project with a locally based NGO on Salgueiro's socio-musical memory, which will hopefully be able to benefit from his personal archives.

New Scenarios, New Roles: Gypsy Music and Dance in Rio

Back in 1995, while advising a master's thesis research at the university, the student in question mentioned his participation in private parties among calom-speaking (derived from the calom language spoken by *ciganos* in Portugal) gypsies in the neighborhood of Catumbi, Rio de Janeiro, involving what had impressed him as very peculiar music and dance styles. Having manifested my curiosity in seeing and hearing them somehow, the

⁹ Le., Recreational Black Art Club Quilombo (community-states founded by self-freed, formerly enslaved people during the slavery era) Samba School.

Hillside community, home to one of the largest and oldest samba schools of Rio.

student showed me first a community-made video. As my curiosity grew after watching the video (both music and dance seemed just too close to long abandoned 19th-century models mentioned in the literature), and after the student's intermediation, I was invited by the community not only to participate in but also to document a 50th-year marriage anniversary party it was about to take place. Their proposal allowed me to shoot a video for research purposes as long as I returned them a master copy so they could dub it to interested community members. Among this predominantly elderly group of people, there was a generalized feeling that their identity defining traditions would disappear with them, since, in their perception, the younger generations, comprising a majority of mixed marriages with non-gypsies, tended to shy away from cultural practices marked off by social stigma. The proposed agreement between us was one which allowed documentation of music and dance, as well as of the participants and their socializing during the party, simultaneously available for academic research and for community purposes—perhaps to be taken later as a source of its own strengthening.

My first measure was a more attentive watch of the community-made video, attempting to better understand the flux of the event itself, and also of the community's possible expectations from my own video shooting. Having in mind Hugo Zemp's precepts for ethnographic video-making (Zemp 1988), I tried to adequate the documentation procedures to the existing conditions. The unedited result was at some point presented to a few community members who made several comments during the show, some of which deeply emotional one due to the reassurance that only elderly people still participated, or death of some participants a few days after the party, while others expressed their happiness in face of their chance (perhaps the last one) to socialize and of the beauty of their music and dance.

This experience eventually took the course of public presentations on the research results in both national and international academic symposiums (Araújo 1996; Araújo e Guerreiro 1996), at least one of the former being attended by community members. To some extent both academics and community members felt their mutual interests in a complementary relationship; the former could undertake an exploratory study of a little known aspect of a musical practice cultivated in Brazil, while the latter could obtain a valuable record of cultural traditions seen as vital in a moment of profound transformation of their community as well as of the society-at-large in which they lived. Although occasional meetings between the researchers and community members still occur, no further research-related collaboration took place.¹²

New Scenes: The Documentation of a Brazilian Dance Drama

A master's degree advisee developed her thesis research on the use of *rabeca* (a Brazilian fiddle-type instrument) in the Cavalo Marinho dance drama, a kind of play

Having no previous first-hand knowledge of the ritual structure of a marriage anniversary party (or even if there was any formal prescription for it), and with confirmation that the video shooting would be possible arriving a few hours from the beginning of the party, the only machine available was a home VHS camera hired at a commercial video rental store.

¹² Quite recently gypsy communities and their culture were elected priority in terms of documentation projects funded by the Ministry of Culture.

structured on a relatively prescribed set of music-and dance, originally performed around Christmas-time. The focused group was formed by migrants from the interior of Paraíba state, in the Northeastern region, whose oldest members had been settled for about thirty years close to the state capital city of João Pessoa.

Replacing urban occupations, such as school security guards or construction workers, for their older rural ones as either cowboys or agricultural workers, its members had to adapt their cultural traditions to new situations: events unlinked to Christmas (e.g., stage shows academic congresses or in tourist venues), usually low cash payments by State agencies or commercial interests (as opposed to just food, drinking and shelter in the older rural settings) and uninformed audiences with little if any understanding of what went on in the play.

It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize the group's difficulty and, at times, revolt in having to deal with these situations, which placed them almost invariably in a disadvantageous position to negotiate their interests (adequate conditions and payments, show time etc.) In 1997, before the CD proposal reached them, Cavalo Marinho members had decided to try a new direction through the building of a legally recognized cultural organization, with help from a university professor with a relatively long record of engagement with the *brinquedo* (lit., toy; also self-entertainment, play), a designation commonly used among the group. This association was thought as a form of making viable a series of projects, including a video documentation project by then approved by the Ministry of Culture, but waiting for more than a year for the release of the necessary financial resources.

In the same year, 1997, I had received a proposal for an audio CD documentary related to the 500 years of cultural exchanges between Brazil and Portugal. My advisee and I presented the proposal to Cavalo Marinho members, through its acknowledged leader, Mestre Gasosa. From the beginning the negotiation was meandrous, involving a series of phone calls mediated by the university professor already mentioned. At some point there was an agreement that a contract should be made and underwritten by both the Portuguese recording company, one academic researcher (me) and the group musicians participating in the recording, in attempt to avoid previous experiences in which their rights had been, as they put it, disrespected.

The idea of a contract had, however, a series of implications which were nearly impossible to settle over the phone (see, once again, Seeger 1992). Fortunately, the negotiation was made more fluid as the university professor recalled my own period of residence, professional activity and political activism in João Pessoa between 1980 and 1985. The conditions and dates for recording were then defined, and they were made in an amiable atmosphere, the group having decided to record a representative sample of the music performed in each of the three parts of the *brinquedo* (an integral documentation would perhaps demand a longer series of CDs), something they had been regularly doing for some time in their new performance contexts (e.g., 15-minute presentations during academic conference coffee breaks).

During this process -which is still developing—the group's or, better, Mestre Gasosa's strategy, mediated by an academic, seemed to involve a constant, and often complicated, synthesis in between the evocation of a collective memory (encompass-

ing repertoires, older performance contexts and frustrating experiences with both phonographic and video-making projects) and attempts to form new references for action in a transformed world. In this framework, the CD could open (and indeed opened, not always for good) opportunities for the diffusion and continuity of their expressive work, but mainly to contribute to other forms of organization and intervention which would hopefully assure them more social control over their own creative resources.

What seemed a good prospect turned, however, into an intricate social issue. The audio CD was released under the title *Cavalo Marinho da Paraíba* (IN Susana Sardo, ed., A Viagem dos Sons Vol. 12. Vila Verde: Portugal; 1998). After the consecutive deaths of Mestre Gasosa, group leader, and fiddle player Mestre Artur da Rabeca, the group saw a dispute over name ownership to develop between Mestre Gasosa's son, Dinho (who was also a dancer with the group since childhood), and Mestre João, who played the *Mateus* character and was one of the singers, along with Gasosa in the recording. In his attempts to keep the Cavalo Marinho alive, something which involved keeping the name consecrated in the CD release and teaching younger people the songs or showing fiddle tunes to players not familiar with the repertoire, Mestre João named the group after the CD's title, which became the centerpiece of the copyright suit (see Lima 2004).¹³

Intriguingly enough, although understandably, the law suit does not involve neither the recording company nor the researcher who acted as mediator, both of which signed a contract with the musicians, signaling that the dispute remains exclusively one over name ownership, using the CD as perceived evidence of rights. So, it seems to me that this episode demonstrates that, even if not calling into question the ethics of the recording, including its diffusion and commercialization, the political implications of punctual, short-term research, even when ethically and socially responsible, does not account for the ever expanding relationships between peoples and the reified products of heir labor.

New Scenarios: Working for and with a Community at Maré

As reported elsewhere (Araújo et al. 2006) Ethnomusicology Lab of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro has established, since 2003, a partnership with CEASM (Center for the Study and Solidarity Actions of Maré), a NGO created by residents within a socio-politically disenfranchised area of Rio de Janeiro with an estimated population of about 135,000 people, comprising from relocated slum populations of Rio and unskilled migrant labor (the majority of which from northeastern Brazil), to a population of about 1,000 Angolan young students and middle-aged war refugees. High rates of unemployment and the profitability of drug-trafficking delineate the broader social

Before the CD release, Mestre Gasosa used to call his Cavalo Marinho "de Mestre Gasosa" or "de Bayeux" (an allusion to their hometown). The latter was, however, contested by another Cavalo Marinho group based in the same town. The reference to the state of Paraíba was then thought initially by researchers and musicians as a clearer marker of geographical origin, not as a trademark.

contours in the Maré area, leading to a harsh routine of police raids, corruption, drug wars on territories between factions, and traffic-dictated curfews.

Our partner organization was, by 2003, one of the highest visible community-based NGOs in Rio, with a considerable infra-structure (classrooms, well-equipped administrative offices, computer rooms, library and various types of database) and a strong focus on the preparation of Maré youngsters to the yearly admission exam in public universities (reputedly the best in Brazil and free of charge). Its main focus requires, in its representatives' perception (middle-aged, university-trained residents or former residents of Maré), that exam-centered skills be complemented with other skills that may enrich the experience of youngsters. CEASM's particular expectations from our joint project were that the formation of local youngsters to document Maré's musical output, eventually leading to the creation of a local musical reference center, might reinforce both the subjects' self-esteem and experience in another musical program or yet in other related areas such as dance, history, story-telling, etc.

The Project

A first version of the project was prepared by a university-based team of two teachers, one former graduate student, and three currently enrolled graduate students. The main points of departure were: a- the positive feedback (in ethical, dynamic, and even epistemological terms) from the previous small-scale experiences in alternative modes of ethnography, with focuses jointly defined by university researchers and members of the focused societal groups, and the involvement of some of the latter in several stages of the research proper (e.g., as interviewers, "fieldworkers", "translators" of local linguistic variations, etc.); b- emphasis on whatever locally based musical resources are available; c- the considerable accumulated experience in sub-fields fields termed "applied", "advocacy", "participatory" within the social sciences, ethnomusicology included, and the increasing availability of related literature; c- the institutional support from the university and also from some of its business partners (e.g., the giant state-owned oil company) within a political context of increased awareness of the disparaging social, political and economic imbalance between the very rich and the poor in Brazil, an overall trend leading the first industrial worker ever to win presidential elections in the Americas to take office in 2003.

Intense discussions with NGO representatives (educators, historians and administrative personnel) led to the development of a one-year research project restricted to two sub-areas of Maré and involving three basic stages: 1- twice-a-week encounters with a group of 20 Maré-resident youngsters selected among second-grade student volunteers, aimed at the development of a conceptual basis as well as of research focuses and tools. Following participatory action models (but particularly the one proposed by Paulo Freire). The university researchers act in this case as mediators of discussions among the youngsters on relevant musical subjects and categories for music research; 2- the actual audio and audiovisual documentation of musical practices and interviews with representative individuals; 3- the building of a public database within Maré, located at

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the NGO headquarters, and the development of outreach programs aimed at its residents and at the general public (each one involving certain specificities such as questions on the range and type of diffusion).



Picture 1. Musicultura (Maré research group members at Casa de Cultura), Baixa do Sapateiro (2006)



Picture 2. Musicultura Timbau (Maré research group members at CEASM), Morro do Timbau (2006)

Issues Emerging in Dialogic Research

As a huge number of potential research topics have emerged in the discussions in these four years, I would like to share at least a few of them here.

Differences in musical backgrounds and experience were among the most immediately self-perceived traits within the group, revealing from the start a quite significant feature of Maré: its widely diversified soundscape (to use once more composer Murray Schaffer's well-known metaphor). The most admired genres may be generally described as Brazilian popular musics (mainly Rio de Janeiro's samba and pagode, or the Northeastern forró) and international trends such as rap, rock, and reggae, but also include clusters of African pop (among Angolans), evangelical gospel songs or the local equivalent to "gangsta rap", the so-called "proibid o" (i.e., highly forbidden). It is probably redundant to say that each of these genres may be "the" exclusive pick or intersect one another in one individual's particular choice repertoire, while the main sources for musical experiences encompass radio and TV broadcasts, music recordings from both licit and illicit sources, public (e.g., religious services, funk balls [comment]) and private performances (rock rehearsals, private parties), indoor and outdoor events. Taste distinctions have shown to maintain correlations with age, religious affiliations, schooling, occupation, the proximity of the drug business putting some youngsters at social risk, and also to the period of residence within Maré.

It is relevant to notice too that the initial revelation of such differences, as it might be expected, provoked a great deal of meaningful silence (Freire 1970) during the first encounters. Little by little, however, a number of interaction strategies proposed by the university team (e.g. showing documentary videotapes recording different sound practices within the Maré area and simulated life history interviews with project participants) led the student researchers to increase their awareness of the content of each other's preferred styles. Little by little, new kinds of interaction (including musical ones) between these youngsters have started to develop, including the creation—and maintenance since then—of a politically committed Carnival group since 2005, Se Benze Que Dá (Bless It, So It Passes), an allusion to Carnival parades through the dangerous drug-traffic divides.

This leads to an issue emerging strongly in the discussions: the impact of violence (much more than hunger, or the lack of either job or leisure opportunities, which is not to say these are not strong concerns) on social life in general, but particularly on musical ones. Violence, in the discussions among youngsters, is often understood as a sub-product of drug-trafficking and/or police action. Quite significantly, the majority of examples of violence in the youngsters' accounts are illustrated with significant sounds. On the other hand, they often emphasize the term "sound" to describe local practices that might otherwise be deemed as "musical", which has led us (university and Maré researchers) to entertain on the continuity of the sound spectrum in Maré (Schaffer's soundscape, but also Araujo's acoustic labor [1992]), from gunfire, church loudspeakers and war commands to everyday speech and more or less ritualized sound performances.

Physical violence and terror notwithstanding, violence appears more often under the form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 2001, Wacquant 2004). This form is spotted back-and-forth by Maré residents in their own downplay of their cultural output, perhaps as a result of years of actions aimed at what "the community lacks", in which the content provider is usually an outsider. When he/she ceases, for one reason or another, his/her collaboration with local institutions, leaves behind a sense of frustration or

simply a vacuum.

Symbolic violence also appears under the form of concepts made up from outside perceptions that "freeze", so to speak, social practices, failing to recognize or, in Bourdieu's terms, misrecognizing practical strategies as categories that make no sense in the real world. This has serious implications since the on-going discussions have revealed different internal uses within Maré for established categories used in academia, side by side with frequently used, socially pertinent local categories which remain absolutely absent in scholarly studies of the masses or of the poor. That should leave us wondering about the relatively innocuousness of many labels and object-centered approaches that pervade the literature on popular music cultures in Brazil vis-à-vis a highly significant, while largely ignored, praxis emanating from stigmatized daily struggles for physical and emotional survival.

In a response to this challenge, one of the greatest achievements so far in this project has been the collective engagement of the joint research team in reconsidering older and elaborating new research categories based on the community's research experience, resulting in the production of texts, some of which are already published in prestigious academic journals, and other forms of newly qualified actions which transcend the worn-out dichotomies between "neutrality" and "interventionism", "political" and "non-political" realms.



Picture 3. Musicultura no forum social brasileiro (Maré research group participating in the Brazilian Social Forum), Recife (2006)

Final Remarks

In conclusion, one might risk saying, as a provocation to debate, that it is imperative to scrutinize more carefully forms of musical research still based on the modes of ethnography made "conventional" in the colonial world, or even the so-called reflexive work done in the post-colonial context. This questionable legacy, which entails legitimiz-

ing the discourse of academic interpreters' while reducing the focused peoples' power to resist their transformation into objects, has been basically translated as (1) fetichized musical products and processes, i.e. defined and naturalized in terms of ideologies which are usually foreign to the focused communities, and (2) a slight reconfiguration of academic authority without challenging standards of authorship; and (3) public policies (e.g. on world and national heritages, research agendas, training programs etc.) which stress the hegemony of academia, attributing to its agents (i.e. researchers) the responsibility of defining, preserving, and promoting musical diversity (see, for instance, Goncalves 1996).

As not a few of our colleagues already know, to build up a contrasting legacy constitutes an enormous challenge. Invoking Paulo Freire once again, researchers keep themselves aware that musical processes and products are permanently mediated by power relations, demanding constant action/reflection, and not allowing stable theorizations in the course of part-time interactions aimed at individual authorships in search of academic authority.

Concomitantly it becomes clear that reviewing radically the process of knowledge production requires extreme application, in the sense of politically conscious engagement, to changing public policies in favor of social movements which may be able to build a new knowledge-producing praxis. This will require, as already in practice here and there around the globe, (1) the creation of opportunities to enable communities currently marginalized from the knowledge produced on themselves to interact with and to participate not as active interlocutors in world forums, (2) the formation of joint research teams comprising natives and non-natives as well as academics and non-academic personnel, (3) new self-critical forms and uses of musical documentation, fostering public debates on the history, identity and values of peoples, (4) development of new capacities amidst communities previously deprived of access to those capacities (e.g. audiovisual documentation, idealization and management of sound archives, use of technologies etc.), and the reinforcement and/or building of diffusion centers of local knowledge and repositories through community-based organizations and institutions.

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POVZETEK

Prispevek obravnava etnomuzikološko področje v luči novih epistemoloških scenarijev, ki izhajajo iz postkolonialnih razmer in zahtevajo, da se tehtno premislijo stare raziskovalne vloge (insider/outsider; angažiran domačin/nevtralen, tuj opazovalec) ter zamenjajo z novimi, ki so politično razdelane. Avtor se najprej dotakne vrste domnev in problemov, ki zadevajo področje teorije in prakse v sodobnem svetu in ki ne odsevajo le kritike vrste modernih iluzij glede domnevno nevtralnega značaja znanosti o človeku ampak tudi omejitve postmodernih kritik, ki so naravnane proti

slednjim. Pretresa dejstvo, da navkljub njihovim dobrim nameram – te in take kritike zaostajajo na področju učinkovite teorije, da ne govorimo o aktivnem preseganju asimetričnih sil med politično razlaščenimi skupnostmi, ki proizvajajo znanje, in svetom, ki ga oblikujejo blagovne forme in ki se včasih uresničujejo v okviru avtoritete nekaterih akademskih diskurzov. In končno, avtor predstavi štiri primere, ki zadevajo njegova raziskovalna prizadevanja v Braziliji in ki skušajo ponazoriti, kako so zahteve lokalnih skupnosti vplivale na njih cilje in pristope, in s tem odpira možna vprašanja na poti k novi disciplinarni praksi.

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From Researched to Centrestage: A Case Study

Od raziskovanega v središče scene: raziskava konkretnega primera

Prejeto: 27. junija 2007 Sprejeto: 2. aprila 2008

Ključne besede: Aborigini, raziskovanje, institucionalizacija, avstralski

Izvleček

Aplikativno raziskovanje je ključna pot za znanstvenike v obravnavanju raziskovalnih nalog, ki se tičejo aboriginskih ljudstev ter Otočanov ožine Torres v Avstraliji. Rast Centra za aboriginske glasbene študije (CASM) kaže, da je aplikativno raziskovanje učinkovit odgovor na samoodločanje in samopredstavitev staroselskih ljudstev.

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Keywords: Aborigines, research, institutionalization, Australian

ABSTRACT

Applied research is a key way for music researchers to respond to the research agenda of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia. Developments at the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM) point to applied research as an effective response to the call for self-determination and self-representation by Indigenous peoples in research.

The official establishment of the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM) at the University of Adelaide in 1975, took place at a time in Australian history of profound and rapid change in the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australia, a period which was witness to an increasingly vigorous struggle by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and their supporters for greater recognition of the social, civil and political rights¹ of Australia's Indigenous population. Indigenous Australians are a minority group², representing the most socially and economically disadvantaged group in the Australian population across almost every indicator, including health, life expectancy, education, and employment. The legacy of colonisation³ permeates almost

¹ Including specific Indigenous legal rights such as native title and recognition of customary law.

Less than 3% of the overall population (2001 census - http://www.abs.gov.au).

³ Commonly understood to have commenced with the arrival of the First Fleet at Botany Bay in 1788.

every aspect of contemporary Indigenous life, whilst a mainstream media delivers a confused and confusing public message of unrelenting dysfunction within Indigenous affairs contrasted with positive images of a strong and vibrant Indigenous community embodying a living culture worthy of national celebration. The dominant political dynamic is one of a never-ending blame game revolving around issues of access to power, allocation of resources, and assignation of responsibility and accountability. Some are claiming that today, in key areas of Indigenous affairs, Australia is going backwards, with a social justice agenda increasingly buried under the weight of economic rationalism, a return to assimiliationist attitudes and policy-thinking, and the forces of globalisation. Professor Mick Dodson, leading Indigenous academic and human rights advocate has recently referred to 'some kind of culture war' in Australian public life (Dodson 2006: 4). Researcher and academic Karl Neuenfeldt has also referred to a form of 'new racism' in Australia, a racism in which the different 'races' are seen as being 'fundamentally incompatible', thereby justifying assimilationist policies, and the exclusion of '...whatever is deemed not to serve the interests of the dominant group(s) in Australian society', including 'the voices and themes of Indigenous peoples' (1998: 202).

The first part of this paper looks at some of the key ethical issues faced by music researchers in Australia in the light of these circumstances, and provides examples of recent responses to them by researchers, through new directions and developments in applied research. The second part provides a unique case study, outlining the context of recent innovations in research training and research work at the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM) at the University of Adelaide, and describing some of the recent research activities and outcomes of the Centre.

A massive effort continues amongst Indigenous Australians today to improve conditions for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and their communities, an effort which aims to end discrimination and achieve self-determination and social justice across all areas of Indigenous life. The increasingly insistent and often desperate voice from Indigenous Australia on these issues can be heard across all arenas of community, political and public life, including in education and from within academia, where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals and groups are striving to provide leadership to a positive policy change agenda. In 2006, leading Indigenous academic Marcia Langton, in her role as Chair of the Indigenous Higher Education Advisory Council (IHEAC) to the Federal Government, positioned higher education as 'central to the aspirations of Indigenous people for a rightful place in Australian society', advising that 'Australian universities must play a leadership role in the nation's recognition of Indigenous people and culture' (Langton 2006: 3). The IHEAC 2006-2008 Strategic Plan identifies 'enhancement of Indigenous research and an increase in the number of Indigenous researchers as one of seven key priority areas necessary for improvement' (IHEAC 2006: 3).

Of special significance in music research has been the fascination by researchers, from within and outside academia, and from within Australia and from overseas, in the musics and cultures of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Over the more than two hundred years since colonisation, non-Indigenous researchers in fields such as anthropology, ethnography, linguistics, choreology, musicology, and ethnomusicology have been responsible for researching and disseminating vast amounts of interpretive

information about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander music cultures. Despite being the primary informants in this research, Indigenous musicians in Australia have, at least until recently, seldom had a direct voice in research, and have also commonly been excluded, through research processes, from the power and benefits that would naturally flow from their contribution of specialist knowledge to research. It has thus become incumbent upon researchers, and universities - historically the primary institutions associated with music research and research training - to recognise the discriminatory practices visited upon Indigenous musicians and knowledge holders through research, in the past and still today, and through this understanding to respond proactively by supporting research which prioritises the interests of Indigenous peoples and their communities. Lester-Irabinna Rigney, a leading South Australian Indigenous academic explains the core issues in this way:

Indigenous peoples and their cultures in Australia have been and continue to be a playground for many researchers. Indeed it is upon this foundation than many academic careers have been built. For example, in my own work I offer a critique of research epistemologies and ontologies and their implicit dispossession of Indigenous knowledges from the custodians. This is not to say that Indigenous peoples reject outright research and its various methodological practices. Indeed, some research has benefited the emancipation of Indigenous communities. However, we as Indigenous peoples now want research and its designs to contribute to self-determination and liberation struggles as defined by us and our communities. (Rigney 2000: 10)

Participation in tertiary level music and research education is an arena in which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have historically encountered prohibitive access barriers, with curricula biased towards traditional Western music styles⁴ and epistemologies, a general lack of appreciation of and support for Indigenous music-making, and as described elsewhere⁵, the appointment of very few Indigenous musicians and educators to academic positions. This has seen the *virtual absence of a strong and sustained voice by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander musicians and music researchers within academia in Australia and elsewhere.* For musicological research it has meant that the 'insider' voice has largely been missing from academic discourse about Indigenous Australian music cultures, resulting in an ongoing bias in Australian music research and representations of Indigenous music, and creating a most peculiar dynamic for contemporary researchers.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have often expressed a highly cynical and openly resistant stance towards the traditional Western research agenda. Professor Mick Dodson has strongly critiqued the position of traditional research, saying that, 'Since their first intrusive gaze, colonising cultures have had a preoccupation with observing, analysing, studying, classifying and labeling Aborigines and Aboriginality.... without our own voices, Aboriginality will continue to be a creation for and about us.' Dodson claims self-representation and 'the freedom to live outside the cage created by other people's images and projections' as 'acts of freedom', describing 'the insistence

Such as classical and jazz.

⁵ See Newsome (1998, 2004), Newsome and Turner (2006).

on speaking back and retaining control' as highly political acts. (Dodson 1994: 3,10) Maori theorist Linda Tuhiwai Smith also reinforces this perspective, speaking of a West that can 'desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations' (Smith 2005: 1). She exposes research as being one of the important ways in which:

...the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realized.... regulated through the formal rules of individual scholarly disciplines and scientific paradigms, and the institutions that support them....[and] realized in the myriad of representations and ideological constructions of the Other in scholarly and 'popular' works, and in the principles which help to select and recontextualise those constructions in such things as the media, official histories and school curricula. (ibid: 7-8)

Academic discourse in Australia about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander musics had its origins in racist constructions of Indigenous traditions, which were depicted as primitive and devoid of intellectual sophistication⁶. The special fascination with Indigenous Australian cultural traditions by non-Indigenous people began in the early years of colonisation, and by the end of the 19th century had assumed a 'rapidly developing sense of urgency, reinforced by the widely held belief that the Aboriginal people of Australia were a "dying race", whose 'extinction would have dire consequences for the persistence of Aboriginal cultures' (Newsome and Turner 2006: 56-57). The first researcher to combine the recording, notation and analysis of 'traditional' Aboriginal music was Harold E. Davies (1867-1947) based at The University of Adelaide⁷. Davies has now come to be described as Australia's first ethnomusicologist⁸. By the middle of the 20th century the first specialist researchers to publish in the field of Indigenous Australian music had started to emerge, with important work by Richard Waterman, Alice Moyle, Trevor Jones and Catherine Ellis, and by the late 1960s teaching and research in ethnomusicology had begun at Monash University, and was also taken up by the Universities of Sydney, Adelaide, New England and Queensland. A new generation of researchers emerged including Stephen Wild, Jill Stubington, Linda Barwick, Allan Marett, Greg Anderson, Helen Payne, Guy Tunstill, Ray Keogh, Richard Moyle, Margaret Gummow, Margaret Kartomi, Robin Ryan, Antony McCardell, Luise Hercus and Grace Koch, Mary Louise Brunton, Udo Will, Peter Dunbar-Hall, and Peter Toner amongst others. Recent researchers to join the field include Aaron Corn, Elizabeth Mackinlay, Fiona Magowan, and Steven Knopoff. Today, musicological research in Australian Indigenous contexts has developed into a consolidated, although still underrepresented field within the academy.

David McAllester has described ethnomusicological and anthropological work as 'serious form[s] of trespass into the mind of the "other", explaining that 'the more penetrating the research, the deeper the consequences both for the people visited and for

⁶ See Newsome and Turner (2006).

⁷ See Bridges (2006).

⁸ This term is not used generally in this paper because of its potential colonial connotations and narrowness of implied reference. The term 'music research/er' is used instead.

the field worker' (McAllester 1984: 288). Daniel Sheehy has also pointed to important ethical dimensions in music research, advocating for consciously proactive approaches to ethnomusicological endeavour, for 'strategy guided by a sense of social purpose', and for consideration of 'the larger importance and consequence of each and every ethnomusicological task, be it research, teaching, fieldwork, publishing, producing films, mounting festivals, or whatever' (Sheehy 1992: 335). Svanibor Pettan and Ursula Hemetek have also emphasized these points, advocating for real and practically based interventions by ethnomusicologists, and in particular by those working with disempowered and discriminated minority groups (Pettan 2006, Hemetek 2006: 54). Ashley Turner, through his work at CASM, has also proposed that 'if ethnomusicology is to serve Indigenous interests it will be activist, advocacy-based and oriented towards solving concrete problems' (Turner 1999: 145).

These perspectives are highly relevant in the Australian context where musicologists and other researchers find themselves confronted on a daily basis by the real life problems faced by Indigenous Australians. Ethical, moral and legal considerations point to the need for researchers to respond directly to the self-determination agenda and the call for responsible, responsive and reciprocal relationships between researcher and researched, and more specifically for proactive involvement by researchers in supporting practical solutions to real life problems and identified needs. Asymmetrical power differentials between the researcher and the researched in the Australian context call for a direct challenge to traditional research culture by researchers, and the promotion of the interests of Indigenous peoples in research incorporating Indigenous participation and leadership models. Key organisations such as The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS)9 and the Australia Council for the Arts10 have developed comprehensive protocols and guidelines for the conduct of research, as well as for all activities involving the arts and cultural heritage of Indigenous Australian individuals and communities. The AIATSIS guidelines connect ethical research practices to basic human rights, emphasising the inherent right of Indigenous peoples to 'self-determination, and to control and maintain their culture and heritage' (AIATSIS 2000: 1). These guidelines identify eleven principles of ethical research, encompassed within three key domains: (1) consultation, negotiation and mutual understanding (2) respect, recognition and involvement, and (3) benefits, outcomes and agreement. Perhaps of special significance for applied music research are those that recognise the cultural and intellectual property rights of Indigenous peoples, including communal rights (contained in knowledges, ideas, cultural expressions, practices, resources, and cultural materials); the importance of incorporating Indigenous perspectives through involvement of Indigenous people and communities as collaborators in research; and the need for researchers to involve and negotiate with Indigenous peoples and communities (on an ongoing basis), in consenting to and in monitoring and controlling the research process. Perhaps of greatest relevance is the recommendation that Indigenous peoples and their communities should acquire tangible benefits as a result of the research, at the local level as well as more generally, including the right not be

⁹ See: http://www.aiatsis.gov.au

¹⁰ See Janke (2006).

disadvantaged through the research. The essence of this principle is that researchers should *give back to the researched community*, returning benefits in acts of reciprocity, and in ways that are specific to the identified and negotiated needs of individuals and communities (ibid: 2-4).

Australian music researchers working in the Indigenous context have made extensive use of established methods of conserving and disseminating research, through archiving, publishing, and teaching, and also through other forms of representation including conference presentations, performance and recording. Historically though, much of this activity has taken place at a substantial distance, both spatially and temporally, from Indigenous informants and their communities, and research results have on the whole been largely inaccessible to Indigenous participants because of language and mode of transmission barriers, as well as a general lack of ready access to the material results. Additionally, published research has tended to direct benefits more to non-Indigenous participants, with original informants often gaining in only intangible and indirect ways, if at all. Researchers in Australia are increasingly acknowledging the multi-faceted and multi-layered ethical considerations integral to their work, and ethnomusicologists have often led the way in Australian musicology in moving away from strictly traditional Western empirical approaches to music research and analysis, 'rejecting the apparent reliance...on the ethics of objectivity... in favour of a more critically humanist approach to the study of music in culture' (Kartomi 1997: 415).

Collaborative and interdisciplinary studies have been a feature of research by non-Indigenous researchers in Australia, and have included the work of linguists, choreologists, musicologists, anthropologists, photographers, sound recordists and film makers. In recent years there has been a notable and increasing blurring of roles and fields of study in Indigenous music research, with a new group of researchers from a range of disciplines expanding the field, revitalising and adding new perspectives and ways of working with Indigenous peoples, through fields such as education and industry training, media and technology, cultural studies, identity studies, heritage studies, Indigenous studies, museum studies, cultural politics, popular music studies, and music composition, performance and recording.

This has seen the emergence of important and interesting work, work which is often collaborative and within applied fields of study, encompassing areas such as music and dance performance and production; composition and song writing; education and community development; health and well being; cultural retrieval, restoration, maintenance and promotion; recording and broadcasting; rights protection and land claims; documentation and archiving; and joint publication.

Recent published examples include the work of Philip Hayward, media and music studies scholar and founder of *Perfect Beat-The Pacific Journal of Research into Contemporary Music and Popular Culture.* Hayward edited *From Pop to Punk to Post-modernism* in 1992, and in 1998, *Sound Alliances*, which brings together material from *Perfect Beat* by a diverse group of researchers and addresses the relationship between Indigenous peoples and popular music in the Australia-Western/Central Pacific region (Hayward 1998: 4-6). The book *Deadly Sounds Deadly Places*, co-written by educator

Peter Dunbar-Hall and cultural geographer Chris Gibson, traces the development of Aboriginal contemporary music in Australia¹¹.

Applied music research in the Australian Indigenous context is a rapidly expanding and growing field. The four basic qualities of strategy in applied research as articulated by Daniel Sheehy are relevant to most activity currently being undertaken in applied Indigenous music research in Australia: (1) developing new "frames" for musical performance (2) "feeding back" musical models to the communities that created them (3) providing community members access to strategic models and conservation techniques (4) developing broad, structural solutions to broad problems (Sheehy 1992: 330-331). Of course in real life contexts these qualities may and often do overlap, as the benefits of one strategy lend themselves or lead to others. A 'new frame' in Indigenous performance, as exemplified for example in the spectacular 2001 Yeperenye Federation Festival, may incorporate a 'conservation technique' in the form of a sound recording or film (in this case, the Australian Film Commission documentary Coming Together As One), which then proves useful for 'feeding back' to participants and their communities. Such recordings may be used for purposes such as education, archiving, and public dissemination, as well as providing ideas for future events and activities, thereby contributing to 'broad solutions' in the longer term. Another highly relevant area in applied research lies in the increasing opportunities provided by the rapidly globalising and mass-mediated market economy. With support, Indigenous Australian musicians are well positioned to capitalize on this potential and to thus extend their social, cultural and political agendas to the world stage.

The publication in 1989 of *Our place, our music*, edited by Marcus Breen, represented an important cross-road in Australian Indigenous music research. Essentially a dialogic encounter between staff, students and graduates from CASM, it opened up a public space for Indigenous musicians to speak directly about their music, as well as helping to break down conceptual boundaries between 'traditional' and contemporary genres in Australian Indigenous music. An important feature of more recent work has been this opening up of a shared space, an important 'strategic model' within published research, providing an important avenue for Indigenous musicians and commentators to speak directly about their music in their own voices, as contributors and collaborators. *The Didjeridu: From Arnhem Land to Internet* edited by Karl Neuenfeldt¹² (2000) includes contributions by Indigenous writers Mandawuy Yunupingu¹³, Kev Carmody¹⁴, Mick Davison¹⁵, and David Hudson¹⁶ along side those of non-Indigenous writers, including researchers Linda Barwick and Steven Knopoff. The 2005 publication *Landscapes of Indigenous Performance* edited by Fiona Magowan and Karl Neuenfeldt, includes a collaborative chapter by Neuenfeldt and Indigenous academic Martin Nakata, as well

Indigenous music research in Australia has historically been somewhat polarised into two main fields of study, 'traditional' Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander musics, and new and emerging Indigenous traditions, sometimes loosely categorized within 'popular' genres such as country, rock, reggae, funk, rap etc.

¹² Non-Indigenous academic, musician, performer and producer.

¹⁹⁹³ Australian of the Year, educator, political activist and musician of Yothu Yindi fame.

¹⁴ National award winning musician, well-known performer, singer songwriter and social activist.

¹⁵ Cultural awareness educator and musician.

¹⁶ Musician, dancer, artist, and actor.

as a reprint of a chapter by Eddie Koiki Mabo¹⁷ on music of the Torres Strait. The work of academic Karl Neuenfeldt also extends to collaborative performing and recording work with Indigenous musicians, including with award winning Torres Strait Islander musician Seaman Dan.

In recent years music researchers working through professional associations such as the Musicological Society of Australia (MSA) and the Australian branch of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM)¹⁸ have also sought to open up more space for Indigenous participation. In 1998, the 6th National Australian/New Zealand IASPM and Inaugural Arnhem Land Performance Conference attracted a wide national and international audience. Participants included Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers and scholars, educators, musicians, media and music industry representatives, and cultural critics. Aiming to enable a 'coming together of Indigenous and non-Indigenous voices and perspectives' (Bloustien 1999; preface), the conference included performances and presentations spanning a wide range of Indigenous music and dance genres. The subsequent publication of the selected conference proceedings¹⁹ included contributions from prominent Indigenous participants Nancia Guivarra²⁰, Jardine Kiwat²¹, and David Page²². The jointly held 23rd National Conference of the Musicological Society of Australia and 17th Annual Conference of the New Zealand Musicological Society, convened by researcher and academic Allan Marett in 2000, included a two day symposium Research in Indigenous Performance: Current Issues. This conference included substantial involvement by Australian Indigenous presenters, including Marcia Langton, Djon Mundine, Lapulung Dhamarrandji, Maroochy Barambah, and Jardine Kiwat. Within the conference Mungamunga singers and dancers from Tennant Creek performed traditional songs and dances for the launch of the Yawulyu Mungamunga CD, a collaborative community based project involving Warumungu women song-owners, singers and dancers, working with non-Indigenous researchers Linda Barwick and linguist Jane Simpson. The central involvement of the local community in this project and the direct benefits flowing to the community, illustrate ways in which music researchers can work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to provide tangible, mutually negotiated benefits. In 2003 Linda Barwick and Jane Simpson also assisted in the successful repatriation and return to Warumungu and Warlpiri women and men, of significant historical recordings, and copies of associated photographs and field notes, made by anthropologist Professor Elkin during his research in the Tennant Creek area in 1953 (Cheadle 2003: 24-25). An interesting South Australian example of useful collaborative work is the Kaurna Paltinna song book and cassette, produced by Indigenous and non-Indigenous songwriters, musicians, students, teachers, with linguist Rob Amery. This work draws on reclaimed Kaurna

^{17 1992} Australian of the Year, Indigenous leader and human rights advocate, and successful plaintiff in the landmark Mabo decision of the High Court of Australia which recognised traditional land rights for Australian Indigenous people.

¹⁸ See Hayward (2000) for an informative overview of the relationship between popular music and ethno-/musicological research publishing in Australia.

See Bloustien (1999).

²⁰ Leading arts and culture journalist.

²¹ Leading musician, composer and educator, and CASM Coordinator (Policy and External Relations).

²² Award winning composer and actor.

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language²³ to reintroduce *Kaurna* language in a readily accessible form, whilst also disseminating important historical and ethnographic research information to a broader audience, including to the direct descendants of original informants (Schultz, Varcoe, Amery 1999: 4-7).

Recently Allan Marett has lamented the serious underrepresentation of 'Indigenous music research' in the academy today, pointing to the degree to which music training institutions are essentially failing in their responsibilities 'in a key area of what should be a national concern', and calling for change which can only occur 'if tertiary institutions are prepared to re-evaluate their priorities' (Marett 2004: 23). He notes the very low numbers of researchers currently working in the field, particularly in research relating to 'traditional' Indigenous music. In making these comments he has pointed to the fact that 'Indigenous communities are now at the point of actively seeking assistance in the documentation and preservation of their endangered musical traditions' (ibid). There is substantial merit in this position, in that suitably trained and experienced researchers, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, can work alongside Indigenous peoples and their communities, for example, with song owners and media organisations, in applying and teaching research methods useful in meeting identified needs and priorities relevant to Indigenous peoples and their communities²⁴. Recent outcomes of the *Garma Festival*²⁵ held annually in Gulkula in North-East Arnhem Land are of considerable interest in this respect. In 2002 the inaugural Garma Symposium on Indigenous Music and Dance released the Garma Statement on Indigenous Music and Performance²⁶ calling for the formulation of the National Recording Project for Indigenous Music²⁷. This ambitious and important collaborative project, involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers, aims to 'systematically record and document the unique and endangered performance traditions of Indigenous Australia' and through this to 'assist in the development of local knowledge archives as primary repositories for locally recorded and documented materials, and a secure national repository...²⁸. Representing a break with conventional academic agendas the project aims to ensure that community elders are empowered to lead the recording, documentation and archiving process. Flow-on benefits include relevant materials being made available to the communities for 'integration to community health, education, governance and business initiatives'29. This project is demonstrative of the proactive ways in which teams of researchers can work together with Indigenous communities in applying all four qualities of applied strategy (as per Sheehy), developing initiatives of multiple ongoing benefit for individuals and their communities30.

²³ The 'traditional' Aboriginal language of the Adelaide plains area.

Note the importance of archive collections, such as in those held by AIATSIS, in providing material of significance to communities including in relation to Native Title Claims: see http://www.aiatsis.gov.au

²⁵ http://www.garma.telstra.com

 $^{^{26}}$ Retrieved on 18 June, 2007 from http://www.garma.telstra.com/2002/statement-music02.htm

²⁷ Retrieved on 18 June, 2007 from http://www.garma.telstra.com/nat_rec_proj.htm

²⁸ See above.

²⁹ Ibidem

³⁰ Of interest, see also the PARADISEC digital recording and archiving project directed by Linda Barwick (http://www.paradisec.org.au).

The Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM)

Catherine J. Ellis (1935-1996) is widely recognised as the most prolific and influential of the early non-Indigenous researchers to study Aboriginal music (Barwick and Marett 1995: 1). Her pioneering research encompassed not only 'traditional' Aboriginal musics³¹ but also made an important contribution to an appreciation of the significance of 'mixed traditions', and emerging and new Indigenous Australian musics. Ellis's extensive research efforts over some 40 years to understand Aboriginal music *from the perspective of the performer*, made a major contribution both to an understanding of Aboriginal music traditions by non-Indigenous people and to ethnomusicological theory. As the instigator and co-founder of CASM, along with members of the Adelaide and Indulkana Aboriginal communities, her work in the area of 'cross-cultural' music education may be regarded as perhaps her greatest legacy (Newsome and Turner 2006 (b): 77-81). In a visionary leap of faith, Ellis had affectively applied Sheehy's fourth strategy (which he saw as transcending and including all the others)³², utilizing the knowledge and status she had gained through her research to create an institution that was to prove of far reaching benefit for Indigenous people.

CASM had its foundations in The Program of Training in Music for South Australian Aboriginal People, initiated in 1971, and essentially a pioneering exercise in applied ethnomusicology in the Australian Indigenous context³³. Cath Ellis along with her husband Max, developed a three strand program, working firstly with the all-Aboriginal Council for Aboriginal Women in South Australia, and then with members of the Port Adelaide Central Methodist Mission Aboriginal Project to provide instrumental music tuition for Aboriginal children in the Port Adelaide area. This part of the program later became known as the Adelaide Aboriginal Orchestra34. The other strands of the program were the Institute of Narrative and Music of Aborigines (INMA)35, described by Ellis as 'an experiment in applied ethnomusicology designed for urban adults...intended to encourage an interest in tribal music'36 (Ellis 1985:168); and the Indulkana Inma Centre³⁷ which involved members of the Indulkana Aboriginal community in various music projects including the performance and teaching of 'traditional' song and dance. Ellis, in her role as lecturer in ethnomusicology at the University of Adelaide, persuaded the University of the significance of the work being undertaken in the program, and in 1975 the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music was officially established within the University within the then Faculty of Music. This step represented an unprecedented innovation in Australian music education, in recognising the important role universities could play in working with members of Indigenous communities to create new approaches to cultural maintenance and knowledge building, and in ascribing to Indigenous knowledge holders

³¹ In particular that of South Australia.

Explained as 'devising broad structural means to work towards desired ends' (1992: 334).

³³ For a full account of the foundational philosophy and early history of CASM see Ellis (1985).

³⁴ Students learned to play instruments such as the clarinet, flute, trumpet and trombone.

³⁵ Inma is also the Pitjantjatjara language word for song or ceremony.

The term 'tribal music' is no longer in common use, with the term 'traditional music' or local language words such as inma preferred. 'Traditional' Aboriginal song and dance had largely been lost in the Adelaide metropolitan area by this time as a consequence of the colonising process.

³⁷ Indulkana, known also as Iwantja, is in the remote north-west region of South Australia, in the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands.

the academic status equivalent to that of non-Indigenous academics in the university. The subsequent appointment of senior Pitjantjatjara songman Minyungu Baker to the position of Senior Lecturer at the University at that time, was really quite remarkable in not only being the first formal appointment of a traditional songman within Australian music education, but also the first full-time permanent academic appointment of an Aboriginal person within the Australian tertiary sector as a whole.

Through the evolution of a unique intercultural educational philosophy and the development of specialised tertiary level education programs for Indigenous musicians, and in successfully establishing an effective enclave for Indigenous musicians within a major mainstream tertiary education institution, CASM has responded to, as well as directly contributed to the changing status of Indigenous Australians over the last thirty years or so. CASM has been described as being 'the first important catalyst in Aboriginal music's renaissance' (Castles 1992: 28), and is recognised today as making a special and important ongoing contribution to Australian music and music education. From its origins as a local community based initiative, CASM has today become a nationally recognised leader in education and a successful support agency for Australian Indigenous music and music-making. Special features of the CASM teaching program are the focus on meeting the identified learning needs and aspirations of Indigenous musicians, epistemological breadth with the inclusion of Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous music and knowledges side by side within the curriculum38, an emphasis on Indigenous perspectives, and intensive individualised support for creative and practical outcomes.

From its inception, participation and leadership by Indigenous people were central to the success of the CASM program. This set the stage for embracing Indigenous values and perspectives throughout the organisation - in decision making, educational innovation, and in choices of styles and genres of music making. It would also, however, lead later on to some pivotal points of conflict, in which an underlying self-determining imperative would come into direct conflict with institutional and academic conventions, including those directly associated with research. Smith has noted the many examples in which 'indigenous and ethnic studies programmes have struggled to survive in rather hostile environments', explaining how 'In most institutions support for indigenous issues is not overt and the ability of academic colleagues to assess on an informed basis what might count as appropriate and worthwhile in the indigenous arena is questionable' (Smith 2005: 129, 131).

Indigenous developments within an institution such as a university can mediate and structure new relations between institution and community, between indigenous people and non-indigenous people, between communities of the 'researched' and communities of 'researchers'. At the same time indigenous centres which exist inside institutions…continue to struggle for legitimacy. (ibid: 134)

For many years CASM struggled on the fringes of the university, striving to assert the rights of Indigenous musicians to an equitable space within academia. Throughout this

Taught by Indigenous and non-Indigenous specialists in their respective fields, with Indigenous musics and knowledges taught by Indigenous lecturers.

time, a fundamental conflict of values played out, with persistent funding uncertainties, resourcing inadequacies, and a pervasive sense of marginalisation in both the physical and philosophical senses. One obvious area of dissonance related to preferred styles and genres in Indigenous Australian music-making³⁹, with some external ambivalence about the value and validity of Indigenous music 'influenced by' Western idioms, conflicting with an internal view which saw all Indigenous music as being of inherent value.

With the formal accreditation of unique specialised courses in 1989 and the granting of departmental status to CASM within the newly created Faculty of Performing Arts in 1991, CASM became more integrated into the academic and administrative frameworks and functions of the University. Although this brought with it a degree of financial stability for the first time, it also placed increasing pressures on CASM to conform to established institutional and academic conventions, and threw into stark relief some of the ways in which CASM was substantially and necessarily different from other departments in the University in terms of philosophy, aims, priorities, curriculum, and outcomes. These differences revolved around core CASM aims, related to meeting the learning needs and expectations of Indigenous music students, supporting Indigenous music and music-making as diverse traditions, and maintaining both a responsive relationship and a proactive role within the broader Indigenous community. The broader self-determination and self-representation agenda emerging in Indigenous education and research throughout the 1980s reinforced a growing determination within CASM to respond proactively to the need to further develop Indigenous research within CASM. This was to prove increasingly important in (re)asserting and (re)defining an Indigenous identity for CASM within the University.

From Researched to Researcher

By the mid 1990s, Indigenous research issues had become an increasing concern for CASM students and staff. It was ironic that the discipline of ethnomusicology, the impetus for the founding of CASM, had now become the focus of an increasingly heated debate, with both students and staff expressing reservations about the direction of research and research training at CASM. Some of the concerns expressed by Indigenous students were that the study of the 'intimate details of Australian Indigenous music cultures was unacceptable when the lecturer was non-Indigenous', and that 'representations of Indigenous cultures and identities were of little real worth when non-Indigenous people made the representations' (Turner 1999: 144). These and other 'potent critiques of [traditional] ethnomusicology' (ibid) mirrored increasingly loud challenges to conventional institutional and intellectual traditions from the broader Indigenous scholarly community. CASM had, by this time become a 'site of resistance' within the university, a front line in the call for self-determination and self-representation, and for what was to become essentially a 'decolonisation' of the relationship between Indigenous education at CASM and the university, at the institutional level.

³⁹ A conservative view regarded 'traditional' Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island music as more 'authentic' and therefore a more valuable form of Indigenous musical expression.

Internally for CASM, one of the key issues was the perceived colonial agency of ethnomusicology as a discipline. In a sense CASM could be seen as having represented 'a site for numerous ethnomusicological interventions' since its inception, in which 'actions by outsiders... included attempts to educate, study and shape individuals on the "inside" (ibid: 142-3). Although Indigenous students at CASM had been studying ethnomusicology since the early 1990s⁴⁰, it was apparent that the various approaches to this were not leading to the kinds of liberating and empowering outcomes that had initially been hoped for. For CASM students, musicological discourse at CASM had come to be seen as at least partially informed by 'institutional and personal memories of ethnomusicology as sources of power and authority emanating from outside CASM' (ibid: 142).

In 1996, a radically different approach to the teaching of ethnomusicology at CASM was commenced, through the development of a new and specialised program of research studies⁴¹ focused solely on addressing *Indigenous student learning needs, interests* and priorities. This new program targeted students at the sub-degree entry level, in an unusual move in Australian tertiary education where original research does not usually commence until the post-graduate level. It was hoped that these new directions would inspire and empower students, open up new paradigms and knowledges in music research, support Indigenous musicological discourse, and perhaps even in time lead to the development of an Indigenous Australian musicology. The program would be fully integrated with other areas of the CASM curriculum, beginning with foundational research skills (library studies, use of information technology, communication skills etc.) and then continuing with systematic study over two years within the Associate Diploma program. Ashley Turner, an ethnomusicologist by training⁴² and a practicing musician, was subsequently appointed to join the CASM team, assisting in the development of a unique program of tertiary level research studies specifically for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander music students, and through this it was hoped, the development of Indigenous musicological discourse at CASM. An important and symbolic first step was renaming, calling the new subject simply 'Research Studies'.

The research studies program has proven to be very successful, becoming a core part of the CASM curriculum, and embraced by students as not only relevant and important to their studies but also to their personal lives. The learning outcomes of the program are: (1) Well developed ability and confidence to participate confidently in scholarly discourse about music, society and research, especially in relation to Indigenous contexts (2) Well developed ability and confidence to conduct a simple research project by designing and following a research plan (3) Confident ability to keep a research journal as an integral part of the research effort (4) Sound knowledge and confident ability to select and use, appropriate research methods for data collection and analysis (5) Well developed ability and confidence to prepare and present verbal and written reports, formal and informal, on research in progress and research findings. These outcomes are supported through the development of relevant generic skills such as identification and articulation of research problems; critical analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of

⁴⁰ The study of the music of other cultures had had a special place in the CASM educational philosophy since the beginning.

⁴¹ Cath Ellis, though already gravely ill by this time, provided some most valuable insights and advice in this process.

⁴² Specializing in Indonesian and Malay music.

information; effective management of information and data; application of basic research methods; communication skills and the use of academic conventions.

Consistent with the CASM philosophy of proactively supporting individual interests and learning needs, students have undertaken research on a wide variety of topics of their own choice. Students may choose any topic, which need not necessarily be related to Indigenous issues or cultures. Much class discussion revolves around 'encountering, unpacking and exploring implicit assumptions underpinning the research questions, strategies and outcomes controlled by others' (Turner 2007). For students 'the shift in power from feeling and seeing oneself to be amongst the 'researched' to being the 'researcher', presents students with many challenges, including negotiating the personal, social, ethical and epistemological complexities of insider research' (ibid).

Recent research studies projects have encompassed a wide range of topics, reflecting the varied interests and concerns of students, and have included: Backward Masking in Heavy Metal Music and its Effects; Thanakwithi/Yupangathi Culture; Composers, Choreographers and Performers of Murray Island; Australian Aboriginal Women in Country Music; A study of youth empowerment through the performing arts: Strategies for Success; Bamboo Drums; Songwriters and Songwriting at CASM; Culture Loss and Recovery Among the Djabugay People of North Queensland; The Development of Aboriginal Recording Studios in Alice Springs, 1984-1997; Aboriginal Musical Life in Bourke, NSW; Aboriginal Country Music: A Story of Musical Migrations; The Bondi Cigars: the evolution of an Australian blues band; and Irish Music in South Australia.

Together with the development of the new research studies program was the formulation of an overarching and proactive research policy that aimed to directly support Indigenous musicological discourse at CASM. In response to the ongoing concerns about the construction of CASM as a 'site of surveillance' and a 'field of action' for ethnomusicology (Turner 1999: 142), a research policy and a set of research guidelines were developed that went a step further than those of AIATSIS, in not only asserting the importance of Indigenous participation in Indigenous research, and in outlining the ways in which and under what conditions research should be conducted, but in also placing Indigenous research and research priorities firmly at the centre of the research agenda⁴³. The policy aimed to proactively create space and time for the development of an Indigenous research culture within CASM, and in doing so for the definition and consolidation of Indigenous research priorities and methods by Indigenous researchers. In order to achieve this, restrictions were placed on unsolicited research at CASM by external researchers⁴⁴, and guidelines were introduced to ensure that research conducted at CASM was approved and supervised by CASM. Strict protocols were also put in place to protect the intellectual and moral property rights and interests of students and staff, including in relation to the composition, performance and recording of music and dance.

Current CASM research priorities are: (1) Research by Indigenous researchers (2) Research which responds to the identified priorities of Indigenous musicians and/or their communities (3) Research where the primary benefits flow to Indigenous musicians

⁴³ In this context 'Indigenous research' refers to research directed and controlled by Indigenous people.

Except where negotiated collaboration towards identified Indigenous goals was inherent and agreed.

and/or their communities (4) Research which directly benefits Indigenous musicians and/or their communities (5) Negotiated collaborative research in support of identified Indigenous priorities and needs (6) Research by CASM students and staff (7) Research which assists CASM to support Indigenous musicians and Indigenous music-making⁴⁵ (8) Research which supports the educational objectives of CASM.

Over time, sustained effort has seen the development of a positive Indigenous research culture within CASM and the consolidation of a clear set of preferred Indigenous research outcomes and methods. These include the important project work conducted by students as previously discussed, and also perhaps of greatest significance, the consolidation of *applied research*, *where the primary benefits flow directly to Indigenous musicians and/or their communities*, as the most important Indigenous research priority. The key outcomes of this research fall into the following categories: (1) Curriculum development and teaching (through ongoing action research) (2) Creative work (original composition and song writing) (3) Public performances and workshops (music and dance, cultural performances) (4) Community development activities (especially those targeting Indigenous community needs) (5) Collaborative projects (including with other researchers and organisations) (6) Documentation and archiving (CD and audio/visual recording) (7) Dissemination (conferences, collaborative presentations and performances; and publication, written and audio/visual⁴⁶.

The CASM Anangu exchange program⁴⁷ exemplifies the direction of research at CASM over the past decade or so. Conducted on a collaborative team basis by CASM staff (and students), and CASM Anangu Visiting Lecturers (and their communities), this work encompasses the development of innovative curriculum and teaching, public performances of music and dance, presentations at conferences and other artistic and cultural events, remote area school workshops, and CD and audio/visual recording and archiving projects.

The annual Anangu Field Studies Trip undertaken by CASM students and staff to the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands (AP Lands) includes a unique collaboratively framed community based teaching program, incorporating amongst other activities, several nights of *inma* organised and presented by the CASM Anangu Lecturers in conjunction with members of communities from across the AP Lands. In these *inma* 'classes', CASM students and staff participate, sometimes alongside Anangu children from the communities, in learning, in a community context alongside 'traditional' custodians, some of the most important 'traditional' songs and dances of the central desert region⁴⁸, bringing the community and the university together in a uniquely constructive and mutually beneficial way. CASM staff and students also incorporate within these *inma* presentations, performances of Torres Strait Island songs and dances and CASM choir songs, by now

⁴⁵ As 'diverse and living traditions', consistent with broader CASM aims.

⁴⁶ The CASM in-house journal *Tjunguringanyi* ('joining together'), to be reissued from 2007, provides a valuable forum for dissemination of CASM research outcomes and activities.

⁴⁷ Developed from the early relationships initiated by Cath Ellis between CASM and Anangu (people) from the Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara Aboriginal communities in the remote north-west region of South Australia, involving an ongoing and unique visiting lecturing program in which key song and knowledge holders from the area teach as an integral part of the CASM program.

⁴⁸ These are also taught to students by the Anangu lecturers using unique collaboratively designed teaching materials on campus in Adelaide.

well known to members of these communities, in a spirit of reciprocal cultural exchange consistent with the important Anangu principle of 'ngapartji-ngapartji'⁴⁹.

The many video recordings of CASM Anangu *inma* recorded by CASM for over a decade form a unique educational and cultural record. These are currently the subject of a major collaborative documentation and archiving project involving transfer of video to digital format and the creation of accompanying documentation for use in teaching at CASM and as an archival record for the CASM and Anangu communities. Together, CASM and members of the Anangu communities have also participated in numerous public events over the years, including: collaborative presentations of 'traditional' Indigenous music and dance for the *Luiteria Nel Mezzogiorno* Exhibition in Ortona, Italy in 1999⁵⁰; a joint presentation for the 2001 National Conference of the *Australian Society for Music Education (ASME)*; a performance by *Keriba Wakai-Keriba Sagul* (Our Song-Our Dance) for the 2003 *WOMADelaide* world music festival; and recording and release in 2005 of the 30 year celebration *Keriba Wakai-Keriba Sagul-CASM Choir Live* CD⁵¹.

The performance and recording of original music across a wide range of new and emerging Indigenous styles represents perhaps the most prolific and important areas of the CASM research effort. In support of its aims the CASM curriculum is underpinned by an emphasis on creative work. This has over the years resulted in the extensive production of individual and collaboratively composed, arranged and performed compositions and songs⁵², which have been systematically recorded⁵³ and documented. Most of these recordings are of original compositions performed by the composers, and some also include performances of 'traditional' Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander songs and dances. Over the past decade CASM has compiled a large archival record of these student and staff performances, which will be useful for the musicians and their communities for generations to come.

The acclaimed composition *Music is Our Culture*, co-written by CASM staff members Jardine Kiwat, Grayson Rotumah, Kerry McKenzie, and Jensen Warusam⁵⁴, provides an example of the originality of work produced at CASM. This composition, performed and premiered by the Indigenous composers with the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra at the 1999 Adelaide Festival of Arts, represents a notable achievement in Australian music, being the first composition for symphony orchestra conceived of and written by Indigenous composers. Students are also often involved in innovative project work. In 2004 CASM student Micah Wenitong led a collaborative music team⁵⁵ through Indigenous health organisation *Nunkuwarrin Yunti*, creating an unique health promotion project designed to increase awareness of Hepatitis C amongst Indigenous youth through the production of a nationally distributed CD *Tune Into Your Health, It's In Your Blood*.

⁴⁹ Meaning 'reciprocally, cooperatively'.

⁵⁰ In collaboration with Indigenous organisations Kaltjiti Arts and Crafts, Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Media Association, National Aboriginal Cultural Institute-Tandanya; and the South Australian Museum.

⁵¹ The CASM Keriba Wakai-Keriba Sagul choir and dance groups have evolved a unique cultural repertoire of Indigenous songs and dances, much in demand for public performance at a wide variety of cultural and community events.

⁵² Often involving students and staff working and performing together.

⁵³ CASM has an 'in house' state of the art recording studio dedicated to Indigenous recording, also used to teach students recording techniques and sound engineering.

⁵⁴ Together with facilitating non-Indigenous composer Chester Shultz.

⁵⁵ See http://www.nunku.org.au

This project involved workshopping and recording nine original songs created by over ninety young Indigenous people from nine regional communities in South Australia. It provides an excellent example of the special ways in which collaborative applied work by Indigenous musicians can produce multiple benefits for Indigenous people and their communities, and of the ways in which universities can proactively support such initiatives.

Today both the University and the Australian University Quality Agency are supportive of the kinds of applied work pursued by CASM, recognising that in working within and together with the Indigenous community, CASM is providing a key equity service for the University and the community as a whole. It will be interesting to see whether the new national Research Quality Framework can also embrace this way of working, where collaborative effort towards social justice outcomes is given the highest priority.

The ongoing work of CASM in supporting Indigenous musicians and in working with and within the community⁵⁶ produces long term benefits and outcomes that often go far beyond the initial conception of an individual project. This is where applied work has its greatest value. The outcomes of research development at CASM over the past decade have been substantial and diverse. In opening up a space for Indigenous research training and in taking a proactive approach to supporting Indigenous priorities in music research, the hope is that practical investment in and consolidation of Indigenous research at CASM will prove to be not only of value for individuals, but also productive and of lasting benefit for the broader Indigenous community.

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 $^{^{56}\,}$ $\,$ In areas such as education, health, and community and cultural development.

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POVZETEK

Raziskovalci-nedomačini so bili doslej odgovorni za raziskovanje in zbiranje obsežnih interpretativnih podatkov o glasbi aboriginov in otočanov ožine Torres. Toda: čeprav so bili domači glasbeniki prvenstveni informanti, so doslej le redko imeli neposredno besedo pri raziskovanju, tako da po navadi niso bili deležni vpliva in koristi, ki so po naravi stvari izhajale iz raziskovalno usposobljenega znanja. Raziskovalci glasbe se dandanes vse bolj zavedajo etničnih, moralnih in pravnih premislekov, ki zadevajo delo z staroselskimi ljudstvi, in zato iščejo pota, kako bi učinkovito odgovorili na klic le-teh po raziskavah, ki bi temeljile na sa-

moodločanju in samopredstavitvi. V Avstraliji je bilo aplikativno raziskovanje spoznano za ključno raziskovalno pot k praktičnim rešitvam pri obravnavi resničnih življenjskih problemov in potreb Aboriginov, Otočanov ožine Torres in njihovih skupnosti. Center za aboriginske glasbene študije (CASM) Univerze v Adelaidi prezentira raziskavo izbranega primera, ki razkriva zadnje novosti v raziskovalnem izobraževanju glasbenikov-domačinov in ki osvetljuje razvoj raziskovanja, s katerim se domačinska raziskovalna prizadevanja postavljajo v središče raziskovalnih nalog in se jim tako priznava ključni pomen aplikativnega raziskovanja pri uresničitvi raziskovalnih prioritet, ki jih opravljajo glasbeniki-domačini.

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"But what if they call the police?" Applied Ethnomusicology and Urban Activism in the United States

»Kaj pa če pokličejo policijo?«: aplikativna etnomuzikologija in urbani aktivizem v ZDA

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Ključne besede: aplikativna etnomuzikologija, aktivizem, lokalne skupnosti, deleženje veščin, urbana kultura

Izvleček

Članek raziskuje nujnost in težave, pred katerimi stoji aplikativna etnomuzikologija pri raziskovanju ene izmed ameriških urbanih sosesk. Predmet raziskave je tako metodološka teorija aktivistično usmerjenega dela, ki povezuje akademski pristop z lokalnimi skupnostmi, kot tudi izzivi, do katerih se mora aplikativna etnomuzikologija ustrezno opredeliti.

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Keywords: applied ethnomusicology, activism, grassroots communities, skills-sharing, urban culture

Abstract

This article explores the difficulties and necessities of applied ethnomusicological research in an urban American neighborhood. A theory of method for activist centered work which connects academia with local, grassroots communities is discussed as well as the challenges of positioning oneself as an applied ethnomusicologist in the field.

The crowd was beginning to trickle into the Wonderland Ballroom, a bar in Columbia Heights, a neighborhood of Washington, DC, for an evening of old-time country music. Members of the local band on that night's bill lingered by the entrance, collecting cover fees and mingling with patrons. As I entered the bar, one of the band members introduced me to the rest of the band as "the person who is writing about the live-music ban in Mount Pleasant." The band only recently discovered that they could not play in a popular bar a few blocks away because of a city ordinance which prohibited live music performance in establishments which sold alcohol in that specific neighborhood. It

did not matter to the authors of the ordinance that this would prohibit residents of the neighborhood from earning a living as musicians in their own neighborhood. Their concern about noise levels and clientele trumped anyone's right to free expression, and thus the regulation was created.

A few weeks later, while leaving a community meeting on Mount Pleasant Street, I ran into a member of that same old-time band, who immediately told me the band's plan to bring music back to the neighborhood. They would play at the Marx Café on Mount Pleasant Street, right in the heart of the neighborhood, and dare the music-ban authors to stop them. One of my friends from the meeting, knowing the situation asked, "But what if they call the police?" This question is at the root of what it means to be committed to activism. And ironically, it is not the first context in which I have heard this question asked in the midst of my research. What would happen if those who instituted this ban on live-music called the police? Could I potentially be carted off to jail for listening to music? Researchers often encounter delicate situations like this while in the field. One typical response is to inhabit an observant, outsider stance to ensure that the research data collected is not tainted. In this scientific, clinical approach, the researcher is seen as an unbiased evaluator of cultural scenes. What happens when the researcher decides to become actively involved in those same scenes? Does bias de-legitimize observation?

This chapter explores the difficulties and necessities of activist centered work in an urban American neighborhood. In Washington, DC, many neighborhoods are being transformed from poor, neglected barrios and ghettos into up-market, wealthy enclaves. With these outward changes come new attitudes toward cultural life on the street and in the community. To an outsider, these changes may seem inevitable, but to an activist scholar, one can see the inherent imbalance of power that allows the acceleration of change in favor of more recent affluent arrivals. In one particular neighborhood, new attitudes have culminated in a "ban" on live music. I will discuss the reasons for and challenges of positioning myself as an applied ethnomusicologist within my research as well as move toward a theory of method for activist centered work which connects academia with local, grassroots communities.

What is Applied Ethnomusicology?

Applied ethnomusicology is a philosophical approach to the study of music in culture, with social responsibility and social justice as guiding principals. Applied ethnomusicologists use their academic training to advocate for musical communities and to act as mediators between the music culture and the general public (Sheehy 1992, Titon 1992, Graves 1992). Ethnomusicologists like Alan Merriam and Mantle Hood both acknowledged some of the benefits of applied work. However, the work of applied ethnomusicologists has been either ignored or seen as dangerous by these same scholars (Merriam 1964, Hood 1971, Nettl 1964, 1983). Because these leading scholars in ethnomusicology did not address the ideas and theories of applied work, the history of the development of applied work within ethnomusicology is scattered amongst the history of public projects in the United States (Sheehy 1992). The controversial nature of what applied ethnomusicolo-

gists do, 'meddling' as some have referred to it (Hawes 1992), has lead to its history not being included in the history of ethnomusicology. Applied ethnomusicology is more than meddling, it is a philosophical approach to the study of music in culture that revolves around social responsibility and justice. Applied ethnomusicologists do not stop at the informal relationship fostered through fieldwork, instead seeking to collaborate with musical communities to find solutions to problems or to address issues of concern in the community they study. Issues that applied ethnomusicologists address include copyright and traditional music, the survival and preservations of musical traditions, the encouragement of musical communities in documenting their own cultures, and the training of individuals to become advocates for their own communities. How these issues are addressed relates to the establishment of a theory of applied ethnomusicology, which is still evolving (Sheehy 1992, Titon 1992).

Because applied ethnomusicology is a more recent development in the field of ethnomusicology, it follows many precedents from longer established traditions of applied work in the fields of folklore and anthropology. Some scholars question the methods or intellectual integrity of applied work (D'Andrade 1995). The literature in applied anthropology tends to focus on development and medicine (Scheper-Hughes 1995, Chambers 1985, Wallace 1997). I see both of these public engagements by anthropologists as a result of their experiences in fieldwork. Striving to uphold the model of objective observer, these anthropologists seek to use their skills as ethnographers to assist the people they study, not solely to report on their ways of life. Applied anthropologists acknowledge their role as advocates for communities by engaging in policy and community decisions. By understanding that advocacy is not a neutral position and in many ways works against the objectivist model put forth by most standard anthropological literature, these scholars seek ways to incorporate the specialized knowledge gained in academic training for the good of the communities they study.

American folklorists especially, have created an entire subcategory within their discipline for the public application of folklore research. By working within institutions and in grassroots organizations, folklorists have contributed to the debates about cultural pluralism, cultural heritage preservation and presentation in the United States (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988, Payne 1998, Feintuch 1988, Spitzer and Baron 1992, Hufford 1994). Through festival presentations, arts apprenticeships, educational programming and various other methods, folklorists have worked to engage the public in a greater appreciation and understanding of expressive culture. It is through these public presentations that folklorists actively pursue the public discussion of diversity and preservation on a local and national level. Folklorists have been able to do this in national institutions like the Smithsonian and the Library of Congress. Within a more local environment, folklorists use their training in ethnography to document the diversity of the communities in which they work. The result of their work has influenced the way in which we think about the cultures we study. Ethnomusicologists have worked with folklorists in this capacity, but have only recently acknowledged the role that they could (and do) play in assisting communities (Sheehy 1992, Titon 1992, Graves 1992).

These scholars seek to collaborate with musical communities to address such issues as access, consumption and preservation of their traditions. In the United States, as else-

where, collaboration has led to the creation of national cultural policy and educational institutions charged with preserving, documenting and fostering traditional music. However, the threat to musical expression is not always one of extinction, but can simply be the denial of the right to participate in musical expression itself, whether that expression is based in traditional cultures or created within popular culture. Other threats can originate in the society itself, through laws and policies that impact the everyday life of musicians and musical culture. As people trying to live within complex governments and societies, it is not easy to separate out music from the existence of everyday life. Musicians can face eviction, deportation, harassment from police, drug and alcohol abuse, not to mention the denial of the right to perform and make a living with their art. To be an activist for music requires that one be an activist for social justice issues as well.

During the Summer of 2005, I taught a class in community ethnography and radio documentation at Bell Multicultural High School in Columbia Heights, the neighborhood adjacent to Mount Pleasant. In the class, I trained a group of young people from the neighborhood in ethnographic methods, which allowed them to engage in research for and about their own neighborhood. The students learned to photograph and make audio recordings, to engage in interview/conversations with neighborhood merchants (specifically in ethnic markets and music shops) and to create a radio portrait of a musician from their school. Nate Allen, a fellow classmate and senior at Bell High School, was the subject of the students' documentary. Through interviews and clips of Nate's own music, the students displayed the creativity and musicianship of their classmate, while also giving a place to hip-hop culture in their understanding of their neighborhood.¹

The project highlighted for me several important issues in the discussion of applied ethnomusicology. I argue that radio is a format uniquely suited to the field. In radio, we can tell those stories we find in the field, but with the actual voices of the 'informant,' as well as immersing ourselves in their aural existence, their musical world. By focusing in on the stories that people tell about their lives and their relationship to music, we engage in a sharing of information that is connected to a sense of responsibility: you have shared with me your story and now I am responsible for sharing it respectfully with others. The researcher becomes a steward of life stories and an advocate for that music or that musical world.

To be an applied ethnomusicologist does not mean one is always leading a project. Sometimes, the best way to be an activist is to observe and participate in what is already happening around you. As researchers, we often enter a community as an outsider, seeking to understand the mechanics and meanings behind community actions. This outsider stance naturally inhibits leading the charge on organizing in a community. In most cases, the applied ethnomusicologist becomes an advisor or assistant, providing support in technical or physical ways. But this stance also allows us to observe how people in the community are already doing what we called applied ethnomusicology. These grassroots responses to issues of culture and community should be models from which applied ethnomusicologists take note. By witnessing how a community reacts

This radio documentary, titled "An Inside Look at Urban Culture with Nate Nice" was broadcast on Radio CPR in September 2005 and later published in an local audio 'zine on the independent label Sockets.

to problems through cultural work, applied ethnomusicologists can find ways to get involved without insisting they be the leaders of projects.

Applied ethnomusicology defines itself in reaction to the isolation of the ivory tower scholar. The field insists that its practitioners get involved in the communities they study. However, the emphasis has often been on creating projects that bridge the divide between academia and the community. As workers in universities, these scholars utilize the power of the university to intervene in and impact local music communities, seeking to find positive solutions to community issues. Naturally, this creates a project-leader mentality which can be very off-putting to communities. I argue that applied ethnomusicologists should instead take note of what is happening around them and find a way to get involved that does not insist on leadership. This solution may not be profitable for the resume or the tenure committee, but it is more helpful and useful for the communities about which we care so deeply. In this way, we can still be applied ethnomusicologists without being overbearing academics. By taking notes from and following the lead of community responses to community issues, we can better serve those we seek to assist.

Please Sign our Petition!: Being Involved in Community Issues

The neighborhood pro-music group, Hear Mount Pleasant, was setting up their information table in front of Don Juan's restaurant. It was supposed to be a protest event and a chance to stand in solidarity with the businesses on Mount Pleasant Street in opposition to the live-music ban. The group organized a Karaoke night at Don Juan's to protest the Voluntary Agreements which prohibited Don Juan's proprietor, from even holding a karaoke event in his restaurant. The planned protest, however, was drastically changed by unforeseen events and neighborhood politics. A week prior, on Good Friday 2007, at the annual Via Crucis procession down Mount Pleasant Street, a DC police officer was injured in an automobile accident. The officer later died from his injuries. A neighbor, instrumental in creating the live-music ban in the neighborhood, notified the community, via a list-sery, about a vigil for the officer and his family taking place on the following Friday. This was same night as the Hear Mount Pleasant karaoke celebration. In a scramble to be respectful and to keep to their cause, the members of the group transformed their event into a supporting role for the police officers. They delayed the start of the karaoke until after the vigil, and invited the officers to come back later that evening to enjoy a night of music and community spirit.

While the group assembled their table in front of Don Juan's, one of the group members noticed that the neighbor who notified the neighborhood about the vigil was present in the crowd. In fact, she placed herself at the front of the vigil procession to escort the deceased officer's family, with the DC Mayor on one side and the neighborhood ward's city councilmember on the other. It was a trifecta of the powerful in the neighborhood, and this neighbor's placement of herself at the head of the crowd only underscored her claim to power and privilege. The Hear Mount Pleasant member said to me, "What if she sees you here?"

It was known in the group that I interviewed this neighbor for my dissertation, in my quest to hear all sides of the music-ban issue. During my many attempts to secure the interview, I received emails from the neighbor, suspicious of my aims and confrontational towards my project. We finally sat down to talk, at a Starbucks in a posh section of the city, where I represented myself as a dispassionate researcher. This was partially true. I did want to understand her side of things, but my involvement with the community radio station had already colored my opinion of this informant. And it is in this moment, after the interview, that my bias towards the community proved stronger than my commitment to objective research. I had just sat down with a woman whom many in the neighborhood considered "Enemy Number One." A woman who creates such a culture of fear that highly educated, independent thinkers who organize in the neighborhood sit back in awe (but never surprise) at the nasty and vindictive actions she takes on behalf of her neighborhood organization. This was the same woman who when interviewed a few months later by the Washington Post, was quoted saying, "And I will be damned if people outside my neighborhood come in and do something that affects my property value by worsening the parking situation." Surely her objection to outsiders was not solely based on parking spaces. But her quote indicates how activists work in a community and the importance of community-lead solutions to community-based problems. The quote also gave me a justification for what I was about to do next.

In the week following the interview, I went to the monthly meeting for Radio CPR, the neighborhood underground radio station. As we sat waiting for the other members, one of the DJs asked me how the interview with the neighbor had gone. This DJ knew about the progress of my research and knew that I had been trying to secure this interview for several weeks. In the course of telling her about our meeting, I mentioned that this neighbor had been asked by the DC government to organize a series of concerts in Columbia Heights, the adjoining neighborhood to Mount Pleasant. The news made the DJ extremely upset, understandably so, since this neighbor had helped to organize a similar concert series in Mount Pleasant. The Mount Pleasant series was billed as a community event, but in reality it was a tactical move to undermine the idea of a musicban in the neighborhood. By presenting a summer live music series, this neighbor and her organization could say music was allowed in the neighborhood, although all knew it was only on their terms.

Since I was already an active member in the Radio CPR community and I knew what the fight for live music really meant to those who lived in the neighborhood, I decided to send the DJ a transcript of the interview. At first I only sent her part of the transcript, and months later I sent her the second half. By the time I sent the second half of the interview, I was already literally signed on to the cause of Hear Mount Pleasant, the neighborhood group organizing to lift the ban on live-music. My name and address was on their petition, so there was no doubt where my sympathies resided. Sending the interview transcript to the DJ did not feel wrong or feel as if I invalidated my research. While the action is small, the implications could be large for a researcher. Effectively, I represented myself

Quoted in "A Counteroffensive on Mt. Pleasant's 'Voluntary' Music Bans," by Marc Fisher, in the Washington Post, B01, 4/12/07.

as the objective researcher and in the end became the biased activist. The transcript really did not shed any new light on this neighbor's view of life in the neighborhood. But it did re-affirm to those involved in battling this ban on music that they were justified in continuing to fight. And for me, the ability to share my research immediately and not hesitate about the 'objective' nature of what I writing was surely freeing.

This is the dilemma which many who want to become more involved in their communities face as researchers and potential activists. The anthropologist Lynn Stephen chronicles how she as an anthropologist dealt with the Human Rights abuses she witnessed in the course of her research. As she studied the Zapatista movement in Mexico, Stephen became more aware of the injustices around her and sought a method for chronicling those injustices in her anthropological research. She concluded that to be an anthropologist in these situations meant that one must bear witness to what has occurred. From her experience she devised this list for fieldworkers, which has a striking impact on the work of applied ethnomusicologists. The list covers situations in which the researcher may not be allowed to record or take notes of field observations for fear of government confiscation. Stephen also stresses that fieldworkers who do research in an environment of 'low-intensity war,' should throw the idea of being objective out the window, instead using ones position of privilege and access to the benefit of those we study. In particular she writes,

"Witnessing, telling and conversing were primary modes of conveying information both 'in the field' and on the page-and how and why we become engaged in the research projects we do is an important part of the stories we tell. Finally, I found that I was expected to follow the lead of those I was working with, and to use my skills, resources, and access to make a contribution to ongoing work in what have come to be called the human rights and indigenous rights movement." (Stephen 2002: 31-32)

While working within in an urban neighborhood is at all not the same as working in a low-intensity war in Mexico, the issues presented by Stephen do apply to all kinds of research environments. To be a witness to things happening in the neighborhood translates into action, insisting that one get involved with groups working to change problems.

This does not stop at the issues for which one is doing research. As Stephen points out, the field is all inclusive. As a music researcher, I can not stop my observations when the conversation drifts away from musical concerns. The way lives are lived in this neighborhood impact the health and diversity of the musical culture. To be an activist for music in a community means that you must also be an activist for people. For my work in Mount Pleasant, this has meant sitting in on a community meeting with the police about the murder of a neighbor or attending a community forum on police harassment of teens in the neighborhood and recording it for later broadcast on Radio CPR. It has also meant being committed to and supporting the underground radio station and its act of civil disobedience by being a DJ, attending meetings and helping out when I can. All of these actions are small actions. They are not resume-ready or worthy of huge accolades. Admitting to ownership of them is ultimately a bit embarrassing-there are

others who put themselves on the line more than I and deserve the attention. But these actions are all a method of conducting research that commits me to a cause larger than academia. It involves me in community and impacts the way I write about my observations. Certainly it creates a bias in my writing, but that is a small issue when I regard the potential impact of my research on those with whom I have worked in the field. The fieldwork experience has taught me that one needs to choose sides and one needs to use the tools gained through hard work in academia for the betterment of others. Even if it jeopardizes the impact of ones research. Because if we do not do these things as applied ethnomusicologists, we will be relegated to writing about musical cultures in the past tense, permanently.

Sharing Skills: The Community Ethnography Class

On the last day of my class at Bell Multicultural High School's summer session, the students huddled around the computer in a make-shift production meeting and one student named Simon turned to me and said, "Miss, this is going to be huge publicity for Nate!" Exactly, was my thought. But of course, being the teacher, I decided to expand on the finer points of music and advocacy: "Well, Simon, Nate is our friend, right? We like what he does and we think that it is important that other people know about his hard work." Throughout the class we discussed the flow of the radio piece, the placement of musical clips, the troubles of being a perfectionist and knowing when to let go of your creation, all, discussions that concerned the presentation of our radio production. Central to all these conversations were two questions "How do we best represent the life story of a musician to people who don't know him?" and "Why do this in the first place?"

The documentary film historian, Eric Barnouw, commented in his history of the genre, "True documentarists have a passion for what they find in images and sounds...It is in selecting and arranging their findings that they express themselves; these choices are, in effect, their main comments...They present their version of the world." (Barnouw: 348) As an ethnomusicologist, I am always struggling with which version of the world I am presenting. According to Barnouw, if I was a 'true documentarist' it would always be my view of the world. The field of ethnomusicology and anthropology have both acknowledged the crisis of representation through the writings of post-modernist scholars. Whose reality are we seeking when we set out to create a documentary? Is it the person talking into the microphone or is it the person pushing the record button? Is it right or fair for a white, upper-middle class woman like myself to document and represent the lives of Latino and African American lower middle-class inner-city youth? In response to these questions, I have reflected that teaching people how to document their own lives reaches toward an equity of representation. It also reaches into realities that I would not have access to through standard research.

Radio is a format that is uniquely suited to the field of ethnomusicology. As a concentrated aural experience, the listener can be drawn into the world of the ear and the world of the mind. Like the ancient verbal art of storytelling, a visitor enters your

home, sits down by the fire and spins out a tale of mystery, suspense, adventure...a small snapshot of an unknown world. In radio, we can tell those stories that we find in the field, but with the actual voices of the 'informant' as well as immersing ourselves in their aural existence, their musical world. As ethnomusicologists, we already spend much of our time in conversation with informants, gaining insight into the lives of musicians and the role that music plays in everyday human existence. We record these encounters for our research, to be examined and then reworked into a theoretical text that speaks to our colleagues, but usually does not translate past that audience. As Jeff Titon has written about in his work with blues musicians, these conversations lead to relationships which have their own requirements.³ Relationships established through the fieldwork experience also lead to new ways of understanding the place of music in a person's life. Titon suggests that this all works toward a greater connectedness within the human community. For the students of Bell High School, engaging in conversation with their classmate, Nate Allen, not only allowed them to learn more about him and his music, but also to become advocates for his music (ie Simon's realization that the radio segment will be free publicity) and for the community. They have entered into a deeper relationship to their neighborhood and the place of music here. I argue that if researchers conducted their recordings in ways that not only collected information for academic audiences but also secured the stories that people tell about their lives, then radio could work as a format for the presentation of ideas that ethnomusicologists explore in their written academic texts to lay audiences.

The radio documentary allows the informant to explain his or her world in his or her own voice. As Barnouw stated, the choices made by the documentarian determine which kinds of stories are told. Often, the stories that are told about music in society are not informed by ethnomusicological thought and theory. The ethnomusicologist is often brought in as a 'talking head' dispensing knowledge about the musical community under discussion, but the production of the documentary is usually handled by others. Why is it important that ethnomusicologists have a larger and louder say in the production of radio explorations of musical communities? Through our training, we are especially attuned to issues of representation, identity, and presentation. Instead of being the talking head or the expert, why not train others to examine the world as we do, giving those who act as our informants another tool toward representing their lives to others? It is not enough to hand the microphone over to those we 'collect' from and say, 'Ok, tell your own story.' How many times have you encountered this response to your well-crafted and thought-out question, 'Well, I've never really thought about it that way.' Days later, your friend has ruminated on your question and gives you a thoughtful answer, expressing a view of their life that they may not have reflected on before in such a way. This is where theoretical training aids methodology-in the structuring of questions. But it is not the answers to theoretical questions that illuminate radio documentaries-it is the stories. Just as in a social situation, stories draw people into one another's worlds. What documentaries can do is situate these stories within a context. As opposed to most journalism, which relates facts and some analysis about an event, documentaries can feature the

³ See Titon 1994, p. 263.

stories that give those facts a context. The great American oral historian Studs Terkel has taken this form, storytelling, and shown how stories tell us more about the world than just one person's experience. In his collection of stories on death and faith, Terkel comments that his informants, 'heroes of the ordinary,' as he calls them, were always more eloquent expressing their feelings about death than he or they themselves expected. He writes, 'The storytellers here, once started on the subject, can't stop. They want to talk about it...' (Terkel 2001, p. xix) And nothing encourages a person who of wants to talk about something more than an attentive listener. Learning when to listen, when to ask questions, when to give someone space, all of these are methods of fieldwork or what I call 'mindful fieldwork.'

By thinking of fieldwork as a way to collect stories, as folklorists did in the early 20th Century searching for tale-types, the researcher not only has a plan for the kinds of questions that will be asked, but also knows that the encounter will develop into a conversation. Following the model of oral history, where the researcher gathers up the threads of someone's existence in a historical time through the stories of their lives, ethnomusicologists can more deeply explore the relationship between everyday life and music in our informants lives. Asking questions that generate stories is the key to doing such fieldwork. Starting a question with, 'So, tell me more about how you got involved in such group....' Or 'Tell me how you got started playing the fiddle...' can easily settle the informant into a storytelling mood. Through this type of questioning, we begin to engage the person in a conversational mode that will unconsciously invite them to tell us a story. The job of the scholar is to listen and follow-up with questions that extend the story or lead to others. Some of the best material can come from spontaneous questions and engaging conversation. The documentarian's job is to translate that conversation to a meaningful and concise vision of the speaker's existence, re-working the conversation in a light that presents an insight into this person's life in music.

Why does music need advocates? The music genre we explored in our documentary, hip-hop, is surely not endangered. Misunderstood, perhaps. The students at Bell High School are all conversant in hip-hop, understanding the culture in deeper ways than their teacher could hope to since it surrounds them in their everyday life. As an advocate for Nate and his music the students disprove stereotypes about DC public school students: that they are disorderly, inarticulate, violent gang members, the list goes on. They have created a positive view of DC public school students, showing how creative hip-hip is as a musical genre and thereby giving it and its artists the respect it deserves. In the District, funds for the public schools are appropriated by the United States Congress as part of a larger appropriations bill for the city. Because of this, Senators from across the country have a say in the use of this funds-or at least feel entitled to express their opinions about the DC public school system, which is usually overwhelmingly negative and disparaging of local administration. In this action, the documentary not only gives voice to the creator of the music, but also works toward a social justice of representation. These students have the tools to think critically about the life of culture in their neighborhood, as well as the ability to speak out.

Learning from Communities: The Mount Pleasant Mural Project

Large boards of plywood lined the fence of the Peace Park next to the 7-11 convenience store. It was Celebrate Mount Pleasant Day and the boards, painted with many colors and figures, looked as if they were just another one of the several artist displays found on Mount Pleasant Street that day. But a closer look revealed this wasn't just any art, but graffiti art. The colors swirled and popped, vibrant and pulsing as images immerged from the chaos: a DJ spinning tunes, a library surrounded by barbed-wire, a microphone and a spray paint can. The line-up of art turned out to be a preview of work done by the Midnight Forum, a community group dedicated to giving youth life-skills through hip-hop arts.

In collaboration with the neighborhood economic group Mount Pleasant Main Streets, the affordable housing non-profit MANNA and the neighborhood youth organization YARG (Youth Action Research Group), Midnight Forum's artists created the boards to mask broken windows on an apartment building on Mount Pleasant Street. The building housed lower-income tenants until it was damaged by fire in 2002. In the summer of 2004, the building's owner donated it to the non-profit MANNA, which intends to renovate the building for those same displaced residents, a move which is contrary to the normal trend in the neighborhood. Most apartment buildings are either turned in to condominiums or redeveloped into luxury apartments, effectively shutting out the previous tenants. These actions have impacted the diversity of the neighborhood, as the lower income residents move to other parts of the city or into the Maryland and Virginia suburbs.

This collaboration is a perfect example of the importance of activist work in music and its involvement in other aspects of community activism. It is also a prime example of the good work that grassroots organizations are doing within communities for communities. Midnight Forum used its talents as a location for the artistic expression of DC youth and channeled that energy into a project which not only benefited the neighborhood but also raised awareness among its residents to the artistic nature of graffiti art. In a neighborhood where residents often see graffiti as a criminal act of property defacement, these artists contributed to the beautification of a scarred building and also used their canvas as a platform for community issues. This is not unusual for a group like Midnight Forum. The teens who participate in its programs learn a variety of music and art skills, all within the context of hip-hop expression. In the midst of their training as artists, the students also learn about community issues and the representation of their ideas. The Mount Pleasant Street Mural Project was a prime example of how the students used their emerging skills as artists for the community in which they live.

When Dominic Painter, a teacher at Midnight Forum, talks about the Mural Project, he laughs, especially if you ask him about the ethics of graffiti art or the students original plans for the project. Painter considered the mural project an opportunity for the students to use their training to think big: what are the issues that affect their daily lives and how would you translate that experience into an image? The students confronted all these ideas when they started on the murals for the building in Mount Pleasant. How-

ever, their first idea for a board needed to be finessed, since their client was ultimately a neighborhood organization which wanted to encourage business in Mount Pleasant. Painter recalls that moment with understanding and humor,

"I can think of the first idea they had that they were really excited about, 'Yeah, I want a bunch of cops, around a guy that's wearing a hoodie and some jeans and they've got their clubs out.' I was like, 'ah man, I don't think that is going to happen,' (laughing)...that's not going to happen man, we've got to think of something a little different...(laughing)...how about education? I know you have certain views of your school and what you are lacking, go in that direction.' We'd been talking a lot about gentrification and how Bell was about to get closed and they were about to put up a new one. Kids aren't stupid. These youth are smart enough to realize that that building is not for them. Yeah, they'll get to go there for a year or so, but in the long run it is not for them. So they went in that direction and they came up with a way...it's kinda funny how that picture came out because their depiction of it was...they had a kid running down the street and he looks happy, but in the background it's like a McDonalds and a Starbucks getting put up. And it has two arrows, one with money leaving the community and none coming back in. So if you are not really looking at it, you're like, it's cool, it's a kid running in front of the McDonald's and he's happy, but no... (laughing)." (Painter interview: 03/06)

Under the guidance of their teachers at Midnight Forum, the students were able to get out a message which represented how they felt about the community while also using their graffiti art skills to express that message. Painter feels that if residents in the community look at the mural and only see graffiti, they are relying on an old definition of the art style, one associated with criminal defacement. Through the Mural Project, students re-appropriated the style of the art form and employed it with messages about life in their community.

Projects like Midnight Forum are good examples of grass-roots responses to community issues. The teachers are engaged in the topic in such a way that all issues about community life are moments of learning. In Midnight Forum, the students learn how to hold an aerosol can, how to spin a record for a party and how to write as an MC. These skills are the artistic medium within which each of the students work, however the teachers understand that they also have a responsibility to engage the student beyond the skill. It is not enough just to have a canvas, but what are you going to say on that canvas? As Painter explains, "realizing the impact of what their art is on a broader spectrum whether it is social activism or how having a voice can be used. So the music usually comes from a place where they talk about issues that affect them or anything that is in the news during that time in the semester." (Painter: 03/06). This is the root of grass-roots work: understanding that individuals have a voice in their communities and working to employ that voice in different forms and forums.

By studying the work done by grassroots organizations, applied ethnomusicologists can begin to understand what elements of the culture are important to communities. Often scholars look at a community and seek ways in which they can contribute, looking at the large picture without seeing how individuals in those communities are

already doing good work. Grassroots organizations respond to specific needs within the community and most times, are started by residents within that community. In the field of folklore, public folklorists label these community activists as community scholars, a term which gives scholarly authority to those who live these issues everyday. Community scholar's work for the betterment of those they live with, as stewards of the neighborhood's history, as teachers of artistic skills, or as residents concerned for the cultural life of their community. They know what the issues are immediately and can seek creative ways to address them. While the individual can be the catalyst for action with in neighborhood, a community scholar can not be effective by operating as the lone voice in the wilderness.

Folklorists have made efforts to assist community scholars in their activities by holding summer workshops in grant writing and documentary skill training. For example, in South Carolina, community scholars gather every other summer for a two-week workshop in which they learn how to navigate the state's arts grants, how to document their communities through photographs and audio recordings, and how to archive their materials. The Institute for Community Scholars was initiated by independent folklorist Lesley Williams in conjunction with the South Carolina Arts Commission to not only develop community documentation skills but also widen the field of potential candidates for grant awards from the state. In the piedmont section of the state, this workshop inspired attendees to start the Piedmont Harmony Project, which sought to document musical traditions in that part of South Carolina. The project is now part of the South Carolina National Heritage Corridor, one of several National Heritage Areas created by the US Congress in 1996 (Missouri Folk Arts Program: 2003). All of these skills are part of a public folklorist's modus opporandi. By sharing these skills with community scholars, folklorists become collaborators with the communities they study. The origins of projects in this model come not from the academic scholar, but from the community. In this relationship, the community scholar takes the lead and the academic works as consultant.

Cultural theorist George Yúdice comments that agency, commonly thought of as the power of those in weaker positions to resist structural pressures, is not something that we have to ourselves as individuals. As an individual, we can identify a problem in a community but we can not change the situation on our own. Working with groups of like-minded individuals, our thoughts and efforts have a much more substantial impact. To prevent our individual voice from being squelched in the process, as Yúdice writes, "...rather than a frontal action against a single source of oppression, it requires working in a range of groups and organizations, working with and mediating to help provide interfaces among diverse agendas..." (Yúdice 2003: 157). In the case of the Mount Pleasant Street Murals, the youth organization YARG made sure to stand its ground, impressing upon the neighborhood economic group that the students of Midnight Forum must be allowed to create murals using their own voices as community youth. All three of the organizations, as grassroots, community-based groups, each had different agendas but

When I attended the Institute in 2003 at Clemson University, in South Carolina, the attendee's projects ranged from creating a writer's retreat in the Piedmont to documenting and reinvigorating jubilee singing in Coastal Carolina churches. Most of those in attendance were not familiar with folklore as an academic discipline prior to their involvement in the workshops.

could negotiate with each other and respect each other. And in the end, a building got a needed facelift and students developed their artistic skills and political views.

Conclusion

In the end, to be an applied ethnomusicologist is to be conflicted: about methodology, about ethics, about objectivity. All of which are concerns of academic research. The field where we make observations is not isolated and nor is it singular. When working inside an urban neighborhood, one starts to understand the inclusivity of fields and people. It is the multi-layered sense of place and being that creates community. In order to be an activist for music in a community, one must also be an activist for the community. This idea impacts the manner in which I conduct my fieldwork. It means that I need to stand up and be counted when called upon by my neighbors. Signing a petition, attending a rally or protest, getting involved in the mechanics of community building are all methods of being an activist. These are not empty involvements or the accidental results of participant-observer research. I am not attending the protest just to observe but to lend my voice and assistance.

My help should not stop when the topic diverges from my research. Music is not created in a vacuum and its survival is affected by everyday social issues all over the world. To be an advocate for music means that one must also be aware of all sorts of issues that affect a community. Established voices are usually privileged over new voices, for better or worse. As a result, applied ethnomusicologists need to understand what type of commitment they are willing to make toward the community they are studying. How long will you be involved in the community? What kind of assistance is most useful under the constraints of your project? For a dissertation project, these aims are very high and not always achievable. I struggled for awhile with the ethical dilemma of commitment and time. Seeing the good work of the activists around me, I knew that their level of commitment was in direct relation to how long they had been residents (or how long into the future they assumed to be residents.) My own ability to stay in the neighborhood was finite. This is a very important point if one is going to be an activist. It takes a long time to build up relationships in a community, and as such, one must be ready to make a long-term commitment to that place before engaging in applied work. As a result, the work one does will actually have a greater impact and respect within that community.

Maybe this seems like a very common sense idea, but I think that it is not stressed enough in applied work. Most times, applied ethnomusicologists work within institutions, either academic or governmental, in which involvement in a community is dependent on the funds and time allowed by that institution. Applied ethnomusicologists who work within institutions must also deal with ideological constraints. Surely a university would have problems with a university-based project which assisted radical political elements in documenting and preserving their musical traditions. Governmental institutions are less likely to involve themselves in politically dangerous topics which might bring the eye of congressional appropriation committees to their activities and the potential

of funding cuts. Because many scholars will continue to do this work in spite of lack of support by institutions and governments, the role of grassroots organizations becomes an important aspect of applied ethnomusicological method. By working on this level, scholars have a direct involvement with the communities they study as well as a direct responsibility to those whose lives their research is based. Assisting and working in grassroots organizations allows the scholar to support work already occurring in their field of study, instead of reworking and undermining the work of the community with institutional and governmental imperatives.

With all these types of constraints, to be an applied ethnomusicologist is to be political. These scholars decide to take a stand for the music and musicians they study. By taking a stand and acknowledging that there is no apolitical act, applied ethnomusicologists deal directly with the issues of everyday life, instead of hiding behind an academic veil of objectivity. As a method of research, applied ethnomusicology informs decisions made throughout the fieldwork and research process, from gathering interviews to participating in protest rallies. The scholar becomes part of the community and acts with the community. It is with this set of ethics, to become involved and aware, that I seek to become an applied ethnomusicologist.

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M. LOUGHRAN • "BUT WHAT IF THEY CALL THE POLICE?" ...

POVZETEK

Aplikativna etnomuzikologija predstavlja tak filozofski pristop k študiju glasbe v določeni kulturi, ki je istočasno družbeno odgovoren in pravičen. Znanstveniki uporabljajo svojo akademsko izobrazbo za to, da se zavzemajo za glasbene skupnosti in da delujejo kot posredniki med glasbeno kulturo in širšo javnostjo. Taka naravnanost omogoča raziskovalcu, da opazuje, kako ljudje v skupnosti že sami delajo tisto, kar imenujemo aplikativna etnomuzikologija. S tem da so priče temu, kako določena skupnost na podlagi kulturnega dela reagira na probleme, lahko raziskovalci odkrijejo pota lastnega vključevanja, ne da bi pri tem vztrajali kot vodje projektov.

Aplikativna etnomuzikologija se mora spopasti z metodologijo, etiko in objektivnostjo, kar je skrb vsakega akademskega raziskovanja. Polje naših raziskovanj ni niti izolirano niti edinstveno. Ko raziskiujemo znotraj urbane soseske, se začenjamo zavedati vključenosti polj in ljudi. Če hočemo biti glasbeni aktivisti v določeni skupnosti, moramo aktivno delovati v prid skupnosti. Aplikativna etnomuzikologija pokriva vse odločitve, do katerih znanstvenik pride med terenskim delom in raziskovalnim procesom: od zbiranja intervjujev do soudeležbe pri protestnih shodih. Znanstvenik postane del skupnosti in deluje skupaj s skupnostjo.

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Activism in Southeast Asian Ethnomusicology: Empowering Youths to Revitalize Traditions and Bridge Cultural Barriers

Aktivizem v etnomuzikologiji jugovzhodne Azije: omogočiti mladim, da oživijo tradicije in presežejo kulturne pregrade

Prejeto: 6. avgusta 2007 Sprejeto: 2. aprila 2008

Ključne besede: umetnostna vzgoja, identiteta, multikulturalnost, procesualno gledališče, oživljanje tradicije

Izvleček

Začenši s kratkim pregledom strategij in aktivnosti aplikativne etnomuzikologije se pričujoči prispevek osredotoča na razvoj socialno angažiranega pristopa k omogočanju mladih Malezijcev, da se lotijo dveh vprašanj: oživljanja tradicij in preseganja kulturnih pregrad v multietnični in multikulturni družbi, v kateri so nestrpnosti često prisotne.

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Keywords: arts education, identity, multiculturalism, process theater, revitalizing

ABSTRACT

Beginning with a short overview of the strategies and activities in applied ethnomusicology in Southeast Asia, this paper focuses on the development of a socially engaged approach to empower young people in Malaysia to address two concerns: revitalizing traditions and bridging cultural barriers in a multiethnic and multireligious society where tensions often occur.

Common Concerns in Southeast Asia

The practice of ethnomusicology has been central in the professional lives of ethnomusicologists in Southeast Asia. Besides being involved in scholarly activities such as teaching, documenting, publishing, and organizing conferences, ethnomusicologists in

Southeast Asia actively apply their knowledge to solve particular problems in the field of culture so as to bring about change in their respective societies.

In November 2004, a group of ethnomusicologists from various parts of Southeast Asia met at the Asian Music Forum organized by Prof. Ramon Santos at the National Commission for Culture and the Arts in Manila, to discuss their common concerns, issues and share ways to handle them. The conservation of traditional music and the promotion of pluralism in multiethnic societies were issues which generated energetic discussion.

For the participants, traditional music seems to be disappearing quickly due to the changing values and attitudes regarding modernity and tradition among the younger generation. In Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, modernity seems to be associated with western popular music resulting in a lack of interest in traditional music. To the young, popular music is attractive as it is current, commercially driven and disseminated using the mass media by transnational companies which are supported by large marketing budgets. On the other hand, traditional music is associated with 'backwardness' and lacks currency.

Moreover, there is little interest in traditional music because the effects of colonialism continue to shape language, education, religion, culture, tastes and the psyche of the colonized even though most Southeast Asian countries have celebrated independence for many decades. In the realm of musical culture, Eurocentric tendencies persist in the teaching, examination, composition and performance of music. As one Indonesian delegate said, "playing traditional instruments becomes something to be ashamed of, while playing western classical instruments merits higher prestige." As in Singapore, Malaysia and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, performers of traditional music are seen as of lower status and are paid less than performers in Western classical music. Music conservatories in countries like Vietnam and Singapore focus more on the training of western classical music rather than local music.

Although ethnomusicologists in the region have taken on the urgent task of documenting fast disappearing oral traditions especially in places where village masters are getting old, this is not enough. All the delegates at the conference agreed that "they need to take steps to sustain their traditional musics, including steps to ensure that the young know about their traditions and begin to perform them." A delegate from Cambodia expressed the need to "understand the world of the youth and to find ways and means to accommodate them within the framework of Asian musical traditions. "Youths are cultural beings who make informed choices. Education is one way of providing youths with knowledge that can shape these choices," he stressed.

Indeed, education plays a very important role in revitalizing and rekindling the interest of youths in traditional music. With their knowledge of the diverse musics of the region, ethnomusicologists play important roles in educational policy-making. They are at the forefront of deconstructing colonial discourses and challenging Eurocentrism in the education system. In countries such as the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand, they have been responsible for the introduction of indigenous musics in public schools which until recent decades focused on European music theory and

history. They have helped to develop new music curricula in schools with emphasis on traditional music, write textbooks, and even conduct workshops for teachers in traditional music. They have also attempted to innovate and compose new works based on traditional music that can attract the young.

Another issue which is of concern to Southeast Asian ethnomusicologists is the maintenance of cultural diversity and the promotion of tolerance among youths in multiethnic societies. In countries where multiethnic communities live side by side such as Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines, ethnomusicologists have lobbied for multiculturalism and pluralism so that minority cultures are not marginalized. For them, multiculturalism in music means recognizing the integrity of the musical expressions of all peoples. Ethnomusicologists facilitate festivals, performances and workshops and bring traditional artists to schools to promote multiculturalism. Very often, it is up to them to make sure that the music syllabus of schools and school textbooks include the cultures of multiethnic societies. Through education, children learn to be more inclusive and tolerant of other races.

This paper looks at the development of a socially engaged approach to empower young people in Malaysia to address the two concerns outlined above: (1) revitalizing traditions and (2) bridging cultural barriers in a multiethnic and multireligious society where tensions often occur.¹ I shall focus on the methods and strategies used in heritage projects known as *Anak-Anak Kota* (Children of the City) conducted in the multicultural inner city of Penang. Young participants learn to appreciate their own and other cultures through these multiethnic community-based projects which engage them in ethnomusicological tasks such as fieldwork, interviews, participant observation, audio-visual recording, analysis, learning traditional instruments and performing the musics of various ethnic groups. The process and performances provide a platform for young people to address issues of identity, heritage as well as to learn and explore how their diverse cultural and historical identities are rooted in a common inherited environment.

In multiethnic and multireligious societies, the appreciation of cultural diversity and the opportunity to work intensively and perform with 'others' help to build bridges, enhance tolerance, create respect for the 'other' and so manage conflict.² By creating their own musical pieces based on fieldwork, interviews and skills in playing instruments, the young participants acquire tools for cross-cultural conservation. The young participants then 'give back' to the communities (from whom they obtained their materials for composition) through performances in the communities.

The ethnomusicologist here acts as a facilitator and catalyst for change. By crossing stylistic and ethnic boundaries and appreciating cultural differences, they help children

Malaysia has a population of 18.4 million. According to the Population and Housing Census of 1991 (Department of Statistics: 1993), 60.6 % are Bumiputera (Malays and other indigenous groups such as the *orang asli*, Kadazan, Bajaus, Bidayuh, Melanau, Penan etc.), 28.1% Chinese (of different dialect groups), 7.9% Indians (originating from different parts of India) and 3.4% others (which includes Arabs, Eurasians, Indonesians etc.). Discourses of *Bangsa Malaysia* (Malaysian Race) and the rise of a new multiethnic middle class promoting universal values and religious tolerance at the turn of the century have contributed towards pluralism and provided hopes for the creation of a more inclusive notion of Malaysian nationhood. Nevertheless, ethnicism still persists in Malaysian politics and many aspects of the daily lives including culture of the people.

² See Pillai (2002a and 2002b) for an analysis of the development of educational theater in Malaysia. Van Erven (1992) gives a detailed account of the development of process theater in Asia.

to develop perspectives that are more inclusive and so challenge the dominant discourse of ethnicism.

Anak-Anak Kota - An ARTS-ED Project

Anak-Anak Kota (AAK) or 'Children of the City' is a heritage education program for young people (between ages 10-19) which is organised by ARTS-ED, an arts education initiative of the Penang Educational Consultative Council, School of Arts, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) and Penang Heritage Trust. Participants come from diverse ethnic groups and social backgrounds and are auditioned through schools and orphanages in the city. They are given the choice to join the music, dance or theater programs according to their abilities and interests.

The AAK education program creates awareness and educates young residents of Penang on the importance of conserving their multicultural living and built heritage (such as architecture, cultural traditions, trades, crafts, customs, food etc). Knowledge of the multiethnic traditions, be they the performing arts, celebrations, social practices, spiritual values and languages, helps to promote understanding, tolerance and mutual respect. Young people begin to appreciate diversity and cultural differences, thereby avoiding the perpetuation of strong ethnocentric mind-sets.

The program is located in the 'field' which is the inner city of Penang (as opposed to a school classroom), to widen the scope and relevance of information, resources and materials which children can work with. Creative arts genres such as music, dance, theater, puppetry, wood carving, video or photography are employed to engage young people in exploring their community and environment.

Close links are also developed between Universiti Sains Malaysia with schools, residents of the inner city of Georgetown, non-governmental organizations (such as Penang Heritage Trust), Chinese dialect group and clan associations (Teochew Assoc, Khoo Kongsi, Cheah Kongsi), corporate sponsors and other local institutions of learning in terms of sharing knowledge, skills and human and physical resources. The project provides an outlet for USM staff to do community work and a training ground for the students of USM to practice what they have learnt.

Process Theater

The AAK multiarts projects are oriented towards 'process theater' which aims at the personal development of the child and the making of drama, music or dance by the children themselves. Process theater is an important component of educational drama in Malaysia which evolved as a combination of ideas of Bertolt Brecht and Augusto Boal as well as the concept of holistic theater (which combine various forms of performing arts) found in Asia.³ In AAK, we have adapted Augusto Boal's approach to 'theater of

³ See Pillai (2002a and 2002b) for an analysis of the development of educational theater in Malaysia. Van Erven (1992) gives a detailed account of the development of process theater in Asia.

the oppressed' where the main objective is to 'change the people' from 'passive beings' into 'subjects, actors, transformers' through dramatic action (Boal:1979). For Boal, the audience should be involved in the creation and performance of a play. Active participation of the audience will support awareness training and problem solving at the community level.⁴ Brecht's ideas and theatrical tools that can stimulate an increased sense of political awareness in the minds of the audiences continue to influence many in process theater.

As the name suggests, process theater does not focus on performance as the sole purpose of theater but the process of creating theater is equally important. In process theater, communities communicate their views, common problems and formulate plans for development through the theater process. Also known as community theater, people's theater, theater in education or community theater, process theater has been an effective tool for conscientizing communities in Latin America, Africa and Asia since the 1970s (Epskamp 2006: Chapter 1).

The pioneer of process theater in Asia is The Philippines Educational Theater Association (PETA) which serves as a reference for the development of similar types of theater in the region. Politicized by the atrocities of the Marcos regime, PETA held theater workshops among farmers, workers and other communities throughout the Philippines in the 1970s where they explored a variety of social issues through drama, dance and music. Since then, similar types of process theater have emerged in Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia (Van Erven: 1992) which have been adapted for raising awareness regarding heritage, peace building as well as helping children and adults cope with trauma caused by natural disasters such as the tsunami.

Adapting and localising process theater, AAK projects provide the environment in which the young person can explore issues and themes important to the Penang community through play, music, dance or drama. The project provides an open and safe space or context for expression away from young people's homes or schools. The children themselves decide what to do and how to create their musical, dance or theatrical pieces. Facilitators guide them through a series of games, exercises, improvisations and skill training.

AAK also embraces the concept of holistic theater (combining music, dance, drama, puppetry, visual arts) and the educational function of theater found in Asia. Integrating the arts is not new as the traditional performing arts in Asia often fuse dance, music, drama and visual arts. AAK promotes a sense of appreciation of local traditional forms and challenges stereotypes and myths about traditions of other races.

Three phases of Process Theater

Each project is divided into three phases: warm-up, development and closure. Warm-up sessions help the participants and facilitators to get to know one another and establish

⁴ Augusto Boal was influenced by Paolo Freire (1972), the Brazilian educator and philosopher who initiated participatory learning methods in adult education and literacy training. For more discussion about definitions, contexts, applications of process theater, see Epskamp 2006: chapter 1.

a sense of ensemble and trust through games and group dynamic activities. For instance, in order to form the longest line with their bodies, participants who do not know each other at the start of the program, will need to discuss and collectively come out with a strategy. They begin to feel comfortable with each other after a few such games.

The development phase is the most intensive and can last from 3-4 months. Participants undergo skill training in selected traditional and contemporary art forms, conduct research in the community to collect materials and compose using the materials they have gathered. Participants who choose to enter the project through music undertake ethnomusicological tasks such as learning to play traditional instruments from traditional artists, improvising music with everyday objects and body parts, and using their voices in different ways. Field trips are arranged so that participants can listen, record (using MP3 players and video cameras) and collect sounds of the environment, observe movements of and interview specific people at specific locations. The participants then put together what they have observed, collected from the field and musical instruments learnt in the form of a musical composition. Through this process, the participants have a better understanding of culture and identity, appreciation of local traditional arts and develop new pieces with distinct Malaysian elements and imagery. They are encouraged to express their views in the process, become more confident, and learn to care for one another.

The program culminates in a workshop showcase or exhibition where traditional and contemporary arts are combined as a means of understanding the self, community and environment. The community is invited as the audience and to evaluate the show. During the closure, feedback is obtained from the participants regarding the process and workshop showcase.

Experiencing Multiculturalism and Revitalizing Traditions through *Kisah Pulau Pinang* 2006

The following section focuses on the AAK 'Music of Sound' project which I conducted from February-July 2006 for 25 young people (aged 10-18) from various ethnic and social backgrounds. They mapped and interpreted the cultural heritage and history of the different communities in the inner city of Penang through music and song. This project culminated in the performance of *Kisah Pulau Pinang* (The Story of Penang) on July 15, 2006 at the Khoo Kongsi. The composition traces the history of early Penang as a meeting place for diverse peoples and cultures where conflicts and contests for economic and political power also took place.

(i) Heritage Walks

How did the young participants learn about and experience multiculturalism in Penang? They were taken on heritage walks in the inner city to discover for themselves the development of Penang as a cosmopolitan and multicultural port and city endowed with a wealth of spiritual and artistic traditions. As an important port for the trading of spices and the export of tin and rubber, Penang attracted settlers from the Malay Ar-

chipelago, Thailand, Burma, Hadhramaut, India, China, and Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. The island was also an important stopover for Muslim pilgrims in the region who were going to Mecca. The young people explored the multiple places of worship situated near each other in the inner city, names of streets, eclectic food and architecture, varied languages spoken, and street performances which showed them that Penang was a place where different peoples met and interacted in the past.

(ii) Learning Traditional Music

At the same time, the youths underwent training in playing the musical instruments of the Malay shadow puppet theater and *gamelan* as well as local street genres such as *boria* singing, *pantun* (poetry) recitation, Chinese chanting and *dondang sayang* which were often performed by local musicians in the streets of Penang⁵. The young people were taught the instruments and songs (*lagu*) of the Malay wayang kulit (shadow play)⁶ such as *Lagu Pak Dogol* (song accompanying the clown Pak Dogol), *Lagu Perang* (song accompanying fighting scenes), Lagu Bertabuh (opening song announcing the beginning of the performance), and Lagu Hulubalang (song accompanying warriors). They learnt techniques of playing the gamelan instruments and musical pieces such as Timang Burung and Dayung Sampan. The instruments and musical pieces of the gamelan and wayang kulit were then incorporated into the story. Many of the participants who did not have any knowledge of wayang, gamelan, boria or dondang sayang music found the music exciting and enjoyed performing the traditional and newly-composed music. The process sparked off an interest in traditional music among participants.

(iii) Making Music with Objects and Sounds of the Environment

The young participants were also taught how to make music using everyday objects (such as bottles, tins or cups) which they collected from the environment and different parts of their bodies. By incorporating environmental sounds and making music based on sounds they heard in the streets of Penang, the children learnt that everyone can make music if given the opportunity, necessary tools and skills.

(iv) Fieldwork in the Inner City

The children were challenged to collect sounds and conversations from the port of Penang where the import and export of goods still take place, coffee shops and

The *boria* is a popular form of Malay musical theater which originated in Penang in the late nineteenth century. Brought by Indian Muslims soldiers, the early *boria* was performed to commemorate and to mourn the death of Saidina Hussein, the leader of Syiah Islam during the first ten days of Awal Muharram (the first month of the Muslim calendar). Troupes went from house to house and performed in the streets of Penang a series of comic sketches (regarding topical issues) interspersed with dance and song sequences. *Dondang sayang* [meaning 'love song'] is an elaborate form of Malay poetry singing which is accompanied by a violin, an accordion, two Malay frame drums and a gong. The *peranakan* Chinese who have adapted to Malay language and culture perform *dondang sayang* in the streets of Penang on the 15th night of Chinese New Year. See Matusky and Tan (2004) for more information.

In wayang kulit or shadow puppet theater, stories of the Ramayana are told by a puppeteer who manipulates the puppets behind a screen. There are different types of wayang kulit in Malaysia. Wayang Kulit Kelantan is the most popular form. The ensemble consists of various types of drums namely the goblet-shaped gedumbak, barrel-shaped gendang and geduk, kesi (cymbals), canang (a pair of gongs on a rack), tetawak (a pair of hanging gongs) and serunai (4-reeded shawm) (see Matusky and Tan 2004: 18-34).

markets where diverse ethnic groups communicate in a mixture of languages, different places of worship such as the Indian Mariaman Temple, Chinese Kuan Yin Temple and the Muslim Acheh Street Mosque as well as the busy Little India where lively trading of clothes, spices, food and DVD's of Tamil and Hindustani film music take place daily. Reading about the history of Penang and interviews with old spice traders, stevedores, cargo handlers and cooks in the inner city about early migration and trades were also part of fieldwork.

(v) Musical Composition Showing the Multicultural History of Penang

Interpreting heritage through music and song was the next step in the process. The musical production, '*Kisah Pulau Pinang*', was a combination of fieldwork materials collected and skills learnt in playing traditional musical instruments and everyday objects. The musical composition began in a market place (accompanied by *gamelan*) where various ethnic groups met and interacted daily in early Penang. This was followed by a *boria* presentation about the formation of Penang as a multicultural and cosmopolitan port and an important stop for pilgrims going to Mecca.

Boria Pulau Pinang (chorus and selected verses)

Kisah Pulau Pinang tajuk dan tema Tempat persinggahan berbilang agama Pelbagai bangsa bercampur bersama Boria anak kota dendang seirama...

Rempah diimport dari India dan Burma Lada dari Acheh, teh dari China Ramai pedagang datang bersinggah Seluruh kota riuh-rendah jadinya...

Dari Malaya, Siam dan Sumatera Singgah di Lebuh Acheh, tujuannya sama Sambil tunggu Kapal Haji ke Mekkah Duduk di Masjid dengar ceramah...

Translation: The story of Penang is the topic and theme [of this boria]

[It is] A place where people of various religions sojourned

Diverse races mixed together

Boria 'Children of the City' is sung in harmony ...

Spices are imported from India and Burma Pepper from Acheh, tea from China Many traders stopped [at the port] The whole town became a din... From Malaya, Siam and Sumatera
[Many came] to Acheh Street with the same intention
While waiting for the pilgrimage boat to Mecca
[They] listened to talks at the Mosque....

How immigrants arrived in Penang was portrayed through the chants of two main characters, an Indian Muslim and a Chinese. They sang about how they came to Penang from India and China respectively. The former was a spice trader while the latter used to carry people and goods in his small boat from the big ships which landed out at sea to the shore. Their life histories were followed by a work song of stevedores based on Tamil and Malay (italics) words collected during fieldwork.

Work Song of Stevedores

Haria (x4) [Term used when lowering goods to the boat]

Masuk Tongkang, Lima kupang Enter the boat, fifty cents

Upah Kuli oru valli (x4) Pay the worker twenty cents

Lego (x16) [Term used when lifting goods from the boat]

The coming together of different peoples in Penang was manifested in the names of the streets, places of worship belonging to different religions at close proximity to each other, as well as eclectic food and architecture, multiple languages spoken, and street festivals. The participants of the project were given an opportunity to perform their small pieces based on sounds they heard and movements they witnessed during fieldwork. They reenacted scenes in the Indian and Chinese temples through music and movement and used a mixture of languages heard in the streets, coffee shops and temples. The multiethnic musical traditions as well as new contemporary genres such as rap formed the basis of these new pieces composed by the children.

Rap on the Streets of Penang (*italics* = Malay; CAPS = Hokkien, ordinary font = English)

Penang ah Penang
Banyak jalan banyaklah nama
Itu nama mana datang?
AH KONG AH MA brother sista kamu semua cai em cai
Dulu2 nama jalan diberi kerana nama bangsa orang2 di Penang
Malay Street, Acheen Street
Bangkok Lane, Swatow Lane
Yahudi Road, Burmah Road
Ceylon Lane, Amoy Lane
Kampung Jawa, kampong Malabar.

ANG MO LANG EH MIA *pun ada*King Street, Queen Street, Campbell Street, Victoria Street

Orang Cina pula ikut nama perniagaan THUAN LO SIN KAY SI New Textile Street PAK THEEK KAY SI Iron Smith Street THAI GU AU SI Cow Slaughtering Street KIAM HU THNIA SI Salted Fish Place PHAK CHEOK KAY SI Tombstone Makers Street

Translation: Penang ah Penang

Many roads many names

Where did the names come from?

Grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister do you all know?

In the past the roads were named following the races of the people in Penang

Malay Street, Acheen Street Bangkok Lane, Swatow Lane Yahudi Road, Burmah Road Ceylon Lane, Amoy Lane Java village, Malabar village.

There are also roads which were named after English people King Street, Queen Street, Campbell Street, Victoria Street

Chinese people named roads following the businesses there THUAN LO SIN KAY SI New Textile Street PAK THEEK KAY SI Iron Smith Street THAI GU AU SI Cow Slaughtering Street KIAM HU THNIA SI Salted Fish Place PHAK CHEOK KAY SI Tombstone Makers Street

The children were joined by 64-year old veteran performer Mohd Bahroodin Ahmad, the recipient of the Living Heritage Treasures of Penang Awards 2005, who sang a *dondang sayang* based on a *pantun* which he had composed about the delicious eclectic foods of Penang including *curry laksa, nasi kandar, mee rebus* and *nyonya kuih*.

Dondang Sayang (on the eclectic food of Penang)

Naik langcia pusinglah bandar[I]go around town in a trishawLauknya kari ikanlah segarThe gravy in the fish curry is so refreshingKalau lu makan nasilah kandarIf you eat nasi kandar (type of dish prepared by Indian Muslims)Orang curi isteri lu sedar lu tak sedarYou will not even be aware that people

have stolen your wife

Sungguhlah indah cahaya lilin The light of the candle is truly beautiful Sambil mencecah buahlah bacang While tasting the horse mango

Singgahlah juga di Swatow Lane Makan popia hai kacang dan ice kacang. [I] Stop by Swatow Lane To eat popia and ice kacang (Chinese dishes).

With so many different peoples coming together in Penang in the late nineteenth century, it was inevitable that contests for economic and political power occurred. In particular, conflict broke out with the formation of secret societies which were actually multiethnic alliances to gain control of the tin mining industry and political power. The *boria* which was then performed during *Awal Muharram* (the first week of the Muslim calendar), was in fact used by competing secret societies such as the Malay Bendera Merah (which ganged up with the Hokkien Khian Teik) and the Malay Bendera Putih (which ganged up with the Cantonese Ghee Hin) in Penang to instigate each other to fight. In the musical composition of *Kisah Pulau Pinang*, the young people employed the *Lagu Perang* (used in fighting scenes of Malay shadow play) and combined it with interlocking bamboo rhythms to accompany the fight between the two secret societies.

(vi) Back to the Community

The final showcase or performance was held in an open space in the inner city with the community as the audience. It was a wonderful experience watching the young and old in the audience commenting on what was happening on stage, laughing, recalling their past, clapping and cheering the children on stage as they watched their stories, actions and music being performed. Through performance, the children themselves were able to internalize what they had learnt about Penang's history, multiculturalism and traditions.

Evaluations

(i) A Platform for Revitalizing Traditions

Based on focus interviews and questionnaire evaluations, AAK workshops such as *Kisah Pulau Pinang* have provided a platform for young participants to learn and appreciate their own and other cultures through ethnomusicological practices such as research, oral interviews, observation, audio-visual recording, analysis and composition. Learning to perform traditional instruments and repertoire of various ethnic groups has helped to reinforce respect for the children's own and other cultural traditions. Oral interviews have exposed the young participants to and stimulated the recovery of histories which are not found in history texts. Some of these histories did not have any meaning for participants before they joined the projects. Understanding the history of migration and syncretism in Malaysian cultures have helped participants to understand the self and address issues of identity.

Performances of the musical production of *Kisah Pulau Pinang* in the community (from whom the materials were obtained) have stimulated interest and pride in community members and the young performers to revitalize traditions which are disappearing. As a participant said, "I thought that traditional music was 'boring' before I started play-

ing the gamelan. Now I want to learn and play more gamelan". Fusion music is attractive as 'tradition' gains currency, the young people get to create the music themselves and local traditions are injected with new colours. The experience has been empowering for both performers and community. In a sense, the project has brought to light the four strategies in applied ethnomusicology that Sheehy (1992) advocates: "developing new performance frames"; "feeding back musical models to the communities that created them", "empowering community members to become musical activists"; and "developing broad structural solutions".

This project is also an attempt to bring community theater back to Penang. In the past, Penang was known for street performances such as Chinese Opera, *boria*, *dondang sayang*, *ronggeng*, *menora* which were performed by different ethnic groups during festivals throughout the year. Although some performances are still held in the streets today, the tradition is slowly fading away. AAK productions have helped to revitalize community performances which attract multiethnic audiences by mixing languages, musical forms, instruments and genres. They are steps which assist in reclaiming a viable role and restoring a meaningful place for traditional music in the community. Favourable reception by audiences can raise the status of traditional music.

(ii) A Platform for Cross Cultural Understanding and Interaction

AAK projects have encouraged cross-cultural understanding and interaction by incorporating participants, artists and facilitators from different ethnicity and class backgrounds. The young participants have been given a safe space to relate intensively with others outside their own racial group. As a Chinese school participant emphasized: "I rarely mix with other races because I go to a Chinese school where all the students are Chinese...at this workshop, I have the chance to mix." The participants began to feel comfortable with one another through 'getting-to-know-you' and team building games which were introduced at the beginning of the workshop. Another young participant said, "playing games helps us to interact and to develop trust among friends of different races."

The AAK participants were involved in different forms of border crossings in the learning and production process which helped in integration. The story, music and movements employed were based on experiences of real life people of various ethnic backgrounds in the inner city of Penang. The characters mixed Hokkien, Malay, English, Tamil and Mandarin phrases embodying typical conversations at the Malaysian market place, coffee shop, homes and schools.

The participants were introduced to different types of indigenous musics and theater using traditional transmission methods and were encouraged to experiment with different Southeast Asian aesthetics. The musical ensemble combined the Malay *wayang kulit* (shadow play) drums and gongs, instruments of the gamelan, Malay *kompang* (frame drum), Chinese woodblocks as well as the Western violin. Multiculturalism was

AAK has produced pamphlets of the endangered trades and crafts based on research and interviews by the young participants of the program. Craftsmen such as those who make lanterns, sign boards, traditional costumes, local food and drinks distribute these pamphlets to visitors who visit them. Dissemination of materials collected by the young participants in the form of flyers and pamphlets to the general public has brought a renewed sense of significance to the community and encouraged them to sustain their art and crafts.

also employed in the mixture of Malay, Hokkien, Mandarin, Tamil and English texts and 'call and answer' technique often found in Chinese and Malay folk singing. The combination of Malay *boria*, *wayang kulit*, *gamelan* and *pantun*, with Chinese chant and peranakan *dondang sayang*, also exemplified intercultural mixing. Nevertheless, the diverse sounds and styles were framed by the polyphonic textures and interlocking rhythms of Southeast Asian music.

Furthermore, intercultural mixing was encouraged during the workshop as the participants from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds had to interact intensively with one another for 4-6 months and to negotiate with one another in the improvisation and learning process. If they had problems with one another, they had to resolve them so that the performance could go on. Enjoyment in being involved in the production also helped to ease any tensions that arose during the rehearsals. The participants were quick to add that "no work can be done individually in the workshops; we have to cooperate and work as an ensemble."

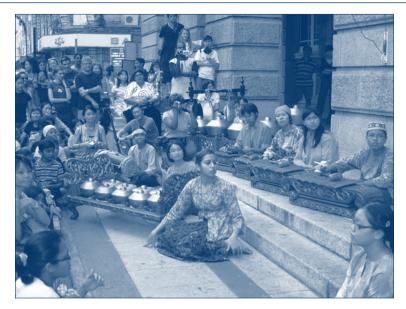
Additionally, observing, recording and executing the movements or playing the music of another ethnic group helped the participants to learn more about the 'other'. For instance, the Chinese and Eurasian children who visited the Indian temple expanded their knowledge about Indian religion and culture. One Chinese participant added that she had never visited a mosque in her life [before the project] and that her Malay friend at the workshop 'explained how Muslims pray at the mosque.' The Malay girl in turn declared that she 'learnt about the customs of the Chinese and Indians, the way they pray, dress, interact with one another and their food' through the project. The lead character playing the role of the Indian Muslim (known locally as *mamak*) woman had to observe a similar character to distinguish her manner of speech and body movements. Through interviews with traders and cooks about various spices, the young participants learnt more about the eclectic food prepared by different communities in Penang.

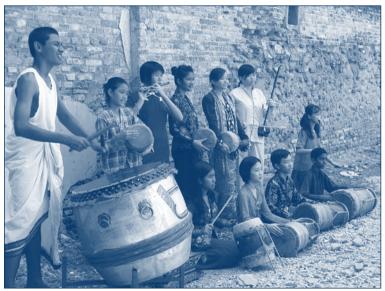
By way of conclusion, community-based music and heritage conservation programs with the ethnomusicologist acting as facilitator, have empowered young people and the community to transcend ethnic barriers and take courage to speak for themselves.

Empowerment ensures that musical traditions will be conserved in their traditional socio-cultural contexts of performance, rather than in the archives.

Music and the arts are important entry points for children to cross ethnic barriers. Children are ever ready to play the music or to study the characters of other ethnic groups as they see the activities as part of skill building leading towards a musical performance. In the process, they learn to understand and respect other cultures and lose any preconceived notions that they might have of these cultures. This helps in integration. At the end of the workshop, the children do not see themselves as Malays, Indians, Eurasians or Chinese but as Malaysians and participants of the workshop.

Community process-oriented arts projects involve hard work, dedication and giving up one's weekends. It is not likely to win arts awards and there is no instant gratification of bouquets in the theater lobby while financial support can be difficult. The process of revitalizing traditions and promoting intercultural mixing through projects such as AAK is slow but it is a beginning.





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POVZETEK

Etnomuzikološka praksa je bila in je osrednje področje delovanja etnomuzikologov jugovzhodne Azije. S svojim védenjem o različnih regionalnih glasbah etnomuzikologi igrajo pomembno vlogo v kulturni in vzgojni politiki. Njihovim naporom je pripisati vključitev staroselskih glasb v javno šolstvo, ki je bilo doslej usmerjeno v evropsko glasbo. Prav tako so med prvimi, ki dokumentirajo tradicije obsojene na nevarnost izginotja.

Začenši s kratkim pregledom strategij in aktivnosti aplikativne etnomuzikologije se pričujoči prispevek osredotoča na razvoj socialno angažiranega pristopa k omogočanju mladih Malezijcev, da se lotijo dveh vprašanj: oživljanja tradicij in preseganja kulturnih pregrad v multietnični in multikulturni

družbi, v kateri so nestrpnosti često prisotne. Mladi se v okviru multietničnih projektov, ki slonijo na raziskovanju posameznih skupnosti, naučijo ceniti lastno kakor tudi druge kulture, in sicer na podlagi etnomuzikoloških nalog, kot so terensko delo, intervjuji, opazovanje, avdiovizualno snemanje, analiza, poznavanje tradicijskih glasbil ter izvajanje glasb različnih etničnih skupin. V multietničnih in večverskih družbah vrednotenje kulturnih različnosti in možnost intenzivnega dela ter muziciranje z "drugimi" pomaga pri gradnji mostov, razvijanju strpnosti in upoštevanju "drugačnega", kar omogoča obvladovanje sporov. S tem da ustvarjajo lastne glasbene stvaritve, ki slonijo na terenskem delu, intervjujih in instrumentalnih veščinah, si mladi udeleženci pridobivajo orodja oziroma sredstva za vsestransko ohranjanje različnih kultur.

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Applied Ethnomusicology and Empowerment Strategies: Views from across the Atlantic*

Aplikativna etnomuzikologija in strategije podajanja moči: pogledi z obeh strani Atlantika

Prejeto: 13. marca 2008 Sprejeto: 2. aprila 2008

Ključne besede: aplikativna etnomuzikologija, manjšine, diaspore, etnične skupine, begunci

Izvleček

Članek je sestavljen iz treh delov. V prvemu je podana kratka zgodovina aplikativne etnomuzikologije v Evropi in ZDA od dejavnosti primerjalnih muzikologov na prehodu v 20. stoletje do napovedi konference novoustanovljene študijske skupine v Ljubljani leta 2008. V drugem delu sta deležna obravnave vprašanja definicije in razdelitve polja aplikativne etnomuzikologije. V tretjem delu se na primeru petih kategorij subjektov (manjšine, diaspore, etnične skupine, priseljenci, begunci) predstavljajo primeri etnomuzikoloških intervencij na območjih nekdanje Jugoslavije, ki presegajo običajne akademske cilje razširjanja in poglabljanja znanj.

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Keywords: applied ethnomusicology, minorities, diasporas, ethnic groups, refugees

ABSTRACT

The article consists of three parts. The first part presents an outline of the historical developments of applied ethnomusicology in Europe and USA, from the public sector activities of comparative musicologists in the early 20th c. all the way to the announcement of the first conference of newly-established ICTM's study group in Ljubljana in 2008. The second part is dedicated to the issues of definition and classification of approaches. The third part features five categories of subjects (minorities, diasporas, ethnic groups, immigrants, refugees) and based on selected examples from the territories of what was Yugoslavia presents ethnomusicological interventions that exceed the obvious academic goals of broadening and deepening of scholarly knowledge.

^{*} This article is based on my paper "Applied Ethnomusicology and Empowerment Strategies: Preliminary Considerations", which was distributed to the fellow participants prior to the International Council for Traditional Music's colloquium Emerging Musical Identities: Views from Across the Atlantic held at Wesleyan University, USA, between the 13th and 15th of May 2006. The idea was to encourage ethnomusicological dialogue across the Atlantic, for which the organizers and hosts Mark Slobin and Su Zheng selected eight American scholars, while Ursula Hemetek and I as their European counterparts selected eight European scholars.

Applied ethnomusicology is not a new term within the scope of ethnomusicology, but its essence, connotations and boundaries are still not clearly defined and this article's intention is to encourage thinking and discussion about it. So far, there is no book to provide a synthesis of the ongoing debates and to present a selection of - both successful and failed - case studies. My basic argument in this article is that the notion of applied ethnomusicology is felt as increasingly relevant to ethnomusicologists on both sides of the Atlantic and that their growing interest in it is often related to the groups of people in focus of the International Council for Traditional Music's (later in the text shortened to ICTM) colloquium at the Wesleyan University: minorities, diasporas, ethnic groups, immigrants, and refugees. Due to the format of the colloquium, my attention is limited to the moves within the discipline in Europe and United States of America, while the articles in this volume of Musicological Annual testify that similar and mutually related moves take place elsewhere in the world, too. Later in the article, four debatable subcategories of applied ethnomusicology, proposed with the purpose to encourage discussion, are followed by short presentations of the five colloquium's categories as seen in the territories of former Yugoslavia.

A Historical Overview

One could argue whether various colonial expositions and other showcases involving comparative musicologists should be identified as a part of the early history of applied ethnomusicology and to what extent comparative musicology in general contributed to the "public sector" of the discipline. At the same time, it is clear that the other branch of European ethnomusicology – folk music research – was throughout the previous century linked to the applied domain. The principal goal of many folk music researchers, that of protection of their national heritage, implied practical application of their findings. Besides scholarly procedures that usually included field research, transcription, analysis, archiving and publication, they often actively engaged in popularization of folk music and dance. Important channels for this were state-sponsored folklore ensembles in eastern parts of Europe and less formalized revival ensembles in its western parts. Ethnomusicologists assumed various roles in these processes: providing the ensembles with musics and dances collected in the field, writing musical arrangements and/or choreographies, singing, playing instruments and/or dancing, leading the ensembles and touring with them.

It is appropriate to start the discussion about the developments on the American side with the most often quoted book in ethnomusicology, Alan Merriam's *The Anthropology of Music*. While thinking about the ultimate aim – searching out knowledge for its own sake or attempting to provide solutions to practical problems - Merriam noted that "ethnomusicologists have only rarely felt called upon to help solve problems in manipulating the destinies of people" and that "it is quite conceivable that this may in

Folk music and national aspects of its research in Europe are examined in several writings including Bohlman (2004), Hemetek (2006) and Pettan (2001). A recent ethnomusicological gathering at the University of Cardiff and a plenary session at the 39 ICTM world conference were dedicated to the same issue (both organized by John Morgan O'Connell in 2007).

the future be of increased concern" (1964:43). This statement was obviously in a sharp contrast to anthropology and its applied domain that grew up steadily from the 1950s on. On the other hand, it seems likely that criticism directed at applied anthropologists in late 1960s and early 1970s for "doing work of no relevance to social problems, of mixing in local politics, of spying" (Nettl 1983:297) hindered attempts that would eventually lead towards an applied ethnomusicology.

Increasing influx of immigrants in western Europe in the second half of the 20th century gradually raised interest in their musical cultures among ethnomusicologists. Besides important studies on immigrant musics (e.g. Ronström 1991) and cultural policies (Baumann 1991) several ethnomusicologists, particularly in Sweden, became involved in applied projects such as the *Ethno* camp for young musicians in Falun and music making within the ensembles such as the *Orientexpressen*.² A creative three-year project named The Resonant Community was set in several elementary schools in the Oslo area in 1989, bringing together ethnomusicology and music education in paving the way to better appreciation between Norwegians and the immigrants from Africa, Asia and Latin America through their respective musics. Multicultural education, which in America "grew out of the ferment of the civil rights movement of the 1960s" (Banks and McGee Banks 2001:5) gradually became recognized and also debated in Europe. The European Music Council's conference *Aspects on Music and Multiculturalism*, thanks to Krister Malm, brought to Falun in 1995 several participants of the 2006 ICTM's colloquium at the Wesleyan University that directly inspired this article.³

After indicative absence of applied ethnomusicology in various summaries of the discipline in the following decades (e.g. Myers 1992, Schuursma 1992),⁴ it seems that the thematic volume 36/3 (1992) of the journal *Ethnomusicology* announced important changes. However, according to the journal's editor at that time and the author of the introductory article Jeff Todd Titon, his idea to dedicate the whole volume of the leading American ethnomusicological periodical to applied ethnomusicology received very mixed reactions (personal communication). Titon, together with the other authors in the mentioned volume (Daniel Sheehy, Bess Lomax Hawes, Anthony Seeger, Martha Ellen Davis) succeeded in bringing forth "what ethnomusicologists do in public interest" to the attention of ethnomusicological academia and in creating a space for possible re-evaluation and re-positioning of the applied work within ethnomusicology as a whole.

It took six more years, until 1998, for the Applied Ethnomusicology Section to be established within the Society for Ethnomusicology (later in the text shortened to SEM).⁵ Its web page suggests that "the applied ethnomusicology section is devoted to work in ethnomusicology that falls outside of typical academic contexts and purposes" and points to the activities such as "festival and concert organization, museum exhibitions, apprenticeship programs, etc." while its members "work to organize panel sessions and displays at SEM conferences that showcase this kind of work and discuss the issues that surround it, as well as foster connections between individuals and institutions". There

For instance, Dan Lundberg, Owe Ronström.

³ The proceedings contain articles by Kristof Tamas, Max Peter Baumann, Mark Slobin and Krister Malm.

⁴ The same counts for major encyclopedic resources.

⁵ America's leading association of ethnomusicologists that publishes journal Ethnomusicology.

is no definition of applied ethnomusicology per se, but the mission statement makes clear that "The Applied Ethnomusicology Section joins scholarship with practical pursuits by providing a forum for discussion and exchange of theory, issues, methods and projects among practitioners and serving as the 'public face' of ethnomusicology in the larger community".

The firs conference on applied ethnomusicology, *Invested in Community: Ethnomusicology and Musical Advocacy*, took place at the Brown University in Providence USA in 2003. (http://dl.lib.brown.edu/invested_in_community) According to the sponsor, the Graduate Program in Ethnomusicology at Brown University, this was "the first conference in the United States to focus on the vital role of the academic in advocating community music", featuring "applied ethnomusicologists (who) work as musical and cultural advocates, using skills and knowledge gained within academia to serve the public at large. They help communities identify, document, preserve, develop, present and celebrate the musical traditions they hold dear". Important to note, Jeff Todd Titon teaches ethnomusicology at Brown and his doctoral student there at that time Maureen Loughran, who also served as one of the principal organizers of the conference (the other being Erica Haskell), is the author of one of the articles in this volume of *Musicological Annual*.

In 2003 Italian ethnomusicologists organized the 9th International seminar in Ethnomusicology in Venice titled *Applied Ethnomusicology: Perspectives and Problems*. While recognizing that "setting up museums, service within administration of colonial empires, organization of concerts, divulgence by means of publication of writings and recordings" (...) were part of the professional profile of comparative musicologists at the beginnings of the 20th century" they also noticed recent "significant developments" and pointed to the issues such as: intercultural education, music in relation to diaspora, immigration and refugees, "spectacularization" of traditional music and cultural cooperation projects.

The 15th colloquium of the ICTM, organized by John Morgan O'Connell in Limerick, Ireland, in 2004 was titled *Discord: Identifying Conflict within Music, Resolving Conflict through Music.* Although music and conflict by all means make a suitable ethnomusicological topic and applied ethnomusicology was not particularly emphasized in the colloquium documents, several presentations pointed to "ethnomusicology as an approach to conflict resolution".⁶

One of the SEM's regional chapters followed up in 2004: "With the recognition of a growing interest among MACSEM members in applied ethnomusicology, public sector programming, and pedagogical music and dance (workshops, lecture/ demonstrations, etc.), we invite papers and proposals from members wishing to present recent research or works-in-progress; discuss current fieldwork and/or collection practices and methodologies; and share resources and aspects of the communities and musicians they work with". It also made an explicit step further by asking the participants to address "what, if any, political impact ethnomusicological activity may have upon local and regional communities and the artists involved, and/or on public, private, city, state and/or federal institutions".

The quote is taken from the title of Ruth Davis' paper.

The 38th world conference of the ICTM that took place in Sheffield, England, in 2005 featured applied ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology as one of the themes, pointing to "situations in which scholars put their knowledge and understanding to creative use to stimulate concern and awareness about the people they study". Presenters were invited to consider issues of advocacy, canonicity, musical literacy, cultural property rights, cultural imperialism, majority-minority relations, application of technologies such as internet and their effects on music and dance. One plenary session explicitly featured applied ethnomusicology⁷ and yet another plenary session considered it among the other subjects.⁸ An important unit at the University of Sheffield is certainly its Center for Applied and Interdisciplinary Research in Music (CAIRM).

The next important step took place in 2005 at the University of California, Los Angeles, which used to have an ambitious "outreach program" in the second half of the 1990s. This time, the Annual Graduate Student Conference titled Ethnomusicology at Work and in Action offered a straight forward announcement: "As the old notion of a disengaged academic 'ivory tower' continues to lose its relevance, ethnomusicologists are faced with a variety of hands-on roles in the wider community as consultants, activists, specialists, and educators (...). As it stands, applied ethnomusicology encompasses community activism, world music pedagogy, archiving, and grassroots organizing among many other forms of engagement". The selection of listed topics included, for instance, archiving and museum work, sound media production, ethnographic filmmaking, concert promotion and artist management, cultural policy, world music pedagogy, and more.

The 51st annual meeting of the SEM in Hawaii in 2006 featured a novelty proposed by the Applied Ethnomusicology Section: a workshop, intended to offer practical training in a selected specialized skill. Carrier of the first workshop in this annual series was David Fanshawe.

A symposium titled *Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology in Education: Issues in Applied Scholarship* took place in Ljubljana, Slovenia, in 2006. The members of the ICTM's Executive Board, who came to Ljubljana for their meeting, and the other invited scholars presented and evaluated together their immediate experiences and visions of efficient transfer of scholarly knowledge into educational domains. Presentations from contexts around the globe discussed modalities of connections between theory and practice, methods of promoting, teaching and learning of traditional music and dance, and the strategies of preparing textbooks, recordings and other materials for various stages of educational processes (see Kovačič and Šivic 2006).

The ICTM's 39th world conference in Vienna featured a double panel *The Politics of Applied Ethnomusicology: New Perspectives* with six participants, each from a different continent, and a meeting at which 44 members agreed to establish a study group with focus on applied ethnomusicology. Following the adoption of the definition and mission statement, the study group on applied ethnomusicology was approved at the Executive Board's meeting in Vienna on 12 July 2007.

⁷ Applied Ethnomusicology and Studies on Music and Minorities - The Convergence of Theory and Practice with Ursula Hemetek, John O'Connell, Adelaida Reyes and Stephen Wild. A particularly important outcome of this session is Hemetek's article about the role of applied ethnomusicology in the process of the political recognition of the Austrian Roma (2006).

Including war and revitalization in Croatia of the 1990s and early 2000s. The session was organized by Naila Ceribašić.

The coordinator of this program was Miriam Gerberg.

The first meeting of the study group is taking place in 2008 in Ljubljana, Slovenia. The meeting's title is *Historical and Emerging Approaches to Applied Ethnomusicology*.

So, What is Applied Ethnomusicology? Four subcategories...

In order to encourage much needed discussion about the definition of applied ethnomusicology at the meeting in Vienna, ¹⁰ I somewhat provokingly proposed definition taken from a standard American textbook in cultural anthropology, after simple replacement of the the word "anthropology" with "ethnomusicology". The result reads as follows:

Applied ethnomusicology is any use of ethnomusicological knowledge to influence social interaction, to maintain or change social institutions, or to direct the course of cultural change (adapted from Spradley and McCurdy 2000:411).

Unlike the transfers of concepts from e.g. linguistics that were subject of debates in the 1980s, this transfer from anthropology seemed less problematic. Even though the adapted definition called for further adjustments, with stronger focus on music, its broad social goals seemed to correspond to the intensions of many ethnomusicologists in the applied domain.

Anthropologists usually distinguish among the four subcategories in the applied domain. In all four cases the key-adjectives start with the character "a": action, adjustment, administrative and advocate. Let us add these adjectives to the noun ethnomusicology (rather than to anthropology) and see how it works (adapted from Spradley and McCurdy 2000:411):

- 1. Action ethnomusicology: any use of ethnomusicological knowledge for planned change by the members of a local cultural group.
- 2. Adjustment ethnomusicology: (...) that makes social interaction between persons who operate with different cultural codes more predictable.
- 3. Administrative ethnomusicology: (...) for planned change by those who are external to a local cultural group.
- 4. Advocate ethnomusicology: (...) by the ethnomusicologist to increase the power of self-determination for a particular cultural group.

In order to provide a more adjusted and refined classification in regard to the field of ethnomusicology, Daniel Shehy proposed the following four strategies (Sheehy 1992):

- 1. Developing new "frames" for musical performance.
- 2. "Feeding back" musical models to the communities that created them.
- 3. Providing community members access to strategic models and conservation techniques.
 - ${\it 4.}\ Developing\ broad, structural\ solutions\ to\ structural\ problems.$

At the 39th ICTM world conference in Vienna the following definition and a mission statement were adopted:

Meeting that led to the establishment of the study group.

¹¹ Mantle Hood, for instance, was both critical and skeptical about the transfers from linguistics.

APPLIED ETHNOMUSICOLOGY is the approach guided by principles of social responsibility, which extends the usual academic goal of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding toward solving concrete problems and toward working both inside and beyond typical academic contexts.

The ICTM STUDY GROUP ON APPLIED ETHNOMUSICOLOGY advocates the use of ethnomusicological knowledge in influencing social interaction and course of cultural change. It serves as a forum for continuous cooperation through scholarly meetings, projects, publications and correspondence.

Although not mentioned as a single key-term in any of the presented definitions, the idea of empowerment seems to be implied in all of them. A scholar empowers members of a local cultural group for either a planned change (Action) or their own decision making (Advocate), persons who operate with different cultural codes (Adjustment) and those external to a local cultural group (Administrative). As I suggested in a conference presentation back in 1995, an ethnomusicologist can under circumstances be seen as a power holder. Ethnomusicological knowledge and understanding is a potential agent of social change and it is its application that activates this potential.

As an example, the complex project Azra, that was brought to life in Norway in 1994, contained characteristics of all four categories. Realized through three mutually related sources of empowerment (research, education, music making), it offered to Bosnian refugees in Norway valuable alternative to the general notion of being powerless due to war devastation in their home-country and also due to various communication barriers in the host country (Action). Bosnian and Norwegian musicians joined forces in an ensemble performing Bosnian and Norwegian musics for Bosnian and Norwegian audiences, thus bringing closer together people operating "with different cultural codes" (Adjustment). Lectures and university classes pointing to musical and cultural specifics of the Bosnians assisted the external (Norwegian) decision makers in improving the communication with the Bosnians and consequently in improving the decision-making process (Administrative). The Bosnians, being the primary subjects of this project in applied ethnomusicology, were offered initiative and virtually limitless choices of how to define themselves and how to interact with the Norwegians. The ethnomusicologist's role was to make sure that all options are subject of discussion and that musics serve as acceptable identity markers and bridge building devices (Advocate).13

The application of any knowledge and understanding does not necessarily imply positive aims and/or outcomes. It is reasonably safe to think of application in terms of a tool that can help achieve any results within a continuum stretching from one extreme to the other. In-depth knowledge of theory and method is important as much as in-depth understanding of ethical concerns. The ultimate aim should be betterment of human conditions, with maximal respect to the culturally specific concerns.

The 33rd ICTM's world conference in Canberra.

¹³ More in Pettan (1996).



Picture 1. Bosnian-Norwegian ensemble Azra in concert at the Bosnian cultural center in Oslo (1996)

The five categories mentioned in the introduction to the colloquium at Wesleyan in 2006 - minorities, diasporas, ethnic groups, immigrants, refugees - are already featured in valuable ethnomusicological studies with no adjective "applied". It would obviously be senseless and wrong to label the studies about their musical universes "applied" as long as there is no intervention on behalf of an ethnomusicologist and no expectation of change resulting from his/her intervention. At the same time, the five categories are often placed low on various power scales and thus make good cases for the discussion about empowerment though applied ethnomusicology. The discussion below is based on the practical experiences in Europe, in particular in the three units of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Croatia, Kosovo, and Slovenia. Definitions of each category are followed by selected examples of empowerment strategies.

... and Five Groups of People. Some Cases of Empowerment: Minorities

Although the word "minority" implies nothing but "less than half (50%) of some group", minorities are most often understood as national minorities. The working definition used by the ICTM's study group Music and Minorities suggests that minorities are "groups of people, distinguishable from the dominant group for cultural, ethnic, social, religious, or economic reasons". 14

Three institutes based in Zagreb and Vienna jointly organized a major public event in Croatia's capital in 1996, focused on public presentation of the edited volume *Echo*

¹⁴ Revised definition adopted at the 4th study group's meeting in Varna, Bulgaria, in 2006.

der Vielfalt/Echoes of Diversity (Hemetek 1996). Due to the volume's focus on musics of minorities, the event featured musicians from Croatian minority that from the 16th century on resides in the Austrian federal state of Burgenland. In order to bring some balance to this minority empowerment-seeking event, I proposed the inclusion of a non-Croatian minority from within Croatia into the program. This initiative received support and the two minority ensembles – a Croatian from Austria and a Romani (Gypsy) from Croatia - performed one after another. The opinions expressed by people from the audience following the event confirmed my expectation: most of them praised the empowerment of the Croatian minority from Austria, but disliked the presence of "the Gypsies in the temple of Croatian national culture".

This experience confirmed that the initiative of the Croatian ethnomusicologist Jerko Bezić, who in 1985 organized the first scholarly meeting world-wide with the key words "music" and "minorities", 16 was appropriate and that much work had to be done for affirmation of minorities on both sides of political divides. Nowadays, two decades later, Croatian ethnomusicologists can proudly look back after creating and conducting several successful projects that empowered "national minorities" within Croatia (folklore festivals, presentations in the media, publications, recordings). One can also add that the interest in the music of minorities accompanied the major shift in scholars' focus from the missionary interest in "our minority abroad" to "Others from within", with a number of implications to the issues of nationality, citizenship and multiple identities.



Picture 2. Ensemble Romano ilo performs at the Croatian National Theater in Zagreb (1996)

The Institute for Folklore Research (presently Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research) and the Austrian Cultural Institute from Zagreb and the Institute for Folk Music Research (presently Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at the University of Music and Performing Arts) from Vienna.

Traditional Music of Ethnic Groups-Minorities (see Bezić 1986).

Diasporas

While generally referring to "a dispersion of a group of people from their native land", the use of this term in the territories of former Yugoslavia was commonly related to "our people" in far-away lands stretching from Western Europe to Australia and Canada. In contrast to "minorities", which were considered autochtonous groups inhabiting for centuries the nearby territories on the other sides of political borders, "diasporas" were seen as being composed basically of the 20th century economic and political emigrants.

Ethnomusicologists from what was Yugoslavia showed only periferal interest in studying their diasporas. One of the reasons may be that musical universes of these territorially uprooted people were of no particular interest to the researchers whose focus was "old, rural, and local" folk music in its original context. Thanks to multicultural policies in many of their new countries, members of diaspora(s) were in a position to express their identities in a variety of ways, often with emphasis on traditional music and dance. It was quite common for their ensembles to invite instructors from homeland or to send their own instructors to summer courses, which were regularly organized in what was Yugoslavia. There was a shared notion among Yugoslavia's ethnochoreologists about creation of choreographies for stage performances as a natural, "applied" extension of their scholarship. This kind of transfer of knowledge and practical skills played an important role in the continuous empowerment of diaspora and as such was in most cases subject to governmental subventions.

My own limited research with Slovene and Croatian diasporas in Australia, South African Republic and USA during the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s indicated several avenues for research and its application. Rather than providing the diasporas with the examples of rural music and dance from their newly independent homelands, I was interested in creating frameworks for discussion about cultural policies and identity formations that would eventually lead towards new means of empowerment.

Ethnic groups

The notion of an ethnic group as "a group of people who identify with one another, especially on the basis of racial, cultural, or religious grounds" seems broader than the notions associated with the other four categories.¹⁷ In the political jargon of former Yugoslavia, though, ethnic groups were considered distinctive groups of people, not linked to any of the features of nationhood. In some constitutional documents within former Yugoslavia,¹⁸ ethnic group (etnička grupa) was used as a political category, subordinated to the categories of a nation (narod)¹⁹ and national minority (narodnost).²⁰ A characteristic case of an ethnic group were the Roma (Gypsies).

In Mark Slobin's words, ethnicity is "a term of recent origin and much debate" and "a light that fails, having quite different meanings across the wide geographic expanse (...)" (1993:50, 51).

¹⁸ These were not always properly coordinated at all hierarchical levels.

¹⁹ Characterized by a nation-based unit (federal republic) within Yugoslavia, e.g. Slovenes and Slovenia.

²⁰ Characterized by a nation state elsewhere, e.g. Turkish minority and Turkey.

Even though the social and cultural life of the Roma living in former Yugoslavia was better than in many other countries, it does not surprize that their elites were seeking to upgrade the political status to that of a national minority, which would ensure a number of benefits, particularly in the domains of schooling and employment opportunities. Since the status of a national minority by definition implied the existence of the given group's nation state outside of Yugoslavia, the Roma first emphasized India as their homeland and later Egypt. Both attempts have failed.

Several projects based on my research of Romani musicianship in Kosovo fit into the applied domain and their shared goal is the empowerment of the Roma. Resulting products - such as picture exhibition, CD-ROM, video documentary and various writings - were used in various situations to raise both the awareness and the funds. A specific Romani community in the city of Prizren was in a position to use these products - all portraying Kosovo Roma as distinctive musical mediators - to strengthen the quality of communication with the international peace-keeping authorities. The same community was also the receiver of (rather limited) funds earned through the sales of these products.

Immigrants

An immigrant is often defined as "a person who leaves one country to permanently settle in another". Unlike the economically richer capitalist countries in Europe, socialist Yugoslavia was never considered a particularly attractive immigrant destination. To a much greater extent various Yugoslavs became immigrants in other countries and as such received scholarly attention, for the most part by non-Yugoslav researchers. This does not mean that foreign citizens did not live in Yugoslavia for extended periods of time. As the only non-alighned country in Europe, Yugoslavia hosted large numbers of students from Africa, Asia and Latin America, but technically speaking, they were not considered immigrants. Yet another important source of "otherness" were the migrations within Yugoslavia, which for the most part followed the prevalent pattern in Europe at that time: from south-east towards north-west. Consequently, Slovenia in the Yugoslavia's north-western end was a major destination for people, who for various reasons decided to stay within Yugoslavia. Just like in the case of foreign students, but for different reasons, these newcomers were not considered immigrants.

Independent Slovenia, currently the only European Union member state among those that emerged from former Yugoslavia, is in a different position. From the 1990s on the authorities were extremely restrictive in accepting immigrants, ²² while presently this matter is adjusted to European Union's regulations. In a seminar project on musics of minorities, my students encompassed immigrants, as well. Chinese and African (from various countries) were the most prominently featured "new minorities".

²¹ Dialogue between the Croatian sociologist Silva Meštrović and research journalist Darko Hudelist reveals the complexity of of migrational patterns within Yugoslavia in the two decades preceding its violent disintegration (Hudelist 1989: 56-63).

²² The only exceptions were members of various generations of the Slovene world-wide diaspora, many of whom left their Slovenian homeland in mid 1940s due to political reasons.

In 2006, an applied project aimed at the empowerment of asylum seekers and other likely immigrants in temporary "homes for alliens" was started. Slovene ethnologists and cultural anthropologists were introducing them to cultural features, including music, of their expected new home-country Slovenia.

Refugees

One of the basic definitions suggests that a refugee is "a person outside of his or her country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group". Wars that marked the break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s created huge influx of people forced to flee from their homes. Those who re-settled within their own ex-Yugoslav republic were classified as "internally displaced persons", while those who moved out from their republic were classified as "refugees". Both were victims of what became known as "ethnic cleansing".

Some studies nicely pointed to the shared cultural patterns prior to the war (Petrović 1985), followed the dynamics of confrontations (Bringa 1993), and documented the complexity of relations between new neighbors of the same national group, but of different territorial origin (Duijzings 1996). This kind of evidence was used in a number of applied projects, with the intension to counterfight the impact of the overemphasized differences and the logic of nationally based hatred. The refugees, aware that their unfortunate status was caused solely by their belonging to the "wrong" national group, had to be confronted by the fact that the acceptance of the logic of hatred would mean the victory for those who enforced it on them. Music proved to be a useful tool in the proces of refugee empowerment, as described earlier in the context of the *Azra* project, as well as in a number of other projects.²³

What I found particularly interesting in local understanding of the five globally used categories is the dynamics that relates them.²⁴ For instance, due to the war there were situations in which (a considerable part of) a *minority* was transformed into *refugees* (e.g. Serbs from Croatia), but also vice versa – *refugees* in many cases became a visible *minority* (e.g. Bosnians in Norway). Or, unrelated to war, most members of an *ethnic group* (e.g. the inhabitants of an island in Croatia) became a *diasporic* community in New Jersey and in turn a predominantly English speaking *minority* within Croatia when they return to their native island for vacations.

There are still cases that remain outside the framework marked by the five given categories, if interpreted in strictly emic terms. Let us take Bosnian Croats as an example. They are not a *minority* in a political sense because they have status of a constituent national partner and thus claim equal role in political power share in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They do not fit the definition of *diaspora* either because their centuries long presence in the given territories entitles them to the autochtonous status. Since *ethnic groups* are understood as unrelated to nationhood, this category also proves

²³ The articles about some of them can be found on http://intermusiccenter.org/.

²⁴ To paraphrase Adelaida Reyes, the definitions are "an international as well as an intranational concern" (1986:91).

inappropriate. The term *immigrant* should have been replaced by "emigrant" or rather "migrant" (cf. Reyes 1999) in order to make sense in this case, while the term "internally displaced persons" would need to replace or to be added to *refugees*.

Conclusion

While attending the SEM conferences and participating in the activities of the Applied Ethnomusicology Section from its start in 1998 I could not avoid thinking that the ongoing presentations were insufficiently aggressive in challenging the boundaries of what an ethnomusicologist could (and should) do within the realm of applied ethnomusicology. In my opinion, applied ethnomusicology is neither an alternative to academia that promises new job openings nor is it solely a "public sector extension" of what we already do within academia. Learning about each others' experiences at the meetings on the both sides of the Atlantic and through *listserve* discussions is certainly important, but I would argue that particularly the younger generations of ethnomusicologists seek to move forward. Unfortunate situations such as wars and their consequences as much as the ecological state of affairs in today's world make many scholars wish to use their expertise in projects intended to make a difference. Ambitious joint projects with firm theoretical and methodological foundations and emphasized ethical concerns would perhaps serve the purpose.

While serving as a visiting professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the Spring semester 2006, I introduced a graduate course titled *Music in Conflict Management: Issues in Applied Ethnomusicology*. Theoretical and methodological issues were applied to a variety of territorial and socio-cultural contexts and integrated through the concept of cooperative learning. Music, musicians, minorities, scholarly traditions, censorship, war, and refugees were approached in a variety of contexts (Greece, Israel/Palestine, Portugal, Spain, Zimbabwe and former Yugoslavia). Discussions of conflicts in these contexts led to the final projects with suggested strategies in conflict management. Empowerment based on ethnomusicological knowledge and understanding was featured in all projects.

I would wish to interpret the increased attention granted to the initiatives leading beyond the usual aims of scholarly engagements on the both sides of the Atlantic and – as this volume suggests – on a global scale as a specific case of empowerment - empowerment for scholars to use their capacities to make our world a better place and to enable applied ethnomusicology to develop its unquestionably rich potentials.

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POVZETEK

Aplikativna etnomuzikologija je pristop, utemeljen na načelih družbene odgovornosti, ki presega običajni akademski cilj razširjanja in poglabljanja znanja in ga poskuša uporabiti pri reševanju življenjskih težav. Zagovarja uporabo etnomuzikoloških znanj, razumevanj in veščin pri aktivnem vključevanju v družbene interakcije in delovanje na kulturno okolje. Članek sledi zgodovinskemu

razvoju področja aplikativne etnomuzikologije v kontekstih Evrope in ZDA, ki je vedno bolj prisotno tudi drugje po svetu, temu pa so priča drugi članki v tej številki *Muzikološkega zbornika*. Konretni primeri dojemanja strategij aplikativne etnomuzikologije in intervencij so uvrščeni v raznovrstna okolja nekdanje Jugoslavije (Hrvaška, Kosovo, Slovenija). Skupnosti ljudi, ki so deležne prejemanja pomoči skozi interveniranje so manjšine, diaspore, etnične skupine, priseljenci in begunci.

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